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# DIALECT NOTES

III

PUBLISHED BY

THE AMERICAN DIALECT SOCIETY



VOLUME I  
(1890/96)



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# DIALECT NOTES.

## PART I.

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### THE FIRST YEAR OF THE AMERICAN DIALECT SOCIETY.

THE Annual Meeting for 1889 was held Monday, December 30, in No. 5 Sever Hall, Cambridge, Mass. The meeting was called to order by the President, Professor Child, soon after 10 A.M. The first business was the reading of the Secretary's report, as follows:—

In January, 1889, the proposition was made out of which has come this society. The plan was well received when spoken of by the present Secretary in conversation with several persons, and a meeting was in consequence called to consider the question of establishing a Dialect Society. This meeting was held in No. 35 Sever Hall, and twenty-eight persons were present. A report of the proceedings follows:—

The meeting was called to order at 4.15 P.M. by Professor E. S. Sheldon. Mr. Justin Winsor was chosen chairman of the meeting, Mr. C. H. Grandgent secretary. Professor Sheldon, at the request of the chairman, explained the object of the proposed society; namely, the investigation of the English dialects of America with regard to pronunciation, grammar, vocabulary, phraseology, and geographical distribution. The gentlemen present then discussed the nature of the work to be done, the results obtained by similar associations in other countries, and the feasibility of beginning with a large membership. Mr. W. W. Newell stated that the intended organization would not interfere with the American Folk-Lore Society, and expressed the opinion that the two bodies might work together with advantage to both. On motion of Mr. E. H. Babbitt, it was voted that a committee

be appointed by the chair to consider the organization of an American Dialect Society. The chairman named as members of the committee Professors E. S. Sheldon, F. D. Allen, W. S. Chaplin, J. H. Wright, L. B. R. Briggs, A. B. Hart, and Mr. G. L. Kittredge. It was voted, on motion of Mr. Kittredge, that a paper be passed around for the signatures of all those present who would like to join the proposed society. The following twenty-six gentlemen signed: F. D. Allen, E. H. Babbitt, G. Bendelari, W. E. Byerly, W. H. Carruth, F. J. Child, A. Cohn, J. Geddes, Jr., C. H. Grandgent, J. B. Greenough, W. C. Kitchin, G. L. Kittredge, W. C. Lane, S. M. Macvane, J. M. Manly, P. B. Marcou, B. H. Nash, W. W. Newell, F. W. Nicolson, J. M. Peirce, M. L. Perrin, R. Sanderson, E. S. Sheldon, W. R. Thayer, J. Winsor, J. H. Wright. The committee was then authorized to call another meeting when it should be ready to report, and the meeting was adjourned.

C. H. GRANDGENT, *Secretary.*

The Committee on Organization appointed at this meeting held several sessions, in which the details of organization were considered. A brief notice of the preliminary meeting was printed in the *New York Nation* at the end of January. From correspondence with several gentlemen at a distance from Cambridge, it appeared that the plan was likely to receive a considerable support; and under date of February 19, a circular letter was prepared and sent to about sixty persons outside of Cambridge, inviting their presence at a meeting for organization to be held in Cambridge, March 13, 1889. In this the main features of the proposed organization were outlined, and then summed up in the words: "In substance the plan is to collect and publish from time to time material relating to dialects, through an Executive Committee with assistants in various places."

The meeting for organization was held, as announced, in No. 5 Sever Hall. It was called to order by Mr. Winsor soon after 4 P.M., and the report of the Committee on Organization was presented and the draft of a Constitution submitted. Each section of the proposed Constitution was voted on separately, the fourth section being amended by adding the words, "this payment being due on the first of January," and the whole was then adopted, as follows:—

## CONSTITUTION.

## I. — NAME AND OBJECT.

The name of this Society shall be "The American Dialect Society." Its object is the investigation of the spoken English of the United States and Canada, and incidentally of other non-aboriginal dialects spoken in the same countries.

## II. — OFFICERS.

The officers of the Society shall be a President, a Vice-President, a Secretary, a Treasurer, and an Editing Committee of three, of whom the Secretary shall be one. These officers, with three other members of the Society, shall constitute an Executive Committee, which shall control all expenditures. They shall have power to fill any vacancy in their number by appointment until new officers are chosen at the next annual meeting.

## III. — ADVISORY BOARD.

The Executive Committee shall have authority to appoint secretaries for different parts of the country, who shall supervise the work of their respective districts. These district secretaries shall constitute an Advisory Board.

## IV. — MEMBERSHIP.

Any person may become a member of the Society by sending one dollar, with his name and address, to the Treasurer, and may continue his membership by payment of the same amount annually thereafter, this payment being due on the first of January.

## V. — MEETINGS.

An annual meeting for the presentation of reports by the Secretary and the Treasurer, and election of officers, shall be held in December, the day and place to be determined by the Executive Committee. The officers chosen at this meeting shall enter upon their duties on the first of January following, and serve for one year. Timely notice of this meeting shall be sent by the Secretary to all members. Special meetings may be called at any time by the Executive Committee.

## VI. — PUBLICATIONS.

The amount and distribution of the publications of the Society shall be under the control of the Executive Committee.

## VII. — AMENDMENTS.

Amendments to this Constitution may be made at any annual meeting by a two-thirds vote, provided at least ten members have expressed their approval of them, in writing, to the Secretary before the first day of November. Notice of the proposed amendments shall be given in the call for the meeting.

It was then voted that the Chairman appoint a committee to present a list of officers for the current year. Professors Wright and Briggs and Mr. Bendelari were named as that committee, and they soon reported as follows: For President, Professor F. J. Child; for Vice-President, Professor J. M. Hart; for Secretary, Professor E. S. Sheldon; for Treasurer, Mr. C. H. Grandgent; for Editing Committee, the Secretary, Mr. G. L. Kittredge, and Professor S. Primer; for Executive Committee, the preceding officers, and Professors B. I. Wheeler, C. F. Smith, F. D. Allen.

The meeting then adjourned.

With the assistance of Messrs. Grandgent and Kittredge, the Secretary afterwards prepared a statement of the purpose of the Society and the method of work planned. [This statement is to be found on p. 25.] This was printed under date of April 25, 1889, in eighteen hundred copies, as well as the Constitution of the Society and its list of officers, and these papers were widely distributed by mail. About five hundred additional copies were printed near the end of June, in order that there might be a sufficient supply to meet any calls for them that might be made during the rest of the year, and most of these additional copies are still on hand. An auxiliary circular was prepared in Ithaca, N.Y., by Professor B. I. Wheeler, and distributed in the State of New York. A portion of this circular is here quoted:—

“It is of the greatest importance that accurate report be made concerning the actual sources of the material presented. It is important, for instance, to state whether the particular usage be general or only individual, and whether the person in whose speech it has been observed is a native of the place where he now resides. Small towns of a homogeneous and stable population make in general the best field for reliable investigation. . . . The real life of language is found only in the folk-dialects. These are not, as is often thought, corruptions of the standard language, but are the native and natural growths, while the ‘standard’ is either imported or semi-artificial. As examples of words whose pronunciation it is desirable to note I mention in addition to those in the general circular: *aunt, daughter, half, past; whole, boat, coat; edge, leg; risk, rid; nothing, drawing; idea, drain, spoil, pretty, yonder, vendue, scarce, scared, peony; elm, self; winnow, pillow; given.*”

The District Secretaries thus far (December 30) appointed are: Mr. William D. Armes, for California; Dr. James W. Bright,

for Maryland; Professor W. H. Carruth, for Kansas; Mr. O. F. Emerson, for Western New York; Professor Alcée Fortier, for Louisiana; Professor Gustaf Karsten, for Indiana; Professor C. F. Kent, for Tennessee; Professor E. L. Walter, for Michigan.

The present membership of the Society is about one hundred and forty. It was hoped that a small amount could be prepared for publication in time to be ready for distribution at this meeting, but it has not been found possible. It is hoped, however, that the issue of "DIALECT NOTES" for 1889 may be ready in January, 1890, to be distributed to members of 1889. Any such members who may desire more than one copy can obtain additional copies at a price as near the actual cost as can be arranged. The price for non-members will probably be one dollar.

In answer to a question, the Secretary gave some idea of what was to be published in the "DIALECT NOTES" in January, 1890.

The Treasurer, Mr. C. H. Grandgent, then presented the following report:—

RECEIPTS TO DECEMBER 30, 1889.

Membership fees (two for 1890) . . . . . \$142.00

EXPENDITURES TO DECEMBER 30, 1889.

Printing 2,340 copies of Constitution . . . . .	\$22.50
“ 2,280 circulars . . . . .	20.00
“ 1,000 bills for Treasurer . . . . .	2.25
“ 140 notices of the Annual Meeting (including price of postal cards) . . . . .	2.00
Postage stamps . . . . .	15.35
Stationery . . . . .	3.90
Total . . . . .	\$66.00
On hand, December 30, 1889 . . . . .	\$76.00

The President appointed as a committee to present nominations for officers for the year 1890, Dr. J. W. Bright, Mr. C. H. Grandgent, and Professor S. Primer; and as a committee to audit the Treasurer's accounts, Professor F. D. Allen and Mr. G. H. Browne. After a brief intermission, the former committee reported, recommending that the officers chosen for 1889 be re-elected, and this recommendation was adopted. Later in the course of the meeting the latter committee reported that the Treasurer's accounts had been examined and found correct.

An informal report on work done in New York was presented by Mr. Emerson, the District Secretary for Western New York.

Care was taken in making observations to insure that the person observed had always lived in the locality concerned, and also that he spoke naturally, without thinking of his pronunciation or grammar. It was found useful to direct conversation to the subject of old times, and the differences between then and now, this permitting the use of a note-book without exciting suspicion. The observations were recorded each on a card about 5 in.  $\times$  1½ in., such as those used in library catalogues. In the upper left-hand corner was placed the usual word in standard English; then in parentheses following this the dialect word in phonetic spelling; then below, in the middle of the card, an example, sentence, or phrase showing the use. In the lower left-hand corner was placed an initial or other sign indicating the collector or observer; and in the lower right-hand corner an indication of the locality could be added where that was necessary. Some of the results reached in Ithaca may be indicated thus (the phonetic notation of the Society is used in describing the sounds):—

The sound *a* instead of *æ* (written *a*) in *barrow*, *harrow*, and some other words.

The sound *æ* in *gaunt*, *partridge* (*pæet-*),<sup>1</sup> *cartridge* (*kæt-*)<sup>1</sup>, etc.; *laugh*, *path*, *fast*, etc. Also *æst* = *asked*.

The sound *æ* instead of *e* in *well*, *yellow*, *vendue*.

The sound *e* instead of *æ* (written *a*) in *catch*, *radish*, *eks* (= *axle*).

The sound *e* instead of *ɒ* (written *u*) in *just*, *shut*, *such*.

The sound *e* instead of *i* in *risk*, *rid*, *width*, *enklain* (= *incline*, noun, with the accent on the first syllable).

The sound *e* instead of *o* in *yonder*, *beyond*.

The sound *ê* instead of *e* in *egg*, *edge*, *leg*, *measure*, *pleasure*.

The sound *i* instead of *e* in *yet*, *instead*, *Prentiss*. Also instead of *catercornered* occur *cattercornered* (*kæt-*), and *kittycornered* (*kiti-*).

The sound *ɔ* instead of *o* in *dog*, *log*, *fog*, *hog*.

The sound *u* instead of *û* in *hoof*, *roof*, *soot*, *spoon*.

The sound *ai* instead of *oi* in *poison*, *boil*, *spoil*, *point*, *roil*, *joist* (also *d3ais*).

The sound *œu* instead of *au* (written *ou*) in *out*, *how*, *cow*.

The sound of *ǣr* in *reared*, *beard*.

The sound of *ɪ̄r* in *chair*, *scared*, *scary*, *share* (in *plow*, *share*).

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<sup>1</sup> These pronunciations, like many of the others noted above (but not all), are also known to the Secretary as used in Maine.

Great exactness was necessary in the case of pronouns. The auxiliary verbs showed decided changes in unstressed connections. There is a metathesis in *hunderd*, *childern*, and a few other cases. The chief difference from New England pronunciation appeared in the case of *r*, which is not lost; e.g., in *hard*.

In the irregular or strong verbs no participles in *-en* seem to be used; *broken* is never or rarely found. The three forms of the principal parts (*sing*, *sang*, *sung*) are reduced to two, *sing*, *sung*, *sung*; *sang* when occurring seeming to be due to the influence of the schools: so also *wear*, *wore*, *wore*; *drink*, *drunk*, *drunk*. Strong verbs sometimes change to weak ones, as *draw*, *drawed*; cf. *catch*, *catched*; *hear*, *heard* (*hærd*, not *hërd*). A change of class is seen in *fight*, *fit*, *fit*; *ride*, *rid*, *rid* (sometimes).

In answer to a question, it was said that the speech of about half a dozen persons had been thus studied. A careful record was kept in each case, — personal peculiarities, such as the loss of teeth, being noted.

A general discussion followed on methods of observation and other matters suggested by Mr. Emerson's statements. Mr. Emerson mentioned the principal parts *go*, *went*, *went* (*have went* for *have gone*), saying that *went* was sometimes used as the infinitive also. The verb *get* had *get*, *got*, *got* (not *gotten*); so, too, *forget*, *forgot*, *forgot*.

Dr. Bright found the report of Mr. Emerson suggestive and useful, though most of the peculiarities mentioned were not confined to Ithaca nor to New York, but could often be heard elsewhere. He suggested that a careful study of the dialect of some one locality, with a full word-list, would be useful and should be printed soon, so that other observers could use it as a standard for reference, simply noting anything new or divergent in the speech of the localities they studied. Further, he called attention to the explanation of some of the features noted, and the influence of analogy; thus, *wedth* for *width* was probably caused by the analogy of *breadth*. But the facts themselves should be given; and theorizing in attempts to explain them avoided or admitted only with caution.

The Secretary expressed strong approval of Dr. Bright's suggestions.

Professor A. M. Elliott emphasized the desirability of attending not only to words, but also to phraseology and the syntactical side. A blank or form for collecting words, and a uniform list of

words which are likely to be met anywhere, would be useful. Then special studies could be made in different parts of the country. American constructions would sometimes betray the speaker in England; for example, "Are you through?" for "Have you finished?" People would not always speak to a questioner or to a stranger as they speak in their own households. A good way is to jot down what you overhear. The graphophone might be very useful for studying at home phrases heard. He also mentioned some Baltimore peculiarities, such as *pæ*, *mæ* for *pa*, *ma*; *tʃəns* (approximately) for *chance*. Much might be gathered from proper names, both native English names and also those adapted or partially translated from German or French. In compound names often the first half was translated and the second left unchanged. A uniform system of work was desired for the vocabulary and the syntactical part of the work as well as for the phonetic side.

Dr. Learned spoke in the same line. Often people will not admit that they speak a dialect at all. If they can be listened to when they speak naturally, notes can be taken. A blank with very elaborate questions would be desirable.

Mr. Grandgent mentioned the risk of assuming that dialect forms always come from the standard English forms, while the former may be the older. Analogy also must be considered; *kittycornered* (*kiti-*) — a form unknown to him — would be an easy development from *cattycornered* (*kæti-*), the only form he knew (= *catercornered*).

Professor Drennan spoke of the different value of different regions for dialect study. The dialect of the Biglow Papers was familiar to him in his youth in Northern Ohio; but it had in New England been largely driven out by the schoolmaster. It still existed in a district of Pennsylvania. The rural districts about Philadelphia were interesting. He mentioned the old Anglo-Saxon *hit* (= *it*) as still existing. Often good old words were driven out by the schoolmaster; boys were told to say that a tooth is "extracted," not "pulled out," and not to say "catching" in the sense of "contagious." The gradual expulsion of the participle *drunk* by *drank* was connected with the temperance agitation, the word *drunk* having two meanings. A collection might properly be made of good words thus driven out; *staddle* was another example, as in "run and get a staddle."

Mr. Daniell spoke of Nantucket usages, such as *kʌf* (in pho-

netic spelling) applied to a native of Cape Cod; a *slatchy* (pronounced *slætʃi*) sky (when blue sky appears through clouds); a *miled* (pronounced *maild*) off (= a mile off).

Professor A. B. Hart said there are two kinds of dialects, one the native English left to itself and developing alone; the other, the kind which shows an influence of other tongues. For the former kind there are a few speech islands left, such as Cape Cod, Nantucket, Western New York, the country parts of Northern Ohio (the old Western Reserve), and places in the Southern mountains, with, however, some Scotch-Irish influence. One of these districts would be a good subject for study.

Professor Primer spoke of the methods of getting information, speaking from his own experience. He found it useful to get introductions to persons in the locality, and then to take notes unobserved. It was advisable to enlist the sympathy of teachers in country districts. How could this be done?

Dr. Warren said that the country districts, for example, in Maine, were often supplied with teachers from the Normal Schools. These could perhaps be reached through the State superintendent.

Dr. H. E. Greene suggested for the word-list mentioned as desirable the word *bulkhead*, used in New England of the covering of an opening into a cellar, a meaning which he did not find in New York and New Jersey, the New Jersey meaning being an embankment. He supposed the New England use to be merely a local dialect use, and consulted the Century Dictionary and the New English Dictionary (Murray) to see if it was there recognized. [The former gives the sense in question as used in New England; the latter has as one sense: The roof of a bulk or projecting stall, also the stall itself; with quotations from De Foe, Scott, Dickens, and Thoreau. See, also, p. 18.]

The question what could be accomplished through school-teachers was further discussed by Professors Elliott, A. B. Hart, Matzke, Primer, Dr. Bright, Dr. Learned, Mr. Bendelari, Mr. Emerson, and others. It was said that teachers in the rural towns and villages, who must give their attention mainly to teaching their scholars what it is essential for the latter to know, and who naturally have much to contend with in educating them out of their vulgarisms and incorrect uses of language, could hardly be expected as a body to sympathize with the Society's point of view; they could not be expected generally to look at such lin-

guistic phenomena from the philological standpoint. It would be very natural, and no surprise should be felt if an observer or collector of popular uses of language were to get to his questions on this or that point answers such as: "That isn't the pronunciation of this place. No educated persons say that; only the lower classes use such a word, or pronounce in such a way." It is precisely this natural, careless speech, as little influenced as may be by the schools, that we wish to get at. Teachers in the country districts have to take the accepted rules of the grammars and dictionaries, narrow and artificial though they may be, for the guidance of their pupils; and the speech of educated persons must necessarily be more or less an artificial product. Much had been accomplished in Germany through teachers in the preparation of Wenker's *Sprachatlas*, but very precise questions were sent out to be answered, and similarly precise questions as to the facts might be prepared in this country also. If the Society wished to get exact observations for matters of pronunciation, the members must do the work themselves with such help as they could get. The experience of Professor Elliott in observing spoken French in France, and particularly in fifty-two villages in Canada, was presented. He went to the pastor of the village, and to the schoolmaster, if there was one. Professor Primer also gave some of his experiences at Charleston, S.C., and Fredericksburg, Va. It was recognized that some teachers were in hearty sympathy with the Society's object, and would willingly co-operate with it. Moreover, even teachers who could not do ideal work might yet often give assistance of value. The Yankee school-teachers in the South could make useful observations; they could do something, even if not much. For lists of words teachers might be of much assistance, though naturally little could be expected from them in phonetic studies. One dialect should be thoroughly studied, and a check-list of test words and test expressions could then be sent to teachers, — without using the word "dialect," — with a request for information whether these were in use or not in each locality. Country physicians might help, and their aid had already been found useful. A large proportion of teachers are women, who are quicker of ear and more apt to notice than men. Women could approach the uneducated better than men, especially in the case of domestic servants, some of whom are native Americans, though most, it is true, are of foreign origin. We cannot wait for experienced phoneticians and trained observers;

the material must be gathered soon, or it will be lost, and even bad observations may have some value.

Professor von Jagemann said that the United States Ethnological Bureau had a list of words prepared for persons studying Indian dialects; this might be found useful for the purposes of the Society also.

Mr. Bendelari expressed a hope that the talks about old times, mentioned by Mr. Emerson, might be utilized for historical purposes and the study of folklore, as well as for dialect studies.

Mr. Emerson called attention to the card system used in New York as useful for making word-lists no less than for recording pronunciations. But strange words are often individualisms only. He mentioned "I van" for *I vow, I assert*, "ho-ax" (two syllables) for *hoax*, "necessiated" for *come to want*.

Professor Matzke mentioned the word "gurnet," as heard at Brunswick, Me., used of a small inlet from the ocean, and the use of the same word as a proper name ("The Gurnet" at Plymouth, Mass.) was mentioned by others present. Professor Elliott spoke of an insertion of *d* after the preposition *in* when the next word begins with a vowel; as, *ind another*.

On motion of Dr. Bright, it was voted that the proceedings of this meeting be printed in the first instalment of the Society's publications. The meeting then adjourned.

E. S. SHELDON, *Secretary*.

In addition to the report of the Secretary read at this meeting, it may be said that some of the District Secretaries and others have made efforts to interest persons in the object of the Society personally, and through articles printed in newspapers or periodicals, also by addresses before meetings of educators. Professor J. P. Fruit has begun a collection of peculiar words and phrases used in Kentucky, and Mr. F. B. Lee a similar one of Jerseyisms.

The attention of members of the Society is also called to the French *Société des Parlers de France* (see the announcement accompanying the number of the *Romania* for January, 1889, and *Romania*, 1889, pp. 195, 522), and to the *Revue des Patois Gallo-Romans*, particularly to No. 7 (in Vol. II. for 1888), the opening article of which (pp. 161-175) is *Les Parlers de France*, by Gaston Paris. It is needless to say that all Americans interested in dialect studies will read it with pleasure and profit, if they have not already done so.

In Germany, G. Wenker's *Sprachatlas von Nord- und Mitteldeutschland* (Strassburg, 1881-) furnishes us a model for one side of the work to be done in this country. In addition, there has been planned a systematic treatment of German dialects in a series of grammars to be published under the direction of Dr. Otto Bremer, who has sent to the Secretary a copy of the proposed phonetic notation. This can be seen also in the notice of the intended series in the *Phonetische Studien*, II, 353-356, immediately preceding a notice of our own Society.

The English Dialect Society is too well known to need special mention here.

The word-list for the study of the American Indian languages referred to at the meeting of December 30 is probably that of Major J. W. Powell, in his *Introduction to the Study of Indian Languages*, with words, phrases, and sentences to be collected. 2d ed., 1880 (Washington, U. S. Bureau of Ethnology). An earlier list of a similar character is in Mr. George Gibbs's *Instructions for Research Relative to the Ethnology and Philology of America*. Neither list is, however, in its present shape easily applicable to the purposes of the Society, and it is suggested that, until a special list can be prepared, the well-known collections of Americanisms be used so far as practicable, and that Sweet's *Elementarbuch des gesprochenen Englisch* be taken as a basis for comparison with the English of London. The glossary in the last-named book contains about two thousand words, mostly very common ones, in a phonetic spelling easily comparable with the system of spelling prepared for the Society.

E. S. S.

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THE following titles are intended to be supplementary to the Bibliography published by Mr. Gilbert M. Tucker, at the end of his paper on American English in the tenth volume of the Transactions of the Albany Institute. The editors are aware that their list is far from complete, and they bespeak the co-operation of all members of the Society toward a better Bibliography for the next number of the NOTES. Such a bibliography should include occasional notes as well as more serious essays. Titles may be sent to the Secretary at any time. In the case of matter appearing in local newspapers and other ephemeral or not easily accessible publications, it is suggested that a copy of the article reported be sent to the Secretary whenever this is possible. In no other way can such matter be properly registered and preserved.

Slang and works written in dialect have not been noticed in the following list, and for the present works on non-English dialects have been omitted. A few well-known treatises on phonetics have been included; for others, the student will of course consult the bibliography in Sievers, *Grundzüge der Phonetik*, 3d ed., pp. 245-250.

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## NEW ENGLAND PRONUNCIATIONS IN OHIO.

THE following extract from a letter written by Professor N. P. Seymour, Hudson, Ohio, is printed by permission:—

“Here, as elsewhere, the schoolmaster is levelling all distinctions in language. The generation has passed away here that pronounced *hiah* for *Ohio*, and *deestric* for *district*, who were ‘usually well,’ and had a ‘most an excellent’ minister. Most of the men are gone who brought from Connecticut the pronunciation of *stone* and *coat* with the short *o*; and from New Hampshire, of *bone* with the same short *o*; and Fairfield County, Connecticut, *put* rhyming with *hut* and *but*; and from Massachusetts (I think), *hoarse* and *course* pronounced very nearly like *horse* and *corse*. I remember very well the old Connecticut *cheer* for *chair*, *sut* for *soot*, *quishion* for *cushion*, *bury* rhyming with *fury*. The average Connecticut man sixty years ago said *sneck* for *snake*, but never, like the Massachusetts uneducated man, *mek* for *make*. . . . A Connecticut man will say *stone* and *coat* with a short *o*, but never *bone* with the short *o*.”

[In a later letter Professor Seymour writes that “usually well” meant “as well as usual,” and that *quishion* is also met with in old English.<sup>1</sup> It may be of interest to add that that Maine pronunciation which I was familiar with as a boy had the short *o* (ð) in *stone*, *coat*, *bone*, and a considerable number of other words. At Southwest Harbor, Me., I have heard my own natural *bòt* for *boat*, and the standard *hòm* or *houm* for *home*, which in my dialect was *hòm*. As is shown above by Professor Seymour, the Yankee dialect is not quite the same all over New England. In words like *hoarse* and *horse* I have the same vowel sound (approximately *æ*), while Mr. Grandgent (Boston) distinguishes them. The pronunciations mentioned above for *snake* and *make* I do not remember hearing as a boy, but *sneck* is mentioned by Whitney (*Oriental and Linguistic Studies*, second series, p. 209). — E. S. S.]

<sup>1</sup> [Skeat (Etym. Dict., s.v. *cushion*) cites *cuischun*, Wyclif, 1 Kings v. 9; *quysshon*, Chauc., *Troilus*, ii. 1228, iii. 915. The *Troilus* passages are ii. 1229 (*quysshon Campsall MS.*, *quysshon Harl.* 2280, *quysshyn Camb. Gg.* 4. 27, *cusshyn Harl.* 3943) and iii. 964 (*quysshon Camp.*, *quysshon Harl.* 2280, *qwischin Camb.*, *cusshyn Harl.* 3943) in Furnivall's Chauc. Soc. edition. Add: *quysshon*: *preposycyon Skelton*, *Colyn Cloute*, vv. 998-9. — G. L. K.]

## CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE NEW ENGLAND VOCABULARY.

THE following words and phrases are in use in Portsmouth, N.H., a town which preserves a good many old-time characteristics of speech, custom and architecture in a remarkable degree, and which enjoys, I think, the special distinction of being the only place in this hemisphere where Guy Fawkes and the Gunpowder Plot are still appropriately celebrated.<sup>1</sup>

Many of these expressions are current elsewhere in New England, but the writer has never met with any of them outside of New England. Those marked with a star (\*) are peculiar to Portsmouth so far as he can find out. He has gone over the list with several friends who are natives of Massachusetts and Maine.

No attempt is here made to distinguish neoterisms from ancient, obsolescent words. It will be at once seen that a good many belong to the latter class.

**beat hoop**: for drive hoop. Similarly the hoop-stick is called a *\*beater*.

**\*bend the fists**: that is, double them.

**\*boogie** (bûgi): ball of mucus in the nose.

**buckle**: bend, of the knees.

**\*budge**: intimate, familiar. 'To be very budge with a person.' Hilarity seems not to be implied.

**caught**: milk is 'caught' when it is slightly burned.

**\*cellar-case**: outside entrance to a cellar, with a sloping door. In Eastern Massachusetts 'bulkhead' is invariably used; but this again is unknown, so far as I can learn, in New York, Ohio, and Pennsylvania, and it is probably confined to a small area.<sup>2</sup>

**\*claw out**: make excuses, get out of an embarrassment, and the like. Elsewhere 'claw off' is said.

**\*coax play**: said of a child inviting a frolic.

**croaky**: hoarse.

**dight** (dait): small portion, dab; as, 'a little dight of butter.'

**\*dodge**: nod, when sleepy.

**easy**: gently, softly. 'Talk easy'; 'walk easy.'

<sup>1</sup> The anniversary is known as 'Pope Night,' and the observances have dwindled to hornblowing and the carrying about of pumpkin-lanterns by the boys. The origin of the celebration is quite forgotten.

<sup>2</sup> [See p. 9. My word is *cellar-door(s)*. — E. S. S. (Maine).]

\***fresh**: in the phrase 'a fresh cook,' that is, one who uses little salt.

**fretty**: fretful.

**fun**: as a verb. 'I'm only funning' (= joking).

\***funny**: as a noun. 'The funny of it was, that—.'

\***heavy-handed** (or *heavy*): said of a cook. 'She's heavy-handed with salt'—uses much salt.

**hoarsed-up**: 'I'm all hoarsed-up.' 'This cold has hoarsed me up.' Generally used.

\***light and shut**: of the weather. 'It lights and shuts,' that is, the sun peeps out at intervals. The common New England maxim is "Open and shet's a sign of wet."

**meech**: cringe, look ashamed. Generally known through New England.

\***on a jar**: ajar. Not 'on the jar.'

**on the mending hand**: convalescent. A common New England phrase.

**out**: of the wind. Along the seaboard, the wind 'is out' or 'has got out' when it blows from the sea. The expression is known in Portsmouth, Salem, and Plymouth. I do not think it is common in Boston.

\***over**: in the phrase 'eat milk over porridge' and the like.

\***play-patch**: child fond of play.

\***primlico**: in the phrase 'in primlico order,' of furniture, etc. The opposite of this is

**ride-out**. 'The chairs are riding out.' 'The room looks like ride-out.'

\***ride up**: said of the collar. 'Your collar rides up behind': widely used. (At the last moment this is reported to me from New York City.)

\***rub the time close**: allow little time. 'Aren't you rubbing the time too close?'

\***rubbers**: misfortune, ill-luck. The phrase is, 'to meet with the rubbers.'

**scooch**: crouch. 'To scooch down in the corner.' In New York City *scouch* (skaut/) is said to be used.

\***scoocher**: to 'take a scoocher' is to slide down a snow-slope in a squatting position.

**scrabble**: scramble. Widely used.

**sojer**: loiter, lounge, shirk work, waste time. Common throughout New England. Even a horse that lags in the traces and throws an undue share of the work on his mate, is said to 'sojer' (or even to 'soldier').

**sound**: for sound asleep. 'The child is sound.'

**spandy**: clean, spick-span, of linen. 'Spandy' alone is used; elsewhere 'spandy-clean,' or 'spandy-dandy.'

**sprawl**: life, animation, vigor. 'He has no sprawl.' Portsmouth and Lowell.

\***squat**: pinch. 'I've squat my finger.'

\***squeeze**: fret, whimper.

\***squeezy**: fretful.

**stand in hand**: behoove, beseem. 'It stands you in hand to be careful.' Widely used.

**stocky**: firm, stout, tough. Used even of cloth.

**stram**: flourish the limbs. It is used in two ways: (1) 'to go stramming along the street,' 'to stram about the room,' that is, to stride with ado and bustle; and (2) 'to stram about in bed' = flounder, kick about.

**stuffy**: sulky, obstinate, ill-humored.

**\*thatchy**: said of milk. The milk tastes 'thatchy' because the cows eat 'thatch.' A long, coarse grass, growing in the salt marshes, is known as 'thatch' on the New Hampshire and Massachusetts seacoast. If it was ever used for roofing, it is no longer so used. The 'thatch' which the New Hampshire cows eat seems to be different from this. It is described as a sort of weed, growing in low places.

**tough it out**: endure to the end, διακατρεπεῖν. Widely used.

**touse**: ado, fuss. 'To make a touse.'<sup>1</sup>

**train**: frolic, romp. 'He's training' (of a child). Also 'he's on a train,' or 'a great trainer.' Widely used.

**\*trappatch** (trap-hatch): trap-door; rent in clothes. 'You've torn a trappatch in your dress.'

FREDERIC D. ALLEN.

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<sup>1</sup> [Used by J. T. Trowbridge in a poem called *Old Man Gram*, *Harper's Monthly*, Vol. LVI, p. 226. — C. H. G.]

## VARIOUS CONTRIBUTIONS.

THE following will serve to illustrate the kind of contributions desired. Additional information as to origin and geographical limits, past or present, can perhaps be furnished for some of the examples here given. The material used has been contributed by Miss K. P. Loring, Professors W. S. Chaplin, B. O. Peirce, J. H. Thayer, Messrs. W. D. Armes, A. S. Gatschet and others, including the Cambridge editors.

**Bange** (bændʒ). Apparently a by-form of *bang*; used in Central Maine: "a pair of boots to bange round in." [Not known to me. — E. S. S.]

**Beacon**. R. L. Stevenson, *Memories and Portraits*, p. 135, foot-note, says: "In Dr. Murray's admirable new dictionary I have remarked a flaw *sub voce* Beacon. In its express, technical sense, a beacon may be defined as 'a founded artificial sea-mark, not lighted.'" Is not this also the recognized technical sense in America, so that a lighthouse is technically not a beacon? Murray gives as the sixth sense of the word: "A lighthouse or other conspicuous object placed upon the coast or at sea, to warn vessels of danger or direct their course." The Century Dictionary has substantially the same definition as Murray.

**Coast**: to slide down hill. Bartlett calls this "a term used by boys in New England." It is not the natural word among boys on Cape Cod or in Maine, but it was current in Boston fifty years ago (*Journ. Am. Folk-Lore*, I, 78) as now, and is common in Cincinnati to-day (Professor J. M. Hart). The Century Dictionary and the new edition of the Imperial Dictionary label it "U.S." The word is commended to the attention of dialect collectors.

**Duck**. A game known some thirty years ago in Bath, Me., as *duck and drake* is, or was not long ago, called simply *duck* in Waterville, Me., and *duck on a rock* is used in Massachusetts.

**Figure**. "Every one was out in their figure"; said in Cambridge, Mass., by Irish servant girls, of women walking in the streets without jackets on.

**Fogo** (fôgô). A stench. Beverly and Salem, Mass.

**Gall**. Reported by Professor J. M. Hart as Cincinnati student-slang for *uppishness*, *bumptiousness*, *conceit* (1889). In Boston and Cambridge the word is familiar in the sense of *effrontery*, "*cheek*." In this sense *gall* is known to have been used among students of Harvard College as early as 1871, sometimes in the elaborate phrase "the gall of a stall'd ox." May this use of the word not be due to Hamlet's "I am pigeon-liver'd and lack gall To make oppression bitter" (II, ii, 605-6)? This passage alludes to the well-known old belief that the dove owes its gentleness and want of self-assertion to lack of gall (see the commentators in Furness). A reading man in college may have jocosely converted the proposition. (Information as to date and

geographical distribution of the word is requested. Bartlett and Schele De Vere do not mention it. Farmer quotes an Ouray, Col., newspaper of 1888.)

**Hookey**, in "to play hookey," meaning *to play truant*, used in Maine, but not usual in Boston, where the phrase was and is to "hook Jack," or to "hook off." Both phrases are in Bartlett. For the former he says, "chiefly in the State of New York," and cites only Mark Twain, and the latter he ascribes simply to New England.

**Indeedy**, for *indeed*. Washington, D.C., and vicinity.

**Jell**, to harden, said of jelly: "the jelly doesn't jell." Is it used generally? The dictionaries seem not to recognize it.

**Killcow** (kilkau). In old-fashioned use on Cape Cod and in Cheshire County, N.H., in the phrases: "That's no great killcow," *i.e.*, *that's of no great account, that's no matter*; and "He's no great killcow," *i.e.*, *he doesn't amount to much* (of a person who thinks himself somebody). The word was common in the Elizabethan age. Thus, — "The killcow champion of the three brethren," Nashe, ed. Grosart, II, 184; "This vaine of kilcove vanitie," *Id.*, III, 37; "It is the kill-cow Dorilaus," Fletcher, *Lovers' Progress*, iii, 3, *ad fin.*; "the kill-cow Caratach," Fletcher, *Bonduca*, ii, 3 (where see Weber). In these places it seems to mean a bully, a madcap fighter with a touch of Drawcansir about him. Weber is no doubt right in referring its origin to Guy of Warwick's exploit with the Dun Cow. (Two or three further citations in Nares and in Halliwell. The latter gives "kill-cow: a matter of consequence; a terrible fellow" as a Northumberland word.)

**Might** (maint). "I might and then again I mightn't." This I think I often heard when a boy in Waterville, Me. Perhaps *mai,t* would represent the pronunciation better than *maint*. — [E. S. S.]

**Mugwump** and **Tend out**. The following note on these words has been received from Professor F. B. Denio, Bangor, Me.: "The word *mugwump*, which as you doubtless know was in Eliot's Indian Bible,<sup>1</sup> was current in my boyhood. I spent my boyhood in Franklin County, Vt. My wife spent her early life in Stanstead County, Province of Quebec, in a village which was both in Vermont and Canada. She was likewise familiar with the same word. In both places the word was current with the meaning, 'a person who makes great pretensions and whose character or ability or resources are not equal to his pretensions.' The time to which the memory of my wife and myself could certify that word in use goes back to the early fifties. Another Americanism is one current in this city which I have not observed elsewhere in New England, not even fifty miles west of here, or in fact anywhere in the nearer towns. It is 'tend out' for 'attend'; 'tend out on' for 'attend to.' One 'tends out on' church, 'tends out on' the public library for the first opportunity to take the new magazines. Whenever any one is on the alert for any purpose whatever he is 'tending out.'"<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [The word in Eliot's Indian Bible is *mugquomp*, corresponding to *duke* in the English version (Gen. xxxvi. 40, 41, 42, 43, and elsewhere). More evidence than I have yet seen is needed to show this Indian word to be the source of our word *mugwump*. — E. S. S.]

<sup>2</sup> [This expression was known to me in Waterville, Me., and I have heard

**Pack**, to carry. California. To "pack" a cane is an example. Bartlett gives it as Western, explaining that it first meant "to transport in packs."

**Ridic'lus** (*i.e.*, ridiculous), meaning *detestable, abominable*. In rustic use in New England.

**Scoggins** (skoginz): *a butt* (for ridicule and tricks). "There was a fellow abroad that they made a kind o' scoggins out of." Provincetown, Mass., 1888. This is doubtless a survival of the name of John (or Thomas) Scoggin (Skoggin, Scogan), who seems to have lived in the time of Edward IV. Scoggin's Jests, a collection of stories of buffoonish tricks (like the pranks ascribed to Eulenspiegel, Skelton, George Peele, and others, in similar pamphlets), was licensed in 1566, and continued to be very popular for at least a hundred years. This book (with which Scoggin had nothing to do) made his name a synonym for buffoon in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. He is mentioned by Shakspere (Henry IV, Pt. II, iii, 2, 33), and again and again by Gabriel Harvey. Thus in Pierce's Supererogation, 1593: "Scoggin, the ioviall foole, or Skelton, the melancholy foole, or Elderton, the bibbing foole, or Will Somers, the chollericke foole" (Grosart's Harvey, II, 132), and "Malice was never such a hypocrite as now; and the world never such a Scoggin as now" (*Id.*, p. 32), etc., etc. (*cf.* Grosart's Glossary). Steele, Tatler, no. 9, April 30, 1709, speaks jocosely of "Mr. Scoggins the famous droll," but the latest significant mention of him I have found is in Oldham's Works, 1698, p. 126: "One would take him for the picture of Scoggin or Tarleton." His name has furnished the language with the words *Scoganism* and *Scoganly* (see *Encycl. Dict.*), *Scogginism* (Harvey, II, 234) and *Scogginist* (*Id.*, 53). (See W. C. Hazlitt, Shakespeare Jest-Books, II, 38-161, 357; Collier, Registers of Stationers' Company, I, 120; Shakspere Var. of 1821, XVII, 117-119; Tyrwhitt, Account of the Works of Chaucer, prefixed to his Glossary; Furnivall, Andrew Boorde's Introduction, p. 31; Captain Cox, pp. xlvi, lxvii; Nares, Glossary; Skeat, Chaucer's Minor Poems, p. lxvi; Halliwell, *Dict. of O. Eng. Plays*, p. 221). — [G. L. K.]

**So fashion**, meaning *so, in that way*. Is this known all over New England?

**Steboy** (stə·oi), an exclamation used in setting a dog on an animal or a thing. Is it in general use outside of New England? In Emerson's essay on Illusions occurs *hist-a-boy* ("and cry *Hist-a-boy!* to every good dog"). Bartlett has *steboy* and *seboy*.

**Stiddiment**, steadiness. "They aint no stiddiment to it," was on one occasion said of a shifting wind, at Southwest Harbor, Me. For "they" perhaps *ðe* would be a better spelling.

**Tend out**. See *Mugwump* above.

**Thrash, Thresh**. These are generally given as two forms of the same word without any distinction in use. But would one ever say that one boy had "threshed" another, or given him a "threshing"? In my own natural

'tend out on him pretty sharp' used at Southwest Harbor, Me. Bartlett (*Americanisms*) has it with a wrong definition, as I believe, but a good example from the Winsted (Conn.) *Herald*: "An auction sale is advertised in our columns to-day, to take place in Hartford. . . . Country merchants should tend out." — E. S. S.]

use this sense is limited to the spelling with *a*, and I should most naturally speak of "threshing" grain, and not of "thrashing" it. — [E. S. S.]

**Thwart**, *n.* (of a boat), pronounced *þɔət*. Maine and Cape Cod. How widely spread is this?

**Vengeance**, or *blue vengeance*, for (blue) gentians, has been reported as heard somewhere in New England, but the reference for it is lost.

From Aiken, S.C., are reported the following: —

*good, could, would, put, room* pronounced *ɡʊd, kʊd, wʊd, pʊt, rʊm*; *book* as *bōk*; *hog* as *hɔɔg*; *idea* with the accent on the first syllable (*aɪdɪə*). The last is said to be general in South Carolina, and to be heard sometimes in Baltimore.

The proper names *Dora, Cora* are given for Boston as *Dôra, Côra* (rather *Dôrə, Kôrə*), for New York and southward as *Dor-a, Cor-a*, "with a short *o*."

The following additional note from Miss Loring gives observations made recently in England: —

"Cow" pronounced "keow," and the nasal sound commonly supposed to be the Yankee distinction are very common and much more marked in the counties of Essex, Suffolk and the neighborhood in England. To "enjoy poor health," supposed to be an Americanism, I find is common among the peasants and poor townspeople in the Midland counties of England. I have found it in Warwickshire and am assured that it is used in other places. The "keow" and kindred words, spoken as by the typical Yankees, are spreading in London, as London grows on the north over the counties where they are indigenous; and the nasal pronunciation I have met with several times in persons of education who had no American connection.<sup>1</sup>

Professor J. P. Fruit, Russellville, Ky., is collecting peculiar words used in Kentucky. The following specimens are words used in playing at marbles: —

One may "knock," "pop," "plug," "plunk" or "plump" the "midler" (middle marble) from "taw." The players "go to taw" to "shoot." Observe "I go last and hold the game fast." "Dubs"<sup>2</sup> means "doubles" or two "men" (marbles); "thribs," "thribbles" is three marbles; "fourbles" (very rare), four marbles. To "get fat" happens when a player's taw rolls into the ring and there are two or more men in it already. "You can't fatten a pig on one ear of corn." To "take everys" or "evers" is to move around so as to get *every* "man" in range. "Vent" or "vents" means (*I prevent*); as in "vent(s) your every(s)." To "fudge" is to *poke* or something similar, and "cornder" means *corner*.

E. S. S.

G. L. K.

<sup>1</sup> [Nasality of vowels has been already recognized as existing in London; see Sweet's Handbook of Phonetics, p. 8. — E. S. S.]

<sup>2</sup> [*Dubs* in this sense is in the Century Dictionary, and the word is there called an abbreviation of *doublets*. It is rather an abbreviation of *doubles*. The same dictionary has a reference for the word to the *Century* magazine xxxvi, 78, where one or two other words in the list above also occur. — E. S. S.]

## THE AMERICAN DIALECT SOCIETY.

## PLAN OF WORK.

THE present statement is made in order to give somewhat more in detail the purposes of the Society and the method of work planned by it. The dialect variations considered may be divided into two classes.

I. — *Vocabulary.*

Strange, uncommon, or antiquated words or uses of words really current in any community. Such are *deedies*, young fowls; *gall*, assurance, effrontery; *to play hookey* or *to hook off*, to play truant; *to stump* or *to banter*, to challenge; *let the old cat die*, used of letting a swing come to rest gradually instead of stopping it; *slew*, a great quantity; *fool* as an adjective; *he up and did it*; *he took and hit him*; *he's been and gone and done it*; *clim* or *clum* (*clomb*); *housen* as plural of *house*; *the nagent* for the agent; *sandy Pete* for *centipede*; *to cut* or *to cut and run*, *to leg it*; *to buzz* a person, to talk with him; *buckle*, to bend, used of ice under one's weight; likewise local names of fishes and plants, exclamations, and words used in games. Also lack of common words or phrases which one would expect to find everywhere. It is the natural unstudied speech of different localities that is of interest. Many school-teachers might contribute lists of words and phrases which they perhaps have to teach their pupils not to use. Any person of education, especially if living in a different place from that where his childhood was passed, may also be able to make contributions. Even one such peculiarity found in common use where it has not already been noted has a value for the purposes of the Society. Many such words and phrases have already been published in the collections of Americanisms, but much yet remains to be done in noting unrecorded usages and in defining limits of use geographically and otherwise.

II. — *Pronunciation.*

For example, the different pronunciations of *r* in words like *hard*, *turn*, *cord*, *mother*, of *a* in *park*, *calm*, *past*, of *oo* and *u* in *room*, *rude*, *put*, of *o* in *stone*, *hot*; such forms as *git*, *ketch*, *shet* for *shut*, *sech* or *sich*, *he ken* or *kin* for *can*, *deestric*, *holt* for *hold*

(noun), *sneck* for *snake*, *hahmer* for *hammer*, etc. It is often possible to tell by a person's pronunciation from what part of the country he comes. For the study of pronunciation the received spelling is very ill adapted, and a phonetic system is needed if this part of the work is to be conducted in an intelligible manner. In the cases mentioned under I., where the pronunciation is of only secondary importance, such a system is not needed. It is necessary only where the pronunciation is the main thing to be noted, though it will be welcome whenever the pronunciation might be doubtful. A practical, though necessarily imperfect, system of phonetic spelling is given herewith (see next page). Any persons who from their own studies in phonetics feel the need of a system which avoids the ambiguities of keywords are requested to communicate with the Secretary.

In substance the plan of the Society is to collect and publish dialect material through an Executive Committee with assistants in various places. The District Secretaries will doubtless after some experience become more and more acquainted with the conditions and needs of their respective districts, and will thus be able to advise the Executive Committee with more confidence. The members of the Executive Committee will naturally assist in the direction of active members in their own States. Further, Professor Gustaf Karsten, Bloomington, Ind., will act as secretary for Indiana; Professor E. L. Walter, Ann Arbor, Mich., for Michigan; Professor Alcée Fortier, Tulane University, New Orleans, for Louisiana; Dr. James W. Bright, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, for Maryland; Mr. W. D. Armes, University of California, Berkeley, Cal., for California. Others will be announced later.

The conditions of membership have been made very easy in order to attract many members, for it is believed that the number of those who can contribute material in large or small amounts is very great. All who feel an interest in the plan of the Society are invited to join it, even if they do not feel sure of contributing anything but a membership fee. Without a large membership the expense of printing will render publication only possible in small quantities or at long intervals. With a large membership it will be possible to publish oftener and to send the publications to every member without additional charge. All who receive this circular are invited to communicate the plan to others.

At the annual meetings it is not intended to have papers read.

They are to be strictly business meetings, the work of publication being done through the Executive Committee and the Editing Committee. No regular issues can yet be announced, but it is hoped that it will be possible later to publish at stated intervals.

Some of the dialect variations indicated above are doubtless survivals of dialects spoken in England, others may be due to the influence of other European languages spoken in the United States and Canada, as French, German, Dutch, Spanish, while still others are probably independent developments in America. All are worth noting, and will have an attraction for linguistic students, perhaps all the greater when they appear to show the beginnings of dialectal divergence. The materials thus collected are not only interesting in themselves: they may be utilized in many ways, as in the construction of dialect maps to show how far each peculiarity extends, in comparisons with dialects in England and on the continent of Europe, in the preparation of a complete list of Americanisms, in assisting the work of lexicographers, and otherwise contributing to the history of the English language in America.

#### SYSTEM FOR PHONETIC SPELLING.

##### I. — Vowels.

*a* as in *father*, *ah*, *card*.

*â* for a sound intermediate between *a* in *father*, and *aw* in *law*.

*æ* for the *a* in *hat*, *mad*, *cap*.

*à* for the *a* in *fast*, *pass*, when pronounced with a vowel intermediate between *a* and *æ*.

*e* as in *pet*, *hen*.

*é*, *ei* for the vowel sound in *pay*, *they*, *name*, *fate*. Use *ei* when the sound ends in a faint *i*.

*ə* (a turned *e*) for the indistinct vowel written *e* in *butter*, *battery*.

*ě* for the sound in *her*, *sir*, *curl*, *word*.

*v* (a turned *a*) for *u* in *up*, *but*, *o* in *son*.

*i* as in *hit*, *bid*, *pin*.

*î* for *i* in *machine*, *ee* in *bee*, *seed*.

*ɔ* (a turned *c*) for the vowel sound in *law*, *haul*.

*o* as in *not*, *cob*, *top*.

*ô*, *ou* for the vowel sound in *no*, *dough*, *note*, *tone*. Use *ou* when the sound ends in a faint *u*.

*ò* for the short New England sound in *stone*, *whole*.

*u* for *u* in *full*, *pull*, *oo* in *book*.

*û* for *oo* in *fool*, *pool*, *u* in *rude*.

*ai* for the sound of *i* in *time*, *pine*. Use *æi* for the sound usual in England.

*au* for the sound of *ou* in *round*, *house*. Use *æu* or *âu* if either represents the sound better.

*oi* as in *boil*, *coin*.

*eə* for the sound in *there*, *air*, *mare*. Use *æə* or *êə* if either represents the sound better.

*oə* for the sound in *cord*, *hoard*. Use *ôə* or *oə* if either represents the sound better.

*îə* for the sound in *fear*, *peer*.

*aiə* for the sound in *ire*, *fire*.

*ûə* for the sound in *poor*, *tour*.

*auə* for the sound in *hour*, *tower*, *power*.

(After these diphthongs ending in *ə*, an *r* should be written only when pronounced, and the *ə* should be omitted when not really pronounced.)

*yû* for the sound in *use*, *few*, *pew*. Use *iû* for the peculiar American sound in *dew*, *new*, which is intermediate between *û* and *yû*. Thus *nyû* is English, *niû* is American, but *yûs*, *fyû* are both American and English. Write *nû*, *dû* when the words are so pronounced.

## II. — Consonants.

*b*, *d*, *f*, *g* (always as in *go*, *get*), *h*, *k*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *p*, *r* (always as in *red*, *road*, *hurry*), *s* (always as in *mason*), *t*, *v*, *w*, *y*, *z* as usual. In addition: *f* for *sh* in *she*; *ʒ* for *z* in *azure*, *s* in *pleasure*; *ʃ* for *th* in *think*; *ð* for *th* in *this*; *ŋ* for *ng* in *singing*, *n* in *sink*, *finger*; also *tʃ* for *ch* in *church*; *dʒ* for *j* and *dʒ* in *judge*, *g* in *gem*; *kw* for *qu* in *quite*; *hw* for *wh* in *when*; *ks*, *gz* for *x* (*tax*, *exact*). Doubled consonants are not to be used unless the consonant is really long or produces the effect of two consonants on the ear; as *siti* (*city*), *sitə* (*sitter*), *auttək* (*outtalk*).

In case the ear makes finer distinctions than these and it seems important to note them, the sign for the nearest sound in the above list may be used in each case with an exponent (*a*<sup>1</sup>, *o*<sup>1</sup>, *r*<sup>1</sup>, etc.) to be explained by the writer. Other signs may be added later.

As to quantity, it will be understood that in unaccented syllables the quantity of vowels is naturally lessened, and this lessen-

ing is sufficiently shown by the lack of accent. Decidedly greater length than would be expected may be indicated by doubling the letter.

Nasality may be marked by *ç* (a turned apostrophe) after the letter, as *a<sub>ç</sub>*.

The accent may be marked by *·* (a turned period) before the vowel of the accented syllable. It should always be written, unless the accent is on the first syllable of the word. A secondary accent may be marked, when it seems desirable to mark it, by *:* (colon) before the vowel, as *æks:esib·iliti* (*accessibility*).

Hyphens may be used when necessary to indicate syllable division and vocalic character of *l*, *r*, *n*, etc. Thus, *a-a* is different from *aa*, *ai-ə* from *aiə*; and *izl-i* (*easily*) may be written when the second syllable consists of *l* with no preceding vowel.

The ordinary word division is to be retained. If any persons wish to mark stress-groups, this can be done by using *||* for the beginning of each one.

When it is desired to mark inflections of the voice, an acute accent after the word may be used to indicate rising inflection, and a grave accent for falling inflection. The two may be combined for a compound inflection, rising-falling (*^*), and falling-rising (*v*).

E. S. SHELDON, *Secretary*.

CAMBRIDGE, MASS., April 25, 1889.

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<sup>1</sup> The list is corrected up to January 27, 1890. Members are requested to give notice to the Secretary or Treasurer of any change of address.

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[Total, 158.]

# DIALECT NOTES.

## PART II.



### A NEW ENGLANDER'S ENGLISH AND THE ENGLISH OF LONDON.

THE following remarks and word-list are intended to show some of the differences between the colloquial English of London, as represented in the second edition of Sweet's *Elementarbuch des gesprochenen Englisch*, and my own pronunciation, and their scope is accordingly, though narrower, yet somewhat similar to that of Professor Whitney's account of his own pronunciation in his *Oriental and Linguistic Studies* (second series. The Elements of English Pronunciation, pp. 202-276). No exact phonetic study of my dialect is here offered,—that I hope to prepare at a later time,—but only a presentation of such differences in colloquial pronunciation as can be generally understood through the system of phonetic spelling prepared for the American Dialect Society.

My native dialect is a mixture of the English of Bath and Waterville, in the state of Maine. I was early trained to avoid various vulgarisms, such as pronouncing *-in* for *-ing*, and nasality in vowels; but the latter I did not entirely escape. My present pronunciation is a compromise between the natural speech of Bath and Waterville (the language in both places is doubtless about the same) and "standard English," with perhaps some modifications due to Cambridge uses. The written form of the language has inevitably affected my pronunciation considerably, giving it a somewhat artificial character. This influence, I think, is rather stronger in America than in England, but it must exist wherever English is spoken and read.

The basis for comparison is the glossary in Sweet's *Elementarbuch*. It is assumed that Sweet's *j*, *ij*, *uw*, *iə*, *uə*, *eə*, *ai*, *au* repre-

sent nearly enough the same sounds as my *y*, *i*, *û*, *ia*, *ûa*, *œa* or *ea*, *ai*, *au*, to make it unnecessary to distinguish between these two sets of spellings. The signs *ai* and *au*, I think, represent my sounds in *time*, *house*, better than they do Sweet's. For *ei* and *ou* I may sometimes write *ê* and *ô*, for these diphthongs are with me less distinct in some cases than in others.

In unaccented syllables it is sometimes difficult to decide between *e* and *i*, as in the endings *-age*, *-ed*, and the prefixes *ex-*, *-en*, also between *v* (Sweet's *a*) and *æ*. I accept Sweet's *i* and *æ* generally in such cases, and do not object to *bæt* for *but*, the word being almost always unaccented. But there are in the glossary some slurred forms which I can hardly accept as correct even in conversation, though I occasionally do have some of them, such as *kvmftabl* for *comfortable*. I have intended, however, to accept as correct all the slurrings which I usually do make in ordinary conversation, no matter how different they may make words look from the usual spellings or the recognized pronunciations. An example of the kind of slurring which I do not in general recognize in my own pronunciation, though it exists in America, is *-fl* for the adjective ending *-ful*, where I usually say *ful*, as in *beautiful*. But for some of the adverbs, such as *cheerfully*, I could write *fl-i* (in two syllables).

In some words, such as *cloth*, *frost*, *cost*, *cross*, *long*, *also*, *alter*, *off*, *often*, *wrong*, *salt*, *soften*, I felt a doubt as to whether *o* or *ɔ* had better be written. I have accepted with some hesitation Sweet's spellings, except in the words *salt*, *long*, *wrong*, where I prefer *ɔ* to Sweet's *o*.

A marked difference exists in the case of vowels followed by *r*, in regard to the presence or absence of the glide *ə*. My rule for the *r* itself is the same as Sweet's: it is only pronounced when a vowel follows with no pause intervening; and I believe this rule holds for New England generally and for the southern states. In New York City I think there are two ways of treating the *r* in words like *hard*, *word*, *bird*, *cord*, etc.,—one as in New England (*ə* or nothing at all), the other as *y* consonant; and in Philadelphia there seem to be two also—one as a real *r* (as in *red*), the other as a *y*. In my pronunciation, if no vowel follows or if there is a pause, the place of the written *r* is taken by *ə*, which is practically imperceptible after *a* and *ë*. I write *had* for *hard*, *wəd* for *word*, *kæə* (or *keə*) for *care*, and *ə* for final unaccented *-er*, as in *mother*. But I do not pronounce both *ə*

and a following *r* before a vowel in the same word, except when this vowel begins an ending of inflection or derivation, and the word without this ending has *a*, replacing an original *r*, for its final sound. Thus, for *hear*, *hearing*, *flowery*, I write *hæ*, *hæriŋ*, *flauəri*; but for *vary*, *Europe*, *curious*, I write *vêri*, *yûræp*, *kyûriəs*, not *veəri*, *yuaræp*, *kyuariəs*. There are even a few cases of derivatives where I omit the *a*, as *desirous*, which I usually pronounce *diz'airəs*. Similarly after *o*; thus, I say *gæri* (or sometimes *gəri*) for *gory*, because I feel its connection with *gore* (*gœ*), and *bœræ* (or *bœrə*) for *borer*, because it comes from *bore* (*bœ*). But I write *stôri*, not *stœri*, for *story*. The spelling *stœri* would suggest to me an adjective formed with the ending *-y* from the noun *store*. So, too, I should write *tôri*, *glôri*, *dik'ôræm*, etc., for *tory*, *glory*, *decorum*, and similar words. But *glœri*, for instance, I have heard occasionally from Americans, perhaps only from natives of the state of New York. In *weary*, *dreary*, *fairy*, I have *a* before the *r*: perhaps this is caused by analogy with other words in *-ry*, but *wary* (a book-word) is *wêri*. After *a*, when a consonant follows the written *r*, Sweet's glossary omits not only the *r* but the *a* as well. Thus, he writes *ʃæt*, *kæn*, *sœs* for *short*, *corn*, *source*. In these cases I have *œæ*, and my spelling would be *ʃœæt*, *kœæn*, *sœœs*, the last word being very distinct from *sauce* (= *sœs*) in my (probably somewhat artificial) pronunciation. There are some cases where I have no *a* for *r* after the sound *œ*; thus, I say *kwœtæ*, rarely, if ever, *kwœtə*, for *quarter*, though *quart* is usually *kwœæt*; also *forty* is *fœti*, but *four* and *fourteen* have *œæ*. When a vowel follows the *œæ* and the written *r* is accordingly heard, I still keep the *a* in deliberate pronunciation; *pœær aut* = *pour out*, but it is often lost in rapid speech.

It may here be said that I make no distinction between such words as *hoarse* and *horse*, *morning* and *mourning*; they all have *œæ* (*hœæs*) with me. I have *œæ* (or *ouæ*) only in cases of derivatives from word ending in *ô* or *ou*, like *sower*, *mower*, pronounced *sœæ*, *mœæ*, not necessarily in two syllables. *More* is to me *mœæ*, and *sore* and *soar* are alike as *sœæ*. Though I make no distinction between *hoarse* and *horse*, I am well aware that mine is not the pronunciation of all Americans: it is not even of all New Englanders.

Sweet's rule for the long *l* in *build* (*billd*), and similar cases ("Ein jeder consonant," etc., p. 11), I should hardly be willing to accept. The preceding short vowel must be accented, and must

not be followed by another syllable in the same word or pronounced as a part of the same word; otherwise *l*, *m*, *n* do not seem to me long enough to be doubled in writing. It is only these three letters, and perhaps *z*, that I should double under these circumstances; there is not so much lengthening for *v* nor for the stops. Thus, I might write *billd*, *hømmnd*, *hænnnd* for *build*, *hummed*, *hand*; but *bildiŋ*, *hømiŋ*, *hændl* for *building*, *humming*, *handle*, and *bild it* (pronounced as a word of two syllables) rather than *billd it* for *build it*. To me the *l* of *bilt* (*built*) has almost exactly the same length as that of *bildiŋ* (*building*). The monosyllables which Sweet gives as examples I should write as he does.

Another class of words where my pronunciation differs from Sweet's consists of those usually spelt with *nch*, *nge*, as *bunch*, *strange*, *danger*. For these I have *ntʃ*, *ndʒ* (*bvntʃ*, *streindʒ*, *deindʒə*), not *nʃ*, *nʒ*. It is curious that Sweet writes *sentfəri* for *century*, while I pronounce *senʃəri*.

In regard to the use of *û* instead of *yû* after the letters *t*, *d*, *th*, *s*, *z*, *n*, *l*, my natural pronunciation agrees with Whitney's in almost every word he mentions. I say naturally *dû*, *nû*, *tûzdi*, *sût*, *tûnik* for *due* (and *dew*), *new*, *Tuesday*, *suit*, *tunic*. But a compromise sound between *û* and *yû*, namely the diphthong *iû*, has become almost equally natural to me now after *t* and *d* (in the cases where my pronunciation has not *tʃ* and *dʒ*) and after *n*; this *iû* I never use after *l*, and almost never after *s*, *z*, and *p*. I often, and sometimes unconsciously, say *diû*, *niû*, *tiûzdi* (*tunic* is only a book-word to me); but I should scarcely say *liût* for *lute*, and while I might say *siût* for *suit*, I should always feel it as an artificially acquired pronunciation. Sweet has *dyû*, *nyû*, *tyûzdi*, *syût*, *tyûnik*.

An initial *h* (I do not mean the "silent *h*" of *honor* and other words) is lost in some cases with me; but the rule given by Sweet (pp. 22, 23) holds for my pronunciation of only the commonest short words, such as the entirely unaccented pronouns *he*, *him*, *her*. I pronounce like him *his father*, *it's 'is father*, *here 'e is*, and should also say *I told 'im so*, *ask 'im where*, *tell 'er* (pronounced *ə*) *now*, etc., and it would be rather an affectation for me to sound the *h* in these cases, just as it would be to sound an *r* in *my sister says*, or to pronounce *e* instead of *ə* in the last syllable of *moment*, *prudent*. But I should say with *h*, *a historical*, *the heroic*, and usually keep *h*, I think, after a consonant (*the dead historian*, *this heroic deed*).

The greatest differences, however, between the English of London and that of New England — indeed, of the whole of the United States — are perhaps differences in the voice inflections, the rising, falling, and compound inflections not being the same. These differences, combined with others of less importance, such as the greater use of “mixed” vowels in England, sometimes even interfere seriously with the intelligibility of the spoken language.

In the following list I have intended to give all cases in the glossary where my pronunciation in ordinary conversation is different from the one there marked, omitting the cases covered by what has already been said above. I have sometimes given more than one pronunciation, and have added a few notes. The words *Alexandra, bilberry, Brittany, Epping, Essex, Fitzgerald, Gravesend, Hampstead, ha'penny, hips and haws, Carnaby, cad, Cavendish, cockshy, concertina, Christiania, luggage* (my word is *baggage*), *laburnum, Margate, Marlborough, marmalade, Macdougall, Mortimer, Ramsgate, Rosherville, cit* (= *citizen*), *Snowdon, Teddington, waistcoat* (my word is *vest*) have been omitted from consideration as hardly belonging to my dialect. This does not mean that they are all strange to me, or even that they were all unknown to me when I was a boy, but that they did not belong to my stock of familiar words in frequent use. I give first the words in the ordinary spelling, arranged according to Sweet's order, and then add my pronunciation in phonetic spelling.

Some of the differences I have noted very likely are more apparent than real, or are made to seem greater than they really are. What seems noteworthy to one person may not seem so to another, when the system of spelling does not aim to reproduce all the niceties of actual speech.

<b>answer</b>	: ænsə, <i>not</i> ansə, <i>which I have also heard.</i>
<b>asked</b>	: askt; <i>but this is an acquired pronunciation for earlier ast.</i>
<b>idea</b>	: <i>The added r I look upon as vulgar and avoid.</i>
<b>either</b>	: iðə, <i>not</i> aiðə, <i>which is also American.</i>
<b>umbrella</b>	: ʌmbr·elə, <i>not</i> ʌmber·elə, <i>which in New England is a vulgarism.</i>
<b>uncomfortable</b>	: ʌnk·ʌmfətəbl, <i>rather than</i> ʌnk·ʌmftəbl.
<b>Athens</b>	: æpənz, <i>rather than</i> æpɪnz. <i>The e is distinct. It is an early learned book-word.</i>
<b>average</b>	: ʌvr·idʒ ( <i>three syllables</i> ), <i>rather than</i> ʌvrɪdʒ.
<b>barrel</b>	: bæril, <i>not</i> bæɹəl.

- been** : bin, *not* bfn, *which I have heard from a Canadian.*  
**because** : bik·əz, *rather than* bik·oz.  
**blackberry, n.** : blækberi *or, better,* blækbr-i (*in three syllables*), *rather than* blæk(b)əri.  
**bone** : *originally* bòn, *now* boun.  
**both** : *originally* bòþ, *now* bouþ.  
**difference** : difr-əns (*three syllables*), *rather than* difrəns.  
**different** : difr-ənt (*three syllables*), *rather than* difrənt.  
**differently** : difr-əntli (*four syllables*), *and* difrəntli.  
**difficult** : difikəlt *and* difikəlt, *not* difiklt.  
**difficulty** : difikəlti *and* difikəlti, *not* difiklti.  
**a good deal** : *only one d.*  
**dishonorable** : dis·ou·r-əbl (*usually five syllables*), *not* diz·ou·rəbl.  
**how do you do** : *perhaps oftenest* hau də yə dū.  
**January** : dʒænyuəri, *rather than* dʒænyuəri.  
**general** : dʒenr-əl (*three syllables*), *rather than* dʒenrəl.  
**generally** : dʒenr-əli (*four syllables*) *and* dʒenrəli.  
**just, adv.** : dʒəst, dʒəs, *not* dʒest, dʒes.  
**jaundice** : dʒəndis *or* dʒəndis. *Rather a book-word to me.*  
**April** : eipril, *not* eiprəl. *The i is distinct.*  
**anybody** : enibədi *and* enibədi, *rather than* enibodi, *which I pronounce only with a conscious effort.*  
**envelope, n.** : envaloup *and* envələp.  
**etiquette** : etiket (*accent on the first syllable*), *not* etik·et, *which I have seldom, if ever, heard.*  
**every** : evr-i (*three syllables*) *and* evri.  
**earthenware** : ɛðnwæə *or* -wəə, *not* ɛpn-.  
**alone** : *originally,* I think, əl·ən, *now* əl·oun.  
**February** : februəri, *rather than* februəri.  
**favorite** : feivr-it (*three syllables*), *rather than* feivrit.  
**furniture** : fēnitsjuə, *rather than* fēnitsjə.  
**forgot(ten)** : fəget(n), *and by conscious effort* fəgot(n).  
**[fix** : *no difference in pronunciation, but the commonest meaning is to put in order.]*  
**flannel** : flænil, *rather than* flænl.  
**fault** : fəlt, *not* folt.  
**forehead** : forəd, *rather than* forid.  
**photograph** : fəutəgrəf, *not* fəutəgræf.  
**fourlegged** : fəul·egid, *not* fəulegd.  
**fortnight** : fəətnit *and* fəətnait.  
**fortune** : fəətʃun, *not* fətʃən.  
**fortunately** } *I often omit the ə in the first syllable, and pronounce like*  
**forward** } *Sweet (fətʃə —, fəwəd).*  
**gardener** : gadn-ə (*three syllables*), *rather than* gadnə.  
**government** : gevənmənt, *not* gevəmənt, *which, however, I think was my natural pronunciation.*  
**gone** : gən, *not* gon. *But Sweet has gən on p. 35 and on p. 96.*  
**gravel** : grævil, *rather than* grævl.

- greatcoat** : *The accent is on the first syllable plainly. See also coat. My usual word was and is overcoat.*
- got** : *get, and by conscious effort, got.*
- gooseberry** : *gūsbr-i (usually three syllables), not guzbri.*
- hullo** : *həl'ou, when used as a greeting; h'el'ou, as an exclamation of surprise, with both syllables accented equally, and often with a double l.*
- history** : *histəri and histr-i (three syllables), rather than histri.*
- holiday(s)** : *holidei(z), not holidi(z).*
- whole** : *originally and still sometimes hòl; now also houll.*
- home** : *originally hòm; now houm.*
- hope** : *originally hòp; now houpp.*
- easily** : *izili and izl-i (three syllables). See p. 57 in the Elementarbuch.*
- extraordinary** : *ikstr'òdn-eri (five syllables) and ikstr'òdneri, not ikstr'òdnri.*
- ill-behaved** : *usually has the accent on the last syllable. In the sentence in the texts (p. 98), I could use either accentuation. Cf. well-behaved.*
- immediately** : *im'fidiətli, not im'fidgətli, which I have also heard.*
- importance** : *imp'òætəns, rather than imp'òætns.*
- important** : *imp'òætənt, rather than imp'òænt.*
- your** : *My accented form is yòə; the unaccented form approaches or reaches yə. The form yūə is artificial to me.*
- castle** : *kæsl, not kasl, which I have also heard.*
- comfortable** : *kəmfətəbl, not kəmfətbl, except by excessive slurring.*
- character** : *kærəktə, not kæriktə.*
- catch** : *originally kets; now kætʃ.*
- Clara** : *klærə, not kleære.*
- clothes** : *originally klouz; now oftener klouðz.*
- compliment, v.** : *I accent the first syllable, not the last (kompliment).*
- conquest** : *konkwest, not konkwist. The e is distinct.*
- coat** : *originally kòt; now kout. So in coattail, overcoat, etc., also.*
- of course** : *əf kòəs, rather than əv kəs.*
- cuckoo** : *kukū, not kuku.*
- quarrel** : *kweril (and perhaps also -əl), not kworəl; it requires a conscious effort for me to give o in the first syllable.*
- level, adj. and n.** : *levil (or -el), not levl. The participle levelling I might pronounce levl-in (three syllables).*
- long** : *lɔŋ, rather than loŋ.*
- lonely** : *originally perhaps lɔnli; now lounli.*
- Marshall** : *mafəl, not mafɪ.*
- misfortune** : *misf'ætʃun, rather than misf'ætʃən.*
- Mitchell** : *mitʃil, rarely mitʃɪ.*
- milk** : *milk, not mylk.*
- moment** : *moumənt, not moumint.*
- neither** : *nɪðə, not naiðə.*

- none** : originally nòn ; now nèn.  
**nothing** : originally perhaps noþin or noþn ; now nəþin (*misprinted -ing in the glossary*).  
**nursery** : nəsr-i (*three syllables*), rather than nəsri.  
**nonsense** : nonsens, rather than nonsəns. *The e is distinct.*  
**Norway** : nəwei and perhaps nəəwei, not nəwi.  
**Australia** : əstr'eilyə, not ostreilyə.  
**only** } : originally perhaps with ò ; now with ou.  
**open** }  
**oatmeal** : usually with a plain accent on the second syllable, at least as strong as that on the first.  
**office(r)** : ofis(ə), not əfis(ə). *But ə- exists also in America.*  
**punctual** : pənktʃuəl, rather than pəntʃuəl.  
**parasol** : pərəs'ol and pərəsol.  
**petticoat** : originally petikòt ; now petikout.  
**pleasant** : plezənt, rather than pleznt. *I have both.*  
**postoffice** : poustofis, not poustəfis.  
**practical** : prætikəl, not præktikl.  
**perhaps** : pər'æps or pr-æps (*two syllables*) and pəh'æps, rather than præps.  
**presence** : prezəns and prezns.  
**present** : prezənt and preznt.  
**rascal** : ræskəl, not raskl.  
**ruffian** : rəfian, rather than rəfyan.  
**respectfully** : risp'ektfəli and risp'ektfl-i. *Respectful has -ful.*  
**wrong** : rəŋ, rather than rɔŋ.  
**road** : originally ròd ; now roud.  
**cellar** : selə, and by conscious effort selə.  
**century** : sentʃəri, not sentfəri.  
**separate** : seprət and sepr-it (*usually three syllables*).  
**separately** : sepr-itli and sepritli, rather than seprətli.  
**several** : sevr-əl (*three syllables*), rather than sevrəl.  
**suppose** : originally perhaps səp'òz or spòz ; now səp'ouz.  
**civilization** : sivilaiz'eifən and siviliz'eifən.  
**smoke** : originally smòk ; now smouk.  
**saint** : seint, and probably sent ; perhaps also snt and sn.  
**solitary** : soliteri, not solitri.  
**salt** : sɔlt, rather than solt.  
**soak** : originally perhaps sòk ; now souk.  
**steamboat** : originally stəmbòt ; now stəmbout.  
**stone** : originally stòn ; now stoun.  
**strawberry** : strəbr-i (*three syllables*), rather than strəbri.  
**towards** : təədz, not tɔdz.  
**trowsers** : traузəz. *In the glossary, apparently misprinted, -ez for əz (see p. 120 in the texts). My usual words were pants (pənts), and breeches (britʃiz).*  
**travel** : trævəl, rather than trəvl. *Travelling I might pronounce trəvl-in (three syllables).*

- traveller** : trævələ, or, rather, trævl-ə (three syllables).  
**Chinese** : tʃain·'is, not tʃain·'iz. So all similar words in -ese.  
**children** : tʃildrən, not tʃuldərən, which I think I never heard.  
**thorough** : þerou, not þerə, which is also American. But thoroughly I pronounce þerəli, like Sweet.  
**throat** : originally þròt; now þrout.  
**valuable** : vælyuəbl, and sometimes vælyubl and vælyəbl.  
**wonderfully** : wendəf-i (four syllables) and wendəfli. In wonderful I have both -ful and -fi, I think.  
**Wednesday** : wenzdi, not wednzdi, which I never heard.  
**what** : hwæt, not hwot, except by conscious effort.  
**woke** : originally perhaps wòk; now wouk.  
**warning** : usually perhaps wəniŋ, like Sweet. But warn is wəən, rather than wən.  
**worn** : wəən, not wən or wəən (the latter spelling is apparently a misprint; see p. 62 in the texts).  
**war** : wəə, rather than wə; but the ə is sometimes very faint. Warring I think I should write wəriŋ.

In Whitney's paper, referred to above, I have noted a certain number of words where my pronunciation differs from his, and I add them here, so far as not covered by what I have already said, with my pronunciation: *pant* and *blaspheme* (p. 206), with æ; *plant*, like *gape* (p. 207), with a; *plague* and *snake* (p. 209), always with ei; *naked*, *catch* (p. 209), originally *nekid*, *kets*, now *neikid*, *kæts*; *deaf* (p. 209), always with e; *leisure* (p. 210), *liʒə*; *God* (p. 215), with o. To my list of words with ð I can now add two cases: *dðnou* = *don't know* (the ð is often plain, though the accent on it is not strong), and *gðntù* = *going to* (am, is, are about to), a following infinitive being understood. I say *rùt*, *rùd*, *rùf* (but *sun*, *rum*) for *root*, *rood*, *roof*, *soon*, *room* (p. 217); *dəz* for *does*. I should not pair as long and short *ë* and *v*, *a* and *o*. Further: *microscope* (p. 226) has *mai-*, not *mi-*; and *pagan* has -æ in the second syllable. In the last syllable of *linen*, *chicken*, *woollen*, *velvet*, *secret*, *carpet*, and perhaps all the immediately following words on p. 230, I am inclined to put *i* rather than *e*, also in *enemy* and *ceremony* (second syllable) (p. 231), and *i* rather than *ə* in *velocity*, *credible*, *indivisibility*, *originate* (p. 231). (I have substituted *ə* for Whitney's *v* (= *u* in *but*) in very short unaccented syllables.) In the endings -*tain*, -*age*, -*ace*, -*ege*, -*ness*, etc., I also have *i* rather than *e*. In *morsel* and *parcel* (p. 234), I have rather -*il* than *l* alone. On the same page, *medal* and *metal* I pronounce with -*əl* (as apparently Whitney also does), and I distinguish them from *meddle* and *mettle* where *l* is the vowel of the

last syllable. In *reckoner*, etc. (p. 234), *n* is with me the vowel of the second syllable. I do not remember the pronunciation of *trough*, mentioned on p. 257, as my own, though I have heard it. I have *egz-* for *ex-* in some words; e.g., *example* (p. 260). *Asia* and *Persia* (p. 260) are naturally to me pronounced with  $\text{ʒə}$ , and *possess* has a *z* for the first sibilant. The word *anxious* (p. 262) reminds me that I pronounce  $\text{æŋʃəs}$  (with no *k*), and similarly  $\text{æŋz}^{\text{aiiti}}$ , for *anxious*, *anxiety*. The words *pronunciation*, *officiate*, *nauseate* have with me *ʃi*; but I say  $\text{nɔʃəs}$ , not  $\text{nɔʃiəs}$ , for *nauseous*, and  $\text{nɔʃə}$  for *nausea*. *Humor* (p. 270) I think I used to pronounce *yû-*, without the *h*. The *wh* question I cannot here discuss fully, but I should regularly write *hw* in the words concerned, and not *w*. But some Americans do say *w*, especially in the word *wharf* (common, in New England at least, as *wɔʃ* or *wɔʃf*). Compare the dialect of the Biglow Papers. I remember a college classmate of mine, some twenty years ago, who came from Cincinnati, and who regularly said *w* for the written *wh*, as in *where*, *when*, etc. Perhaps the *h* now common was introduced or at least assisted by the schoolmasters.

E. S. SHELDON.

## DIALECT RESEARCH IN CANADA.

## I. FRANCO-CANADIAN.

THE investigation of the dialects of the various non-aboriginal peoples who make up the population of the Dominion of Canada offers a most promising field for the student of language. Wide as is the scope for research, but little has as yet been done, and that chiefly — almost exclusively, indeed — in the study of the Franco-Canadian dialect of Quebec and New Brunswick, with its offshoots into Maine, etc. In this dialect alone there is room for a vast amount of scientific work; true, some of its aspects, such as its relation to the adjacent English language and its connection with the aboriginal tongues of the surrounding regions, have been studied, but the development of the French core of the dialect, the growth of new words, the rise of new significations, remain yet to furnish an abundant harvest to the investigator. Maguire (1841), Buies (1865), Dunn (1880), Gingras (1880), Caron (1880), Tardivel (1880), Réveillaud (1883), Legendre (1884, 1888), Sulte (1885), Elliott (1886-1889), De Cazes (1887), and Squair (1888), have discussed the dialect of Quebec from various points of view, the article of the last mentioned being especially valuable as a study of the language of the parish of Ste. Anne de Beaupré, systematic investigations of the dialect of each parish or district being just what is wanted. Pascal Poirier has studied the tongue of the Acadians of New Brunswick, and in works relating to that province and to western Nova Scotia scattered data of value are often to be found. The Magdalen islands and the isolated French settlements of St. Pierre and Miquelon may be studied to advantage, while on the north shore of the St. Lawrence Gulf and in the Territory of Labrador are scattered colonies of Acadians (mixed with Basques), whose language will no doubt be of great interest from a dialect point of view. Professor E. S. Sheldon has devoted some attention to the language of the French-Canadians in Maine, while scattered elsewhere through the United States are small settlements of the same people, whose tongue will well repay the labour spent in investigating it. In the *American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal* (XI, 64),

Prof. A. S. Gatschet calls attention to just such a settlement in Eastern Illinois, on the Wabash River. In Ontario there are a large number (some 160,000, out of a population of 2,000,000) of French-Canadians; they are settled in two districts—in the east, between the St. Lawrence and the Ottawa, and in the south-western peninsula, in the counties of Essex, Kent, etc. The dialect of the French-Canadians in the province of Ontario is as yet uninvestigated. In Manitoba and the Northwest Territories there have been for more than a century scattered settlements of French-Canadians, whose voyageurs and traders bore a great part in the early colonization of the country. Their influence extended into Oregon and down the valley of the Missouri, where no doubt they have left still discernible traces of their presence. In the Chinook jargon spoken on the Pacific coast, there are many words and expressions borrowed from the French-Canadian language. The peculiar fauna and flora of North America, presenting creatures and plants unknown to the peasant of France, have given rise to many new names, and to many strange applications of old ones. The devotion of the French voyageurs to trade with the Indians, and their migration throughout the great Northwest, have enriched their vocabulary with numerous new words and new significations of words previously existing; similar has been the result of the attention paid by their compatriots in Ontario and Quebec to lumbering and the exploiting of the forest, while the fishermen of the Gulf region have their own peculiar terms and phrases. It is in the direction of these special dialects that the investigator may turn with advantage. The writer of this article has drawn up from various sources a considerable list of such words, from which the following are extracted:—

**bossu, le gros:** black bass.

**brasseur, le:** name given in the Gulf region to a species of seal (*Phoca greenl.*).

**canard branchu, le:** wood-duck.

**chat sauvage:** raccoon.

**coureur, le:** name given by the fishermen of Quebec to the short-nosed sturgeon (*Acip. brevirostris*).

**crapais:** sun-fish.

**laquèche:** shad.

**margot:** gannet.

**mermette:** penguin.

**outarde:** Canada goose (*Auca Canadensis*).

**perchaude:** perch (fish).

**siffleur** } : woodchuck (*Arctomys pruinosus*).  
**siffleux** }  
**suisse** : chipmunk.  
**tourte** : wild pigeon.

The appended Bibliography shows in general outline what has been done in the investigation of the French language in Canada. Besides the works there cited, reference might also be made to the series of the "Soirées Canadiennes," the "Foyer Canadien," the Abbé Cuoq's "Lexique de la langue iroquoise" (1882), and "Lexique de la langue algonquine" (1886), and to such works as Taché's "Forestiers et Voyageurs" (1884), Le May's "Pèlerin de Ste. Anne" (1877), etc., which contain *passim* many *canadien* words and expressions.

## II. ENGLISH.

Towards the investigation, scientifically, of the spoken English of the Dominion little indeed has been done. The essay of Rev. A. S. Geikie, "Canadian English," read before the Canadian Institute, Toronto, March 28, 1857, and published in the "Canadian Journal" (New Series, Vol. II, 1857, pp. 344-355) and the paper of Mr. W. D. Lighthall, with the same title, in "The Week" (Vol. VI, No. 37, Toronto, Aug. 16, 1889), are rather general comments and sketches than attempts at scientific delimitation. The field for research here is wide; for, as Mr. Lighthall points out, there appear to be several "dialects" of English spoken within the bounds of the Dominion. Of the English of Nova Scotia we learn something from Judge Haliburton's books and from other works relating to that province. It bears marked affinities to the dialect of the New England states, whence very many of the early settlers came. Mr. Lighthall says: "As to the territorial boundaries of Bluenose, they contain nearly the whole of New Brunswick and the greater part of Nova Scotia, outside of Halifax, where British garrisons have very strongly influenced the lower and the society classes." In the island of Cape Breton and the county of Pictou, in Nova Scotia, interesting details of the settlement of which may be found in Rev. G. Patterson's "History of Pictou County," the population is chiefly of Highland Scotch origin, and a "Highland English" dialect prevails, some of the peculiarities of which Mr. Lighthall enumerates. About the English of the Island of Prince Edward little can be asserted; the same authority states that although nearly half the popula-

tion are Scotch, "Gaelic, however, is far rarer, and the dialecticisms, chiefly Lowland, are disappearing." The province of Quebec contains but a small proportion of English-speaking inhabitants, and they are massed chiefly in the cities of Montreal and Quebec and in the Eastern Townships. Exact information as to the state of the spoken English of these districts is lacking. It would appear from Mr. Lighthall's remarks on the subject, that the English of the Eastern Townships does not differ to a very marked extent from that of the adjoining New England states, but that here and there are to be found peculiar differences in speech, due to the native countries of the original settlers. In part of the counties of Huntingdon, Chateauguay, and Beauharnois, the history of whose early settlement may be read in Sellar's "History of the County of Huntingdon," etc. (1888), there exists a dialect which Mr. Lighthall terms "Chateauguay Scotch," the chief peculiarities of which he mentions.

† The province of Ontario is the great main-stay of English speech and influence in the Dominion. While the federal parliament and courts and the legislature of the province of Quebec (as was the case up to the close of last year in Manitoba also) recognize *two* official languages, English and French, in Ontario the one state language is English. In the investigation of the spoken English of this province but little progress has been made. The early settlers of Ontario were principally loyalists and *émigrés* from the state of New York and from Pennsylvania, and much that characterized the English speech of those states is still traceable in their descendants. A thorough examination of the works of early travellers in the province and of its earlier historians would no doubt reveal much of interest regarding the language of the settlers. Subsequent immigrations and settlements of Scotch, Irish, Dutch, Germans, and French have complicated the linguistic features. In the Niagara district and in the Gore district and the lake townships of the Home (York) district, the early settlers were from the state of New York chiefly. In the township of Markham (in the Home district) the settlers were principally Dutch, while in the Gore district there were large numbers of Pennsylvania Germans. The later settlers in these districts were largely English, Scotch, and Irish. In the Midland district, loyalists and European immigrants predominated, and also in the newer western portions of the province, towards Lake Huron. In the eastern counties of the

province the settlement appears to have been much less uniform. In Perth, Lanark, etc., which were military settlements, colonized by half-pay officers and discharged soldiers, the greater portion of the population continued to be Irish, with sprinklings of English and Scotch. In the county of Glengarry, Scotch Highlanders were very largely the settlers, and in some places a curious contact with the French Canadians has taken place. The riparian counties of the St. Lawrence were peopled chiefly by immigrants from New York (English and Dutch) and Germans from Pennsylvania. In recent years the immigration into the province has been largely English, Irish, and Scotch, while the Germans have added to their numbers, and the French element, becoming more and more intrusive, tends to gain on the English in the eastern counties.

Owing to frequency of contact and commercial intercourse with the United States, the English of the province of Ontario abounds in so-called "Americanisms," some of which, however, are due to the original settlers, and are not recent importations. The influence of the newspapers in giving currency to new words is very great.

The Rev. Mr. Geikie's paper, referred to above, is taken up with a discussion of words and phrases. Among others, he notices the following in their "American" sense: *bug* (= insect; and the compound *lightning-bug*), *conclude* (= resolve), *considerable* (= a good deal), *donation*, *fix* (v.), *first-class*, *guess*, *hung* (= hanged), *locate*, *loan* (s. and v.), *pants*, *posted-up* (= well-informed), *rendition*, *rooster*. He also remarks the occurrence of preterites, like *dove*, *guv*, *ris*, *friz*, *chode*, etc. This was in 1857, and in 1889 Mr. Lighthall, citing many other words of like origin, says: "What Canadian, on reading a list of Americanisms like (say) that in 'Appleton's Cyclopædia,' will not feel surprise at his familiarity with the greater number?" Among those noted by him as "Americanisms" are: *balance* (= remainder), *cars* (and compounds), *clever* (= skilful), *dock* (= wharf), *dry-goods*, *mean* (= unkind), *reliable*, *sidewalk*, *store*. This list might be very largely extended by the inclusion of all the "Americanisms," used in the city of Toronto, for example. The activity of political parties in Canada has given birth to many new terms and words. Among those most current at the present time are *Orangist*, *Rielite*, *restrictionist* (advocate of Protective Tariff), *annexationist*, *provincialist* (an upholder of state's rights), *polit-*

*ical union* (the absorption of Canada by the United States, a less offensive term than annexation), and the curious phrase *unrestricted reciprocity*, by which the politicians mean something that lies between free trade and *commercial union* (a term which is now current all over the Dominion). One of the most interesting inventions of the political linguistic faculty is the word *saw-off* (s. and v.); this is used when, in the same constituency, a member of one political faith having been elected to the local legislature, and one of the opposite faith to the federal parliament, or *vice versa*, and petitions alleging corruption, etc., having been entered in the courts, it is agreed by the parties concerned to withdraw all petitions, the Liberal member for the local legislature retaining his seat, and the Conservative being allowed to occupy his seat in the federal chamber. This expression was especially current in 1887-8; further back I am not able to trace it.

The writer has from time to time recorded peculiar words and pronunciations current in Ontario, and the notices following refer to the period from about 1880 to the present year. Of words noted in Bartlett as "Americanisms," the following, among others, have come under his observation, and the particular districts in which the words were found current are the town of Peterboro' (P.), and the city of Toronto (T.); in the Peterboro' words the date is circa 1880: *saw-log* (P.), *saw-buck*, also *saw-horse* (P.), *punt* (P.), *scow*, *mud-scow* (P., vessel used to carry clay to brick-works), to *drive* logs, a *drive* of logs, *river-driver* (P.), *bug* (P., T.), *coal-oil* (all over English Canada), *great*, *big* (very common), *boom*, *smart* (very common), *fix* (universal in English Canada), *like Sam Hill* (P.), *so-long* (P., T., quite common now), etc., etc. The more modern slang expressions, *too previous*, *rats!* *chestnut!* had also a very great currency, the first, however, is perhaps extinct, and the other two have lost much of their vitality.

The word *avenue*, in Toronto at least, has lost any meaning it may have had, distinct from that of *street*, although there are some cases in which the old and correct signification is apparent.

Among other interesting words, the writer has met with the following:—

**buck-saw:** the saw used with a saw-buck (P., T.).

**cows:** very common in the sense of "cattle" (P., T.). A frequent compound is *cow-pasture*.

**funeral-card**: the printed notice of death posted on a telegraph-pole, or some other convenient place (P.). *Funeral-procession*, in the sense of *cortège* is very common in Ontario.

**gallynipper**: a large reptile-insect, found under stones and used as bait (P.). The form *galnipper* is also used (P.).

**lunge**: an abbreviation of *muskelunge*, properly *maskinongé*, from the Algonkin name of the *Esox estor*, a fish of the pike kind. *Muskalunge*, *maskinonge* are also heard (P.).

**locks**: the plural is used in the sense of *lock*, 5, in Webster. At Peterboro' "*the locks*" was the usual term.

**pike or pike-pole**: the instrument (a shaft of wood armed with an iron prong) used by river-drivers to move or guide logs (P.).

**scheme**: "to *scheme* school" means to play truant (P.).

**slide**: the passage down which the water glides in a dam, used for the descent of timber, logs, etc. (P.).

**target-practice**: soldiers' practice in shooting at a target with a rifle (P.).

**tread**: to "*tread* water" is to keep one's head and shoulders above the surface, by treading or tramping with the feet (P.).

An interesting class of words consists of those belonging properly to the young, and not the adult, population of a district. The following, noted by the writer, were current in Peterboro' circa 1880:—

**bellywhackers**: to jump or to fall *bellywhackers*, is to jump from a height (e.g., a bridge) so as to strike the water on one's stomach (P.).

**blood-sucker**: a name given to a broad-headed trilobite-shaped inhabitant of stagnant pools (P.).

**bunty**: applied to an individual who is short of stature; short and stumpy (P.).

**honey**<sup>1</sup>: the yellow exudation from the grasshopper when pressed. In connection with this, the following verse is often addressed to the insect:—

Grasshopper, grasshopper, gree!  
Give me some honey, and I'll let you go free. (P.)

**Jimminy Cripes!** and **Jimminy Christmas!** are forms of oaths overheard (P.).

**minni**: a very common form for *minnow* (P.).

**pissybed**: the dandelion (P.).

There is a promising field for the dialect student in the remains of peculiar dialects of old England, which still exist in Canada. As far as I know, no scientific investigation in this direction has been made. But one continually comes across words which

<sup>1</sup> [In New England *molasses* is used in this sense. — E. S. S.]

derive from the English dialect spoken by immigrants into the Dominion. To this class of words, perhaps, belong the following, which the writer has jotted down :—

**mollycoddle.** “He is such a *mollycoddle*” (= fool). Heard in Toronto in February, 1890.

**smike.** “We haven’t had a *smike* of rain down there all summer.” Spoken in 1888 by a man from Prince Edward County, Ont.

**squaddle.** “Put your feet in your slippers. I don’t like to see you *squaddling* about like that.” Spoken by a native of Warwickshire who has been in Canada and the United States for eighteen years.

A study of the spoken English of the Dominion with regard to pronunciation would certainly be rewarded by very valuable results. The writer has noted a few peculiar phonetic forms, as heard in the province of Ontario, chiefly in the district around Peterboro’, and in Toronto :—

**Canada.** There are two different pronunciations of this word. The educated as a rule make it *Kænədə*, or nearly so, while with others there is a tendency to approach the sound of this word to that of the proper name Kennedy. The adjective corresponding has also two sounds, *Kæn-êdîən*, that of the more precise speakers, and the *Kæn-êdʒən* of the populace. These two forms find parallels in the *Canadien* and the *Canayen* of the French of Lower Canada.

**deaf.** The pronunciation of this word as *dif* is very common.

**Eliot.** I have often heard this word as *elvt*.

**elm.** The vocalised *el-m* is very frequent.

**follow.** Outside the ranks of the educated classes this word is very generally *foli*. The same remark applies to *borrow*, and (rarely) to *tomorrow*, *narrow*, *barrow*, etc.

**hold.** The form *hòlt* is very common amongst the mass of the people.

**national.** In analogy with the substantive, this is (rarely) pronounced *nêʃenəl*.

**Quinte.** This proper name (Bay of Quinte) seems to have had a curious history. In the earlier years of this century it was pronounced *Ki,ntê*, and was most likely looked upon as a word of French origin. At present (and for some years past) the sound of the word would be represented by *Kwintf*.

**quoits.** A very common pronunciation is *kwêts*.

**Sault.** In the town name Sault Ste. Marie, this word has the sound *sû*.

**squirrel.** The pronunciation of this word is difficult to fix. With the educated it seems to be *skwëral*. Among the less educated the sound *skwerl* is very common. I have also heard *skweəral* once or twice.

**supple.** This word is very often heard as *sûp-l*.

**wrestle.** The sound *ræs-l* is very common with the uneducated and with the younger members of the community.

These examples may be of interest for comparison with the English of the United States. More than this concerning the English of the province of Ontario, I am at present unable to state.

Passing to the west, we find in the province of Manitoba and the territories of the west, the English language gradually marching onwards to complete supremacy, although there are here and there limited areas in which French is the language of the great body of the inhabitants. Immigration from Europe into Manitoba has brought with new settlers new languages, and as the settlements of the new-comers are grouped together in colonies, as it were, there are several portions of the Prairie province where neither French nor English is the dominant tongue.

The peculiar industries followed by a considerable portion of the inhabitants of the western territories — fishing, hunting, ranching, etc., — have favoured the development of a peculiar dialect, which of course resembles the dialect of the great cattle-raising and hunting districts of the United States. In British Columbia, the fishing, lumbering and mining industries have likewise influenced in the same direction, and in time to come the language of the great West of the Dominion will be a fertile field for investigation.

From a comparatively early period there appear to have been English settlers in the Hudson's Bay region, about Port Nelson. To these colonists are owing some peculiar words and meanings of words, which appear to be still current in that district. A few of these are noted by Ellis<sup>1</sup> in 1748: —

**deluge**: a term applied to the flooding of streams, caused by the melting of the ice in their southern parts.

**frost-smoke**: a thick, black vapor, arising in winter.

**juniper**: a name given to the larch.

**quick-hatch**. This name, applied to the wolverine, is a corruption of the Cree Indian name of that animal.

There are also in the western territories large numbers of French, Scotch, and English half-breeds, whose language must be of great interest, in view of the intermingling of races.

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<sup>1</sup> Voyage of the Dobbs Galley and California. See pp. 130, 138, 172, 42.

## III. OTHER NON-INDIAN LANGUAGES.

(a) *Gaelic*. As I have indicated above, there are some districts in which Gaelic is the prevailing spoken language. This is the case in parts of the county of Pictou, Nova Scotia, and of Cape Breton Island, as well as in some portions of Glengarry and the adjacent counties in eastern Ontario, and in some districts of the counties of Bruce, Simcol, Middlesex, etc. In some parts of the province of Quebec we find Scotch Highlanders (by descent) speaking French, having lost their own tongue and become, to all intents and purposes, French Canadians. This has also happened in some parts of Glengarry. In Toronto there is a Gaelic society which devotes itself chiefly to the entertainment of its members by the cultivation and preservation of the Gaelic tongue. In other parts of the Dominion, especially in Manitoba, there are small settlements of Gaelic-speaking Highlanders. No investigation of the Gaelic spoken in Canada has yet been undertaken.

(b) *German*. German is spoken by a considerable portion of the inhabitants of Ontario, and there are several newspapers published in this language. The Germans are principally settled in Waterloo, Perth, Grey, and Bruce counties, but they are also found in other portions of central and western Ontario, besides a few here and there in the eastern counties. In the province of Manitoba there were, in 1885, 11,082 Germans, but to what extent they have preserved their language in that province is not exactly known. They are massed chiefly in the counties of Selkirk and Provencher. In Nova Scotia, in the Lunenburg district, there are also a considerable number of Germans. The investigation of the German language as spoken in Canada is yet to be begun. It may be said, however, that in central Ontario the speech is close to "Pennsylvania Dutch," as the early settlers were from Pennsylvania and the state of New York.

(c) In Manitoba and the newer districts of the Northwest, there are large numbers of Scandinavian and some few Slavonian settlers, and these, owing to their recent arrival, must still retain their native tongues. In 1885 the Scandinavian population of the province of Manitoba was over 3000, chiefly massed in Winnipeg and Lisgar counties. There are some 400 Russians and Poles, chiefly settled in the county of Winnipeg. The city of Toronto now has a considerable Italian element in its population.

(d) There are several parts of the Dominion in which the negro element in the population is considerable. The region around Chatham, in the southwestern portion of Ontario, has a large colored population. Not far from Halifax, in Nova Scotia, there live in what is known as the "Maroon" settlement, the remnants of the colony of Maroons who very many years ago were transferred thither from Jamaica. Mr. J. C. Hamilton, at the meeting of the American Association in Toronto, last August, read a paper on the "African in Canada." It was not, however, philological, and, I believe, nothing has been done in the latter line of research.

#### IV. NON-ARYAN.

In British Columbia there are a large number of Chinese; they are also found in the cities of Ontario, especially in Toronto, but not in very great numbers. A thorough investigation of their life and speech, conducted on the lines of Mr. Stewart Culin's researches, would be of value to science, no doubt.

I conclude this survey of the linguistic features of the Dominion by simply noting that the contact of the Aryan with the aboriginal American tongues and their influence one upon another, has been very much the same as in the United States.

Appended is a bibliography of the "Franco-Canadian Dialect," and a very brief list (for little has been written) of articles on "Canadian English."

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#### APPENDIX A.

##### LIST OF ARTICLES ON "CANADIAN ENGLISH."

1. GEIKIE, REV. A. S. "Canadian English." *Canadian Journal*, New Series, Vol. II (1857), pp. 344-355. General discussion and comments on "Americanisms."

2. LIGHTHALL, W. D. "Canadian English." *The Week*, Toronto, Vol. VI (1889), No. 37 (Aug. 16, 1889), pp. 581-583.

3. McLEAN, REV. JOHN. *The Indians: their manners and customs*. Toronto, 1889. Pages 197-201 of this work are occupied with a discussion of the dialect of the Canadian Northwest, under the head of "Western Americanisms."

#### APPENDIX B.

##### BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE FRANCO-CANADIAN DIALECT.

1. BIBAUD, MAXIMILIEN. *Le Mémorial des vicissitudes et des progrès de la langue française en Canada*. Montréal, 1879.

2. BUIES, ARTHUR. Barbarismes canadiens. Articles in *Le Pays*, in 1865. [Title from Dunn's Glossaire.]

3. — Anglicismes et Canadianismes. Québec, 1888. This title was kindly furnished me by Professor E. S. Sheldon.

4. BULLETIN DE L'ALLIANCE FRANÇAISE. Les Canadiens et la langue française au Manitoba. In No. 20, novembre-décembre, 1887, pp. 294-295.

5. CARON, M. L'ABBÉ. Petit vocabulaire à l'usage des Canadiens-français contenant les mots dont il faut répandre l'usage, et signalant les barbarismes qu'il faut éviter, pour bien parler notre langue. Trois Rivières, 1880, pp. 63.

6. CASGRAIN, M. L'ABBÉ, H. R. Un pèlerinage au pays d'Évangéline. Québec, 1887. This work contains at pp. 407-412 remarks on the dialect of the Acadians.

7. CHAMBERLAIN, A. F. Words of Indian origin in the French Canadian dialect and literature. *American Notes and Queries*, Philadelphia, I (1888), pp. 220-1, 232-3, 258-9, 270-1, 278-9, 293-4, 305-6; II (1888-9), pp. 2-3, 16-17, 30-31, 52-53, 62-63, 76-77, 87-88, 99-100, 124-5; IV (1889), pp. 77-78.

8. DE CAZES, PAUL. La Langue que nous parlons. *Mémoires et Comptes-Rendus de la Société Royale du Canada*, pour l'année 1887. Tome VI. Montréal, 1888. Section I, pp. 121-8.

9. DE LA BRIÈRE, L. L'autre France. Voyage au Canada, Paris, 1887, pp. 149. Contains, at pp. 65-67, a few notes on French Canadian words and expressions.

10. DUNN, OSCAR. Glossaire franco-canadien et vocabulaire de locutions vicieuses usitées au Canada. Québec. Imp. A. Coté, 1880, pet. in-12, xxv, 200. This glossary is, up to the present, the most ambitious attempt in French-Canadian lexicography.

11. ELLIOTT, A. M. Contributions to a history of the French language of Canada. I. Preliminary: Historical. *American Journal of Philology* (Baltimore), VI (1885), pp. 135-50.

12. — Speech-mixture in French Canada. External influence. *Ibid.*, VII (1886), pp. 141-60.

13. — Speech-mixture in French Canada. A. Indian and French. *Ibid.*, VIII (1887), pp. 133-57, 338-42.

14. — Speech-mixture in French Canada. B. English and French. *Ibid.*, X (1889), pp. 133-58.

15. — On a Philological expedition to Canada. Abstract of a paper read at the meeting of the Univ. Philol. Assoc., Oct. 3, 1884. *The Johns Hopkins University Circulars*, IV (1884-5), pp. 20-21.

16. — Speech-mixture in French Canada. External influences. Abstract of paper read at meeting of Univ. Philol. Assoc., Dec. 4, 1885. *Ibid.*, V (1885-6), p. 62.

17. FAUCHER DE SAINT-MAURICE. De tribord à bâbord. Trois croisières dans le golfe Saint-Laurent, nord et sud. Montréal, 1880. This work contains, at p. 206, some remarks on the Acadian dialect.

18. FRÉCHETTE, LOUIS H. Sainte Anne d'Auray et ses environs. *Mémoires et Comptes-Rendus de la Société Royale du Canada*. Tome VI (1888), Sec-

tion I, pp. 77-91. Pages 77-78 of this paper contain some French Canadian words and phrases, compared with the French of Brittany.

19. GAGNON, ERNEST. Petite causerie. *La Revue Canadienne* (Montréal). Nouvelle Série, Tome Premier. XVII<sup>e</sup> de la collection. Janvier, 1881, pp. 35-41. Pages 40-41 contain remarks on the French Canadian language, with a number of French Canadian words and Anglicisms.

20. GAIDOZ, H., et SÉBILLOT, PAUL. Bibliographie des traditions et de la littérature populaire ou orale des Frances d'outre-mer. *Revue de Linguistique et de Philologie comparée* (Paris), Tome XIX (1886), pp. 1-43. This bibliography contains, Tome XIX (pp. 13-14), titles of works on and in French Canadian.

21. GÉRIN-LAJOIE, A. Jean Rivard, scènes de la vie réelle. Montréal, 1877. This work, which contains *passim* many *canadien* words, etc., has, p. 96, a brief discussion of a few of these.

22. GINGRAS, J. F. Manuel des expressions vicieuses les plus fréquentes. 3<sup>e</sup> édition, Ottawa, 1880, VI, pp. 61.

23. HARRISON, J. A. The creole patois of Louisiana. *American Journal of Philology*, III (1882), pp. 285-296. Contains, on pp. 288, 291, 292, 293, a few French Canadian words and expressions.

24. JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY CIRCULARS: V (1885-6), p. 45, brief abstract of paper "Contribution to a history of the French language of Canada"; VI (1886-7), p. 58, very brief abstract of article on "Speech-mixture in French Canada. External influence"; VII (1887-8), pp. 26, 88, brief abstracts of articles on "Speech-mixture in French Canada. Indian and French." See Elliott, A. M.

25. LACASSE, R. P. ZACH., O.M.I. Une mine produisant l'or et l'argent, découverte et mise en réserve pour les cultivateurs seuls. Deuxième édition. Québec, 1880. pp. 272. Pages 252-6 of this work, under the heading "Ces jeunes-là, on ne les comprend plus," are taken up with the discussion of Anglicisms in French Canadian speech.

26. LEGENDRE, NAPOLÉON. La province de Québec et la langue française. *Revue du Monde Latin*, Mars, 1884, pp. 265-78.

27. — La langue que nous parlons. *Mémoires et Comptes-Rendus de la Société Royale du Canada*, 1887. Tome VI, Montréal, 1888. Section I, pp. 129-41. This article is a grammatical sketch of the French language of the province of Quebec.

28. MAGUIRE, M. L'ABBÉ. Manuel des difficultés les plus communes de la langue française, suivi d'un recueil de locutions vicieuses. Québec, 1841.

29. MANSEAU, J. A. Dictionnaire des locutions vicieuses du Canada avec leur correction, suivi d'un dictionnaire canadien. Première livraison: Lettre A. Québec, 1881. pp. XII, 118.

30. MILES, H. H. List of specimens of woods of the Canadian forests, with their English, French, and botanical names. *Transactions of the Quebec Literary and Historical Society*, 1875, p. 22. Contains a list of tree-names in French Canadian.

31. POIRIER, M. PASCAL. La langue canadienne. In the *Nouvelles Soirées Canadiennes*, 1884. Deals with the dialect of the Acadians.

32. RÉVEILLAUD, EUGÈNE. La langue et la littérature françaises au Canada. *Bibliothèque universelle et Revue Suisse*, août, 1883, pp. 311-35.

33. — Histoire du Canada et des Canadiens-français de la découverte jusqu'à nos jours. Paris, 1884. Appendice, pp. 521-42: La langue et la littérature françaises au Canada [a reprint of No. 29].

34. SHELDON, E. S. Some specimens of a French Canadian dialect spoken in Maine. *Transactions of the Modern Language Association of America*, III (1887), pp. 210-18. Also separately printed.

35. SQUAIR, JOHN. A contribution to the study of the Franco-Canadian dialect. *Proc. of the Canadian Institute*, Toronto, Third Series, VI. (1888), pp. 161-68. Also separately printed. Deals with the phonology and vocabulary of the dialect spoken around Ste. Anne de Beaupré, near the city of Quebec.

36. SULTE, BENJAMIN. La situation de la langue française au Canada. 1885, pp. 26. See notice of this essay in the *Nation* (New York), Oct. 8, 1885.

37. TARDIVEL, J. P. L'Anglicisme: voilà l'ennemi. Causerie faite au cercle catholique de Québec, le 17 décembre, 1879. Québec, 1880, pp. 28. This essay is devoted to combatting the intrusion of English words and expressions into the French language of Quebec.

A. F. CHAMBERLAIN.

TORONTO, ONT.

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[A few notes may here be added on some of the words mentioned in the preceding paper, pp. 48-51. *Cow-pasture*, *target-practice* and *tread water* are perhaps universal. On *bellywhackers*, cf. p. 60. *Bloodsucker* is also used on Cape Cod. There was and perhaps still is in Maine, a rhyme corresponding to that on p. 49, which runs, as nearly as I (E. S. S.) can remember, as follows:—

Grasshopper, grasshopper, grasshopper gray,  
Give me molasses now, I pray.

On Cape Cod, *piss-abad* is used for the "field-daisy," "white-weed." The pronunciations noted for *deaf*, *national*, and *quoits* are also known in New England. On *quoits* and *supple*, cf. pp. 75, 72.

E. S. S.

G. L. K.]

## MISCELLANIES.

IN studying dialects of any country we are constantly confronted with the question of the exact limitation of any one dialect. On the border lines between the districts in which different dialects are spoken there will always be more or less mixture, and this mixture will often be perceptible in the dialects of adjoining districts. It is therefore the duty of the investigator to separate the native element of a dialect from the foreign element and show clearly the influence exerted from without upon the dialect. The elements of which modern English is composed are so diverse that this is frequently an impossibility. We are often in doubt whether it is the natural development of the native element, or whether outside influence has been active in producing certain changes which are observed in the language from time to time. It is true that some features of our language can be ascribed with absolute certainty to foreign or native growth, but often the question admits of doubt. In the study of the dialects of America, if one can properly speak of an American dialect where the differences are so slight that they are to be considered rather as peculiarities than dialectical distinctions, this question becomes all the more complex, since the English brought over by our ancestors had the same peculiarities, and the changes have been so similar in the different sections that real dialectical differences cannot be said to exist. In the early history of our nation there were, roughly speaking, three principal centres from which pioneers were sent out to settle the rest of the country: New England; the South; and the Middle States, with New York as central point. The settlements as a rule advanced directly westward, the Northwest receiving its settlers from New England and the Middle States, the Southwest being dependent for its settlement in a great measure upon the South. The West, both north and south, has moreover had its own peculiar development, and though retaining in the main the peculiarities of the section whence its settlers came, it has marked peculiarities. But the differences in the different sections of the country are not so great that we can properly speak of a New England dialect, a southern dialect, a

midland dialect. Furthermore, the sections are also divided into sub-sections, each of which has its own peculiarities. From the very nature of the case we shall find something common to all in the different sections of the country. It is the intention of the Dialect Society to collect not only dialectical differences, but also those expressions and pronunciations common to the various sections of the country. In this way, and in this way only, can the extent of the usage of words, expressions and pronunciations be determined. In studying the growth of a language it should be considered, generally speaking, under four different phases: 1. We should consider the regular and natural development of the language of the place; 2. Outside influence upon this development; 3. Words, expressions and pronunciations peculiar to the place itself; 4. Rare words, expressions and pronunciations which may be found in other sections of the country. In the first case we have the actual growth of the language in the place. If intercourse with the outer world is active, it will be the same as that of the language of the country at large. If it is conservative or seclusive, there will be well-defined divergences which in the course of time, if free from outside influence in any way, will become dialectical differences. This is best seen in country places. Outside influence is felt most in the foreign element of the place. Foreign words and expressions, foreign influence on the pronunciation, become a part of the language. The influx of any outside population will produce the same effect. In the third case the place may have retained words, expressions, or pronunciations that have become obsolete elsewhere. This is frequently true in America when compared with England; and it is also true of certain sections of America when compared with others.

The following rare words, expressions, and grammatical peculiarities are offered as contributions to the dialectical varieties of the country:—

**coast**, as a verb, is very common in Western New York.

**cushion**. I have heard the pronunciation *quishion* from two persons, and it is said to be a Cape Cod pronunciation.

**disremember** is common in the South, though it is considered vulgar.

**fanner**: an open basket dishing out from the bottom upward, is sometimes heard in Charleston, S.C. Originally it was used to separate the chaff from the wheat, by tossing it up into the air and catching it as it fell down, thus allowing the wind to fan out the chaff. Hence the name.

**get.** In Charleston, S.C., the principal parts of this verb are *get*, *got*, *gotten*; the past part. *got* is seldom heard, and is considered improper.

**gaufre** (waffle) is still in use among the negroes, and is a relic of the early Huguenot French. [Cf. the Century dictionary, s.v. *gofer*. E. S. S.]

**go.** There are two peculiar expressions in Charleston, S.C., that I have never heard elsewhere. They say sometimes the *church goes in* at 11 o'clock and *goes out* at 12.30; more often they say the *church takes in* at 11 o'clock and *takes out* at 12.30.

**jell**, as a verb, is used in Charleston, S.C.

**just** is sometimes pronounced *jist* in Charleston, S.C., but I have never heard the pronunciation *jest*, though I should not be surprised if it were used by the vulgar.

**might**, pronounced *mighnt*, is quite general among the working people of Western New York.

**milk**: "marshy milk" in Charleston, S.C., is the milk of a cow feeding on the marsh grass, which gives the milk a peculiar marshy taste.

**pop open** is an expression peculiar to Charleston, S.C., used of the rending or tearing or wearing through of a dress, etc.; the dress is said to *pop open*.

**scrap**, a small portion, is quite frequent in Charleston, S.C.

**scellion** or **skellion**, if my memory fails not, is a rare word in Charleston, S.C., meaning an onion or leek. The French is *échalote*, a plant belonging to the leek family. It is derived from the Latin *ascalonia*, and that from *Ascalò*, a city in Phœnicia, whence the plant came. The older form is *escalone*, whence the Charlestonian *scellion*. Two persons from Maine have told me that they have always called poor onions that grow up to stalk, with no bulbs, *scullions*. This may be the same word, though I am inclined to think it is simply the word *scullion*, *kitchen-servant*, used in the sense of a scullion among onions.

**soot** is commonly pronounced *sot* in Charleston, S.C.

**steboy**. Instead of *steboy* I have often heard *sheboy*, though *steboy* is the proper form.

**take in, take out.** See under *go in, go out*.

**thrash.** In my boyhood (in Western New York) I never heard the pronunciation *thresh* in either sense of the word. The farmers always (even now) speak of 'thrashing' their grain.

Charleston, S.C., has one peculiarity which I have not noticed elsewhere; *viz.* they constantly end the sentences with the rising inflection, so that they appear to be asking questions at first. I am told that this peculiarity also exists in Devonshire, England.

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## NOTES FROM CINCINNATI.

THE following are contributed by Prof. J. M. Hart, and others, members of the Philological Society of the University of Cincinnati. The editors are responsible for the matter in brackets:—

**allerickstix** (used in common schools of Cincinnati): all right. *E.g.*: Qu. "How did you get through examination?" Ans. "Allerickstix." Presumably a corruption of German *alles richtig*, used as equivalent for the English *all right*.

**Auburn**: proper name; often pronounced *Or-burn*. Western Ohio (Cincinnati). Thus, Mount Auburn as if Mount Orburn.

**barley**: a child's word, common in Pennsylvania, meaning to intermit play (for a rest). The opposite is "barley's out." (W. O. Sproull.) (I am familiar with the rhyme, "Barley free All over me." J. M. H.) [Apparently a Scotch form for *parley*; see Murray and Jamieson.]

**belly-bumper**: an awkward dive, when the boy, instead of cleaving the water with his hands and head, falls flat on his stomach with a splash. Common in Philadelphia. Cf. *bellywhackers*, p. 49.

**belly-grinder**: to coast lying on the stomach. Western Pennsylvania. [In Maine and Massachusetts are used "to go belly-bump" and "to go belly-bunt." The corresponding "belly-whopper" and "belly-gutter" are reported from Jersey City, N.J., by Mr. E. S. Griffing.]

**cake**. Take the *cake*: to be the best or very excellent. From the ducky festival known as a *cake-walk*, in which a cake is in the centre of a room, and the contestants promenade around it, the couple "putting on most style" winning the cake.

**case**, *n.*: a dollar.

**catish**, *adj.*: stylish, elegant; generally preceded by *very*. (Accent on the ultimate.)

**chuck**: *e.g.* "to chuck one a blow on the ear." Western Pennsylvania and Western Ohio.

**cinch**, *n.*: a sure thing. (Really the belly-band or surcingle of a saddle. Hence the phrase "to have a cinch" on a thing; *i.e.* to have it tied up securely. Hence, "cinch" in general means a sure thing.) [See Murray, s.v.]

**commy**: a clay marble of the kind least valued by boys. Western Pennsylvania. *Commony* is the name in Ohio. [*Tooser* (*tûza*) was used twenty years ago (and probably is still used) in Boston in this sense. It was supposed to be derived from *two*.]

**cracky-wagon**: a one-horse wagon, without springs. Western Pennsylvania.

**dice**. *Craps*, *oontz*: the usual game; *peeties*: loaded dice; *to come*: to throw 7 or 11 on the first shot; *to crap*: to throw 2, 3, or 12 at first; *to make*

*a pass*: to repeat the number thrown first, before throwing 7; *to fade*: to bet against the player shooting; *to be hot*: to have a run of luck; *big Dick*: 10; *little Joe*: 4.

**do-less** or **doo-less**: do-nothing, good for nothing. Common. [Scotch; see the Century dictionary.]

**drag**, *v.*; pret. *drug* (instead of *dragged*). Ohio and Indiana.

**fen**: to forbid; used especially by boys playing marbles. "Fen heist" (haist): don't hoist or raise your hand while shooting. (Isn't this *fen*, from *defend*? Cf. the French use of *défendre* = forbid, prohibit. J. M. H.) [Cf. p. 76, and Pt. I, p. 24.]

**fen**: to claim. Western Ohio. (W. O. Sproull.) (Unknown to me. J. M. H.)

**few**: quite a few = a good many. Ohio. [Also New England. Cf. the Century dictionary.]

**gas**: in Philadelphia usually pronounced *gaz* [gæz].

**Gee whizz!** **Gee Whittaker!** an exclamation of surprise. (*Gee* from *Jesus*? J. M. H.) [*Gee Whittaker* is also common in New England.]

**grouchy**, *adj.*: stingy. (Connected with *grudge*?)

**growler**: [as in the Century dictionary, sense 4, and known generally.]

*To rush or work the growler*: to buy beer in a growler; *growlering*: the business of selling beer by measure. (Doesn't "rushing the growler" also mean "going on a spree"? J. M. H.)

**gardeen** (gard·in): a pronunciation of *guardian*. Pennsylvania and Ohio. [In New England also, and Kentucky (J. P. Fruit), without the *r*: gad·in.]

**have**: pronounced *haf* in such a phrase as "I haf to have it." (I am conscious of a tendency to slip into this pronunciation. Probably acquired in my boyhood in Philadelphia. J. M. H.) [Also common in New England, and due to partial assimilation to the following unvoiced consonant in any careless pronunciation. So, too, "had to" may become "hat to." "Hafter" for "have to" is also reported by Professor Fruit from Kentucky. E. S. S.]

**heist** (haist): a common pronunciation for *hoist*. Also *heist* as a noun: in marbles, "I have heist" = I may raise my hand from the ground. [This pronunciation is probably known everywhere.] Cf. *fen*.

**hellion**, *n.*: a comic word; = denizen of hell. [Now common in Massachusetts, meaning "a devil of a fellow." It was used at least sixty years ago as a term of abuse (= devil's imp) in Barnstable, Mass. G. L. K.]

**hike** (haik), *v.*: to hitch; *e.g.* "The curtain *hikes* or *hikes up*" (doesn't pull up smoothly). Western Ohio. (W. O. Sproull.) (The word is familiar to me, but I cannot place it anywhere in particular. Perhaps a doublet of *hitch*. J. M. H.)

**honey**: good. "That's a honey strike." Western Ohio.

**kid**: small boy or girl. Common. (Nowadays, when the Horatian line, "Cras donaberis haedo," is translated, You will be presented to-morrow with a kid, the class usually smiles audibly. This would not have been so twenty years ago. J. M. H.)

**king**: (like *barley*) a child's word, to intermit play, for a rest. The opposite is *king out*. Western Ohio. [The New England expression is "no fair," also, in Massachusetts, "no fairs." Cf. *king's excuse*, p. 65, and *barley*, p. 60.]

**leery**, *adj.*: (a) suspicious. "He was leery of me" [cf. the sense *knowing*, *sly*, given as thieves' slang in the Century dictionary]; (b) drunk. "Looking leery."

**lop**, both *n.* and *v.*, trans. and intrans. Common among students at Jefferson College, Pennsylvania. As a noun, one who curries favor with the Faculty; as a verb, to curry favor.

**lummoz**. In use in and around Philadelphia to designate an uncouth fellow, awkward in body or in mind. [Also in New England.]

**moke**, *n.*: a negro. Especially "musical moke," a negro minstrel, who plays on a number of different instruments in succession. [Also known elsewhere.]

**nicker**: the marble to be knocked out of the ring. Western Pennsylvania.

**pernickely**: cranky. Western Pennsylvania.

**Sam MacCordens**, *v.*, trans. and intrans.: to pick up and run off with another's marbles. It is inflected regularly. The tradition among boys is that a boy by the name of Sam MacCordens used to act in that way. Western Pennsylvania.

**skasely**: for *scarcely*. (Usually regarded as an Americanism. But cf. "they themselves could skaselye entre withoute iepardie," More's *Utopia*, translated by Ralph Robinson, p. 73. Arber's Reprint. J. M. H.)

**scrouge** or **scrowdage**, trans. and intrans.: to crowd. Common. [Also reported from the Seguachee Valley, Tenn., by Mr. R. M. Middleton, Jr. "Don't scrowdage me so" = "give me more room." Cf. the Encycl. Dict., s.v. In New England it is in use, pronounced *skraudz* (also *skrûdz* in Massachusetts), as noun, meaning one who drives a hard bargain; and as verb, to drive a hard bargain with, to overreach one in trade; as, "he's an old scrouge," "he'd scrouge you out of your eye-teeth."]

**service**: for *surbase*. Western Pennsylvania.

**skeezix**. In use in and around Philadelphia, to designate a man not altogether to be trusted, *ein pfiffiger Patron*, but somewhat uncouth also. [Used by Bret Harte in the sense of a shiftless, good-for-nothing fellow, as the title of a story.]

**slouch**, *n.*: a disagreeable fellow. (Generally regarded as an Americanism. But cf. —

"Och, there is nether duke ne barone,  
Be they of never so grett power,  
But they be constrayned to croutche  
Before this butcherly slouch,  
As it were unto an Emproure."

1528. *Rede Me and be not Wrothe*, p. 59, top, Arber's Reprints.

The "slouch" is Cardinal Wolsey. J. M. H.) [Several cases of *slouch* in early use are cited in *Englische Studien*, XIV, 388.]

**slough**: swamp, bog. Pronounced *slû* or *sleu* in Ohio and Indiana. [The pronunciation *slû* is noticed also in Louisiana. See p. 72.]

**small-measure**: the fourth part of a peck. Western Ohio.

**snake-fence**, **worm-fence**. "He's laying a snake-fence or worm-fence." Used to describe the gait of a drunken man. Western Pennsylvania.

**snuck**, *v.*, trans. and intrans.: to sneak. "He snucked that," "he snucked up to it." Western Ohio. (Cognate of *snug*? J. M. H.)

**snucker**, *v.*, intrans. "I'll snucker" = "I'll not do it." Western Pennsylvania.

**tom-troller**: name for a very big marble. Philadelphia.

**wapper-jawed** (pronounced wopar): crooked. "The curtain is wapper-jawed." Western Ohio. [In Massachusetts and New Hampshire with an *h* (*hwopədʒəd*), in this sense, and in Massachusetts also in the sense given by Bartlett.]

**whack**. Out of whack = out of gear, out of order. Common.

**whack up**, *v.*: share.

**wheelbarrow**. A "Dutch wheelbarrow" is made by taking a boy by the ankles and holding his legs up in the air, and letting him walk on his hands. [Cf. the New England phrase to "walk Spanish." A boy is said to walk Spanish when he is lifted from behind by the seat of his trousers, so that he has to walk on his toes.]

**wrench**: for *rinse*, e.g. "Wrench your mouth out!" Common in the neighborhood of Philadelphia. [Evidently the same word as the New England "rense," for *rinse*. Perhaps *rents yər* is simply a phonetic development from *rens yər* through *rents yər*, *s + y* giving *j*. E. S. S.]

## KENTUCKY WORDS AND PHRASES.

### I. PECULIAR WORDS AND USAGES.

**beast-back**: horseback. "I went *beast-back* to town."

**bilious** (bilyəs). When one has insults heaped upon him, we say, "That is *bilious*."

**bilin'**. "I can whip *the whole kit and bilin'* of you," i.e. "the whole kit and boodle of you." See Bartlett, s.v. *kit and boodle* [and Murray, s.v. *boodle*; and cf. *compoodle*, in this list.]

**bobbed** (bobd). Used in a game played, usually at a country party, called "Brother, I'm bobbed." A boy is blindfolded and seated in a chair; another strikes him on the head with a book, when the hoodwinked boy says, "Brother, I'm bobbed!" "Who bobbed you?" "Jack Smith." If he guesses the right boy, that boy is to be bobbed. It is simply a play in which "they run the green off of a fellow." [This is obviously the old English game of *hot cockles*. For *bob* (= strike), see Murray.]

**buck** a fellow: to take a boy and swing him against a tree.

**cahoot**. See Bartlett. "We are in *cahoot*." [Farmer gives an example of "in cahoots."]

**cat**: a game at ball. In two-cornered *cat*, a boy with bat stands at each corner; there is a catcher behind each boy. If a batter is 'caught out,' or 'crossed out,' he gives up his bat. He is 'crossed out' when the ball is thrown between him and the corner to which he is running. [Compare the New England games of ball called *two-ole-cat* and *four-ole-cat*.]

**compoodle** (komp·ūdl): same as *caboodle* (q.v. in Bartlett). "He cleaned out (*i.e.* whipped out) the whole *compoodle*." [Cf. *kit and caboodle*, p. 74; and *bilin'*, p. 63.]

**coon**: for *negro*. "There is a strange *coon* in town." [Common elsewhere.]

**corn** (kən). Of a frisky fat horse, we say, "He feels his corn." [In New England, "He feels his *oats*." Also used metaphorically of persons.]

**cornder**: for *corner* (kənə) (see Pt. I, p. 24). "Watch your corners" is the same as keep a sharp look out, be shrewdly attentive. The expression comes in this way: when a man is ploughing and reaches the corners of his land, he must be careful in turning his team and plow, or he will not break up the land thoroughly at the corners.

**cowbuncle** (kaubənkl): carbuncle. "Who is doctoring Bill Smith's *cowbuncle*?"

**cowcumber**: for *cucumber*; used now more as a reminder of how the old folks pronounced the word. [Once the accepted pronunciation of the word in England. See Walker's interesting note s.v.]

**crawfish**, *v.*: to back out [as in Bartlett]. "He will *crawfish* out of it."

**critter** (kritə) was used for horse by old people. "My *critter* got foundered last week." "I went to church *critter-back*." [Cf. *beast-back*, p. 63.]

**cut**. With tobacco-raisers *cut* means a portion of a tobacco field. "Did you finish worming that *cut* you were on?"

**dad** (dæd), **dod**: for *God*, in certain curses. Thus: "Dad-drat your hide," "Dad-drot you," "Dod-(d)rot you (cf. "God rot it," which I have heard pronounced *God-drot it*), "Dad burn." "Drat it" is also used (see Bartlett [and Farmer, s.v. *dratted*]).

**dead-line**: a line drawn a few inches from a ring of marbles on the "taw" side, beyond which every player must "plump" in coming from "taw," or he is *dead*; that is, out of the game for that time.

**dodger, corn-dodger**. See Bartlett. We have what we call "plain dodger," in which the meal is made up with cold water into *pones*; then, "shortened dodger," in which the meal is made up with lard, or grease of some kind. Our "crackling bread" is a corn-dodger made up with cracklings.

**drats** (dræts): little brown marbles. "Let's play drats."

**ear**. "To spin round on one's ear" means *to get violently angry*. Slang. [Cf. *to get up on your ear* (New England), in a similar sense.]

**fice** (fais(t)). As in Bartlett. We often hear among negroes and illiterate persons, "He's got a little *fice-dog*." Also the adjective *fice-ty*; as, "He is *fice-ty* (frisky)."

**flicker** (flikə), *v.*: to fail, to back out. "He *flickered* to-day."

**flummux**, *v.* See Bartlett. We nearly always use another syllable; as, "He *ker-flummuxed* to-day." "When they brought that in, I almost k'flummuxed (kəfləməkst)."

**fox-fire**: phosphorescent wood seen at night after continued rain. We have an expression, "That is all fox-fire," meaning, of no consequence.

**frazzle** (fræzl): to fray. "This cloth frays, or frazzles." To *frazzle out* is to fray out. Also as a noun: "Look at the *frazzles*!"

**fudge** (fɛdʒ) : said when a player at marbles shoves his hand towards the marble at which he is shooting. "Now, don't *fudge* over it."

**gee up** (dʒɪ ʌp) : same as "g'lang" (p. 68).

**git through**. At protracted meetings the "mourners" (see Bartlett) "*git through*" when they profess conversion.

**goody** (gūdi). One country school-boy to another, tauntingly: "Goody, goody gout! Shirt-tail out."

**go to grass** (græs). [Also in New England.] As in Bartlett. "Go to grass, and eat mullein!"

**gourds** (gōədʒ). To "saw gourds" is to snore furiously.

**hand running**. As in Bartlett. *Hand going* (negro, *hand gwine*) means the same thing.

**hants** (hænts) : ghosts; used by the negroes. "There's *hants* in this here house."

**hold a stiff upper lip** : put on a bold face.

**hump one's self** : to run fast, or work hard. "He will have to *hump himself* to get there." [Widely known as slang.]

**hunk** (hɛŋk.) As (1) in Bartlett. [Also in New England.] Also a country fellow; as, "He is a country *hunk*."

**Jimmie john** : a demijohn.

**joober**. See *Juba*, in Bartlett. "To make a child *dance joober*" is to whip him.

**king's excuse** (kɪŋzɛkskyûs). Abbreviated to *king's ex*. In playing base, when a boy falls down, to keep from being caught he says, "Kings *ex*." [Cf. *king*, p. 61, and *king's cruse*, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, IV, 121.]

**knucks** (nɛks) : a game at marbles in which the winner shoots at his adversary's knuckles.

**license**. A *pair of license* = a license to marry.

**luck**. *Live and luck well*. "May you live and luck well" [cf. Halliwell].

**'lowed** (laud) : for *allowed* (= expected). "I 'lowed he'd come."

**lugs** (lɛgz). "Give me some *lugs*" is *Give me a chew of tobacco*. [Cf. the Century dictionary, s.v., *lug*<sup>2</sup>, n.]

**lumber** (lɛmbə). "Listen how he *lumbers*," said of a deep-mouthed dog's barking when he has treed a 'coon or 'possum.

**meetin'** : for *church, preaching* [as in New England]. "I am going to *meetin'*." "Big-meetin'" is protracted *meetin'*. A "basket-meetin'" is a two or three days' *meetin'*, when they have "dinner on the ground."

**mind out** : *to take care, to look out*. "Mind out what you are doing." [*Watch out* is used in the same sense in Indiana. (Professor William F. M. Goss.) Cf. *tend out*, *Dial. Notes*, Pt. I, p. 22.]

**Mollie-Cotton-tail** : a hare. "I saw a *Mollie-Cotton-tail*."

**mollygascow** (moligæskau). See *mollygasher*, in Bartlett.

**nigger-flea** : a broom-straw coated with the tallow of the tallow-candle. It was stuck on the "nigger's" flesh while he was asleep, and lighted.

**onery** (onəri) : for *extremely ordinary*. "What *onery* looking chap is that?" "He is an *onery* 'cuss'." [Also in the Middle States (*orn'ry* = mean, or vile. Professor J. Henry Thayer). How wide-spread is this use?]

**'pears** : for *appears*. [Common in Elizabethan English.]

**rippit** (ripit) : a great noise. "He made a great *rippit*."

**round'unce** : for *round once*; used in a game of marbles

**rucas** (rūkʷs) : for *rumpus*.

**scarripin** (skærɪpɪn) : for *terrapin*. By negroes and illiterate persons.

**scat!** (skæt) : to a child on sneezing.

**scatteration** (skætərɛʃən) : dispersion. "There was a great *scatteration*."

**school-butter** : the direst insult to a country school-boy. To cry out *school-butter* to a lot of boys is to invite a fight.

**scorripin** (skærɪpɪn) : scorpion.

**scotch the preacher**, to : to say "Amen" and grunt frequently during the sermon.

**shakes**. "I will be there in three *shakes* of a dead sheep's tail"; *i.e.* directly.

**slick citizen** : an unprincipled fellow. "He is a *slick citizen*."

**slipe** (slaip) : a piece, or slice. "Cut me a *slipe* of bacon."

**soaky** (sōki) : a free-for-all scramble for the ball, and the privilege to hit whomsoever one will. "Soak him!" they all cry. When one is hit hard, they say, "That was a soaker!" [Cf. *soak-about*, s.v. *soak*, in Farmer.]

**stakes**. When a player at marbles gets three of the five men in the ring, he has *stakes*.

**stick me**. Put a marble in the ring for me.

**strike** : to meet, or to find. "I *struck* him at Jim Bell's."

**stumps**. "He is in a bad row of stumps," means to be in trying places. Comes from the trouble one has in plowing in stumpy land.

**sugar-game** : the deciding game at marbles.

**swipe** (swaip) : a word imitating the sound of a switch brought down upon a mule or horse. "He fetched me *swipe* with a seasoned hickory."

**tacky** (tæki) : common. "That old hat is tacky." Recently we have had "tacky parties," where the guests dress in the commonest and most unfashionable costumes. [Also reported from Cincinnati, with the meaning *slovenly, shabby*.]

**tetchus** (tɛʃəs) : tetchy. "You are mighty *tetchus*."

**thing-um-a-bob** (ɪŋəməbɒb). "Give me that *thing-um-a-bob*." Used when the name of the thing cannot be at once recalled. [In New England are used *thingembob* (ɪŋəmbɒb), *thingamy* (ɪŋəmi), and *thingemajig* (ɪŋəmædʒɪg); also *thigamy* (ɪgəmi) in Massachusetts.]

**thing-em-a-dudgeon** : same as the above. "Where is that *thing-em-a-dudgeon*?"

**thing-doodle** (ɪŋdʊdl) : *id.* "What do you call that *thing-doodle*?"

**through** (brû) : the number of rows worked by a set of hands through a tobacco field. To illustrate: Seven hands will take fourteen rows at a *through*, working from one side of a field to the other. "Did you finish that last *through*?"

**turning-row** : a row unplanted in a corn or tobacco field, where the horses turn around in plowing.

**what do you know?** for "What is the news?"

**whittlety-whet**. When two are running a race, we say, "It is *whittlety-whet* who will get there first."

## II. PRONUNCIATIONS AND GRAMMATICAL POINTS.

The "results" on p. 6, DIALECT NOTES, Part I, can be verified here without exception.

**after** (æftə). For the à of the North æ is most generally used. You rarely have *fùst*, *pùst*, *lùst*, but *fæst*, *pæst*, *læst*; often *fwæst*, *pæwæst*, *læwæst*.

**again** (əgin). Frequent.

**against** (əginst).

**ain't** (eint). For *am not*, *is not*, *are not* [also in New England]: as "I aint goin'," "He aint goin'," "We or you aint goin'." Well nigh universally used here and farther south. The ignorant, negroes and whites, say, "I aint gwine," "He aint gwine," etc. In order to be emphatic they put in 'grace' syllables, as "I aint-er gwine-ter to do it." [But *er* rather = *a*.]

**are** (aa). Pronounced like *air* (æə) by a few who have not forgotten their 'old field school' training of thirty years ago.

**ask** (æsk).

"Ask me no questions, I'll tell you no lies;  
Give me some berries, I'll bake you some pies."

Said to an inquisitive youngster.

**ast**. Many do not say *ask*, but *ast* (æst); as, "Ast me nothing about it."

**boil**. Used sometimes for *bile*, by persons when trying to be exceedingly 'proper'; as "I took some calomel to work off the boil," "I am full of boil."

**bretheren**: for *brethren*. Sometimes pronounced "britheren" and "bruth-erin" and "bretherin." "I tell you, bretherin and sisterin."

**bug-a-boo** (bûg-a-bû). See Webster's pronunciation.

**chair** (tʃæə): sometimes tʃē.

**champ**: pronounced tʃæmp.

**chimbly** or **chimly** (tʃimli): for *chimney*, by children. Not so often heard now. [Also in New and Old England, and *chimbly* is reported from Louisiana by Professor Pearce.]

**dog** (dœg). "Dog-gone your skin," "Dog-gone my cats" are by-words.

**done** (dœn): for *did* frequently. [Also heard in New England.] "He done it"; also "He is done gone."

**don't you**: pronounced dœntʃ-û, often dœntʃə [as doubtless elsewhere common].

**drug** (dræg): for *dragged*. "He drug him out of the house." [Also reported by Professor Pearce from Louisiana as pret. and p.p.]

**dubersome**. See Bartlett. Here it is *jubersôme* [dʒû-].

**for** (fœə): sometimes fē.

**foтч** (fotʃ): as in Bartlett. And for *reared*; as "I was foтч up with the niggers." "I foтч him a slap with my hand" shows a frequent use of the word among the negroes.

**garden**: pronounced *gyaden*, by old Virginians. Kentuckians say *gaden*.

**girl** (gēl). Not infrequently *gyēl*.

- gal**: for *girl* in the backwoods. "She is a mighty fine gal."
- git**: for *get*. [Also in New England.] Frequently used. "Git my hat."  
"Git!" for "be gone!"
- git 'ligion**: negro for "to get religion."
- g'lang**: for *go along*, to a horse in plow or wagon.
- ground** (graund). Often *græund*.
- gwine** (gwain): for *going*. *Goin'* of the Southern whites becomes *gwine* in the negro's mouth.
- hanted** [with æ]: for *haunted*.
- hare**. Called "*rabbit*," except in negro-songs. "Ole hyar, what you doin' dyar?" They never say "ole hare."
- help**. "I have no help" means *I have no servant*. [So in New England also.] Often pronounced *he'p*.
- hender** (hendə): hinder. "You can't *hender* me." [Also in New England.]
- hen nest** (hennest): for *hen's nest*.
- hit's**: for *it is*. "Hit's no use talkin'"; said by children.
- holp** (hōlp): for *helped*. "He holp me out of the scrape." [Cf. *hopd*, p. 71.]
- how d' y' do?** With rising inflection. Shorter, "Howd'y."
- hyme** (haim). Formerly used for *hymn*.
- h'y'r'y'** (haiəyə)? *how are you?* Negroes meet, and one says, "H'y' 'zy'?"  
"I'ze tol'ble; h'y' 'zy'?"
- ingine** (indʒain). Negroes, for *engine*.
- ingineer** (indʒin'fə).
- intrust**: for *interest* on money. Old persons, white and black, say, "What is the *intrust* on that amount?"
- jine**: for *join*. Illiterates say, "I'm goin' to *jine* the chu'ch."
- jiners** (dʒainəz). "How many *jiners* did they have?" is an inquiry about a protracted "meetin'."
- joint**. Often pronounced *dʒaint*.
- just**. Often pronounced *dʒis* or *dʒes*. "It is *jis* right." Children say, "Thes let me tell you." "Jes so" for *just so* is often heard [as in New England].
- ketched**: for *caught*. [Cf. Pt. I, p. 7.]
- kilt**: for *killed*. Frequently used. "He *kilt* him dead."
- long**. Pronounced lŏŋ.
- ma** (mâ, often mə) = mother.
- mam, mama** (mæm, mæmi): for mother.
- nebber** (nebə): for *never*, by the old negroes. "*Nebber* min' dat, chile."
- nothing** (nəʒin). [In New England also pronounced *nəʒin*.]
- obstroperous**: for *obstreperous*.
- outdacious** (autdēfəs). See 'owdacious' in Bartlett.
- pa** (pâ or pə). Note also *pap* (pæp) and *papa* (pæpi).
- particular**. Pronounced *pətiklə*.
- passel** (pæsl): for *parcel*. "She bought a whole *passel* o' things,"  
"There was a whole *passel* o' folks there." Becoming rare.

**pizin** (paizn): for *poison*. In all words with an "oi" in them the "oi" was formerly pronounced *ai*. Now growing rare. [So too in New England.]

**plagued**. Pronounced *plegd*.

**po'ly** (pouli): for *poorly*. "How d'you do?" "I am po'ly to-day."

**pra'r** (praə): for *prayer*, by old people.

**Sad'day**: for Saturday.

**sho nuf** (ʃônɒf): for *sure enough*, by children.

**srink**: for *shrink*. [Also in New England.]

**there** (ðeə). Sometimes *thar* (ðaa).

**th'one** (þoun): throne.

**th'ow** (þou): throw. "He can't *th'ow* any distance."

**tol'ble** (tol'bl): tolerable. "I'm *tol'ble* well." [*Toləbl* is a New England pronunciation.]

**uster** (yūstə): used to.

"When it rains and wets our old rooster,  
He don't look like he *useter*."

[Yūstə = *used to*, is also heard in New England.]

**wa'n't** (wənt): wasn't. "He said he *wa'n't* goin' to do it." [Common in New England.]

**warnut** (wənt): walnut. By children and negroes. [Also heard in New England.]

**weepuns** (wīpnz): weapons.

**where**. Pronounced *hwēə* [as in New England].

**whip**. Often pronounced *hwup*.

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## NOTES FROM LOUISIANA.

### I. PECULIAR WORDS AND USAGES.

**afeared**: afraid. [Information as to the survival of this word in America is desired.]

**beast**: euphemism for *bull*. Common among the women-folk on farms.

**bed-fast**: confined to bed. I have heard this word but once, and in the parish of East Baton Rouge, used by an old negress who had been since her childhood (as she told me) in the service of a family of English descent. An Illinois friend tells me that it is common in that state. [Murray calls it northern and Scottish, giving examples from Spottiswood (1639), Burns and Mrs. Gaskell.]

**biddable**: obedient, subservient. Not very common. ["Of Scotch origin." — Murray. Cf. Bartlett and Farmer.]

**black frost**: a "freeze." Popularly supposed to be so called because the wilted vegetation turns black. A friend suggests that a black frost is so called because of the absence of any white frost (rime). [Familiar in New England. See the Century dictionary, s.v. *frost*.]

**brickle, brickly**: brittle. Both *brickle* and *brickly* are somewhat common among settlers of English lineage. [For *brickle* see Murray. *Brickly* is used in Georgia, according to Bartlett.]

**carry**: escort. "Shall you carry Miss Smith to the picnic?" "No, I shall carry Miss Jones." Almost universal in the northern part of the state. [See Murray, s.v., § 5. Also noted in Kentucky by Professor Fruit. *Take* is the New England word in this sense.]

**faze**. "You didn't faze him" = you did not disturb him, did not even attract his attention. Used also of inanimate objects. [Also reported by Professor Fruit from Kentucky. (Pronounced *feiz*.) See the Century dictionary, s.v.]

**fish-fry**: a sort of picnic, where the fish are caught and cooked on the grounds.

**gaum**: to smear. "The baby is all gaumed up with molasses." [Still surviving in provincial English. Also on Cape Cod: *gom* or *gōm*.]

**gilt**: a sow with her first litter of pigs. Very common among the farmers of northern Louisiana (noted only in Claiborne parish). (In Webster, etc., in a different sense.) [See Mätzner, s.v. *gilt*.]

**infare**. Though this is in Webster, I list it, as I have never seen it elsewhere in print. It is quite common in northern Louisiana (Claiborne and Webster parishes), and, I am told, in several of the southern states. [Also reported from Kentucky. "As in Bartlett, not used now. Was often pronounced *infaa*. 'The infair was splendid.'" — J. P. Fruit.]

**kinry**: relatives, kindred. This word I have heard several times, used with a somewhat contemptuous or jocular force.

**noggin**: head. Somewhat common among English settlers as a semi-slang term.

**onliest**, *adj.*: superlative of *only*. Common among the ignorant.

**sick**. *To sick a dog on* = to urge him to the attack. A friend suggests that this is the verb *seek* ("Seek him, Towser!"). ["Sick him!" (to a dog) is common in New England.]

**some**. To say of a woman that "she looks *some*," with emphasis on the *some* [cf. Bartlett], is equivalent to saying that she looks remarkably well. Lowell uses the expression. [Note also the New England phrase, 'some punkins,' to express a high degree of ability. "He's some punkins." Bartlett reports the phrase from the South and West.]

**stag**: an ox that has been "altered?" (castrated) late in life, after running as a bull for a while. Universal among farmers. [So in New Hampshire. — G. L. K.] In Webster, but with a different definition. [Bartlett and Farmer define *stag* as *bullock*.]

**turn**. A turn of wood (for example) is an arm-load, a cart-load, or any other quantity that can be transported at one return.

**whatfer**. "Whatfer man is he?" = what sort of man is he? Prevalent where Germans are numerous, and evidently their "was für." Very common in Red River parish, and perhaps in Webster, where there are many German-Jewish merchants. [Compare the similar English idiom in "What is he for a ladde you so lament?" Spenser, Shep. Cal. April, v. 17. "What are we going to have for weather to-day?" (New England).]

## II. PRONUNCIATIONS AND GRAMMATICAL POINTS.

**are** [rhyming with *pare*], plural of *am*. This pronunciation is often heard in Louisiana, and is, I am told, common throughout the South.

**axe** and **axed**: *ask, asked*. Common among the ignorant, particularly those of English descent. It of course dates back to Anglo-Saxon days. [How wide-spread is this form?]

**clum, clom, clim**: climbed (pret. and p.p.). [Both *clum* and *clim* are common in New England, at least as preterites. "He *clum* a tree" is reported by Col. R. S. Robertson, Fort Wayne, Ind.]

**div, dove**: dived (pret. and p.p.). Trench (English: Past and Present, p. 238) says that Longfellow uses *dove* as "perfect," and that he finds it also in a well-written American book of prose. [The usual form for the preterite in New England is *dove*.]

**driv, druv**: drove, driven.

**het**: heated (pret. and p.p.). Webster and Nares each have this form. *Vide* Nares, s.v., and Webster, s.v., *heat*. [Common in New England.]

**ho'p'd**: helped (pret. and p.p.). [Cf. *holp*, p. 68. See also Bartlett and Farmer.]

**mought** (maut): might.

The last two are quite common where settlers of English descent have long been isolated. [*mought* (pronounced maut) is also reported from Kentucky. "I mout, and then again I moutn't" (J. P. Fruit). See Bartlett and Farmer.]

**riz**: did rise. [Common in New England.] Nares quotes *risse* (p.p.), from Ben Jonson, but his spelling would indicate the sharp [voiceless] *s*, which I have never heard.

**sont**: sent. Used mainly by negroes.

**were** (rhyming with *there*). This pronunciation of *were* is used to a considerable extent by persons of respectable education.

**wuz**: was. Usually in unemphatic parts of the sentence; yet such sentences as this may be heard: "You *wuz* (emphatic) there, for I saw you."

**arrow**, *n.*

**narrow**, *adj., v.*

**harrow**, *n., v.*

**bile**: boil, *n., v.*

**rile**: 'roil, *v.*

**jine**: join, *v.*

The last six pronunciations are heard quite commonly in our older English settlements. They will all be recognized as old acquaintances.

**cheer, chur**: chair.

**yo**: ewe.

**hender**: hinder. [Also in New England.]

**maracle** (mæɾəkl) } : miracle.

**meracle** (merəkl) }

**pore**: poor.

**shore**: sure.

**slick** : sleek. [Common in New England.]

**sperrit** : spirit. [Common in New England, and *sperrits* = *spirits* or *ghosts* is reported from Kentucky by Professor Fruit.]

**drap** : drop, *n.* and *v.* [Not unknown in New England.]

The last eleven are quite common in settlements where the lineage is English. **yo**, for *ewe*, is almost universal among our small farmers. **pore** is very common indeed. [In rhyme with *door*, in Whittier's *Maud Muller*.]

**dog, hog, log** (with the vowel *o*). A frequent pronunciation of these words; but *bog, fog* are always correctly pronounced.

**stamp** (stɑmp), *v.*

**tramp** (trɑmp), *v.*

**tassel** (with *o* in the first syllable).

**bleat** (with the vowel *e*).

These four are very nearly universal among our small farmers.

**agg on** : egg on.

**slough** (slŭ): a low, miry place, resembling the bed of a stream (cf. p. 62).

**soople** : supple (cf. p. 51).

**dreen** : drain (*n.*, *v.*). Very common among small farmers. [The verb is reported from Kentucky by Professor Fruit, with the same pronunciation (drĭn), and both noun and verb are common in New England, the verb also meaning to exhaust the supply of anything. "To dreem a boy of his marbles." Maine.]

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## VARIOUS CONTRIBUTIONS.

**bell-snickle** : a grotesquely attired visitor on Christmas night, bringing candies, etc., for the good child, but rods for the bad. Eastern Pennsylvania. (L. A. Swope.)

**bif** : usually a noun, meaning 'a quick blow.' Philadelphia. (A. C. Garrett.) Common in Boston as noun and verb. Oftenest used in such phrases as "to give one a *biff* in the ear." (C. A. Snow.)

**bob-cat**. "A California reader of the *News-Letter* writes to enquire what manner of beast a bob-cat may be, our summary of events of the past year having alluded to the presence of one on Kensington road. A bob-cat is very nearly the color of a raccoon, and from twelve to fifteen pounds in weight. Its head is large, and its mouth furnished with very strong, curved teeth. It has a tail about five inches long. The creature is very wild and keeps aloof from habitations, but when pressed by hunger will often pay destructive visits to poultry yards." — *Exeter* (N.H.) *News-Letter*, Feb. 28, 1890.

**bob-sled** : a "double-runner" (only of a boy's sled). Philadelphia. (A. C. Garrett.) [In Bartlett in a different sense, and limited to Maine.]

**bull-tucker** : a frog. Usual word among Philadelphia boys. (A. C. Garrett.) [*Bull-frog* was the only form known to me in Maine. (E. S. S.) *Bull-frog, bull-paddy*, and *bull-paddock* are familiar on Cape Cod. Cf. "In

New England 'bull-paddock' is a popular synonym for bull-frog." W. J. Rolfe, *Macbeth*, p. 152. (G. L. K.) I have heard *bull-pad* near Boston. (C. H. Grandgent.)

**burden**: crop. "A good burden of grass." Used by a farmer near Portsmouth, N.H. (G. L. Stowell.) Common on Cape Cod. [In Murray, with quotations from 1523 and 1669.]

**carri'n** (kærin): *carrion*. Cape Cod. An early case of this pronunciation seems to occur in Colyn Blowbol's Testament, v. 109, Hazlitt, *Early Popular Poetry*, I., 96.

**cassy** (kæsi): *causeway*. More than one town in New Hampshire. (F. Bolles.)

**chipmuck** (tʃipmæk) seems to be the only pronunciation known in north-eastern Indiana among the farmers' boys. (E. L. Walter, Ann Arbor, Mich.)

**complected**. In *dark-complected* and *light-complected*, used of dark and fair persons respectively. New England. Bartlett and Farmer restrict this to the West, and the Century dictionary calls it western and southern.

**copper**: a cent. New England. Seems to be going out of use.

**crawm** (krəm): a pile of old straw or rubbish (not structural rubbish, however). "Clear out that lot (or mess) of crawm." Portsmouth, N.H., or vicinity. (G. L. Stowell.)

**darsn't** (dasnt): dare(s) not. "I, you, he, we, they darsn't." New England. Also pronounced *dæsn't*. Also even "You don't darse to" and "You don't darst" = you dare not.

**eks** (usually written X): axle. Extremely common in New England. See *ax*, *axe* = *axle* in Murray. Cf. *Dialect Notes*, Pt. I., p. 6.

**fezinah** (fəz'ainə): "a contraction of 'far as I know.' Equivalent to *perhaps*, *I guess so*, *for all I know*. An aged aunt of mine in Chicopee, Mass., who died fifteen years ago, used it constantly. 'It may rain to-morrow, *fezinah*.' Often in answer to a question, as, 'Will he come back soon?' 'Fezinah.'" (F. L. Palmer.)

**flicker**: the golden-winged woodpecker. Philadelphia. (A. C. Garrett.) [Cf. Bartlett and the Century dictionary. Is it generally known?]

**fortinah** (fɔrt'ainə): "a contraction of 'for aught I know.' This seems to have had the same force as *fezinah*. An aged New Haven lady remembers that her mother, who died forty-five years ago, used it occasionally. Mrs. Julia H. Wilson of New Britain, Conn., says that 'fortinah' was a frequent word with a Yankee servant in the employ of her father, Professor E. A. Andrews. Mrs. Wilson pronounces the *r*. The servant died only four or five years ago. Some friends of the said servant also used the word." (F. L. Palmer.)

**gallus** (gæləs), *adj.* (or *adv.*?): excellent(ly). New England and New York. "A gallus old time." In dialect use in England. An early example is "A gallows gay gifte!" John Bon and Mast Person, v. 110, Hazlitt, *Early Popular Poetry*, IV, 13.

**get**. Observe the common New England phrase, "I got it" = I have it; of course shortened from "I've got it." "I have it" is hardly popular; it sounds literary.

**gosh all hemlock**: a mild or burlesque oath. New Hampshire. (F. Bolles.)

**hen-hussy** (henbrezi) : a man who concerns himself overmuch with household matters or housekeeping. Cape Cod and Plymouth, Mass. (G. L. K.) It is in Halliwell. Also reported from South Yarmouth, Mass., spelt (at a venture) *hennessy*, the second syllable evidently slurred in pronunciation. Explained as a man who meddles with women's affairs. (W. M. Davis.)

**hommie** : a young calf. (To children.) Eastern Pennsylvania. (L. A. Swope.)

**huckleberry** (hɛklberi) : for *whortleberry*. New England and Philadelphia. (A. C. Garrett.) In both *whortleberry* seems to be only a book form, not in popular use. Information as to the natural use of both forms is desired. Of course this is derived from *whortleberry*, by change of an earlier *wh* into *h* and substitution of *k* for *t* before *l*. Cf. Skeat, Principles of English Etymology, 1st series, §§ 336, 355, and the Century dictionary. (E. S. S.)

**jigger** : thing (very vague), "thingemajig." Philadelphia. (A. C. Garrett.) [See *thingum-a-bob*, p. 66.]

**jimber-jawed** : with lower jaw projecting. A bull-dog is "jimber-jawed." Philadelphia. (A. C. Garrett.) [In Bartlett with no reference. See the Century dictionary, s.v. *gimbal-jawed*. Cf. *wapper-jawed*, p. 63.]

**jook** (dʒʊk) : to avoid a blow by dodging. Eastern Pennsylvania. (L. A. Swope.) [Scotch; see the Century dictionary, s.v. *jouk* 2.]

**kit and caboodle** : the same as *kit and boodle*. Philadelphia. (A. C. Garrett.) [Cf. *compoodle*, p. 64, and the Century dictionary, s.v. *caboodle*.]

**la** (lə). "To this interjection two pages are given in Earle's Philology of the English Tongue, §§ 197-199. He questions if it may not still be in use. My aunt in Chicopee, who died fifteen years ago, used it constantly, either alone or 'Oh, la!' usually expressing disgust, disapproval, or to show the absurdity of some remark. It is familiar to Connecticut people also, and is still frequent in New England." (F. L. Palmer.)

**led** : for *lid*. Massachusetts. (R. W. Willson.)

**lickerish** (likəriʃ) : for *licorice*. New England. Cf. M. D. Learned, Pennsylvania German Dialect, p. 98, where it appears that this word (taken from English) appears in the dialect as *likrisch*.

**lives** (livz) : lief. "I'd just as lives do it." New England.

**lozenger** (lozndʒə) : a lozenge. Common in New England.

**mind**. Note the New England phrase, "if he was a mind to" (pronounced *wəz ə main tʊ*, or *tə*).

**mote** (môt) : a sort of little pond or puddle in an old river bed. Northern and southern New Hampshire. (F. Bolles.)

**mountain lamb** or **mountain mutton** : deer killed out of season. New Hampshire. (F. Bolles.)

**mushmelon** (mʌʃmɛlən) : a muskmelon. New England.

**mushrat** (mʌʃræt) : the muskrat or musquash. New England.

**nable** (nɛbl) : for *navel*. Provincetown, Mass.

**ou** (au) : an interjection of pain. New England.

**ouch** (autʃ) : an interjection of pain = *ou*. Philadelphia (A. C. Garrett) and Ohio. [Cf. Bartlett and Farmer.]

**pee-pee** (pi pi) : a very small chicken. Eastern Pennsylvania. (L. A. Swope.)

**pup**, *v.*: to calve (used seriously). "So-and-so's cow has *pupped*." Plymouth, Mass. (L. B. R. Briggs.)

**quate** (kweit): a quoit. New England and Philadelphia. "To pitch quates." (A. C. Garrett.) Cf. p. 50.

**quawk** (kwək): the night-heron. Cape Cod. Elsewhere (where?) called *squawk*.

**quirl** (kwēl): curl, *v.* "Quirled way up." Cape Cod. (G. L. K.) "Quirl, both noun and verb, is familiar to me." (C. H. Grandgent.)

**recess** (rīses): with the accent on the first syllable. Almost universal among schoolboys in New England.

**scrapple**: a favorite Philadelphia dish, consisting of bacon chopped up and mixed with cornmeal, and fried in cakes. (A. C. Garrett.) [Cf. Bartlett.]

**secont** (sekənt): for *second*, both *n.* and *adj.* New England, and probably elsewhere.

**skate** (skeit): a worn-out horse. Plymouth, Mass. (L. B. R. Briggs.) Cape Cod and New Hampshire.

**skite**, *v.* (skait): skedaddle. Philadelphia. (A. C. Garrett.) [Cf. Bartlett.]

**slicker**: a waterproof garment. "In common use in the Rocky Mountain country. I have not heard it elsewhere." (R. S. Robertson.) [Cf. Farmer.]

**slum**. "A *slum* trick" (very common) = a mean or dirty trick; probably as coming from the *slums*. Philadelphia. (A. C. Garrett.)

**snaggle**. "To *snaggle* on to a thing" = to comprehend it, to 'catch on.' Philadelphia. (A. C. Garrett.) "I use *snaggle* in the sense of *steal*." (C. H. Grandgent.)

**snoot** (snūt): of the human face or nose, apparently the same word as *snout*. A vulgar word in New England. "I'll bu'st your snoot"; "hit him on the snoot." As a verb in "to snoot round," *i.e.* to nose around, it is reported from Poughkeepsie, N.Y.

**sock**, *v.* "To *sock* a ball" = to throw it hard. Common in New England and Philadelphia. (A. C. Garrett.) [Also provincial English. Cf. Bartlett.]

**spludge** (splədʒ): splurge. Reported from Central Illinois. Of interest on account of the absence of *r*.

**tittly benders** (titli bendəz), *pl.*: sallies out on thin ice. "He cuts a tittly bender" is a possible phrase. Possibly applied to the ice itself. Cf. *ticklish*. Massachusetts. (F. Bolles.) In Barnstable, Mass., *tikl-i* (three syllables) *bendə*. "Let's make it tickly-bender." [Cf. *tiddlies* and *bendolers*, in Bartlett.]

**toot** (tut): a conical paper bag of grocers (German *dute*, *düte*). Common in Eastern Pennsylvania. (L. A. Swope.)

**tortience**. "The youngest child of a family is called a 'tortience.' South Yarmouth, Mass. (W. M. Davis.) Used by old people in Barnstable, Mass., fifty years ago, and not yet extinct. Both *tɔʃəns* and *tɔʃənz* are pronunciations given me. "You're the tortience," *i.e.*, the pet or "baby" of the family. "That's my toshuns" = that's my youngest. The latter pronunciation is also reported as known in Northfield, Me., forty or fifty years ago. (G. L. K.)

**twothree** (tuɸr-i and tuɸri, *not* tûɸri): two or three. "He'll come in two-three days." New England.

**walnut**. "In the east I only knew of 'walnut' for the hickory-nut tree, and 'black walnut' for the other. Here 'walnut' distinctively means black walnut, and 'hickory' takes the place of the other. The 'butter-nut' of the East is 'white walnut.'" (R. S. Robertson, Fort Wayne, Ind.) Of late years Boston furniture-dealers habitually say *walnut*, instead of *black walnut*. (C. H. Grandgent.) [Cf. also p. 69.]

**wive's**: for *wife's*. "Sixty years ago some families emigrated from New Ipswich, N.H., and vicinity. In some of those families—I do not know but in all—the pronunciation wive's for 'wife's' was the rule. This summer past I was at Rindge, the town next west of New Ipswich, and there I noticed the same pronunciation in the mouths of natives of that place, who were kindred with those who had removed sixty years before." (F. B. Denio.) [Common on Cape Cod.]

**wrastle** (rasl, also rasl): for *wrestle*. New England. Cf. p. 51.

Mr. E. F. Griffing sends the following New York and Jersey City words used in playing at marbles:—

A "fat" is a square ring a foot or so each way; the players stand at first on "toy" (presumably corrupted from *taw*); the large circular ring is a "bull," or "bull's ring"; "fen histing" means that it is not permitted to raise the knuckles from the ground in "shooting," or, as it is often expressed, "You knuckle down"; "miggles" is the generic name for marbles, also meaning the commonest clay marbles; "alleys" are the white ones with colored lines; "croaters" are burned alleys, brown with blistered spots; "agates" are glass marbles; "flints" are marbles made of flint, agate, or some colored stone; "boovers" or "bowlers" are marbles larger than the rest; to "kill" is to hit another's marble and put him out of the game. [Cf. *fen*, p. 61, and other words in the same list; also the Kentucky words in Pt. I, p. 24. "Alleys" and "agates" were used in Maine some thirty years ago (E. S. S.), and "agates" and "blood-alleys" were used in Boston fifteen years ago (C. H. Grandgent).]

The following is taken from the *Cape May County Gazette*, Cape May Court House, N.J., June 6, 1890:—

"Among a list of so-called 'Jerseyisms,' collected by Mr. F. B. Lee of Trenton, I recognize a number as being in common use in Maryland, viz.:—

**spungy**: the land between a swamp and hard ground.

**sad**: heavy as applied to bread, as 'the bread is sad.'

**saddie**: used by children in thanking another for a gift [cf. Bartlett].

**tacker**: a little child.

**jag**: a small load.

**gear**: to harness.

**banty**: for bantam.

I judge it would be difficult to determine the etymology of many of these expressions. I have heard them used in the far West, also in the South.

I frequently hear two expressions used here that I never heard elsewhere. They are

**clied**: to surfeit. 'To clied horses on grass.'

**boyye**: a boy. 'When I was a boyze,' etc. J. A. W."

## ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS TO THE WORDS MENTIONED IN PART I.

**been**: he's been and gone and done it (p. 25). "I have often heard it in the north of England." (R. M. Middleton, Jr.)

**boogie** (p. 18). In Kentucky *booger* (*bûgə*) is used in the same sense (J. P. Fruit), also in Massachusetts (pronounced *bugə*).

**budge** (p. 18). Common in Saco, Me. Noticed from 1864 to 1868 by Professor B. I. Wheeler.

**cat**: let the old cat die, p. 25. "'Let the cat die' is general amongst English children." (R. M. Middleton, Jr.)

**caught** (p. 18). Mr. R. M. Middleton, Jr., says, "I remember the use of this expression in Yorkshire for milk slightly burned."

**coast** (p. 21). Familiar in northern Illinois (R. M. Middleton, Jr.); also "in Chicopee, Mass., and New Haven, Conn. An elderly lady says it is a new word" (F. L. Palmer). Mr. E. S. Griffing vouches for its exclusive use in Jersey City, N.J., 1873-1882, and in Lexington, Mass., 1870-1872. Common in western Ohio, but not at all common in western Pennsylvania. (W. O. Sproull.) See also p. 58.

**croaky** (p. 18). Reported through Professor E. Spanhoofd as familiar in the Western Reserve (Ohio).

**cushion** (p. 17). "In Chicopee, Mass., I learned to pronounce this word *kwufən*, and never thought of pronouncing it differently, till I noticed the discrepancy between the spelling and the pronunciation two or three years ago. I have since asked several people how they pronounce it, and am confident that this pronunciation is not uncommon in New England." (F. L. Palmer.) See also p. 58.

**cut**: to cut and run (p. 25). "'To cut,' 'to cut and run,' 'cut your sticks.' Common undignified English." (R. M. Middleton, Jr.)

**duck** (p. 21). Always *duck* in Essex Co., Mass. (Miss Loring); *duck on the rock* in Jersey City, N.J. (E. S. Griffing); *duck on Davy* in Philadelphia (A. C. Garrett); *duck and Davy* in western Pennsylvania (W. O. Sproull); known in Chicopee, Mass., as *duck on a rock* or *duck and drake* (F. L. Palmer). Connection with the phrase common in England, *making ducks and drakes*, for throwing or shying a stone horizontally along smooth water (in New England *skipping a stone*), is suggested by Mr. R. M. Middleton, Jr., who also compares the familiar "he is making ducks and drakes of his money."

**easy** (p. 18). Frequent in Louisiana (J. W. Pearce) and in the Western Reserve. (E. Spanhoofd.)

**fretty** (p. 19). *Fretfish* is a form familiar to an old lady in New Haven. (F. L. Palmer.)

**fun**, *v.* (p. 19). The same use is reported from Louisiana. (J. W. Pearce.)

**funny**, *n.* (p. 19). Known in the vicinity of Boston and perhaps in Connecticut. (T. B. Lindsay.)

**gall** (p. 21). "*Gall* in the sense of *effrontery* is general in Tennessee, but I never heard it in England." (R. M. Middleton, Jr.) It is also reported from Louisiana as common slang for several years (J. W. Pearce), and from Kentucky (J. P. Fruit). Mr. E. S. Griffing reports it from New York and New Jersey, adding that *gall* and *gall of a stalled ox* are very common among the farmers of Prince Edward's county, near Belleville and Pictou, Ontario, Canada. "It was familiar at Williston Seminary (Easthampton, Mass.), and Amherst College in 1881, and probably earlier" (F. L. Palmer).

**heavy-handed** (p. 19). Also in the vicinity of Boston and perhaps in Connecticut (T. B. Lindsay); common in Salem and the neighborhood (Miss Loring). Professor J. M. Hart reports a lady who was a native of South Carolina, and who passed all her adult life in New Jersey and Philadelphia, as saying of her cook, "So-and-so has a heavy hand for salt."—"She put that (salt, etc.) in with a heavy hand," said of a cook who has seasoned a dish excessively. Cape Cod.

**hookey** (p. 22). "To play hookey" was erroneously reported as not usual in Boston. It was the regular phrase in Salem and Chicopee, Mass., and New Haven, Conn. (L. B. R. Briggs and F. L. Palmer), and is reported from Cincinnati (J. M. Hart), also Jersey City and New York (E. S. Griffing), Kentucky (J. P. Fruit), Louisiana (J. W. Pearce). "To play hook" in the same sense is reported from western Pennsylvania (J. M. Hart). Mr. R. M. Middleton, Jr., remarks that *hook it* is common among English schoolboys for *go, begone*. The two phrases in Bartlett are *to play hookey* and *to hook Jack*.

**indeedy** (p. 22). Reported from Massachusetts (Mrs. Hinckley), Philadelphia and eastern Pennsylvania (A. C. Garrett, L. A. Swope), southern Delaware (E. S. Griffing), and Kentucky (J. P. Fruit).

**jell** (p. 22). Reported as in common use in Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Kentucky, Tennessee. A noun *jell = jelly* is also known in Massachusetts. See also p. 59.

**kitty-cornered** (p. 6). "In this [the Seguachee] valley [Tennessee] *catty-cornered*, for *zigzag*, is sometimes called *kitty-catty-cornered*." (R. M. Middleton, Jr.) This bears out Mr. Grandgent's suggestion, Pt. I, p. 8.

**meech** (p. 19). In the phrase *to go meeching about*, to go in a mean or underhand way, it is reported as in familiar use in New Haven, Conn. (F. L. Palmer.) Of course this is the same as *mich, miche*. See the *Encycl. Dict. and Skeat*.

**on the mending hand** (p. 19). From the Western Reserve *to be mending* or *on the mend* is reported. (E. Spanhoofd.) *On the mending hand* is sometimes heard in Louisiana, but *on the mend* is commoner. (J. W. Pearce.)

**might** (p. 22). See p. 59.

**pack** (p. 23). It is reported as a general word for *carry* from Kentucky, as "he packed a pail of water" (J. P. Fruit); Louisiana (J. W. Pearce); Idaho, Montana, and the state of Washington (E. S. Griffing).

**primlico** (p. 190). *Pimlico* = *primlico* is familiar to elderly New Haven people, as in *pimlico order* (F. L. Palmer), and *pimlico order* was common twenty years ago in Essex County, Mass. (Miss Loring). See W. C. Hazlitt. English Proverbs and Proverbial Phrases (first edition), p. 421.

**ride out** (p. 19). This use is explained by the saying common fifty years ago on Cape Cod: "The room looks as if it was ready to ride out; every chair saddled and bridled"; used of a room in great disorder. (G. L. K.)

**ride up** (p. 19). Common twenty years ago at Cornell University. My favorite word is *climb*, which I believe is superseding the other. (J. M. Hart.)

**ridic'lus** (p. 23). Reported in this sense from Kentucky. (J. P. Fruit.) "I have heard this word used in the north of England in a sense most nearly represented by the word *scandalous*." (R. M. Middleton, Jr.)

**rubbers** (p. 19). The phrase *to meet with the rubbers* is known on Cape Cod in this sense. (G. L. K.)

**scoggins** (p. 23). In the second line of the paragraph read *aboard* for *abroad*.

**scooch** (p. 19). "Isn't this a variant of the more common [?] *scrouch* (also pronounced *skrautf*)?" (J. M. Hart.)

**so fashion** (p. 23). It is known in Maine, New Hampshire and Massachusetts; also in western Pennsylvania (W. O. Sproull).

**sojer** (p. 19). *An old soldier* = a person that shirks work, is common in Salem and Beverly. (Miss Loring.) *He is acting the old soldier* is common in England. (R. M. Middleton, Jr.)

**squat** (p. 19). Common among unlettered people in Bangor, Me. (Mrs. Hinckley.) *Squat*, meaning "rather *squeeze*, *crush*, than *pinch*, as 'I squat (pret.) my finger in the door,'" is reported by Professor B. I. Wheeler as in use in Saco, Me., 1864-1868.

**steboy** (p. 23). See p. 59.

**stocky** (p. 19). Used also in New York. (Miss Loring.)

**thrash, thresh** (p. 23). Professor Fruit finds the same distinction in Kentucky. "The distinction is just what I should make." (F. L. Palmer; for Chicopee, Mass.) See also p. 59.

**tough it out** (p. 20). Also in Louisiana. (J. W. Pearce.)

**touse** (p. 20). "My father (New Hampshire) always used 'catouse' [kæt'aus] for *touse* (as given by Professor Allen)." (B. I. Wheeler.)

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[See also various encyclopædias, — the Americana, Appleton's, Chambers's, etc., s. v. Americanisms.]



# THE ITHACA DIALECT,

## A STUDY OF PRESENT ENGLISH,

BY

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### PREFACE.

THIS treatise is a study of the phonology of present English as spoken by the common people of Ithaca, New York. Since the material has been collected from people little influenced by the schools, the English here presented may be considered a natural outgrowth, under the conditions attending the colonization of New England in the seventeenth century, and the later migration to Western New York toward the last of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries. Special attention has been paid to the phonology as the proper basis of dialect study, and because no attempt has been made to present with completeness the phonology of any English dialect. However incomplete this treatment may be, it is believed such study may be of no small value in showing the development of the English language. This is the more necessary, also, because dialect study in England has confined itself almost wholly to the collection of peculiar words, leaving out of account the phonetic development and the underlying laws of change.

In the collection of material many facts pertaining to inflectional forms and syntax were obtained, as well as a considerable number of new words, or of words in new uses. But it has seemed best to omit these, except so far as they illustrate the phonology, reserving them for a more systematic treatment than is possible here.

The writer does not wish to claim indulgence for the errors that may be found in his work. Whether they are many or few for such a pioneer attempt, those who know the difficulties of the

task will be best able to judge, and the judgment of these alone is worthy of consideration.

It remains to acknowledge my indebtedness to those whose assistance and encouragement has materially aided in bringing this treatise to completion. The list of abbreviations will indicate sufficiently the books and authors most frequently consulted. But I am especially indebted to Professor Benj. I. Wheeler, of Cornell University, for the suggestion of the work and constant encouragement in it; to Professor Friedrich Kluge, of the University of Jena, for advice as to the arrangement of material, and for a critical examination of the Germanic element; to Professor Dietrich Behrens, of Giessen, for examination of the Romance element; lastly and pre-eminently, to my teacher, Professor James Morgan Hart, of Cornell University, not only for valuable training in English philology, but particularly for his searching and painstaking review of this paper, when presented to the University as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. To these, therefore, I make special acknowledgment, and to them I dedicate this monograph as a token of gratitude and esteem.

O. F. E.

ITHACA, NEW YORK, March 1, 1891.

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## ABBREVIATIONS.

Beh.	Behrens, Beiträge zur Geschichte der französischen Sprache in England.
Ch.	Chaucer.
ChGr.	ten Brink, Chaucer's Sprache und Verskunst.
Con.	consonant.
Contr.	contraction.
Dan.	Danish.
Du.	Dutch.
EEP.	Ellis's Early English Pronunciation.
Eng. Dial.	English dialect, or dialectic.
Fr.	French.
Germ.	German.
Gr.	Greek.
Goth.	Gothic.
HES.	Sweet's History of English Sounds.
Icl.	Icelandic.
Ind.	Indian (North American).
Ital.	Italian.
IthD.	Ithaca Dialect.
Kl.	Kluge's Etymologisches Wörterbuch.
Lat.	Latin.
LdE.	London English, as in Sweet's History of English Sounds.
MdE.	Modern English.
ME.	Middle English.
ME.	Late Middle English.
Merc.	Mercian.
Murray.	The New English Dictionary.
OE.	Old English (Anglo-Saxon).
OET.	Sweet's Oldest English Texts.
OF.	Old French.
OHG.	Old High German.
ON.	Old Norse.
Orm.	Orm, Ormulum.
Pal.	palatal.
PBB.	Paul und Braune's Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur.
PGr.	Paul's Grundriss der Germanischen Philologie.
Pog.	Pogatscher's Zur Lautlehre der griechischen, lateinischen und romanischen Lehnworte im Altenglischen.
Port.	Portuguese.

PrPh.	Sweet's Primer of Phonetics, 1890.
sb.	substantive.
Scand.	Scandinavian.
Sie.	Sievers, Angelsächsische Grammatik.
Skt.	Skeat's Etymological Dictionary.
Span.	Spanish.
Swed.	Swedish.
WG.	West Germanic.
WS.	West Saxon.
lWS.	Late West Saxon.
Wyc.	Wyclif.
<	from, or derived from.

## I. INTRODUCTION.

## 1. HISTORICAL AND ETHNOGRAPHIC.

IN order to understand the ethnographic conditions of Ithaca, it is necessary to glance at the settlement of the western part of New York state, and some account of the district from the earliest colonial times will be found useful. The Dutch colonists of New York gave the name *Terra Incognita* to the territory west of Albany, or Fort Orange, as it was called. In 1683, after the Dutch colony had come into the possession of the English, the legislature divided the province into twelve counties, and gave the name Albany County to what is now the western part of the state. The western part of Albany was erected into a new county in 1772, with the name Tryon, in honor of the governor of the province. After the peace, in 1784, the name of the Tory governor Tryon was replaced by Montgomery, in recognition of General Montgomery of Quebec fame. The county was also divided into five districts, two of which, German Flats and Kingsland, embraced the western part so far as it was then settled, or open for settlement. In 1788 the German Flats were divided, and the western part called Whitestown from Judge White, a prominent citizen who had immigrated from Middletown, Connecticut, and had induced many from his native state to settle in Western New York. Whitestown was later separated into Whitestown, to the western limit of the present Madison County; Mexico, including the eastern half of the Military Tract, as it was called; and Paris, embracing the western half of this tract.<sup>1</sup>

The Military Tract is the title of lands set apart by New York state for her soldiers of the Revolution. In 1781, in order to recruit the armies of the revolting colonies, the legislature passed a resolution, pledging the faith of the state, to give to every citizen who should enlist for three years, or until the close

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<sup>1</sup> Onondaga, by Joshua V. H. Clark, Syracuse, N.Y., 1849, Vol. I, p. 381.

of the war, five hundred acres of land as soon after the war as the land could be surveyed.<sup>1</sup> This resolution was followed by the law of July 25, 1782, setting apart lands for military bounties. "The tract included all the lands in Tryon County (all west of Albany County), bounded northward by Lake Ontario, Onondaga (Oswego) River, and Oneida Lake; west by a line drawn from the mouth of Great Sodus Bay (on Lake Ontario) though the most westerly inclination of Seneca Lake; south by an east and west line drawn through the most southerly inclination of Seneca Lake."<sup>2</sup> The lands so set apart were, however, still owned by the Indians, so that settlement was delayed some years after the close of the war. The state acquired the territory belonging to the Onondaga Indians, by treaty of Sept. 12, 1788, at Fort Schuyler, or Stanwix (now Utica). On the 25th of February, in the following year, the lands of the Cayuga Indians were also purchased by treaty at Albany.<sup>3</sup> By an act of Feb. 28, 1789, the legislature formally appropriated the Indian lands recently acquired to the payment of Revolutionary soldiers, in accordance with the resolution and act of 1781-2. In 1791 Herkimer County was formed from the western part of Montgomery, and in 1794 the Military Tract was made a separate county and called Onondaga.<sup>4</sup>

The western boundary of the Military Tract (Onondaga County) was Ontario County, or the Genesee Country, as it was usually called.<sup>5</sup> The original grant by James I in 1620 to the Massachusetts colonies was a tract of land extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean. This grant was renewed in 1693 by William and Mary, no change being made in the western boundary of the province. But in 1663 the Province of New York was granted by Charles II to the Duke of York and Albany, afterwards James II. The result was that each state, as early as 1683, laid claim to certain lands of the Province of New York by virtue of original grants, but as there were no settlers in the country for more than a century, no adjustment of the claims was made during this time. By acts of legislature, New York in 1781, and Massachusetts in 1784-5, ceded to Con-

<sup>1</sup> Sketches of Rochester and Western New York, by Henry O'Reilley, Rochester, 1838, p. 186.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 156.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 109-10.

<sup>4</sup> Onondaga, Vol. I, pp. 381-2.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* Vol. I, pp. 381-2.

gress all lands west of the present boundary of New York state,<sup>1</sup> and in the following year, Dec. 16, 1786, delegates from both states met at Hartford, where a compromise was effected in respect to the disputed claims. By this compromise Massachusetts obtained exclusive preëmption rights to the lands between the Military Tract and the western boundary of the state, while New York retained all rights of government, sovereignty, and jurisdiction.<sup>2</sup> In accordance with this arrangement the Massachusetts preëmption lands were, in 1789, erected into Ontario County, before this time nominally a part of Montgomery County.

We may now return to Ithaca and Tompkins County. In 1799 the county of Cayuga was set off from Onondaga, and in 1804 Seneca County was formed from Cayuga. A new county was erected in 1817, from the southern portions of Cayuga and Seneca counties, and named after Governor Tompkins. Tompkins County received from Seneca the townships of Hector and Ulysses (Military townships 21, 22), and from Cayuga Dryden and the south half of Locke and Genoa (Military townships 23, 18, 17). To these were added, in March, 1822, the towns of Caroline, Danby, and Cayuta, formerly parts of Tioga County.<sup>3</sup> Since that time the county has retained its present boundaries. The city of Ithaca is included in the town of the same name, one of three into which the old Military township of Ulysses was divided in 1821.

These Military townships were established by act of legislature in 1789, in accordance with which the Military Tract was surveyed under the direction of General Simeon DeWitt, then Surveyor-General of the state. They were originally twenty-six in number, but two others were added in 1792 and 1796, making twenty-eight, each of which contained 100 lots of 600 acres. The drawing of lots by the Revolutionary soldiers for whom the land was set apart took place in 1791. In 1792 the time of settlement, which had been limited to three years from the original survey, was extended seven years, or to 1799. Notwithstanding this extension of the time of settlement, few of the Revolution-

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<sup>1</sup> Rochester and Western New York, pp. 139-40.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 141.

<sup>3</sup> History of Tioga, Chemung, Tompkins, and Schuyler Counties, Philadelphia, 1879, pp. 373-4.

ary soldiers became actual settlers.<sup>1</sup> The patents were sold for little or nothing, prices of lots ranging from eight to thirty dollars for ten years after the war. This, as we shall see, materially affected the character of actual settlers, and accounts for the fact that many came from outside the limits of New York state.

The first Americans to set foot in the country at the head of Cayuga Lake were soldiers of Sullivan's campaign against the Indians. In 1779 Congress had authorized Washington to send an expedition against the Five Nations, then acting with the forces of Great Britain. In ravaging their country Colonel Dearborn, with a detachment of Sullivan's command, reached the head of the lake and destroyed an Indian village not far from where Ithaca now stands.<sup>2</sup> Many of these troops were New Englanders, and it is generally believed that their accounts of the country had much to do with later settlements.<sup>3</sup>

In 1788 a party of eleven men with Indian guides left Kingston on the Hudson, to explore the country about Cayuga and Seneca lakes. The following spring (1789), the year of the military survey, three of the eleven returned and located on the site of Ithaca. These were Jacob Yaple, Peter Hinepaw, and Isaac Dumond, all of whom had served in the Revolution. The first two of these were of Dutch descent, while the ancestors of Dumond had also come from Holland, but were of French Huguenot extraction. These settlers, however, lost their land through carelessness or criminal negligence of their agent in Albany, and the property came into the possession of Simeon DeWitt, Surveyor-General of the state.<sup>4</sup> The immigrants themselves moved from the village, and two of them were the first to settle the neighboring town of Danby.<sup>5</sup> About 1800 the village of Ithaca was laid out by Simeon DeWitt, and, as the lands were now open to other than New York citizens, they were rapidly settled.

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<sup>1</sup> Rochester and Western New York, p. 158. History of Tioga (and other) Counties, pp. 476, 498. Pioneer History of Courtland County, by H. C. Goodwin, New York, 1859, pp. 108-9.

<sup>2</sup> Sullivan's Expedition, by Fred Cook, Albany, 1887, pp. 77, 376.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 379-80. History of New York, by Jas. Macauley, New York and Albany, 1829, Vol. III, pp. 417-8.

<sup>4</sup> Early History of Ithaca, by Horace King, Ithaca, 1847, pp. 1-12.

<sup>5</sup> History of Tioga (and other) Counties, p. 467.

To understand the possibilities of settlement, let us glance for a moment at early routes of travel. In March, 1794, three commissioners were appointed by the legislature to lay out a road from Fort Schuyler (Utica) to the Cayuga ferry, or the outlet to Cayuga Lake.<sup>1</sup> Little seems to have been done, however, until 1797, when the legislature improved the road to Geneva, furnishing the highway to the Genesee country and the northern parts of Western New York. In 1804 a turnpike was built from Albany to Canandaigua.<sup>2</sup> These, with the water way by the Mohawk River, Wood Creek, Oneida Lake, and Oswego or Seneca rivers, furnished the principal northern routes of travel. A road was begun in 1792 from Oxford, on the Chenango River, to Ithaca at the head of Cayuga Lake. This was completed in 1795, and, with its eastern connection to Catskill on the Hudson, "became the great highway for immigration in the southern part of the state for many years";<sup>3</sup> with slight changes this remained the principal east and west line of travel until supplanted by the railroads. In 1835 it crossed the Chenango at Greene, a few miles south of Oxford, and passed through Unadilla and Delhi to Catskill, where it connected with boats to New York. Still one other route belongs to very early days. In 1808 the Ithaca and Owego turnpike was built, and stages then connected with a line of travel from Owego through Binghamton, Delaware, Monticello, and Montgomery to Newburgh on the Hudson, where boats could be taken for New York City. This road, together with the waterway from Unadilla by the Susquehanna to Owego, was used from the earliest times, and was traversed by many of the first settlers in Tompkins County.<sup>4</sup> To the west Ithaca was connected with Bath, in the heart of the Genesee country, and by Cayuga Lake with the roads to the northern and western parts of the state, so that it became a great distributing point for the surrounding territory.

It is generally admitted that Western New York was settled largely by New England people. On this point, so far as there are historical statements, they are substantially in accord. "New

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<sup>1</sup> Annals of New York, by John F. Watson, Philadelphia, 1846, p. 85.

<sup>2</sup> "Between Albany and Buffalo," by A. G. Hopkins, in Magazine of American History, Vol. XIX, p. 310.

<sup>3</sup> History of Tioga (and other) Counties, p. 423.

<sup>4</sup> Views of Ithaca, by Solomon Southwick, Ithaca, 1835, p. 44.

York inland has been especially indebted to New England for its intelligent and enterprising population. . . . In a word, the Yankees, so called, have been almost everything to Western New York."<sup>1</sup> "Between Seneca and Cayuga lakes the settlers are mostly from Pennsylvania, Jersey, and the western parts of this state, and in the other parts they are mostly emigrants from the New England states."<sup>2</sup> These statements might be multiplied almost indefinitely, and from the most diverse sources. Especially are they true of the Genesee country to the west of the Military Tract. The preëemption right to this fertile valley, gained by Massachusetts in 1786, was sold in 1788 to two of her citizens, Nathaniel Phelps and Oliver Gorham. Settlement began in 1789 and increased rapidly. In 1790 there were about 1000 inhabitants; in 1804 there were 30,000 people in the territory. Imlay, in his Topographical Description of the Western Territory of North America, says: "The New England settlers who have fixed themselves on the Genesee Tract have made such favorable reports of the climate and soil, that there are vast numbers of their countrymen preparing to move thither."<sup>3</sup> "All the first settlers in the country (the Genesee) were from New England. . . . Indeed, until after the opening of the road to Pennsylvania over the Alleghany Mountains, there was scarcely an instance to the contrary."<sup>4</sup>

Almost the same influences were at work in the case of the Military Tract and Tompkins County, and these were aided by the rapid occupancy of this fertile land to the west. "The county is chiefly settled by New England emigrants."<sup>5</sup> "The county is settled by emigrants from various parts of the Union, but chiefly from the New England states."<sup>6</sup> "The early emigrants coming in were mostly of the Puritan stock of Massachusetts, Vermont, and Connecticut."<sup>7</sup> Investigation of the facts

<sup>1</sup> Annals of New York, p. 91.

<sup>2</sup> Documentary History of New York, Albany, 1850, Vol. II, p. 690.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* Vol. II, p. 649.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* Vol. II, p. 670.

<sup>5</sup> Historical Collections of the State of New York, by John W. Barber and Henry Howe, New York, 1845, p. 552.

<sup>6</sup> Gazetteer of the State of New York, by Thomas F. Gordon, Philadelphia, 1836, p. 730.

<sup>7</sup> Half-Century Club of Tompkins County, by Charles G. Day, Ithaca, 1881, p. 81.

in the several towns, as far as that is possible from town histories, substantiates these statements.<sup>1</sup> The foreign element in the population is small, and this, it is said by old settlers, did not begin to come in until 1830, when some Irish laborers were attracted by railroad construction. In 1835, out of Ithaca's population of 6101, there were but 179 aliens and 142 people of color.<sup>2</sup> The county as a whole shows the same small proportion of foreigners. In 1824 there were in the county 26,178 persons, of whom 20 were not naturalized, 72 were colored. The population in 1875 was 32,897, with only 273 naturalized citizens. The population of Ithaca in 1875 was 10,026, with 1148 foreign born citizens, and 294 colored; but this increase of foreigners has been comparatively recent, and has not materially affected conditions existing from the earliest settlement.<sup>3</sup>

From these facts, and the examination of such records as exist, as well as from the testimony of the oldest inhabitants, the people of Ithaca and the surrounding country may be divided into the following classes, in the order of numerical importance:

1. Settlers from the New England states. These may be again divided into those who came direct from New England, and those who took up temporary residence in other parts of the state, mainly the eastern counties. Immigrants from New England have been most largely from Connecticut and Massachusetts.

2. Settlers from the eastern part of New York state. The majority of these were from the counties of Ulster, Orange, Westchester, and Dutchess, bordering on the Hudson. As was indicated above, many of these, perhaps the most of them, were New Englanders, or were direct from England. Of those settling Tompkins County very few were of Dutch descent.

3. Settlers from New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and other parts of the Union. Of these, the New Jersey people are the most numerous. The town of Lansing, on the east side of Cayuga Lake, and north of Ithaca, is largely settled by Pennsylvania people, but this is not true of other parts of the county. A few families from Maryland and Virginia came into the county in early times, most of them taking residence in the town of Caroline.

4. Immigrants from various parts of the world. These, as has been pointed out, are comparatively few, and they have come

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<sup>1</sup> History of Tioga (and other) Counties, pp. 394-534. <sup>2</sup> Views of Ithaca, p. 39.

<sup>3</sup> History of Tioga (and other) Counties, p. 392.

mainly since 1830, or, as some say, 1850. Among foreigners the Irish are the most numerous.

The fact that the people of Ithaca and Tompkins County are principally from New England being established, it remains to determine whether one of the New England states has had greater influence than another. For this there are few unquestionable data recorded, and local historians have made little effort in the direction of determining such a point, though some facts are available. From these, however, and from the testimony of residents it seems certain that a larger number can be traced to Connecticut than to any other state. In proof of this the following facts are presented. Emigrants from Vermont and New Hampshire moved west on lines of latitude very nearly, so that they occupied Northern New York, but seldom reached southern portions of the state. The people of Massachusetts were naturally led into the Massachusetts preëmption lands, or the Genesee country, both by the claim of that state and by the richness of the territory; and even when the preëmption right was sold, the tide of immigration from that state seems to have been greater than from any other. Massachusetts also acquired preëmption rights to ten townships south and east of Tompkins County, and many of her citizens went to this portion of the state. This left the region about Ithaca and Tompkins County for settlers from the only other New England state sending out emigrants — Connecticut, and from this state they came in large numbers. There still remain in the county two settlements, almost exclusively of Connecticut people who came in the earliest times, the Beers' settlement from Fairfield County, Connecticut, and Groton, said to have been named by people from Groton, Connecticut.<sup>1</sup> In early times, there were Connecticut settlers in nearly every town, if not in all. There were, and still are, many families in Ithaca who claim Connecticut antecedents, and the distinct connection with the latter state is still made by many of Ithaca's most intelligent citizens.

## 2. THE SPEECH CONDITIONS.

The dialect of Ithaca is based, as has been shown, on a New England dialect, of which the principal element is Connecticut English. It has been modified, slightly, if at all, by the speech

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<sup>1</sup> New Topographical Atlas of Tompkins County, 1866, p. 12.

of Massachusetts and New Jersey, but has remained practically uncontaminated by the speech of foreigners. Moreover, owing to its separation from through routes of travel since the building of railroads, Ithaca has remained comparatively isolated, so that it represents linguistically a speech-island in the truest sense. So far, therefore, as the people have been uninfluenced by the schools, their speech may be regarded as a natural outgrowth, exemplifying the laws of phonetic change.

The investigation here presented has been made from the speech of people essentially unaffected by the schools, or by more than casual association with educated people. Every precaution has been taken, also, to obtain only the natural and unaffected speech, and this has been recorded at the time with great exactness. In no case, however, did the individual know his speech was sought, and in all cases there has been a freedom on the part of the speaker which seemed to indicate complete unconsciousness of the form of expression.<sup>1</sup> Individual peculiarities, clearly not representing the dialect as a whole, have been carefully excluded, and in most cases words or expressions have been heard several times, or from several speakers, before being taken as typical. In a similar manner, peculiarities occasioned by imperfect utterance, loss of teeth, or other defect of speech-organs, have been taken into account. The speech of middle-aged and older people has been especially investigated, in the belief that this would more exactly represent an uncontaminated dialect, these being less influenced by the schools or by mixture. It remains to say that each individual whose speech has been recorded has been born in the town or vicinity, or has been a resident of the town for the greater part of his life. In this respect the care with which the material was gathered will be attested by the following statements, in regard to those from whom the largest collections have been made:—

A—— was born in a neighboring county, of Connecticut parentage. He came to Ithaca about 1845, and is perhaps fifty

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<sup>1</sup> The plan actually pursued was to talk with various individuals on such subjects as the history of the town, its business and manufactures, the customs of former times. This allowed the collector to hold note-book in hand, and, under the guise of obtaining historical facts for future use, set down in phonetic symbols the words used.

years of age. He talks freely, and without special peculiarities of utterance.

B— came here from Connecticut, when a boy, about 1840. Word and sentence accent are stronger than in many individuals.

C— was born of Connecticut parents within a few miles of Ithaca. He followed the sea for a few years in early life, but this has not influenced his dialect perceptibly, except by the introduction of nautical terms, which, however, have been made to conform to the Ithaca dialect in character of sounds. He is about fifty-five years of age.

D— was born a few miles from the city, but he early came to Ithaca. He thinks his parents came from Connecticut, and this is supported by the fact that his early years were spent in a Connecticut settlement in the county. He has no special peculiarities of speech, and his appearance indicates that he is about sixty years of age.

E— was born in a Connecticut settlement in Tompkins County, but early came to the village. He is about sixty-two years old, but is active, and a rapid talker.

F— was born in New Jersey, coming to Ithaca in 1820, when one year old.

G— was also born in New Jersey, but came to Ithaca when a child. He is between fifty and sixty years of age.

H— was born in the county, and has lived here ever since. His father was from New Jersey, his mother from Massachusetts. He speaks slowly, and with precision of articulation.

I— came from Albany in 1812. His name indicates Dutch extraction, but he is thoroughly Americanized. He has the peculiarity of unvoicing certain voiced spirants, due probably to loss of teeth.

J— is a man of nearly eighty; was born in Westchester County, but came to Ithaca about 1830. The peculiarities of his expression are the loss of *r*, unusual here, and the sound of *a* (*father*) in such words as *dog*, *log*, *fog*.

## II. PHONOLOGY.

## 1. THE VOWELS AND THEIR SYMBOLS.

1. The phonetic symbols used in this treatise are those of the American Dialect Society, so far as they are necessary, but with the following exceptions: *a* indicates the short, *ā* the long, sound of the same vowel, as heard long in the dialect pronunciation of *card*, *father*, short in that of *not*, *hot*, *top*; *ê* is the long sound of *æ*; *iu* is used instead of *iû*; and before *r* appear *æə* (*fair*, *there*), *iə* (*fear*, *near*), *ðə* (*more*, *pour*), *uə* (*poor*, *tour*). For convenience of reference the complete list of IthD. vowels and consonants is given (§ 2), but their quality will be treated in proper order hereafter.

2. The vowels of the Ithaca dialect are *a*, *ā*, *æ*, *ê*, *e*, *ê*, *ë*, *i*, *î*, *ò* seldom, *o*, *v*, *u*, *û*, *ə* appearing in unstressed syllables and as a glide before *r*, besides the diphthongs *ai*, *au*, *oi*, *iu*. The last is a true diphthong, though rare, distinct from the *yû* for the written *u* in *use*, *union*. The consonants are *b*, *d*, *ð*, *f*, *g*, *h*, *k*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *ŋ*, *p*, *r*, *s*, *ʃ*, *t*, *ʔ*, *v*, *w*, *y*, *z*, *ʒ*.

3. Accent is marked only when the stress is upon some other than the first syllable, and when required to indicate accent a turned period is placed before the stressed vowel. For secondary stress and its effect on vowels of unstressed syllables, see § 142 *et seq.*

## 2. QUANTITY AND QUALITY.

4. In distinguishing quantity, long and short will be commonly used, even when finer distinctions might be made. The vowels *e*, *ë*, *i*, *ò* (not common), *u*, *ə*, are always short; *ê*, *î*, *ô*, *û*, are always long; *o* is usually long, but is half-long<sup>1</sup> before voiced consonants; *v* is usually short, but is lengthened somewhat before voiced consonants and the fricatives; *a* and *æ* appear as both short and long, the former being short when it represents earlier short *o* which has become unrounded. These statements

<sup>1</sup> The term is used as by Sweet for a quantity half-way between long and short. Cf. *Primer of Phonetics*, last edition (1890), § 97, and *History of English Sounds*, § 942.

refer to length in stressed syllables, all vowels in unstressed syllables being short, or half-long under secondary stress.

5. A careful examination of the vowels shows some considerable differences between their quality in Ithaca dialect and in London English as given by Sweet.<sup>1</sup> These differences may be summarized as follows:—

1) There is a tendency to widen vowels narrow in LdE. or in the continental languages. Sweet now recognizes as wide rather than narrow the long vowels *ê, î, ô, û*, of LdE. (PrPh., § 189 *et seq.*). To these must be added for IthD. the long open *o*, as in *law*, the *v* of *but, hut*, and the sound before *r* in *there, hair* (*œə*). The first is low-back-wide rather than low-back-narrow. The second is clearly wide, besides being advanced and lowered; it is therefore mid-back-wide-forward-lowered. The last is low-front-wide, the low-front-narrow being heard so seldom as to be in no sense characteristic.

2) The long vowels *ê, î, ô, û* (cf. HES., § 969) are not diphthongal as in LdE. This non-diphthongal character is not only evident to the ear, but is attested also by the position of the organs, which remain rigid in the formation of the vowel, and do not change as is necessary when making the glide.

3) Before *r*, which is regularly preserved in IthD., a glide is not always heard after a vowel, and never so distinctly as in LdE. or in the speech of educated people in America. It is most commonly heard after the vowels *î, û, ô, ê*, when the glide and vowel have together the quantity of a long vowel. Before *r*, therefore, these vowels will be written *ia, ua, ða, œa*, but it must be remembered that the glide has not the prominence it has in drawled speech, and in no case does it take the place of the *r* as in LdE. (PrPh., § 211). The wideness of *œa* has been mentioned in 1), *eə* of LdE. being rarely heard. Especially noteworthy is the fact that *ô* before *r* has never become open *o* (*o*), as it has regularly in LdE. (HES., § 967, 6, and word list, p. 391; also PrPh., § 202).

4) The vowel *a*, as in *father*, is low-back-wide, not mid-back-wide as given by Sweet for LdE. As is well known, Bell makes the English *a* low-back-wide, and there can be no question that this is the right analysis for IthD. *a*, making it identical with the Swedish *a* in *mat*.

<sup>1</sup> Reference is to the Primer of Phonetics, §§ 189-204.

5) Common short *o* as in *not* (LdE. low-back-wide-round) is regularly unrounded, becoming identical in quality with *a* in *father* (low-back-wide), but remaining short in quantity.

6) The vowel *ê*, long of *æ* in *man*, *hat* (low-front-wide), occurs regularly in closed syllables before the voiceless fricatives *f*, *th* (*p*), and *s*, instead of LdE. *a* (*aa*). Examples are *ask*, *half*, *path*, and cf. HES. word list, p. 382.

7) The diphthong in *eye*, *my*, usually written *ai*, differs from LdE. in being slightly lowered and retracted, so that it approaches more nearly the union of *a* and *i*.

8) The diphthong *oi*, as in *boy*, is always low-back-wide-round instead of mid-back-wide-round in its first element. In many such words as *point*, *poison*, IthD. shows the variant *ai*; but cf. § 124.

9) The diphthong *au* is fronted slightly, so that it approaches a union of *æ* and *u* more nearly than in the speech of educated Englishmen and Americans, but it never reaches the fronting represented by *eou* in such spellings as *ceow*, *ceounty*, in the New England and Southern dialects.

6. It follows, therefore, that the IthD. vowels, arranged so far as possible in the scheme of Sweet, may be shown thus:—

VOWEL SYSTEM OF THE ITHACA DIALECT.

		NARROW.			WIDE.		
		Back.	Mixed.	Front.	Back.	Mixed.	Front.
UNROUNDED.	High.						<i>i bit</i> <i>î see</i>
	Mid.		[ <i>ĕ earth</i> ] <sup>1</sup>		[ <i>ɜ but</i> ] <sup>2</sup>	<i>a(i) eye</i> <sup>3</sup> <i>ə better</i>	<i>e men</i> <i>ê say, name</i>
	Low.				<i>a not</i> <i>â father</i>	<i>a(u) how</i> <sup>3</sup>	<i>æ hat</i> <i>ê fast</i>
ROUNDED.	High.		( <i>i</i> ) <i>u few</i>		<i>u full</i> <i>û two</i>		
	Mid.				<i>ò only</i> <i>ô note</i>		
	Low.				<i>ɔ boy</i> <i>o(i)</i> <i>ɔ law</i>		

<sup>1</sup> Between mid-mixed and low-back-narrow.    <sup>2</sup> Between mid-back and low-mixed-wide.

<sup>3</sup> Compare notes on these in § 5, 7, 9).

7. The relation between lip-opening and tongue position is not perhaps an absolute one, but it is sufficiently definite to be worthy of consideration. The measurements of lip-opening in the case of a single individual are therefore given, though for the dialect as a whole they must be regarded as relative rather than absolute.

## LIP-OPENING FOR VOWELS.

a	$3.7 \times 1.5$	centimetres.	ö	$2.8 \times .5$	centimetres.
æ	$3.3 \times 1.2$	"	o	$2.5 \times .5-.6$	"
e	$3.2 \times 1.$	"	î	$2.5 \times .3$	"
i	$3 \times .7-.8$	"	ô	$2.3 \times .5-.6$	"
ɛ	$3 \times .6$	"	u	$2. \times .3$	"
ê	$2.8 \times .8$	"	û	$1.5 \times 3$	"

## III. HISTORICAL SUMMARY.

## 1. GENERAL.

8. For completeness of presentation and for ease of reference a twofold arrangement of material is here given. The material as a whole has been placed under the vowels of the Ithaca Dialect, while the historical survey has been limited to the following tables, with references to succeeding sections. Of these the tables of West Germanic and Old French vowels are naturally most valuable, from the greater number of examples, but it has seemed best also to add tables representing the comparatively small early Latin and Scandinavian additions. The later words which appear in IthD. are not here tabulated, because there are but few from a single source, and the time at which these were introduced cannot be determined with accuracy. In giving ME. vowels late, rather than early, ME. is intended, and it has been in some cases impossible to verify the vowel, since the phonology of ME. presents in itself so many difficulties. In OE. a tagged *o* (open *o*) is used only before a nasal; in ME., however, the tagged *o* (short) is used always for the open sound, while the untagged *o* indicates the close sound, unless otherwise marked. Similarly, the tagged *e* (short) is used in OE. and ME. for the open *e*, and untagged *e* indicates the close sound.

## 2. THE WEST GERMANIC VOWELS.

9. West Germanic *a* develops as follows :

WG.	WS.	ME.	IthD.
a	æ (a), ea	a	æ <i>hat</i> , 70 I 1)
a	æ (a), ea	a	æ <i>lath</i> , 73 I 1)
a	æ	a, e	e <i>together</i> , 78 I 1)
a	æ (a), ea	a	a <i>watch</i> , 62 I 1)
a	æ (a)	a	ɐ <i>rather</i> , 112 I 5)
a	æ (a), ea	a	ɔ <i>small</i> , 98 I 1)
a	æ (a), ea	â	ê <i>acre</i> , 82 I 3)
a	ea + ld	â, ô open	ô <i>hold</i> , 105 I 7)
a	ea (e) + ld	ê	î <i>wield</i> , 92 I 14)
a	ɛ by umlaut	ɛ	e <i>send</i> , 78 I 3)
a	ɛ “ “	ɛ (i)	i <i>chill</i> , 88 I 8)
a	ɛ “ “	ɛ	ê <i>edge</i> , 82, I 4)
a	ɛ “ “	ê open	î <i>heave</i> , 92, I 13)
a + h	ie, ŷ “ of contr.	ê	î <i>steel</i> , 92 I 12)
a + g	æ + g	ai	ê <i>day</i> , 82 I 1)
a + g	ɛ + g (umlaut)	ei (ai)	ê <i>say</i> , 82 I 2)
a + g	i + g “	ih (î)	ai <i>night</i> , 124 I 11)
a + g	a, ea + g	au	ɔ <i>draw</i> , 98 I 2)
a + w	â, êa by contr.	au	ɔ <i>straw</i> , 98 I 3)
a + f	ea + f (w)	au	ɔ <i>hawk</i> , 98 I 4)
a + nasal	ɔ	a	æ <i>man</i> , 70 I 1)
a “	ɔ	a	æ <i>hand</i> , 73 I 1)
a “	ɔ	a	a <i>swan</i> , 62 I 1)
a “	ɔ	ɔ	ɔ <i>long</i> , 98 I 5)
a “	ɔ	ɔ	ɐ <i>among</i> , 112 I 5)
a “	ɔ + mb	ô	û <i>womb</i> , 119 I 6)
a “	ô by loss of nasal	ô	û <i>tooth</i> , 119 I 4)
a “	ô “ “	ô open(ɔ)	ɔ <i>soft</i> , 98 I 6)
a “	ô “ “	ɔ	ɐ <i>other</i> , 112 I 6)
a “	ê < ô “ “	ê	î <i>heel</i> , 92 I 6)
a + r	ea (æ)	a	â <i>arm</i> , 65 I 1)
a + r	ea (a)	â	æa <i>care</i> , 75 I 1)
a + r	ea	ɛ	ë <i>earn</i> , 85 I 3)
a + r	ea	ê open	iə <i>beard</i> , 92 I 4)
a + r	ɛ by umlaut	a	a <i>barley</i> , 65 I 2)
a + r	ɛ “ “	ê open	æa <i>swear</i> , 75 I 2)
a + g + r	æ + g + r	ê open (ai)	æa <i>fair</i> , 75 I 3)
a + h + r	êa by contr.	ê	iə <i>tear</i> , 95 I 3)

10. West Germanic *e* becomes :

e	e (eo)	ɛ	e <i>swell</i> , 78 I 1)
e	e (eo)	ɛ	æ <i>thrash</i> , 70 I 2)
e	eo, ie, y	e, i	i <i>yesterday</i> , 88 I 10)

WG.	WS.	ME.	IthD.
e	i	i	i <i>give</i> , 88 I 9)
e	e + ld	ê	î <i>field</i> , 92 I 9)
e	e	ê open	î <i>steal</i> , 92 I 11)
e	e	ê open	ê <i>break</i> , 82 I 6)
e	êo by contr.	ê	î <i>see</i> , 92 I 10)
e + g	î	î	ai <i>scythe</i> , 124 I 5)
e + g	e	ei (ai)	ê <i>way</i> , 82 I 5)
e + h	i pal. umlaut + h	ih (i)	ai <i>right</i> , 124 I 5)
e + r	eo	e	ë <i>earth</i> , 85 I 1)
e + r	eo	e (a)	o <i>dwarf</i> , 98 I 9)
e + r	eo	ô open	ðə <i>sword</i> , 109 I 4)
e + r	eo	e, u, o	ɐ <i>bu(r)st</i> , 112 I 7)
e + r	eo	a	â <i>star</i> , 65 I 3)
e + r	e	ê open	æə <i>tear</i> , 75 I 7)
e + r	e	ê open	iə <i>spear</i> , 95 I 6)

11. West Germanic *i*:

i	i (io)	i	i <i>smith</i> , 88 I 1)
i	io (eo)	e	e <i>hence</i> , 78 I 5)
i	i (u)	û (ô?)	u <i>wood</i> , 117 I 8)
i	i (u)	i, ê	î <i>week</i> , 92 I 16)
i	i + ld, nd, mb	î	ai <i>child</i> , 124 I 4)
i	êo by contr.	ê	î <i>three</i> , 92 I 16)
i	êo " "	ê	e <i>friend</i> , 78 I 4)
i + h	i	ig (î)	ai <i>tile</i> , 124 I 3)
i + nasal	î < i + n	î, i	i <i>fifty</i> , 88 I 2)
i + "	î < i + n	î	ai <i>five</i> , 124 I 2)
i + r	i	i, e, u	ë <i>her</i> , 85 I 2)

12. West Germanic *o*:

o	o	o	a <i>gossip</i> , 62 I 3)
o	o	o	ɐ <i>honey</i> , 112, I 4)
o	u	u	u <i>full</i> , 117 I 7)
o	o	ô open	ô <i>hole</i> , 105 I 4)
o	o + ld	ô open	ô <i>gold</i> , 105 I 3)
o	o + ld	ô	u <i>should</i> , 117 I 6)
o + h	o + h	o + h (ou)	o <i>bought</i> , 98 I 8)
o + g	o	ou	ô <i>bow</i> , 105 I 5)
o + r	o	o	o <i>corn</i> , 98 I 7)
o + r	o	ô open	ðə <i>torn</i> , 109 I 3)
o + r	o (u) y by umlaut	o (u)	ë <i>word</i> , 85 I 4)

13. West Germanic *u*:

u	u	u	ɐ <i>sun</i> , 112 I 1)
u (?)	u	u	u <i>pull</i> , 117 I 4)
u	u + ld	ô open	ô <i>shoulder</i> , 105 I 6)

WG.	WS.	ME.	IthD.
u	u + nd	û	au <i>hound</i> , 129 I 7)
u	û (lengthened)	û	au <i>now</i> , 129 I 3)
u	y by umlaut	i	e <i>bristle</i> , 112, I 3)
u	y " " + nd	î	ai <i>kind</i> , 124 I 13)
u + g	y " "	ih (î)	ai <i>buy</i> , 124 I 12)
u + h	u + h	u + h (ou ?)	û <i>through</i> , 119 I 11)
u + nasal	û < u + n	û	au <i>mouth</i> , 129 I 4)
u "	û "	û (ou)	u <i>could</i> , 117 I 5)
u "	û "	u	e <i>southern</i> , 112 I 2)
u "	ÿ < û < u + n	î (i)	i <i>wish</i> , 88 I 4)
u + r	u	ô open	ðə <i>door</i> , 109 I 5)
u + r	y by umlaut	i	ë <i>first</i> , 85 I 6)

14. West Germanic *â* :

â	æ by umlaut	â	ê <i>race</i> , 82 I 8)
â	æ " "	ê	î <i>deed</i> , 92 I 1)
â	æ " "	a	æ <i>bladder</i> , 70 I 3)
â	æ " "	a	æ <i>blast</i> , 73 I 2)
â	æ " "	ê open	e <i>breath</i> , 78 I 6)
â	â after w	ô	û <i>two</i> , 119 I 3)
â + g (w)	æ by umlaut	ai	ê <i>gray</i> , 82 I 7)
â + h	êa (ÿ)	ih (î)	ai <i>nigh</i> , 124 I 10)
â + w	â	ou	ô <i>blow</i> , 105 I 1)
â + nasal	ô	ô	û <i>moon</i> , 119 I 3)
â "	ô	ô	u <i>soon</i> , 117 I 2)
â "	ô	o	e <i>month</i> , 112 I 11)
â "	â	ô open	o <i>yawn</i> , 98 I 10)
â "	ê < ô by umlaut	ê	î <i>queen</i> , 92 I 2)
â + r	æ	ê open	iə <i>fear</i> , 95 I 1)
â + h + r	êa by contr.	ê "	iə <i>near</i> , 95 I 2)
â + r	â (êa)	â (ê open)	æə <i>hair</i> , 75 I 4)

15. West Germanic *ê* :

ê + r	ê	ê	iə <i>here</i> , 95 I 5)
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16. West Germanic *î* :

î	î	î	ai <i>while</i> , 124 I 1)
î	î	i	i <i>wisdom</i> , 88 I 3)
î	î (i)	i, e	e <i>since</i> , 78 I 8)
î	î after w	u, o	u <i>woman</i> , 117 I 9)
î + w	î	eu	û <i>Tuesday</i> , 119 I 10)
î + r	î	î	aiə <i>iron</i> , 125 I 1)

17. West Germanic *ô* :

ô	ô	ô	û <i>cool</i> , 119 I 1)
ô	ô (êo)	ô	û <i>shoe</i> , 119 I 2)

WG.	WS.	ME.	IthD.
ô	ô	ô	u <i>hoof</i> , 117 I 1)
ô	ô	ô, o	a <i>fodder</i> , 62 I 4)
ô	ô	ô, o	ʋ <i>brother</i> , 112 I 9)
ô	û	û	au <i>cow</i> , 129 I 5)
ô	ê by umlaut	ê	î <i>feel</i> , 92 I 5)
ô	ê " "	e	e <i>kept</i> , 78 I 9)
ô	ê " "	ê	i <i>wearly</i> , 88 I 11)
ô + h	ô	ou	au <i>plow</i> , 129 I 6)
ô + w	ô	ô	ô <i>row</i> , 105 I 2)
ô + r	ô	ô open	òə <i>floor</i> , 109 I 2)

18. West Germanic *û* :

û	û	û	au <i>house</i> , 129 I 1)
û	û	u (o)	ʋ <i>shove</i> , 112 I 8)
û	ÿ by umlaut	î	ai <i>hive</i> , 124 I 7)
û	ÿ " "	i	i <i>fist</i> , 88 I 5)
û + g	û	ou	au <i>bow</i> , 129 I 2)
û + nasal	û	ô	u <i>room</i> , 117 I 3)
û + r	û	û	auə <i>our</i> , 130 I 1)
û + r	ÿ by umlaut	î	aiə <i>fire</i> , 125 I 2)

19. West Germanic diphthong *ai* :

ai	â	ô open	ô <i>no</i> , 105 I 1)
ai	â	ô open (o)	ɔ <i>cloth</i> , 98 I 12)
ai	â	ô open	ò <i>boat</i> , 104 I
ai	â	ô (o)	a <i>hot</i> , 62 I 2)
ai	ê by umlaut	ê open	î <i>each</i> , 92 I 3) 4)
ai	ê " "	a	æ <i>fat</i> , 70 I 4)
ai	ê " "	a	æ <i>ask</i> , 73 I 3)
ai	ê " "	ê open (e)	e <i>health</i> , 78 I 7)
ai + h	â	o + h (ou)	ɔ <i>ought</i> , 98 I 11)
ai + w	â	ou	ô <i>snow</i> , 105 I 1)
ai + r	â	a	â <i>garlic</i> , 65 I 4)
ai + r	â	ô open	òə <i>oar</i> , 109 I 1)
ai + r	ê by umlaut	ê " "	æə <i>early</i> , 75 I 5)
ai + g + r	ê " "	ê "(open êi)	æə <i>stair</i> , 75 I 6)

20. West Germanic *au* :

au	êa	ê open	ê <i>great</i> , 82 I 9)
au	êa	ê " "	e <i>death</i> , 78 I 10)
au	êa	a	æ <i>Chapman</i> , 70 I 5)
au	êa	ê open	î <i>leaf</i> , 92 I 7)
au	êa, ÿ by umlaut	î (i)	i <i>strip</i> , 88 I 6)
au + g	ê + g	ei	ê <i>hay</i> , 82 I 10)
au + h	êa, ÿ by umlaut	î	ai <i>high</i> , 124 I 8)
au + h (w)	êa	eu	û <i>dew</i> , 119 I 9)

WG.	WS.	ME.	IthD.
au + w	êa	eu	iū <i>few</i> , 133 I
au + r	êa, ŷ by umlaut	ê open	iə <i>hear</i> , 95 I 7)

21. West Germanic *eu* :

eu	êo	ê	î <i>freeze</i> , 92 I 8)
eu	êo	ê open	e <i>breast</i> , 78 I 11)
eu	êo	ô	û <i>shoot</i> , 119 I 7)
eu	êo or ŷ by umlaut	î (i)	i <i>sick</i> , 88 I 7)
eu + h (g)	êo	ei, ih (f)	ai <i>fly</i> , 124 I 9)
eu + w	êo	eu	û <i>true</i> , 119 I 8)
eu + r	êo	ê	iə <i>deer</i> , 95 I 8)
eu + r	ŷ by umlaut	î	aiə <i>mile</i> , 125 3)

## 3. THE EARLY LATIN ELEMENT.

22. Latin *a, â* become :

Lat.	WS.	ME.	IthD.
a	æ (a), ea	a	æ <i>Saturday</i> , 70 II
a	a	a	ê <i>plaster</i> , 73 II
a	â	ô open	ô <i>pole</i> , 105 II 1)
a	y by umlaut	e, i	iê <i>kittle</i> , 88 II 3)
a + nasal	a, ɔ	a	æ <i>candle</i> , 70 II
a + r	æ, ea	a	â <i>ark</i> , 65 II
â	ê, êa	ê open	î <i>street</i> , 92 II 1)

23. Latin *e* :

e	e	e	e <i>spend</i> , 78 II 1)
e	ê	ê	î <i>fever</i> , 92 II 2)

24. Latin *i, î* :

i	i (e)	e	e <i>pepper</i> , 78 II 2)
i	i	i	i <i>dish</i> , 88 II 1)
i + r	e	ê open	æə <i>pear</i> , 75 II
î	î	î	ai <i>mile</i> , 124 II

25. Latin *o* :

o	o	ɔ	a <i>sock</i> , 62 II
o	ô	ô open	ô <i>rose</i> , 105 I 2)
o	ô	ô	u <i>cook</i> , 117 II 1)
o	ô	ô	û <i>school</i> , 119 II
o	y < u by umlaut	i	i <i>mill</i> , 88 II 2)
o + nasal	u + nd	û	au <i>pound</i> , 129 II 2)

26. Latin *u, û* :

u	o	ɔ	a <i>copper</i> , 62 II
u	o	ɔ	ɔ <i>fork</i> , 98 II

Lat.	WS.	ME.	IthD.
u	u	u	ʊ <i>butter</i> , 112 II 1)
u	y by umlaut	i	i <i>inch</i> , 88 II 2)
u + r	u	u	ɛ <i>purple</i> , 85, II
û	û	û	au <i>trout</i> , 129, II 1)
û	û	u	ʊ <i>plum</i> , 112 II 2)

## 4. THE SCANDINAVIAN VOWELS.

27. Scandinavian *a* (*ja*), *â*, *ê*:

Scand.	ME.	IthD.
a	a	æ <i>rash</i> , 70 III
a	a	â <i>cast</i> , 73 III
a	a	ɔ <i>call</i> , 98 III 2)
a	â	ê <i>take</i> , 82 II 1)
ę by umlaut	ę	e <i>dwell</i> , 78 III 1)
ę " "	ę	ê <i>leg</i> , 82 II 2)
a + g (ɔ by u-umlaut)	au	ɔ <i>law</i> , 98 III 1)
a + r	a	â <i>harden</i> , 65 III
ja + r	ê open, ê	æə, iə <i>scare</i> , 75 III ; 95 III 3)
â	ô "	ô <i>loan</i> , 105 III 1)
â + g	ou	ô <i>low</i> , 105 III 2)
â	ê (e)	i <i>wing</i> , 88 III 2)
â + r	ê open	iə <i>sneer</i> , 95 II 1)

28. Scandinavian *ê*, *ei*:

ê	ê open	i <i>leak</i> , 92 III 2)
ê	e	e <i>fellow</i> , 78 III 2)
ê (?) + r	ê open	iə <i>blear</i> , 95 II 2)
ei	ei	i <i>weak</i> , 92 III 2)
ei	ei, ai	ê <i>steak</i> , 82 II 3)

29. Scandinavian *i*, *î*:

i	i	i <i>skill</i> , 88 III 1)
i	i	e <i>fit</i> , 78 III 3
i + r	i	ë <i>whirl</i> , 85 III
î	î	ai <i>thrive</i> , 124 III 1)

30. Scandinavian *ô*, *œ*:

ô	ô	u <i>took</i> , 117 III 1)
œ + h	ih (î)	ai <i>sly</i> , 124 III 3)

31. Scandinavian *u*, *û*:

u	u	ʊ <i>ugly</i> , 112 III
u	u	u <i>bull</i> , 117 III 2)
y by umlaut	i	i <i>lift</i> , 88 III 3)
û	ô	û <i>booth</i> , 119 III 1)
ÿ by umlaut	î	ai <i>sky</i> , 124 III 2)

## 5. THE OLD FRENCH VOWELS.

32. Old French *a* :

OF.	ME.	IthD.
a	a after w	a <i>quantity</i> , 62 III 1)
a	a	æ <i>tan</i> , 70 IV 1)
a	a	ê <i>chance</i> , 73 IV 1)
a	â	ê <i>face</i> , 82 III 1)
a + r	a	â <i>part</i> , 65 IV 1)
a + r	â	ææ <i>square</i> , 75 IV 1)

33. Old French *e* :

e	e	e <i>letter</i> , 78 IV 1)
e	ê open	ê <i>measure</i> , 82 III 5)
e	ë “	î <i>feast</i> , 92 IV 1)
e	e	æ <i>relative</i> , 70 IV 2)
e + nasal	i	i <i>chimney</i> , 88 IV 2)
e “	e	i <i>general</i> , 88 IV 3)
e + r	e, a	a <i>farm</i> , 65 IV 2)
e + r	e (a)	ë <i>clerk</i> , 85 IV 1)
e + r	ê (ê open ?)	iâ <i>clear</i> , 95 III 1)
e + r	e, a	æ <i>pa(r)tridge</i> , 70 IV 2)

34. Old French *i* :

i	i	i <i>rich</i> , 88 IV 1)
î	î	ai <i>cry</i> , 124 IV 1)
i + r	î	aiâ <i>desire</i> , 125 4)

35. Old French *o* :

o (?)	o (o ?)	a <i>honor</i> , 62 III 2)
o	o	o <i>cord</i> , 98 IV 1)
o	o (ô open)	ô <i>close</i> , 105 IV
o	ô	û <i>fool</i> , 119 IV 1)
o	ô	û <i>move</i> , 119 IV 2)
o + r	ô open	ôâ <i>store</i> , 109 II

36. Old French *u, ü* :

u (o, ou)	u (o, ou)	v <i>suffer</i> , 112 IV 1)
u	û (ou)	au <i>vow, sound</i> , 129 III 1) 2)
u + r	o (u, ou)	ë <i>disturb</i> , 85 IV 2)
u + r	û	auâ <i>hour</i> , 130 2)
ü	(i) u	u <i>sugar</i> , 117 IV 1)
ü	u	v <i>justice</i> , 112 IV 2)
ü	u	e <i>just</i> , 78 IV 3)
ü	u (iu)	û <i>cruel</i> , 119 IV 3)
ü	u (iu)	iu <i>abuse</i> , 133 II

37. Old French *ai* :

OF.	ME.	IthD.
ai	ai, ei	ê <i>pay</i> , 82 III 2)
ai < ali, ani	ai	ê <i>fail</i> , 82 III 3)
ai	ê open	e <i>pheasant</i> , 78 IV 2)
ai	ê “	î <i>please</i> , 92 IV 2)
ai + r	ê “	æə <i>repair</i> , 75 IV 3)

38. Old French *ei* :

ei	ei, ai	ê <i>paint</i> , 82 III 4)
ei	ei	î <i>receive</i> , 92 IV 3)
ei + r	ê open	æə <i>fair</i> , 75 IV 4)

39. Old French *ie* :

ie	ê	î <i>grief</i> , 92 IV 5)
ie + r	ê	iə <i>fierce</i> , 95 III 2)
ie + r	ê, î	aiə <i>entire</i> , 125 5)
ie + r	ie, î	æə <i>squire</i> , 75 IV 2)

40. Old French *oi, qi* :

oi	oi (17th cent. ai)	ai <i>point</i> , 124 IV 2)
oi < o + l <i>mouillée</i>	oi “ “	ai <i>oil</i> , 124 IV 3)
qi	oi	oi <i>choice</i> , 132 I
oi	oi (u ?)	ɛ <i>musty</i> , 112 IV 3)
oi	u	u <i>bushel</i> , 117 IV 2)

41. Old French *au* :

au	au	ɔ <i>cause</i> , 98 IV 3)
au < a + l	au	ɔ <i>default</i> , 98 IV 2)
au < a + l	au	æ <i>sausage</i> , 70 IV 3)
au < a + l	au	ê <i>sauce</i> , 73 IV 2)

42. Old French *eu, eau, üi, ue* :

eu	iu	û <i>rule</i> , 119 IV 5)
eau < ell + cons.	iu	yû <i>beauty</i> , 119 IV 6)
üi	iu (u)	û <i>fruit</i> , 119 IV 4)
ue	ê	î <i>beef</i> , 92 IV 2)

## 6. SUMMARY OF DEVELOPMENT FROM ME.

43. The development since ME. times has special interest as throwing light on ME. phonology. For this the Chaucer Grammar of ten Brink has been consulted in all cases. However, when the later development of a series of words pointed to a vowel of different quality in ME., that has been taken as the LME. basis of the change, even when sometimes at variance with

ten Brink. This applies especially to the difference between open and close *e*, *o* long and short, and it is hoped the present grouping of examples may serve to settle in some degree the questionable quality of those vowels. The numbers refer to sections.

44. ME. *a* appears in IthD. as :

1) *æ* regularly : *hat*, 70 I 1); *bladder*, 70 I 3); *fat*, 70 I 4); *Chapman*, 70 I 5); *Saturday*, 70 II); *rash*, 70 III); *tan*, 70 IV 1); *pa(r)tridge*, 70 IV 2).

2) *æ* regularly before *f*, *th*(þ), *s*, *ŋ*, *n* + cons. : *lath*, *hand*, 70 I 1); *blast*, 73 I 2); *ask*, 73 I 3); *plaster*, 73 II); *cast*, 73 III).

3) *a*, after *w*, not before a back cons. nor before *l* or *r* + cons. : *wallow*, 62 I 1); *quantity*, 62 III 1).

4) *â* before *r* + cons. (sometimes final *r*) not preceded by *w* : *arm*, 65 I 1); *barley*, 65 I 2); *star*, 65 I 3); *garlic*, 65 I 4); *ark*, 65 II); *harden*, 65 III); *part*, 65 IV 1); *farm*, 65 IV 2).

5) *o* after *w* before *r*, *l* or *m* + cons.; or before *l* : *small*, *warm*, 98 I 1); *dwarf*, 98 I 9); *call*, 98 III 2).

6) *e*, *v*, occasionally : *together*, 78 I 1); *rather*, 112 I 5).

45. ME. *e* (open or close) has become :

1) *e* regularly : *swell*, 78 I 1); *send*, 78 I 3); *hence*, 78 I 5); *spend*, 78 II 1); *pepper*, 78 II 2); *dwel*, 78 III 1); *fellow*, 78 III 2); *letter*, 78 IV 1); *pheasant*, 78 IV 2).

2) *æ* sometimes : *thrash*, 70 I 2); *relative*, 70 IV 2).

3) *i* occasionally : *general*, 88 IV 3); *yesterday*, 88 I 10).

4) *ê* in a few words : *edge*, 82 I 4); *leg*, 82 II 2).

5) *ë* in closed syllables before *r* : *earn*, 85 I 3); *earth*, 85 I 1); *clerk*, 85 IV 1).

6) *v* < *er* after loss of *r* : *burst*, 112 I 7), a few examples.

46. ME. *i* appears as :

1) *i* regularly : *smith*, 88 I 1); *fifty*, 88 I 2); *wisdom*, 88 I 3); *fist*, 88 I 5); *wish*, 88 I 4); *strip*, 88 I 6); *sick*, 88 I 7); *chill*, 88 I 8); *give*, 88 I 10); *dish*, 88 II 1); *mill*, 88 II 2); *kettle*, 88 II 3); *skill*, 88 III 1); *lift*, 88 III 3); *rich*, 88 IV 1); *chimney*, 88 IV 2).

2) *ai* < *ih* (*g*) : *tile*, 124 I 3); *right*, 124 I 4); *dry*, 124 I 7); *night*, 124 I 11); *buy*, 124 I 12).

3) *e* occasionally : *since*, 78 I 8); *fit*, 78 III 3).

4) *v* seldom : *bristle*, 112 I 3).

5) *ë* before *r* : *her*, 85 I 2); *first*, 85 I 6); *whirl*, 85 III).

47. ME. *o* (open usually) has become :

1) *a* by unrounding regularly : *gossip*, 62 I 3); *hot*, 62 I 2); *fodder*, 62 I 4); *box*, 62 II); *honor*, 62 III 2); cf. also *from* 62 I 1).

2) *ɔ* before *f, th* (*þ*), *s, η, r* + cons.: *long*, 98 I 5); *soft*, 98 I 6); *corn*, 98 I 7); *fork*, 98 II; *cord*, 98 IV 1); *cloth*, 98 I 12).

3) *ɔ* from open *oh* (IME. *ou*): *brought*, 98 I 6); *bought*, 98 I 8); *ought*, 98 I 11).

4) *v* (especially before nasals) < close *o*: *honey*, 112 I 4); *among*, 112 I 5); *other*, 112 I 6); *brother*, 112 I 9); *one*, 112 I 10); *month*, 112 I 11).

5) *ë* (before *r*) < *o* close after *w*: *word*, 85 I 4).

#### 48 ME. *u* and *ü* are found as :

1) *v* regularly: *sun*, 112 I 1); *southern*, 112 I 2); *shove*, 112 I 8); *butter*, 112 II 1); *plum*, 112 II 2); *ugly*, 112 III; *suffer*, 112 IV 1); *justice*, 112 IV 2).

2) *u* after *w* or before *l* usually: *pull*, 117 I 4); *full*, 117 I 7); *woman*, 117 I 9); *bull*, 117 III 2); *bushel*, 117 IV 2).

3) *û* < *uh*: *through*, 119 I 2).

4) *iu* < *ü*: *abuse*, 133 II.

5) *e* occasionally: *just*, 78 IV 3).

6) *ë* before *r*: *Thursday*, 85 I 5); *purple*, 85 II; *disturb*, 85 IV 2).

#### 49. ME. *ä* has become :

1) *é* regularly: *race*, 82 I 8); *acre*, 82 I 3); *take*, 82 II 1); *face*, 82 III 1).

2) *æä* before *r*: *care*, 75 I 2); *square*, 75 IV 1).

#### 50. ME. *ê* (open), *ê* appear as :

1) *i* regularly from ME. close *ê*: *queen*, 92 I 2); *feel*, 92 I 5); *freeze*, 92 I 8); *heel*, 92 I 6); *field*, 92 I 9); *see*, 92 I 10); *he*, 92 I 11); *wield*, 92 I 15); *three*, 92 I 16); *fever*, 92 II 2); *grief*, 92 IV 5); *beef*, 92 IV 4).

2) *i* by later change from ME. open *ê*: *deed*, 92 I 1); *each*, 92 I 3); *leaf*, 92 I 7); *steal*, 92 I 12); *steel*, 92 I 13); *heave*, 92 I 14); *street*, 92 II 1); *leak*, 92 III 2); *feast*, 92 IV 1); *please*, 92 IV 2).

3) *é* in a few words: *great*, 82 I 9); *break*, 82 I 6); *measure*, 82 III 5).

4) *e* sometimes by shortening in IME. or early MdE.: *breath*, 78 I 6); *friend*, 78 I 4); *health*, 78 I 7); *kept*, 78 I 9); *death*, 78 I 10); *breast*, 78 I 11); *pheasant*, 78 IV 2).

5) *i* occasionally: *weary*, 88 I 11).

6) *ia* regularly from ME. close *ê* before *r*: *here*, 95 I 5); *deer*, 95 I 8); *sneer*, 95 II 1); *fierce*, 95 III 2).

7) *ia* through close *ê* by later change from ME. open *ê*: *fear*, 95 I 2); *tear*, 95 I 3); *beard*, 95 I 4); *spear*, 95 I 6); *hear*, 95 I 7); *scare*, 95 II 3); *blear*, 95 II 2); *clear* (ME. *é* ?), 95 III 1).

8) *æä* from open *ê* before *r* when remaining open: *swear*, 75 I 2); *hair*, 75 I 4); *rear*, 75 I 5); *tear*, 75 I 7); *pear*, 75 II; *scare*, 75 III; *repair*, 75 IV 3); *fair*, 75 IV 4).

#### 51. ME. *î* has become :

1) *ai* regularly by diphthonging: *while*, 124 I 1); *five*, 124 I 2); *child*, 124 I 4); *scythe*, 124 I 6); *kind*, 124 I 13); *mile*, 124 II; *thrive*, 124 III 1); *sky*,

124 III 2); from *ih* (earlier *éh*) *high*, 124 I 8); *fly*, 124 I 9); *nigh*, 124 I 10); *sly*, 124 III 3).

2) *i* occasionally: *wish*, 88 I 4).

3) *aiə* before *r*: *iron*, 125 1); *fire*, 125 2); *mire*, 125 3); *desire*, 125 4); *entire*, 125 5).

**52.** ME. *ô* (open) appears as :

1) *ô* regularly: *no*, 105 I 2); *gold*, 105 I 4); *over*, 105 I 5); *shoulder*, 105 I 7); *hold*, 105 I 8); *pole*, 105 II 1); *rose*, 105 II 2); *loan*, 105 III 1); *close*, 105 IV 1).

2) *o* occasionally: *yawn*, 98 I 10).

3) *ò* seldom: *boat*, 104 I.

4) *òə* before *r*: *oar*, 109 I 1); *floor*, 109 I 2); *torn*, 109 I 3); *sword*, 109 I 4); *door*, 109 I 5); *store*, 109 II.

**53.** ME. *ô* (close) has become :

1) *û* regularly: *cool*, 119 I 1); *shoe*, 119 I 2); *moon*, 119 I 3); *tooth*, 119 I 4); *two*, 119 I 5); *shoot*, 119 I 7); *womb*, 119 I 6); *school*, 119 II; *booth*, 119 III 1); *fool*, 119 IV 1); *move*, 119 IV 2).

2) *u* by shortening from long *û*: *hoof*, 117 I 1); *soon*, 117 I 2); *room*, 117 I 3); *should*, 117 I 6); *cook*, 117 II; *took*, 117 III 1).

3) *v* sometimes: *whole*, 112 I 10).

**54.** ME. *û* (written *ou* in Ch.) appears as :

1) *au* regularly by diphthonging: *house*, 129 I 1); *bow*, 129 I 2); *now*, 129 I 3); *mouth*, 129 I 4); *cow*, 129 I 5); *hound*, 129 I 7); *pound*, 129 II 2); *trout*, 129 II 1); *vow*, 129 III 1); *sound*, 129 III 2).

2) *u* sometimes: *could*, 117 I 5); *wood*, 117 I 8).

3) *auə* before *r*: *our*, 130 1); *hour*, 130 2).

**55.** ME. *ai*, *ei* have become :

1) *é* regularly: *day*, 82 I 1); *lay*, 82 I 2); *way*, 82 I 5); *gray*, 82 I 7); *hay*, 82 I 10); *steak*, 82 II 3); *pay*, 82 III 2); *fail*, 82 III 3); *paint*, 82 III 4).

2) *í* sometimes: *either*, 82 I 4); *weak*, 92 III 1); *receive*, 92 IV 3).

3) *æə* before *r*: *fair*, 75 I 3); *stair*, 75, I 6).

**56.** ME. *au* is found as :

1) *o* regularly: *draw* 98 I 2); *hawk*, 98 I 4); *straw*, 98 I 3); *law*, 98 III 1); *default*, 98 IV 2); *cause*, 98 IV 3).

2) *æ*, *ê* sometimes: *sausage*, 73 IV 2); *sauce*, 70 IV 3).

**57.** ME. *oi* appears as :

1) *ai* usually: *point*, 124 IV 2); *oil*, 124 IV 3).

2) *oi* sometimes: *choice*, 132 1).

58. ME. *ou* has become :

- 1) *ô* regularly : *snow*, 105 I 1); *grow*, 105 I 3); *bow*, 105 I 6); *low*, 105 III 2).
- 2) *au* sometimes : *plow*, 129 I 6).
- 3) *o* < earlier *qh* (cf. ME. *q*): *brought*, 98 I 6); *bought*, 98 I 8); *ought*, 98 I 11).

59. ME. *eu*, *iu* have become :

- 1) *û* regularly : *rule*, 119 I 6); *true*, 119 I 8); *dew*, 119 I 9); *Tuesday*, 119 I 10); *fruit*, 119 IV 5); *u* in *sugar*, 117 IV 1).
- 2) *yû* in *beauty*, 119 I 7).
- 3) *iu* sometimes : *few*, 133 I ; *abuse*, 133 II.

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#### IV. THE VOWELS.

##### 1. GENERAL.

60. The English language presents materials from many sources, received at many different times. It is peculiarly difficult therefore to present a single dialect in so compact a form, as if it represented the uninterrupted development of a single speech. Scarcely less difficult is it to decide what forms shall be given as representing the language of older times, or the later loan-words. It would be impossible, for example, to give in all cases the exact forms from which our OE. words have come to us, or those which are the direct ancestors of our Romance vocabulary. Fresh problems present themselves when we consider the influx of words from all sources since Chaucer, or the newly-coined words themselves so numerous. It can scarcely be hoped, therefore, that all would agree with the present disposition of American dialect material, but some of the reasons for the present arrangement will be evident from the following explanation of the grouping : —

1) For the OE. material belonging to the Germanic speech the WG. vowel system is chosen as a standard for comparison, (1) because of its well-known relations to all Germanic dialects, (2) because of its simplicity compared with the WS. vocalism, and (3) because it agrees more nearly, than does the WS., with the ME. vowel system. But in all cases the WS. forms of Eng-

lish material are given, not as the ground forms of MdE., but as useful for reference.

2) The Latin element in OE. is referred to the Latin vowel system, but here again the WS. form is given, since the words had become fully incorporated into OE. speech.

3) It is well known that not a few Scandinavian words are found in late OE. writings (cf. Kluge's treatment in *Paul's Grundriss*, I, p. 785). But it has seemed best to group all under ME. forms, and these will be given throughout for the Scandinavian element. The absence, however, of special treatises on our Scandinavian borrowings, with the exception of Brate's valuable contribution (*Nordische lehnwörter im Ormmulum*, PBB. X), makes this part peculiarly difficult.

4) The Romance material in ME. is referred to the OF. vowels, but the forms are those of ME., following in this the Chaucer Grammar of ten Brink, and the invaluable work of Behrens, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Französischen Sprache in England*.

5) Loan-words entering from various sources later than ME. times are referred to the forms from which they are derived, so far as that is possible, under such headings as late Latin, French, Greek, etc. Little care has been taken, however, to determine the exact source of these late loan-words, as whether a word of learned origin now common to the people came directly from the Latin or from a late French form; nor has it seemed necessary to consider especially the original quantity of the vowels in these words.

6) Proper names are given when sufficiently illustrative, with references to origin when this is known, or conjectured with probability.

## 2. THE VOWEL *a*.

61. The vowel *a* occurs as both long and short in IthD. Short *a* usually represents earlier short open *o*, which has become unrounded in many words. Long *a* springs from earlier short *a* in certain consonant combinations, usually before *r*.

### A. THE SHORT VOWEL *a*.

62. Short *a* in IthD. springs from :

I. 1) WG. *a*, WS. *æ* (*a*), *ea* by breaking, *ɛ* before a nasal, ME. *a* (*ɛ*). In open syllables: *barə* < *barewe* (i.e. wheel-barrow); *narə* < *nearu*, 'narrow'; *falə*, *fāl* < *fealu*, 'fallow'; *walr* < *wealwian*, 'wallow'; *swalr* < *swealwe*,

'swallow'; *talr* (*talə*) < *tealh*, 'tallow.' In closed syllables: *watf* < *wæccan*, 'watch'; *hwat* (stressed) < *hwæt*, 'what'; *waz* (stressed) < *wæs*, 'was'; *fram* (stressed) < *frõm*, 'from'; *swan* < *swon*, 'swan'; *wandr* < *wandrian*, 'wander.'

2) WG. *ai*, WS. *á*, ME. *ǣ* (*ǣ*). In open syllables: *sari* < *sárig*, 'sorry'; *halədə* < *háligdæg*, 'holiday'; *nalidg* < *cnáwl@can*, 'knowledge.' In closed syllables: *nat* < *náwiht*, 'not'; *hat* < *hát*, 'hot.'

3) WG. *o*, WS. *o*, ME. *o*. In open syllables: *marə* < *morgen*, 'morning'; *barə* < *borgian*, 'borrow'; *halí* < *holegn*, 'holly'; *halə*, *halr* < *holh*, 'hollow'; *falə*, *falr* < *folgian*, 'follow'; *gasip* < *godsib*, 'gossip'; *gaspl* < *godspell*, 'gospel'; *badi* < *bodig*, 'body'; *batm* < *botm*, 'bottom'; *datr* (*dátr*) < *dohtor*, 'daughter.' In closed syllables: *lak* < *loc* (a fastening), 'lock'; *flak* < *floc*, 'flock'; *aks* < *oxa*, 'ox'; *faks* < *fox*; *stap* < *for-stoppian*, 'stop'; *krap* < *crop*; *tap* < *top*; *rat* < *rotian*, 'rot'; *lat* < *hlot*, 'lot'; *fat* < *gescot*, 'shot'; *dat* < *dot*.

4) WG. *ó*, WS. *ó*, ME. *ó* (*o*). In open syllables: *fadr* < *fódor*, 'fodder'; *blasm* < *blóstm*, 'blossom.' In closed syllables: *rad* < *ród*, 'rod'; *fad* < *ge-scód*, 'shod.'

II. Latin *u*, *o*, WS. *o*, ME. *o*. In open syllables: *kapr* < *cuprum*, OE. *copor*, 'copper.' In closed syllables: *baks* < *burus*, OE. *box*; *sak* < *soccus*, OE. *soc*, 'sock.'

III. 1) OF. *a*, ME. *a* after *w*. a) In originally stressed syllables, closed: *skwad* < *esquadre*, 'squad'; *skwat* < *esquatir*, 'squat.' b) In originally unstressed syllables, closed: *kwantəti* < *quantite*, 'quantity.' Open: *kwaləti* < *qualite*, 'quality.'

2) OF. *o*, ME. *o*. a) In originally stressed syllables, closed: *rab* < *robben* (Germ. through Fr.), 'rob.' b) In originally unstressed syllables, open: *anr* < *honour*; *stanif* < *astonien* (?), 'astonish'; *pasəbl* < *possible*; *kur-asəti* < *curiosite*, 'curiosity'; *pazətiv*, *paztiv* < *positif*, 'positive'; *kablr* < *cobelere*, 'cobble'; *rabri* < *roberie*, 'robbery'; *kátn* < *cotoun*, 'cotton'; *batl* < *botel*, 'bottle'; *prafit* < *profit*; *navlti* < *novelte*, 'novelty'; *prapəti*, *prapti* (< *præpti*) < *proprete*, 'property'; *papl*, *paplr* < *pople*, 'poplar'; *akəpai* < *occupy*; *salid* < *solide*, 'solid.' Closed: *daktr* < *doctor*; *apsit* < *opposite*.

IV. Late Loan-words. 1) Fr. *o*. In open syllables: *prabli* < *probable*, 'probably'; *papəlr*, *paplr* < *populaire*, 'popular.'

2) Lat. *o*. In open syllables: *kamədət* < *accommodatus*, 'accommodate'; *kaləri*, *kalri* < *cholera*; *kaməkl* < *comicus* + *al*, 'comical'; *palətiks* < *politicus* (or through the French?), 'politics'; *taləbl* < *tolerabilis*, 'tolerable.' In closed syllables: *kantræktr* < *contractus* (through Fr. *contract*?), 'contractor.'

3) Greek *o*. In closed syllables: *bai-agrifi* < *bíos* + *γράφω*, 'biography'; *brankilz*, sb., *brankil*, adj., < *βρογχία*, 'bronchial.'

4) Italian *o*. In open syllables: *apəri*, *apri* < *opera*.

V. Names. 1) With written *a*: *watlz* < *Wattles*; *watkinz* < *Watkins*.

2) With written *o*. In open syllables: *stadərd* < *Stoddard*. In closed syllables: *bastik* < *Bostwick*; *wesk-ansin* < *Wisconsin*.

63. Short *a* from older *o* appears regularly in open syllables, and before voiceless consonants, except the fricatives *f*, *þ*, and *s*.

Occasionally it is also found before voiced consonants, as in 'rob,' 'rod,' 'shod,' 'from' (when stressed), 'hod,' 'pod,' 'cod,' 'mob,' etc., while before *g* it is regularly *o*. For this, and for the lengthening of earlier short *o*, cf. § 103.

64. Short *a* from ME. *a* is found after *w*, except before back consonants, where *æ* occurs ('*wag*,' '*wax*,' and cf. HES., § 785), or before the consonant combinations lengthening it to *â*, *o*; cf. §§ 66, 99. Other examples are: '*wad*,' '*waddle*,' '*twaddle*,' '*wabble*,' '*swab*,' '*squabble*,' '*wallet*,' '*wallop*,' '*wan*,' '*squander*,' '*swap*.' This *a*, under the influence of *w*, was open *o* from very early times, unrounding in IthD. to *a*. Occasionally *a* appears before *r*, *l*, in open syllables, where in closed syllables it would have become long open *o* (*o*), as in *kalæri* (*cholera*), beside *call*.

## B. THE VOWEL *â*.

65. IthD. *â* is from :

I. 1) WG. *a*, WS. *æ* (*a*), *ea* before *r* + cons., ME. *a* : *ârm* < *earm*, 'arm'; *hârm* < *hearm*, 'harm'; *yârn* < *gearn*, 'yarn'; *hârd* < *heard*, 'hard'; *yârd* < *geard*, 'yard'; *hârvist* < *hærfest*, 'harvest'; *nârwin* < *nearu*, 'narrowing'; *mârk* < *mearc*, 'mark'; *fârp* < *scearp*, 'sharp.'

2) WG. *a*, WS. *ǣ* (*ie* < breaking) by umlaut, ME. *a* (*e*): *mâr*  $\wedge$  *mier-ran*, Merc. *męrran*, 'mar'; *bârli* < *bęre*, ME. *barlic*, 'barley'; *bârn* < *bęrern*, 'barn'; *yârd* (rod) < *gęrd*, 'yard.'

3) WG. *e*, WS. *eo* by *r* + cons., ME. *a* : *stâr* < *steorra*, 'star'; *fâr* (stressed) < *feor*, 'far'; *stârv* < *steorfan*, 'starve'; *smârt* < *smeortan*, 'smart'; *bârk* < *beorcan*, 'bark'; *dârk* < *deorc*, 'dark'; *hârt* < *heorte*, 'heart.'

4) WG. *ai*, WS. *â*, ME. *a* : *gârlík* < *gârléac*, 'garlic'; *lârk* < *lâwerce*, 'lark.'

II. Latin *a*, WS. *a*, *ea* by *r* + cons., ME. *a* : *ârk* < *arca*, OE. *earc*, 'ark'; *mârtr* < *martyr*.

III. Scand. *a*, ME. *a* : *hârdn* < *harþna*, Orm. *harrdenn*, 'harden'; *bark* (of a tree) < *bark*, ME. *barke*, 'bark'; also with Scand. *e* : *stârt* < *sterten*, ON. *sterta*, to move quickly, 'start.'

IV. 1) OF. *a*, ME. *a*. a) In originally stressed syllables : *třardę* < *charge*; *třârm* < *charme*, 'charm'; *třârt* < *chart*; *ârm* < *arme* (weapon), 'arm'; *ârt* < *art*, 'art'; *pârt* < *part*; *dâpârt* < *departen*, 'depart'; *kâr* < *carre*, 'car'; *bâr* < *barre*, 'bar.' b) In originally unstressed syllables : *hârdi* < *hardy*; *pârdner* < *partener*, 'partner'; *gârdn* < *gardin*, 'garden'; *kârpnr* < *carpenter*; *ârmr* < *armour*; *hârnis* < *harnais*, 'harness'; *ârgmânt* < *argument*; *bârl* < *barel*, 'barrel'; *ârtâkl* < *article*; *ârþr* < *Arthour*, 'Arthur'; *târvrn* (with excrescent *r*) (also *tævørn*) < *taverne*, 'tavern.'

2) OF. *e*, ME. *e* (*a*). a) In originally stressed syllables : *rizârv* < *reserven*, 'reserve'; *fârm* < *ferme*, 'farm.' b) In originally unstressed syllables :

*sártn* (*sěrtn*) < *certein*, *sarten*, 'certain'; *sárdgənt* < *sergant*, 'sergeant'; *pársli* (also *pěsli* with loss of *r*) < *persely*, 'parsley.'

V. Names. With written *a*: *várni* < *Varna*; *mârðr* < *Mather*, with excrescent *r*.

66. Long *a* (*á*) appears regularly before *r* final, or *r* + cons., that is, in a syllable closed by *r*. It springs uniformly from ME. *a* before *r* + cons. (sometimes *r*), cf. HES., § 783. This ME. *a* is regarded as long by Kluge (cf. PGr. I, p. 866) before *rd*, *rn*, but as the later development of this *a* does not differ from that of *a* before other combinations of *r* + cons.: the quantity of ME. *a* is here considered short in all these cases. There are, however, two words in which IthD. *á* springs from OE. *á*—the words 'lark' and 'garlic,' but these had short *a* in IME. (cf. HES., § 632). In a few words *á* represents older *e* before *r* + cons., as shown by examples under I 3), and II, where *start* seems to belong. For further discussion, cf. § 86.

67. The lengthening of *æ* and *o* before the fricatives *f*, *þ*, and *s*, the nasal *ŋ*, and *n* + cons., makes it reasonable to expect a similar long *á* in such company, either from an earlier *a* or by the unrounding of an earlier *o*. But earlier *a* became *ê* in these cases, while *o* was lengthened before the unrounding. The only words in which *á* does occur, besides those already given, are 'father' < OE. *fader*; 'wasp' < OE. *wæps*, ME. *wasp*; *wand* < Scand. (?); and with written *o*, 'bond,' 'fond,' 'pond.' All of these but 'father' had earlier an open *o*, either original or by influence of preceding *w*. We should therefore expect 'wasp' to appear with open *o* (*wosp*), as it does sometimes, though often with *á*. In the other words the former open *o* appears as *á* by unrounding and lengthening. 'Father' is peculiar in its development. We should expect its stressed vowel would be *æ*, as in 'gather,' 'lather,' 'fathom.' To explain its *á* we must remember (1) that its place is taken in the dialect of the common people by such words as 'pa,' 'pap,' 'dad,' 'daddy,' and (2) that when used it is as a title, or word of respectful address. The same peculiarity appears in LdE., where *fáðə(r)* is given beside *gæðə(r)*, *læðə(r)*, *fæðm*.

68. The development of this *á* from ME. times is interesting. According to Sweet and Ellis, ME. *a* was *æ* in all words in the 17th century and *æ*, *ê* in the 18th, though Ellis admits that *a* may have remained before *r* in the 17th century. Now in LdE. before *f*, *þ*, *s*, as well as before *r* + cons., ME. *a* is *á*, the change from *ê* being assigned to the present century. But in IthD.

ME. *a* is *æ* before the fricatives, *á* before *r* + cons. If this *á* was *æ* in the 18th century in all dialects, it is difficult to see how it should have separated from the *æ* before the fricatives in IthD., while under the same circumstances it became *a* in LdE., with the *æ* before *f*, *þ*, and *s*. It seems more probable that *a* before *r* final or *r* + cons. has retained its quality since ME. times, in IthD. at least, and perhaps in England also (cf. § 181-2).

### 3. THE VOWEL *æ*.

69. The vowel *æ*, not before *r*, is the regular descendant of WG. *a*, as well as of *a* in loan-words. When followed by *r* it appears with a glide, and corresponds to ME. long *a* before *r*. This *æ* has not become *a*, *á* as in LdE. before *f*, *þ*, *s* (cf. HES. word-lists, pp. 282-3). But before these consonants, as well as before *ŋ*, *n* + cons., it has become *æ*, while it remains short in other words, except as it is half-long before voiced consonants.

#### A. SHORT *æ*.

70. The vowel short *æ* in IthD. is one of the commonest sounds, springing from:

I. 1) WG. *a*, WS. *æ* (*a*, *ǫ*), *ea* by breaking or after a palatal, ME. *a*. In open syllables: *æpl* < *æppel*, 'apple'; *sædl* < *sadol*, 'saddle'; *æfisz* < *asce*, 'ashes'; *fiesn* < *fæstnian*, 'fasten'; *ræsl* < *wrastlian* (*wraxlian*), 'wrestle'; *hæmr* < *hǫmor*, 'hammer.' In closed syllables: *væt* < *fæt*, 'vat'; *kæt* < *cat*; *hæt* < *hæt*, 'hat'; *æks* < *æx*, 'axe'; *flæks* < *flæax*, 'flax'; *clæp* < *clappian*, 'clap'; *glæd* < *glæd*, 'glad'; *dræg* < *draggian*, also *dræg*, a harrow, 'drag'; *fævz* < *scaft*, 'shafts'; *mæn* < *mǫn*, 'man'; *hænl* < *hǫnde*, 'handle'; *læn-lord*, late from *lǫnd* + *lord*, 'landlord'; *ænsr* < *ǫndswaru*, 'answer'; *hænsəm*, *hændi*, late formations from *hǫnd*, 'handsome,' 'handy'; *hæŋin*, sb. < *hangingian*, 'hanging'; *læm* < *lǫmb*, 'lamb.'

2) WG. *e*, WS. *e*, *eo*, ME. *e*. In open syllables: *yæla*, *yælr* < *geolu*, 'yellow.' In closed syllables: *þræf* < *þerscan*, 'thrash'; *wæl*, *wêl* (often when stressed) < *wel*, 'well'; so sometimes stressed *yæs* < *geswá*, which may also be *yê*s, 'yes.'

3) WG. *á*, WS. *ê* by umlaut, ME. *a* (*e*). In open syllables: *ædr* < *nêddre*, 'adder'; *blædr* < *blêddre*, 'bladder'; *ærant* (*erænd*) < *êrende*, 'errand.'

4) WG. *ai*, WS. *ê* by umlaut, ME. *a*. In open syllables: *lædr* < *hlêdder*, 'ladder.' In closed syllables: *fæt* < *fê*t, adj., 'fat'; *mæd* < *ge-mê*d, 'mad.'

5) WG. *au*, WS. *êa*, ME. *a*. In closed syllables: *tſæpmæn* (proper name, and sometimes *tſepmæn*) < *cêapman*, ME. *chapman*, 'Chapman.'

II. Latin *a*, WS. *a* (*æ*), *ea* by breaking, ME. *a*. In open syllables: *sætrdi* < *sæternesdæg*, 'Saturday'; *kæml* < *camelus*, OE. *camel*, 'camel'; *kæsl* < *castellum*, OE. *castel*, 'castle.' In closed syllables: *kændl* < *candela*, OE.

*candel*, 'candle'; *pæm* < *palma*, OE. *palm*, 'palm'; *sæm* < *psalmus*, OE. *sealm*, 'psalm'; *æŋkr* < *ancora*, OE. *ancor*, 'anchor.'

III. Scand. *a* (o), ME. *a*. In closed syllables: *ræf* < *roskr*, ME. *rask*, 'rash'; *hæf* < *horskr*, ME. *harsk*, with loss of *r*, 'harsh'; *rænsæk* < *ransaka*, ME. *ransaken*, 'ransack'; *gæd* ('goad') < *gaddr*, ME. *gad*; *bæg* < *bagge*, 'bag'; *læk* < *lak*, vb., < *lakken* (?), 'lack'; *flæt* < *flatr*, ME. *flat*, 'flat.'

IV. 1) OF. *a*, ME. *a* (*au*). *a*) In originally stressed syllables, closed: *ætætʃ* < *atachen*, 'attach'; *æn* < *Anne*; *tæn* < *tannen*, 'tan'; *kæn* < *calme*, 'calm.' *b*) In originally unstressed syllables, open: *mæn* < *manere*, 'manner'; *mækænik* < *mechanike*, 'mechanic'; *dæmidʒ* < *damage*; *mætr* < *matere*, 'matter'; *kætl* < *catel*, 'cattle'; *nætʃl* < *natural*; *bælæns* < *balance*; *gæln* < *galoun*, 'gallon'; *mæri* < *marien*, 'marry'; *mæridʒ* < *mariage*, 'marriage'; *stæblif* < *establiszen*, '(e)stablish'; *fæfn* < *facioun*, 'fashion'; *mækærl* < *makerel*, 'mackerel'; *tævrn* (also *tárvrn*, with excrescent *r*) < *taverne*, 'tavern'; *pæsl* < *parcel*, with loss of *r*; *kæpn* (*kæptn*, *kæp*) < *capitain*, 'captain'; *bæptis(t)* < *baptiste*, 'baptist'; *tʃæptr* < *chapitre*, 'chapter'; *æktl* < *actual*; *sætisfækfn* *satisfaction*, Wyc.; so *sætisfæktri*, 'satisfactory'; *stændærd* < *standard*; *græn-*, *græm-*, in *græni*, *græmæ* < *grammer* (?), 'granny', 'grandma'; so *grænsøn*, 'grandson'; *bændn* < *abandune*, 'abandon'; *kæmænmænt* < *commandement*, 'commandment'; *blænkit* < *blanket*; *træmbl* < *tramaile*, 'trammel'; *bætʃ* < *bachelor*, 'bachelor'; *kælkælét* < *calculen*, modified by Lat. *calculatus*, 'calculate.'

2) OF. *e*, ME. (*e*) *a*. In originally unstressed syllables, open: *rælativ* < *relatif*, 'relative.' Closed: *pætridʒ* (with loss of *r*) < *partriche*, Fr. *perdrix*, 'partridge.'

3) OF. *au* < *a + l*, ME. *au*. In originally unstressed syllables, open: *sæsidʒ* < *saucisse*, 'sausage.'

V. Late Loan-words. 1) Lat. *a*. In open syllables: *kæmæri* < *camera*; *klæri* (proper name) < *Clara*; *kæriktr* < *character*; *dæti* < *data*, pl. of *datum*; *grædgæli* < Low Lat. *graduale*, 'gradually'; *ænæmil* < *animal*. In closed syllables: *ægzækli* < *exact* + *ly*; *fæk(t)* < *factum*, 'fact'; *fæktri* < *factor*, 'factory'; *træk(t)* < *tractus*, 'tract'; *tæntm* < *tandem*; *æmpætét* < *amputare*, 'amputate'; *æbslút* < *absolutus*, 'absolute.'

2) Fr. *a*. In open syllables: *træfik* < *trafique*, 'traffic'; *kædæmi* < *académie*, 'academy'; *spæfælati* < *spécialité*, 'special(i)ty'; *bærik* < *baraque*, 'barrack'; *kæpæsat* < *capacité*, 'capacity'; *bætú* < *bateau*. In closed syllables: *mænæfæktrær* < *manufacture* + *-er*, so *mænæfæktrin*, 'manufacturing'; *æks* < *act*, 'acts'; *tæk*, sb., *tækt*, *tæktid* < *attaquer*, 'attack(ed)'; *dæptid* < *adapter*, 'adapted'; *kætridʒ* (with loss of *r*) < *cartouche*. Dryden *cartrage* 'cartridge'; *ædvætaiz* < *avertiss*, 'advertise'; *kæbnit* < *cabinet*; *fæmli* < *famille*, 'family.'

3) Fr. *e* + nasal. In closed syllables: *vændū* < *vendue*, a sale.

4) Span. *a*. In open syllables: *bænæni* < *banana*; *ævæni* < *Havana*, 'Havana'; *tæbækr* < *tabaco*, 'tobacco'; *tæmæta*, *tæmætr* < *tomate* (sometimes *tæmêta*), 'tomato.'

5) Greek *a*. In open syllables: *ælæpæp* < *ἄλλοσ + πάθος*, 'allopath.' In closed syllables: *mycæmi* < *μιάσμα*, 'miasma.'

VI. Names. 1) With written *a* (*au*). In open syllables: *kærlæin* <

*Caroline*. In closed syllables: *mæklini* < *McElhinney*; *ændrs* < *Andrus*; *kænzəs* < *Kansas*; *bænfil(d)* < *Banfield*; *tʃænsi* < *Chauncy*.

2) With written *e*. In closed syllables: *skæn·æktædi* < *Schenectady* (Du.); *ælmairi* (*ælm'airi*) < *Elmira* (sometimes also with long *æ*).

71. It will be seen that short *æ* appears in open syllables, before voiceless consonants except *f*, *þ*, and *s*, and before the simple nasals *n*, *m*, while it is half-long before voiced consonants. Its separation from *ê* is discussed under that vowel, but *æ* before a consonant combination, as *nd*, is regularly short when that combination is simplified, as *lænlord*, but *lênd*, from *landlord*, *land*.

72. Special attention may be called to the interchange of *æ* and *e* in many words, as *yælə*, *yæs*, *wæł*, *rælativ*, *ælmairi*, *ærant*, *vændû*, *skæn·æktædi*, for 'yellow,' 'yes,' 'well,' 'relative,' 'Elmira,' 'errand,' 'vendue,' 'Schenectady.' The opposite change may be seen in *tʃepmæn* < *Chapman*, and cf. § 80.

## B. LONG *æ* (*ê*).

73. Long *æ* occurs before the voiceless spirants *f*, *þ*, *s*, and before *l*, *ŋ*, *n*, or *m* + cons. in closed syllables. It springs from:

I. 1) WG. *a*, WS. *æ*, *ǣ*, *ea* by breaking or after a palatal, ME. *a*: *læp* < *lætte*, *læþpe* (?), 'lath'; *pæþ* < *pæþ*, 'path'; *græs* < *græs*, 'grass'; *glæs* (*dlæs*) < *glæs*, 'glass'; *fæst*, adj., < *fæst*, 'fast'; *æft* < *æfter*, 'after'; so *æftnún*, 'afternoon,' *æfttrærdz*, 'afterwards'; *kræft* < *cræft*, 'craft'; *hæf* < *healf*, 'half'; *kæf* < *cealf*, 'calf'; *læft* < *hleahfor*, 'laughter'; so *læf*, 'laugh,' *læfæbl*, *læfbl*, 'laughable'; *tʃæf* < *ceaf*, 'chaff'; *fæl* < *sceal* (when stressed), 'shall'; *hæn(d)* < *hǣnd*, 'hand'; *læn(d)* < *lǣnd*, 'land'; *stæn(d)* < *standan*, 'stand'; *ænt* < *æmette*, 'ant'; *fênt* < *sha(l)n't*, 'shan't'; *hæŋ* < *hangian*, 'hang.'

2) WG. *á*, WS. *æ* by umlaut, ME. *a*: *blæst* < *blêst*, a blowing, 'blast.'

3) WG. *ai*, WS. *ê*, ME. *a*: *æst* (*æsk*) < *âscian*, 'ask'; *læst* (of a shoe) < *lêst*, 'last.'

II. Lat. *a*, WS. *a* (*á*), ME. *a*: *plæstr* < *em-plastrum*, OE. *pláster*, 'plaster'; *æs* < *asinus*, OE. *assa*, 'ass'; *plænt*, sb. and vb., < *plante*, *plantian*, Lat. *planta*, 'plant.'

III. Scand. *a*, ME. *a*: *kæst* < *casten*, ON. *kasta*, 'cast'; *næsti* < *nasty*, *nasky*, cf. Swed. *naskug* (Skt.), 'nasty'; *dæmp* < *dampe*, ON. *dampe*, 'damp'; *bæŋk* (of a river) < *banki*, Orm. *bannkess*, 'bank'; *æŋgr* < *anngrenn*, Orm., cf. Dan. *anger*, 'anger.'

IV. 1) OF. *a*, ME. *a* (*au*): *tæsk* < *taske*, 'task'; *ræskil* < *raskailli*, 'rascal'; *bænd* < *bande*, 'band'; *ænt* < *aunt*; *tʃænt* < *chaunt*, 'chant'; *grænt* < *graunt*, *granten*, 'grant'; *læmp* < *lampe*, 'lamp'; *ræmp* < *rampen*, 'ramp'; *tʃæns* < *chance*; *dæns* < *daunce*, 'dance'; *læntf* < *launcen*, 'launch'; *kæm·ænd* < *commande*, 'command'; *læŋgidʒ* < *langage*, 'language'; *mæm* (*mæm*) < *madame*, through *ma-am*; *skæntlin* < *scantilon*, 'scantling.'

2) OF. *au* < *a* + *l*, ME. *au*: *sæs* < *sauce*.

V. Late Loan-words. 1) Lat. *a*: *kæplik* < *catholicus*, 'catholic'; *pæstr* < *pastor*; so *pæstrêt*, 'pastorate'; *æfrikî* < *Africa*; *ælkîhol* < *alcohol* (Arabic); *klêŋ* < *clangere*, 'clang.'

2) Fr. *a*: *klê*s < *classe*, 'class'; *mê*s < *masse*, 'mass'; *mêsk* < *masque*; *ælmønîk* (*almønîk*) < *almanach* (Arabic), 'almanac'; *kæn·êl* < *canal*; *kæmp* < *camp*; *lê*ns < *lance*; *trê*ns < *transe*, 'trance'; *grê*n(d) < *grand*.

VI. Names. 1) With written *a*: *ſæn·êŋ* < *Chenango*.

2) With written *e*: *ælmairî* (*ælm·airî*) < *Elmira*.

74. The vowel *æ*, both long and short, in IthD., is the direct descendant of ME. short *a*, except perhaps before *r* in a closed syllable (cf. § 68). ME. *a* became fronted to *æ* in the 17th century, and in the 18th was lengthened before certain consonants, and consonant combinations. In the 19th century long *æ* became *â* in LdE. (cf. HES., § 781), but it has been preserved in IthD. This LdE. *â* appears before the fricatives *f*, *þ*, and *s* in closed syllables, as well as before *r* + cons., if we may formulate the law from Sweet's Word-lists (HES., pp. 373-93). The only exceptions given by Sweet are *fasten*, *castle*, with long *â* in open syllables where we should expect *æ*, as in *fathom*, *gather*, *lather*. In IthD., as we have seen, *â* appears before *r* + cons. Long *æ*, corresponding to LdE. *â* not before *r*, occurs before *f*, *þ*, *s* as in LdE., but also before *l*, *ŋ*, and *n* or *m* + cons. Lengthening before *ŋ* may be compared with a similar lengthening of short open *o* (§ 100), and *ê* before *l*, and *n* or *m* + cons. with similar lengthening of *a*, *o* before *l* in the 17th century, and before *nd*, *mb* in ME. times. The separation of *æ*, *ê* is made more difficult because of half-long *æ* before voiced consonants. It is possible, also, that *ê* occurs sometimes in open syllables before the fricatives.

### C. LONG *æ* BEFORE *r* (*æə*).

75. The vowel *ê* before *r* in closed syllables appears with a glide, though this is not prolonged and is often hardly perceptible. This glide never represents, as in LdE., the lost *r*, is not drawled so that the word becomes dissyllabic, and is usually no more than is necessary in passing from the *æ* to the *r* position (cf. § 53). The vowel springs from:

I. 1) WG. *a*, WS. *æ* (*a*), *ea* by *r* + cons. *u*-umlaut or by a palatal, ME. *â*: *spæ*r < *spær*, adj. vb. < *sparian*, 'spare'; *fæ*r < *ſcæaru*, a part, 'share'; *kæ*r < *caru*, *cearu*, 'care'; *wæ*r (in 'beware') < *waru*; *mæ*r (in 'nightmare') < *maru*; *stæ*r < *starian*, 'stare.' ME. *a* (*â*?) in *bæ*r < *bær*; *dæ*r < *dear* (challenge), 'dare.'

2) WG. *a*, WS. *e* (*ie*) by umlaut, ME.  $\hat{e}$ : *swæ̃r* < *swērian*, 'swear'; *wæ̃r* < *wērian*, 'wear'; *mæ̃r* < *miere*, Merc. *mēre*, 'mare.'

\* 3) WG. *a*, WS. *æ* + *g*, ME. *ai*, *ei*: *fiwæ̃r* < *fā̃ger*, ME. *fayre*, *feyre*, 'fair.'

4) WG. *â*, WS. *ê* (*â*), ME.  $\hat{e}$  (*â*): *hwæ̃r* < *hêr*, 'hair'; *ðwæ̃r* (*ðar*) < *þêr*, 'there'; *hwæ̃r* (*hwar*) < *hwêr*, *hwâr*, 'where.'

5) WG. *ai*, WS. *ê* by umlaut, ME.  $\hat{e}$ : *ræ̃r* (to rise) < *rêran*, 'rear'; *æ̃rli* (*êrli*) < *êrlice*, 'early.'

6) WG. *ai*, WS. *ê* by umlaut + *g*, ME. *ai*, *ei*: *stæ̃r* < *stêger*, ME. *staire*, 'stair.'

7) WG. *e*, WS. *e*, ME.  $\hat{e}$ : *tæ̃r* < *teran*, 'tear'; *bæ̃r* < *beran*, 'bear'; *bæ̃r*, sb., < *bere*, 'bear.'

II. Lat. *i*, WS. *e*, ME.  $\hat{e}$ : *pæ̃r* < *pira*, pl., OE. *peru*, 'pear.'

III. Scand. *ja* = *e*, ME.  $\hat{e}$ : *skæ̃r* (*skîr*) < *skeren*, cf. Icl. *skjare*, 'scare.'

IV. 1) OF. *e*, ME. *â*: *skwæ̃r* < *square*, adj.; *dikl'æ̃r* < *declaren*, 'declare.'

2) OF. *ei*, ME. *ie* (*i*): *skwæ̃r* < *squier*, 'squire.'

3) OF. *ai*, ME. *ai*: *ræp'æ̃r* < *repayren* (to resort to), 'repair'; *æ̃r* < *air*.

4) OF. *ei*, ME.  $\hat{e}$ : *fiwæ̃r* (a cattle-show) < *faire*, *feire*, 'fair'; *disp'æ̃r* < *despayr*, *despeir*, so the vb. < *despeiren*, 'despair.'

V. Late Loan-words. Fr. *a*: *ræ̃r* < *rare*, *parp'æ̃r* < *préparer*, 'prepare.'

VI. Names. With written *ay*: *bæ̃r* < *Thayer*; *sæ̃r* < *Sayre*.

**76.** The vowel *æ* before *r* (*æ̃r*) has three sources: 1) ME. long open  $\hat{e}$ , whether originally long, or lengthened in ME.

2) ME. *ai*, *ei* by monophthonging.

3) ME. *â*, whether originally long or lengthened in ME. The union of the first two classes is not difficult, when we consider that the first element of the diphthong *ei*, *ai* is supposed to have been nearly the same as the open  $\hat{e}$  sound. The words of the third division are 'spare,' vb. and adj., 'share,' sb., 'care,' 'be-ware,' 'mare' in 'nightmare,' 'stare,' vb., 'dare,' 'bare,' 'there,' 'where,' all of which, except the last four, had *â* in an open syllable in ME. In the 17th century this *â* became *ê*, when these words easily fell in with those having long open  $\hat{e}$  in ME. Our words 'there,' 'where,' probably descended from ME. *pêre*, *hwêre*, though the occasional forms *ðâr*, *hwâr*, in IthD. point to the older forms as well. 'Dare' and 'bare,' ME. 'dar,' 'bar,' must have lengthened their *a*'s, probably in lME., though in these cases also the forms *dâr*, *bâr*, occasionally heard, point to the original ME. forms.

All words with *æ̃r* from original open  $\hat{e}$  are to be separated from those which have developed *iə* in present English. The conditions of the separation are these: IthD. *æ̃r* springs from ME. open  $\hat{e}$ , remaining open, or from a diphthong of which open  $\hat{e}$  is the first element. On the other hand, *iə* (long *i* before *r*)

has descended from a ME. long close *e*, or from an open *ê* which became close in early MdE. times (cf. §§ 93, 96). That open and close *ê* were not entirely separate in ME. times is proved by double forms occasionally heard, as *skwæar*, *skiær*, 'scare'; *ræar*, *riær*, 'rear'; *fæar* (a part), 'share'; *fiær* (to cut), 'shear.' Similar proof of fluctuating quantity is given by such forms as *æarli*, *wæar*, *ërlî*, *wër* ('early,' 'were'). Especially peculiar is 'squire' as *skwæar*, but this may have been influenced by the adjective 'square,' in the sense of 'just,' since the common people use the term only for one who is, or has been, a petty judge, or justice.

4. THE VOWEL *e*.

77. The vowel written *e*, *a* (*ê*), and in various other ways, appears as short close *e* (A), long close *e* (B), and as *ë* before *r* (C).

A. THE SHORT VOWEL *e*.

78. This *e* has remained unchanged in the main from the earliest times. Its principal sources are WG. *e*, WS. *ë* by umlaut of *a*, and *e* in French or other loan words. It is from:

I. 1) WG. *e*, WS. *e*, *eo* by *l*+cons. or *u*-umlaut, ME. *e*. In open syllables: *leðr* < *leþer*, 'leather'; *fēðr* < *fēþer*, 'feather'; *wēðr* < *weder*, 'weather'; *eləm* < *elm*; *belr* < *bellan* (?), cf. ON. *belja*, 'bellow'; *feli* < *felg*, 'felly'; *rekn* < *reccenian*, 'reckon'; *setl* < *setlan*, 'settle.' In closed syllables: *fref* < *fersc*, 'fresh'; *eldr* < *ellern*, 'elder'; *seldom* < *seldan*, 'seldom'; *swel* < *swellan*, 'swell'; *spel* < *spellan*, 'spell'; *yel* < *gellan*, 'yell'; *melt* < *meltan*, 'melt'; *help* < *helpan*, 'help'; *yelk* < *geolca*, 'yelk'; *hevn* < *heofon*, 'heaven'; *sevn* < *seofon*, 'seven'; *nek* < *hnecca*, 'neck'; *tred* < *tredan*, 'tread'; *west* < *west*; *nest* < *nest*; here may be placed the etymologically uncertain *biy'end* < *begeondan*, 'beyond'; *yendr* < *geon*, ME. *yonder*, 'yonder.'

2) WG. *a*, WS. *æ* (*a*), *ea* by breaking, ME. *a* (*e*). In open syllables: *tag'ēðr* < *tôgædere*, 'together'; *geðr* < *gaderian*, 'gather'; *hweðr* < *hwæþer*, 'whether'; *hetf* < *hæc* (hatch, door); *nekid* < *nacod*, 'naked.' In closed syllables: *eks* < *eax*, 'axle'; in unstressed, *hez* < *has*; *ez* < *as*; *ðet* < *þæt*, 'that'; *hev* < *habban*, 'have'; *hed* < *hædde*, 'had.'

3) WG. *a*, WS. *ë* by umlaut, ME. *e*. In open syllables: *beri* < *berie*, 'berry'; *beli* < *belg*, 'belly'; *hevi* < *hefig*, 'heavy.' In closed syllables: *els* < *elles*, 'else'; *hel* < *hell*; *sel* < *sellan*, 'sell'; *fel* < *scell*, *scyll*, 'shall'; *fel* < *fellan*, 'fell'; *tel* < *tellan*, 'tell'; *twelv* < *twelf*, 'twelve'; *eldr* < *eldra*, 'elder'; *hen* < *hen*; *men* < *men*; *pen*, vb., < *on-pennan*, 'pen'; *end* < *ende*, 'end'; *send* < *sendan*, 'send'; *bend* < *bendan*, 'bend'; *lenþ* < *lengð*, 'length'; *englend* < *engleland* (also *ænglænd*), 'England'; *stretf* < *streccean*, 'stretch'; *fetf* < *feccean*, 'fetch'; *hedg* < *hecg*, 'hedge'; *wedg* < *wecg*, 'wedge'; *set* < *settan*, 'set'; *net* < *net*; *let* (a hindrance in let-up) < *lettan*; *betr* < *betera*, 'better';

*bed* < *bedd*, 'bed'; *wed* < *wedian*, 'wed'; *red* (Eng. 'rid') < *hreddan*; *step* < *steppan*, 'step'; *rest* < *rest*.

4) WG. *i*, WS. *éo* by contraction, ME. *é* (*e*). In closed syllables: *friend* < *fréond*, 'friend'; *ben* < *gebéon*, ME. *been*, 'been' (ten Brink, Ch. Gr. § 23).

5) WG. *i*, WS. *eo* by *o*-umlaut, ME. *ǣ*. In closed syllables: *levn* < *end-leofan*, cf. Goth. *ainlif*, 'eleven'; *hens* < *heonan* (cf. Ger. *hinnen*), ME. *hennes* with *s* ending, 'hence.'

6) WG. *á*, WS. *ê*, *éa* after a palatal, ME. *ê* (*e*). In open syllables: *sepord* < *scéaphyrde*, 'shepherd'; *herin* < *hêring*, 'herring'; *medr* < *mêd*, *mêdwe*, 'meadow'; *wepn* < *wæpn*, 'weapon.' In closed syllables: *brêþ* < *brêþ*, 'breath'; *et* < *êt* pret. of *etan*, 'eat'; *let* < *lêtan*, 'let'; *wet* < *wêt*, 'wet'; *þred* < *þrêd*, 'thread'; *dred* < *drêdan*, 'dread'; *red* < *rêdde* pret., 'read'; *slept* < *slêpte*, 'slept.'

7) WG. *ai*, WS. *ê* by umlaut, *éa* after a palatal, ME. *ê* (*e*). In open syllables: *eni* < *ênig*, 'any'; so *eniþin*, *eniwéz*, *eniwærz*, 'anything,' 'any-way(s),' 'anywhere(s).' In closed syllables: *help* < *hêlp*, 'health'; *evr* < *êfre*, 'ever,' so *evri*, 'every'; *les* < *lêssa*, 'less'; *left* < *lêfde*, 'left'; *led* < *lêdde*, 'led'; *spred* < *sprêdde*, 'spread'; *fed* < *scéadan*, 'shed'; *emti* < *êmetig*, 'empty,' so *êmtinz* (yeast), 'emptyings.'

8) WG. *i*, WS. *í*, ME. *e*, *i*. In open syllables: *ferif* < *scírgerêfa*, 'sheriff.' In closed syllables: *sens* < *siddan*, ME. *sithens*, 'since'; *wedþ* < OE. *wid*, but late in Drayton, *width*.

9) WG. *ó*, WS. *é* by umlaut, ME. *e*. In closed syllables: *kept* < *cêpte*, 'kept'; *twenti* < *twêntig*, 'twenty.'

10) WG. *au*, WS. *éa*, ME. *ê*. In closed syllables: *deþ* < *déaþ*, 'death'; *hed* < *hêafod*, 'head'; *red* < *rêad*, 'red'; *led* (a metal) < *léad*, 'lead'; *ded* < *déad*, 'dead'; *bred* < *brêad*, 'bread'; *ed* < *êad-weard*, 'Ed(ward)'; *tsepman* (*tšepmæn*) < *céapman*, but ME. *châpman*, 'Chapman.'

11) WG. *eu*, WS. *éo*, *ý* by umlaut, ME. *ê* (*e*). In closed syllables: *brést* < *brêast*, 'breast'; *þeft* < *þéofþ*, *þýfð*, 'theft'; *devl*, *debl* < *déoful* (Lat. *diabolus*), 'devil.'

II. 1) Lat. *e*, WS. *e*, ME. *e*: *spend* < *expendere*, OE. *áspendan*, 'spend'; *templ* < *templum*, OE. *templ*, 'temple.'

2) Lat. *i*, WS. *i*, *e*, ME. *e*. In open syllables: *pepr* < *piper*, OE. *pipor*, 'pepper.' In closed syllables: *tfest* (*tfist*) < *cista*, OE. *cest*, *cist*, 'chest.'

III. 1) Scand. *e* by umlaut of *a*, ME. *e*. In closed syllable: *dwel* < *dwellen*, 'dwell,' cf. Icl. *dvelja*, or is it OE. *dwellan*, with meaning modified by *dwelja*?

2) Scand. *ê*, ME. *e*. In open syllables: *felr* < *fêlawe*, Icl. *fêlage*, 'fellow.'

3) Scand. *i*, ME. *e*. In closed syllables: *fet* < *fitten*, Icl. *fitja*.

IV. 1) OF. *e*, ME. *e*. a) In originally stressed syllables, open: *letr* < *lettre*, 'letter.' Closed: *det* < *dette*, 'debt'; *dǣt* < *gette*, 'jet'; *krekt* < *correct*, 'correct'; *drekt* < *direct*, 'direct,' so *drekr*, *drektri*, 'director,' 'directory'; *ǣfekt* < *effect*; *sǣpǣkt* < *suspect*; *teks(t)* < *texte*, 'text'; *septin* < *except + ing*; *eksǣpt* < *accepten*, 'accept'; *pres* < *presse*, 'press'; *ekspræs* < *expressen*, 'express'; *kǣnfes* < *confessen*, 'confess'; *mend* < *amende*, 'mend'; *dǣpǣnd* < *dependen*, 'depend'; *dǣfǣnd* < *defenden*, 'defend'; *tendr* < *tendre*,

'tender'; *repəz'ent* < *representen*, 'represent'; *kəns'ent* < *consenten*, 'consent'; *rent* < *rente*, 'rent'; *kəm'ens* < *commencen*, 'commence'; *pledʒ* < *plegge*, 'pledge.'

b) In originally unstressed syllables, open: *melədi* < *melodie*, 'melody'; *veri* < *verray*, 'very'; *merit* < *merit*; *treʒr* < *tresor*, 'treasure'; *pəz'efən* < *prezədənt* < *president*; *dezərt* < *desert*; *prezənt* < *present*; *metl* < *metal*; *sekənd* < *seconde*, 'second'; *remədi* < *remedie*, 'remedy'; *tenənt* < *tenon*. Closed: *gregri* < *Gregorie*, 'Gregory'; *memri* < *memorie*, 'memory'; *plenti* < *plente*, 'plenty'; *endʒain* < *engin*, 'engine'; *entəpraiz* < *enterprised*, Ch. 'enterprise'; *rəm'embr* < *remembren*, 'remember'; *temprns* < *temperance*; *eks'eptəbl* < *acceptable*; *medsən* < *medicine*.

2) OF. *ai*, ME. *e*. In originally unstressed syllables, open: *fezənt* < *fesant*, OF. *faisant*, 'pheasant'; *vesl* < *vessaille*, OF. *vaisel*, 'vessel.'

3) OF. *ü*, ME. *u*. In originally stressed syllables, closed: *dʒes* < *just* (also *dʒəs*, *dʒis*).

V. Late Loan-words. 1) Lat. *e*. In open syllables: *ledʒislêtr* < *legislator*; *regəlr* < *regularis*, 'regular'; *regələt* < *regulatus*, 'regulate'; *febəwəri* < *Februarius*, 'February.' In closed syllables: *desprit* < *desperatus*, 'desperate'; *lektrik* < *electrum*, 'electric'; *klekt* < Low Lat. *collectare*, 'collect'; *rekl'ekt*, also 'recollect'; *ekstri* < *extra*; *slekt* < *selectus*, 'select'; *pəp'el* < *propellare*, 'propel.'

2) Lat. *a*. In open syllables: *dʒenəwəri* < *Januarius*, Ch. *january*; *plegi*, adj. < *plaga*, 'plaguy.' In closed syllables: *ekwidək* < *aqueductus*, 'aqueeduct'; *evridʒ* < Low Lat. *averagium* Skt., 'average.'

3) Lat. *æ*. In closed syllables: *semtri* < Low Lat. *cæmeterium*, 'cemetery.'

4) Fr. *e*. In open syllables: *mepədis(t)* < *méthode*, 'methodist'; *sekəteri* < *secrétaire*, 'secretary'; *eləfənt* < *elephant*; *eləgənt* < *elegant*; *skedʒəl* < *schedule*. In closed syllables: *sentəl* < *centre + al*; *senstiv* < *sensitif*, 'sensitive'; *fedərəlis(t)* < *federal*; *sevrəl* < *several*; *intr'estin* < *interest-*, 'interesting.'

5) Greek  $\eta$ : *teləgræf*, *teləgræfɪn* <  $\tau\eta\lambda\epsilon + \gamma\rho\alpha\phi\omega$ , 'telegraph,' 'telegraphing.'

VI. Names. 1) With written *e*. In open syllables: *deləwər* < *Delaware*; *dʒerəmi* < *Jeremiah*, also *dʒeri*; *əd'esi* < *Odessa*. In closed syllables: *bentn* < *Benton*; *ezri* < *Ezra*; *mekskən* < *Mexican*; *etni* < *Etna*.

2) With written *a* (*é*). In open syllable: *meri* < *Mary*; *merilənd* < *Maryland*.

3) With written *a*. In open syllable: *elik* < *Alexander*; *devnpòrt* < *Davenport*.

4) With written *i*. In open syllable: *benəm* < *Bingham*. In closed syllable: *endʒən* < *Indian*.

79. It will be seen that the vowel *e* from ME.  $\text{ē}$  is not uncommon. Sweet has called attention to the shortening before *d* and *t* (HES., § 824); but it is also common in open syllables where it seems to have been peculiarly difficult to hold the long  $\text{ē}$ ,  $\text{ē}$  (see the number of  $\text{ē}$ 's in closed or final compared with those in open syllables), and also before *p*, *pt*, *ft*. Especially worthy of note are those words having an orthographic *ea*, which seems to have

been used in IME. for an open, as distinct from a close, *ê*. In such words the vowel was clearly long, until *ea* had become thoroughly established. The shortening probably took place before the 16th century, when long *ea* became close *ê*, the former close *ê*, commonly represented by *ee*, having become long *i*. Examples are: 'treasure,' 'pheasant'; 'measure' and 'pleasure' still have long *ê* in IthD., either original, or by later lengthening (cf. § 83). For examples of shortening peculiar to IthD., see § 138.

80. The interchange with *æ* has been noticed in § 72. The place of *æ* is taken by *e* in many words, some of which, from uncertain etymology, have not been mentioned. Examples are: *hetf*, 'hatch'; *hetfl*, 'hatchel'; *ketf*, *ketft*, *ketfi*, adj., 'catch,' 'caught,' 'catchy'; *eks*, 'axle'; *ekwidæk*, 'aqueduct'; *geðr*, 'gather'; *tsepman*, sometimes 'Chapman'; *dʒenæweri*, 'January'; *elik*, 'Alex'; *evridʒ*, 'average'; *devnpòrt*, 'Davenport'; and unstressed words like 'has,' 'as,' 'had,' 'have,' 'that.' This *e* replaces *i*, especially before nasals, as in *ben*, 'been'; 'since'; *endʒən*, 'Indian'; *endʒain*, 'engine'; *benəm*, 'Bingham'; *ensaid*, 'inside'; *enclain*, accented on first syllable, 'incline'; also in *red* (Eng. 'rid' < *hreddan*), *fet* < *fit*, *wedp* < *width*, the latter possibly influenced by 'length,' 'breadth'; but cf. § 91.

81. The vowel *e* appears also in *biy'end*, *yendr*, *yelk* ('beyond,' 'yonder,' 'yolk') for an earlier *eo* long or short; and in such words as *dʒes*, *dʒedʒ*, *ʃet* ('just,' 'judge,' 'shut'), where *v* occurs in common speech. The last word, it should be said, is found with *e* in ME. *shetten* (to shut). The same *e* occurs in the unstressed *you* (*yù*), which is commonly *ye* through *yp*.

## B. THE LONG VOWEL *ê*.

82. The vowel *ê* springs regularly from a Germanic front vowel followed by *g* (*h*), or from a Romance or other long *á* in ME. Its sources are:

I. 1) WG. *a*, WS. *æ* + *g*, ME. *ai* (*ei*). In open syllables: *dé* < *dæg*, 'day'; *médn* < *mægden*, 'maiden.' In closed syllables: *mén* < *mægen*, 'main'; *pél* < *pægel*, 'pail'; *nél* < *nægel*, 'nail'; *snél* < *snægel*, 'snail'; *tél* < *tægel*, 'tail.'

2) WG. *a*, WS. *ǣ* by umlaut + *g*, ME. *ei* (*ai*). In open syllables: *lé* < *leggan*, 'lay'; *sé* < *secgan*, 'say.' In closed syllables: *léd* < *legde*, 'laid.'

3) WG. *a*, WS. *æ* (*a*), *ea* by breaking or after a palatal, ME. *á*. In open syllables: *ékr* < *æcer*, 'acre'; *ékørn* < *æcern*, 'acorn'; *hézl* < *hæsel*, 'hazel'; *nékid* (*nekid* very common) < *nacod*, 'naked.' In closed syllables: *bléz* < *blase*, 'blaze'; *šév* < *sceafan*, 'shave'; *ék* < *acan*, 'ache'; *mék* < *macian*,

'make'; *wék* < *wacian*, 'wake'; *bék* < *bacan*, 'bake'; so *békin*, *békri*, 'baking', 'bakery'; *snék* < *snaca*, 'snake'; *sték* ('stake') < *staca*; *fék* < *sceacan*, 'shake'; *ét* < *eahta*, 'eight'; *méd* < *macode*, 'made.'

4) WG. *a*, WS. *ǣ* by umlaut, ME. *e*. In closed syllables: *édǣ* < *ecg*, 'edge.'

5) WG. *e*, WS. *e* + *g*, ME. *ei* (*ai*). In open syllables: *wé* < *weg*, 'way'; *ǣwé* < *onweg*, 'away'; *plé* < *plegian*, 'play.' In closed syllables: *sél* < *segel*, 'sail'; *rén* < *regen*, *rén*, 'rain.'

6) WG. *e*, WS. *e*, ME. *ê*. In closed syllables: *brék* < *brecan*, 'break.'

7) WG. *â*, WS. *æ* + *g* (*h*), ME. *ai*. In open syllables: *gré* < *græg*, 'gray'; *hwé* < *hwæg*, 'whey'; *nêbr* < *nêhhebur* (*nebr* very common), 'neighbor.'

8) WG. *â*, WS. *æ*, ME. *â*. In closed syllables: *rés* (running) < *râs* (?), 'race.'

9) WG. *au*, WS. *éa*, ME. *ê*. In closed syllables: *grét* < *gréat*, 'great.'

10) WG. *au*, WS. *ie* by umlaut + *g*, ME. *ei*. In open syllables: *hé* < *hég*, Kl., Sie. *hi(e)g*, 'hay.'

II. 1) Scand. *a*, ME. *â*. In open syllables: *wévr* < *vafra* (?), possibly OE. (?), ME. *waver*, 'waver.' In closed syllables: *kék* < *kaka*, ME. *cake*, 'cake'; *flék* < *flaka*, ME. *flake*, 'flake'; *ték* < *taka*, ME. *taken*, 'take'; *gét* < *gata*, ME. *gate*, 'gate'; *sél* < *sal*, ME. *sale*, 'sale'; *sém* < *samr*, ME. *same*, 'same.'

2) Scand. *ǣ* by umlaut of *a*, ME. *e*. In closed syllables: *lég* < *leggr*, ME. *legg*, 'leg'; *ég* < *egg*.

3) Scand. *ei*, ME. *ei*, *ai*. In closed syllables: *sték* < *steik*, ME. *steike* 'steak'; *bét* < *beita*, ME. *baiten*, 'bait'; *réz* < *reisa*, Wyc. *reisen*, 'raise.'

III. 1) OF. *a*, ME. *â* (*au*). *a*) In originally stressed syllables, open: *ébl* < *able*; *tébl* < *table*; *stébl* < *stable*; *wédǣiz*, pl. of *wage*; *dæk·é* < *decas*, pl. by Gower, 'decay.' Closed: *fés* < *face*; *plés* < *place*; *pés* < *pace*; *dǣf·és* < *deface*; *kés* < *case*; *spés* < *space*; *édǣ* < *age*; *kédǣ* < *cage*; *pél* < *pale*, adj.; *dét* < *date*; *plét* < *plate*; *kév* < *cave*; *sév* < *save*; *tǣndǣ* < *change*, 'change'; *réndǣ* < *rangen*, 'range'; *ǣr·éndǣ* < *arrayngen*, 'arrange'; *blém* < *blame*. *b*) In originally unstressed syllables, open: *lébr* < *labour*; *nétfr* < *nature*; *févabl* < *favour*, 'favorable'; so *févr*, 'favor,' and *févrait* ('favorite'), a late word; *dǣinr·éfsn* < *generation*, Wyc.; *infrn·éfsn* < *informacioun*, 'information.' Closed: *éndǣil* < *angele*, *angle* (not < OE. *engel*), 'angel'; *déndǣs* < *dangerous*; *tǣmbr* < *chambre*, 'chamber.'

2) OF. *ai*, ME. *ai*. *a*) In originally stressed syllables, open: *pé* < *paien*, 'pay'; *dil·é* < *delaie*, 'delay.' Closed: *wét* < *waiten*, 'wait'; *klém* < *claime*, 'claim'; *grén* < *grayn*, 'grain'; *plén* < *plain*; *tǣn* < *chaîne*, 'chain.' *b*) In originally unstressed syllables, open: *égr* < *ague*; *trétr* < *traitour*, 'traitor.'

3) OF. *ai* < *-ali-*, *-ani-* (Beh. p. 135), ME. *ai*. *a*) In originally stressed syllables, closed: *fél* < *faillen*, 'fail'; *ǣv·él* < *avail*. *b*) In originally unstressed syllables, open: *têlr* < *tailleurs*, 'tailor'; *dǣêlr* < *jaioler*, 'jailer.' Closed: *dǣl* < *gayhol*, 'jail.'

4) OF. *ei*, ME. *ei*, *ai*. *a*) In originally stressed syllables, closed: *strét* ('strict') < *streit*; *fêp* < *feyth*, 'faith'; *vél* < *veil*; *vén* ('vain') < *veyn*; *pént* < *paint*; *pén* < *peyne*, 'pain.' *b*) In originally unstressed syllables, closed: *dénti* < *deynte*, 'dainty.'

5) OF. *e*, ME.  $\hat{e}$ . In originally unstressed syllables, open: *mêgr* < *measure*, 'measure.'

IV. Late Loan-words. 1) Lat. *a*. In open syllables: *selbr'êfân* < *celebratus*, 'celebration'; *særkæl'êfân*, *særkl'êfân* < *circulus*, 'circulation'; *kangr'êfân* < *congregatus*, 'congregational'; *væpr'êfân* < *evaporatus*, 'evaporation'; *papæl'êfn* < *populus*, 'population.'

2) Fr. *a*. In open syllables: *slêvri* < *esclave*, 'slavery,' Gascoigne has *slaveries*; *piskæp'êlin* < *episcopalian*; *pønønsi'êfân* < *pronunciation*; *spekæl'êfân* < *speculation*; *pêrønt* < *parent*; *têrif* < *tariffe*, 'tariff.' In closed syllables: *rêt* < *rate*, in 'first rate.'

3) Fr. *ai*. In open syllables: *bê* < *baie*, 'bay'; *plêgr* < *plaisir*, 'pleasure'; *trênin*, sb., < *trayn*, through a later verb, 'training.'

4) Ital. *a*: *kêpr* < *capriolus* (Skeat), 'caper.'

V. Names: *dêni* < *Dana*; *penslv'êni* < *Pennsylvania*; *yêpl* < *Yaple* (Du.).

83. Except for the  $\hat{e}$  from ME. *ei* (*ai*), the majority of words with  $\hat{e}$  spring from older *a*, lengthened in ME. in open syllables, or before *n*, *m* + cons., as in 'change,' 'chamber.' These retained the  $\hat{a}$  sound until the 17th century, when it became fronted to  $\hat{æ}$ , and in the next century raised to  $\hat{e}$ . The length in all words with *a* before *n* + palatal *g* seems to establish the lengthening as ME. The examples are: 'change,' 'grange,' 'strange,' 'range' < ME. *rengen* (cf. Fr. *ranger*), 'manger,' 'stranger,' 'danger,' 'angel.' Peculiar to IthD. are the lengthened vowels in 'pleasure,' 'measure,' 'leg,' 'egg,' 'edge,' though the *ea* of the first two words indicates earlier long vowels, which have been preserved perhaps. In the other words, the lengthening before *g* is parallel to that of open *o* in such words as *dog*, *log* (cf. § 103). Such forms as *têrif*, *yêpl*, for *tariff*, *Yaple*, are to be accounted for as sight words, rather than as purely ear words.

84. In certain closed syllables, especially before the voiceless cons. *k*, sometimes before *d* and *l*, an  $\hat{e}$  is often given which seems to stand between  $\hat{e}$  and *e*. Such words are never pronounced short, as in some dialects (*tek*, *mek*, for 'take,' 'make'), but there is the suggestion of such a sound. It is not common enough to be regarded as normal, but it is not uncommon with some speakers.

### C. THE VOWEL $\ddot{e}$ (BEFORE *r*).

85. The sound represented by  $\ddot{e}$ , while nominally placed with *e*,  $\hat{e}$ , is rather a back than a front vowel, and open instead of close. It has developed, not only from *e*, *i*, but more commonly from the back vowels *a*, *o*, *u*, as will be seen from examples. When from

an original front vowel, the sound has become guttural in its formation through the influence of the *r*. It is from:

I. 1) WG. *e*, WS. *eo* by *r* + cons. or *u*-umlaut, ME. *e* (*a*, *u*): *ērþ* < *eorþe*, 'earth'; *wērþ* < *weorþ*, 'worth'; *wērþip* < *weorþscipe*, 'worship'; *hērþ* < *heorþ*, 'hearth'; *ērnist* < *eornest*, 'earnest'; *lērñ* < *leornian*, act. as well as pass., 'learn'; *hērd* < *heorde*, 'herd'; *wērk* < *weorc*, 'work'; *wērlđ* < *weorold*, *worold*, 'world'; *fēr* < *feor* when unstressed, 'far'; *wērs* < *wyrse*, *wirse*, 'worse.'

2) WG. *i*, WS. *i*, ME. *i* (*e*, *u*): *hēr* < *hire*, 'her'; *bērtf* < *birce*, 'birch'; *bērd* < *bridd*, 'bird'; *bērñ* < *birnan* (intr.), 'burn'; *þērd* < *þridda*, 'third'; *þerti* < *þrittig*, 'thirty'; *stēræp*, or *stērp* often, < *stigeræp*, Kl., ME. *stirap*, 'stirrup.'

3) WG. *a*, WS. *ea* by *r* + cons., ME. *ea*, *ē* (?): *ērñ* < *earnian*, 'earn'; *fērñ* < *fearn*, 'fern.' Here may be mentioned also the word *þerti* < *þrētig*, with metathesis of *r*, ME. *praty*, *pretie*.

4) WG. *o*, WS. *o*, *u*, ME. *o* (*u*): *fēr* < *for* when unstressed, 'for'; *spēr* < *spura*, 'spur'; *wērd* < *word*; *fērđr* < *furđor*, 'further'; *mērđr* < *morþor*, 'murder'; *æfērd* (sometimes) < *ge-forđian*, 'afford'; *spērñ* < *spurnian*, 'spurn'; *bērst*, *bērstid* < *borsten*, perf. part., 'burst'; *þērst* < *þyrst*, 'thirst.'

5) WG. *u*, WS. *ú* < *u* + *n*, ME. *u* (*o*): *þērzdí* ('Thursday') < *þáresdæg*, Kl., or does our word come from ON. *þórsdagr*?

6) WG. *u*, WS. *o*, or *y* by umlaut, ME. *i* (*e*, *ü*): *fērst* < *fyrst* (also *fost* with loss of *r*; *fērt* < *\*scyrte*, Kl., 'shirt'; *stēr* < *styrían*, 'stir.'

7) WG. *á*, WS. *æ* by umlaut, ME. *ê*: *wēr* < *wæron* (also *war*, *wæw*), 'were'; *ērñz* < *ærende*, also *ærant*, 'errands.'

II. Lat. *u*, WS. *u*, ME. *u*: *pērpl* < *purpura*, OE. *purpur*, 'purple'; *tērl* < *turtur*, OE. *turtel* (a dove).

III. Scand. *i*, ME. *i*: *hwērl* < *hwirfla*, ME. *hwirlen*, 'whirl.'

IV. 1) OF. *e*, ME. *e*, (*a*). *a* In originally stressed syllables: *klērkc* < *clerc*, 'clerk'; *dæwērt* < *diverten*, 'divert'; *tērm* < *terne*, 'term.' *b*) In originally unstressed syllables: *mērsi* < *mercy*; *pērsan* < *persone*, 'person'; *sēr-vant* < *servant*, 'servant'; *vērtfæ* < *vertu*, 'virtue'; *sērtli* < *certein* + *ly*, 'certainly'; *mērtfænt* < *merchant*; *sērdžant* < *sergant*, 'sergeant.'

2) OF. *u*, ME. *o*, *u*, *ou*. *a*) In originally stressed syllables: *tērn* < *turnen*, 'turn'; *pērs* < *purse*; *dist-ērþ* < *disturben*, 'disturb.' *b*) In originally unstressed syllables: *džēr-wērk* < *journee* ('journeyman', 'journeyman's work'); *pērtfæs* < *purchase*, sb., *purchasen*, vb.; *æt-ērni* ('attorney') < *aturne*; *kērtñ* < *curtine*, 'curtain'; *pērpæs* < *porpos*, 'purpose', *skwērl* < *squirrel*, OF. *escurel*, 'squirrel'; *mērmær* < *murmure*, 'murmur.'

V. Late Loan-words. 1) Lat. *i*: *sērklêt* < *\*circulat-*, 'circulate.'

2) Fr. *e*: *tērbl* < *terrible*; *yúnæv-ērsti* < *université*, 'university.'

3) Fr. *u*: *bērles* < *burlesque*; *fērñitfær* < *furniture* (Spenser) < OF. *fornir*.

VI. Names. With written *u*: *bērl* < *Burrill*; *bērt*, *bēr-rt* < *Burrirt*; *dērm* < *Durham*; *kērts* < *Kurtz* (German).

86. This *ē* is found regularly in closed syllables, but occasionally in open ones, as *vēri*, *stēræp*, *fēræn*, for 'very', 'stirrup', 'foreign.'

Usually, however, in open syllables the sound is more exactly *v*, the vowel which *ë* is most like in IthD. In the majority of words, *ë* springs from a vowel which must have been of guttural quality in syllables closed in ME. Sometimes this was a lengthened vowel, if we may trust the evidence of our *ea* in 'earth,' 'earn,' 'learn,' 'earnest'; but these must have been short at some time before the 17th century, or they would be now pronounced like 'fear,' 'hear.' The early guttural quality of this vowel is shown by such ME. spellings as *hurde*, *wurth*, *wurship*, *urthe*, *lurnen*, *shurt*, *hure*, for 'herd,' 'worth,' 'worship,' 'earth,' 'learn,' 'shirt,' 'her.' Occasionally ME. *ü* has become *ë*, as in 'first,' 'stir,' though usually this vowel has become *v* by unrounding (cf. § 112). The influence of *w* is seen in the spellings of our words 'worth,' 'worship,' 'work,' 'world,' 'worse,' which otherwise would have been spelled with *e*.

As noticed in § 66, ME. *e* before *r* is now *â* in some words. This confusion of *er*, *ar* dates from Chaucer's time at least, but the *âr* in many words probably dates from lME. or early MdE. (cf. HES., § 789), so that *âr* in present speech does not necessarily imply a ME. pronunciation *ar*. Some words with *ër* in IthD. may have been influenced by the spelling, since they are *âr* in LdE. Examples are: 'clerk,' 'sergeant.' On the other hand, *sartin*, *rizarvd*, are sometimes heard.

## 5. THE VOWEL *i*.

87. The vowel whose quality is that of *i* (short), but which, when long, is represented by *e*, *ee*, *ea*, *ie*, and in other ways, will be considered under A, short *i*; B, long *i* (*î*); and C, *î* before *r*, or *îa*.

### A. THE SHORT VOWEL *i*.

88. Short *i* has been preserved with regularity in WG., and in loan-words whatever their source. It springs also from the WS. umlaut *y*, and is sometimes a variant with *e* or *a*. Its source is:

I. 1) WG. *i*, WS. *i* (*eo* by *u*-umlaut), ME. *i*. In open syllables: *widæ* (also *widr*) < *widwe*, 'widow'; *midl* < *middel*, 'middle'; *bisl* < *bistel*, 'thistle'; *hwisl* < *hwistlian*, 'whistle'; *sikl* < *sicol*, 'sickle'; *slipri* < *slipor*, 'slippery'; *slip* < *slippan*, 'slip'; *filn* < *scilling*, 'shilling'; *bitr* < *biter*, 'bitter.' In closed syllables: *stil* < *stille*, 'still'; *wil* < *willa*, 'will'; *tfildrn* < *cildru*, 'children'; *silvr* < *seolfor*, 'silver'; *milk* < *meolc*, 'milk'; *smiþ* < *smiþ*, 'smith'; *wið* < *wið*, 'with'; *riz* < *risen*, pp.; *mis* < *missan*, 'miss'; *gris(t)* < *grist*; *rist* < *wrist*; *fif* <

*fisc*, 'fish'; *miks* < *miscian*, 'mix'; *bøtwikst* < *betwix*, 'betwixt'; *fift* < *scifstan*, 'shift'; *if* < *gif*, 'if'; *liv* < *libban*, 'live'; *stif* < *stician*, 'stitch'; *twig* < *twig*; *rit* < *writen*, pp.; *bit* < *biten*, pp., 'bitten'; *rid* < *riden*, pp., 'ridden'; *lid* < *hlid*, 'lid'; *slid* < *sliden*, pp., 'slidden'; *rib* < *rib*; *fip* < *scip*, 'ship'; *siŋk* < *sincan*, 'sing'; *drinŋ* < *drincan*, 'drink'; *riŋ* < *hringan*, 'ring'; *biŋ* < *biŋ*, 'thing'; *slin* < *slingan*, 'sling'; *siŋ* < *singan*, 'sing'; *swin* < *swingan* (with change of meaning?); 'swing'; *klin* < *clingan*, 'cling'; *brin* < *bringan*, 'bring'; *in* < *in*; *tin* < *tin*; *spin* < *spinnan*, 'spin'; *win* < *gewinnan*, 'win'; *ifin* < *cin*, 'chin'; *bagin* < *beginnan*, 'begin'; *twin* < *getwin*, 'twin'; *wintr* < *winter*; *hindr* < *hindrian*, 'hinder'; *wind* < *wind*; *him* < *him*; *swim* < *swimman*, 'swim'; *timbr* < *timber*.

2) WG. *i*, WS. *î* (for *i+n*), ME. *i*. In closed syllables: *fift* < *fifta*, 'fifth'; *fifti* < *fiftig*, 'fifty'; *fift* is Elizabethan Eng. also.

3) WG. *î*, WS. *î*, ME. *i*. In closed syllables: *wizdæm* < *wisdom*, 'wisdom'; *wimin* < *wifman*, 'women'; *blis* < *bliss* < *blîps*, 'bliss.'

4) WG. *u*, WS. *y*, *ÿ* by umlaut, ME. *i*. In closed syllables: *wif* < *wÿscean*, for *\*wunsc-*, 'wish'; *bild* < *\*bylden*, 'build.'

5) WG. *û*, WS. *ÿ* by umlaut, ME. *i*. In closed syllables: *fist* < *fÿst*, 'fist'; *þimbl* < *þÿmel*, 'thimble'; *hid* < *hÿdde*, 'hid'; *litl* < *lÿtel*, sometimes *litl*, 'little.'

6) WG. *au*, WS. *êa* or *ÿ* by umlaut, ME. *é*. In closed syllables: *strip* < *be-strÿpan*, 'strip'; *rik* (for hay) < *hréak*, 'rick.'

7) WG. *eu*, WS. *éo* or *ÿ* by umlaut, ME. *é*. In open syllable: *driri* < *dréorig*, *\*drÿrig*, 'dreary.' In closed syllables: *drip* < *drÿpan* (?), 'drip'; *sik* < *séoc* (*sik* sometimes), 'sick.'

8) WG. *a*, WS. *e*, *y* by umlaut, ME. *e*, *é* (*i*). In open syllables: *sili* < *sel(d)lic*, *sylic* Kl., 'silly.' In closed syllables: *inst'id* < *onstede*, 'instead'; *tfil* < *cyle*, *cele*, 'chill'; *striŋ* < *streng*, 'string'; *liŋk* < *hlence*, 'link'; *mingl* < *mengan*, 'mingle'; *sindg* < *sengean*, 'singe'; *grin* < *grennian*, 'grin'; *nib* < *nebb*, 'nib.'

9) WG. *e*, WS. *i*, ME. *i*. In open syllables: *livr* < *liſer*, 'liver.' In closed syllable: *giv* < *gifan*, 'give'; *liv* < *libban*, 'live.'

10) WG. *e*, WS. *e*, *y* (*i*) by umlaut of *eo* by *u*-umlaut or breaking, ME. *i*, *e*. In closed syllables: *yistædi* < *geostran dæg*, *giestra*, *gystra*, 'yesterday'; *siks* < *six*; *yit* < *get*, 'yet'; *git* < *getan*, 'get.'

11) WG. *ó*, WS. *ê* by umlaut, ME. *é*. In open syllables: *wiri* < *wérig*, 'weary.' In closed syllables: *brifiz* < *bréc*, 'breeches'; *sims*, 3d. sing. pres., < *ge-séman*, 'seems.'

II. 1) Lat. *i*, WS. *i* (*e*), ME. *i*. In closed syllables: *dif* < *discus*, OE. *disc*, 'dish'; *bifæp* < *episcopus*, OE. *biscop*, 'bishop'; *tfist* (*tfest*) < *cista*, OE. *cest*, *cist*, 'chest'; *pitf* < *picene*, OE. *pic*, 'pitch.'

2) Lat. *u*, *o*, WS. *y* by umlaut, ME. *i*. In open syllables: *kÿfin* < *\*cocina* < *\*cucina* for *coquina*, OE. *cycene*, 'kitchen.' In closed syllables: *mil* < *molina*, OE. *mylen*, 'mill'; *intf* < *uncia*, OE. *ynce*, 'inch.'

3) Lat. *a*, WS. *y* by umlaut of palatal *ea*, ME. *i*. In open syllables: *kil* < *catillus*, OE. *cytel*, *cetel*, 'kettle.'

III. 1) Scand. *i*, ME. *i*. In closed syllables: *skil* < *skil*, ME. *skill*; *drift* < *dript*, ME. *drifte*, 'drift'; *skin* < *skinn*, 'skin'; *windær* < *vindauga*, ME.

*windôge*, 'window'; *windlæs* < *vindáss*, ME. *windas*, 'windlass'; *krik* < *kriki* (?), ME. *crike*, 'creek.'

2) Scand. *ê*, ME. *é* (*i*): *wiŋ* < *vêngr*, ME. *winge* (cf. PBB. X. p. 65), 'wing.'

3) Scand. *y* < *u* by umlaut, ME. *i*, *y*. In closed syllables: *lift* < *lypta*, ME. *liften*, 'lift'; *sistr* < *syster*, ME. *sister*, *syster*.

IV. 1) OF. *i*, ME. *i*. a) In originally stressed syllables, closed: *dlivr* < *delivren*, 'deliver'; *kæns'idr* < *considren*, 'consider'; *prins* < *prince*; *simpl* < *simple*; *ritf* < *riche*, 'rich.' b) In originally unstressed syllables, open: *piti* < *pitee*, 'pity'; *siti* < *cite*, 'city'; *ritfiz* < *richesse*, 'riches'; *krikrit* < *criquet*, 'cricket'; *likr* < *licour*, 'liquor'; *figr* < *figure*; *sizrz* < *cisoures*, 'scissors'; *mizəri* < *miserie*, 'misery'; *fæziʃən* < *jisicien*, 'physician'; *vilidg* < *village*; *pidgən* < *pigon*, 'pigeon'; *difəkalti* < *difficulte*, 'difficulty.' Closed: *princəpli* < *principal* + *ly*; *kənt'inyəl* < *continuel*, 'continual'; *difərn* < *difference*; *fəm'il-jør* < *familier*, 'familiar'; *biləti* < *habilité*, 'ability'; *art'ilri* < *artilries*, Ch., 'artillery'; *distil* < *distillen*, 'distil'; *livri* < *liverie*, 'livery'; *privlidg* < *privilege*; *pərt'ikl* < *particuler*, 'particular'; *singəlør* < *singuler* (also *singlør*), 'singular'; *skripʃən* < *description*; *vizitn* < *visiten*, 'visiting'; *sitzən* < *citizen*; *mistʃif* < *mischiefe*, *meschief*.

2) OF. *e*, ME. *i*. In originally unstressed syllables, closed: *tʃimbli*, *tʃimli* < *chimnei*, OF. *cheminee*, *chimenee*.

3) OF. *e*, ME. *e*. In originally unstressed syllables, closed: *dʒinrəli* (*dʒināli*) < *general*, 'generally'; *printis* < *aprentis*, 'apprentice'; *ət'indəns* < *attendance*; *indʒən* < *engin*, 'engine.'

V. Late Loan-words. 1) Lat. *i*. In open syllables: *mə'ifi* < *militia*; *pəh'ibətri* < *prohibitorius*, 'prohibitory'; *tribʊn* < *tribunus*, 'tribune.' In closed syllables: *igz'ist* < *existere*, 'exist'; *histri* < *historia*, 'history'; *sistm* < *system*; *instətūt* < *institutus*, 'institute'; *intrist* < *interest*; *intəmit* < *intimus*, 'intimate'; *rəd'ikləs* < *ridiculus*, 'ridiculous'; *spirtʃəlis(t)* < *spiritualis*, 'spiritualist.'

2) French *i*. In open syllables: *litrətūr* < *literature*; *ribit* < *rivet*; *æbl'ifənis* < *abolir*, 'abolitionist'; *pəv'izənz* < *provision* (also *pərv'izən*). In closed syllables: *insədənt* < *incident*; *inflʊns* < *influence*; *invəlɪd* < *invalide*, 'invalid'; *pəs'istənt* < *persister*, 'persistent'; *vizbl* < *visible*.

3) Spanish *e*. In open syllables: *nigr* < *negro*.

VI. Names. 1) With written *i*. In open syllables: *kæskəd'ili* < *Cascadilla*; *ipiki* < *Ithaca*; *vərdʒ'ini* < *Virginia*; *biŋəmtn* < *Binghampton*; *mifəgn* < *Michigan*; *yúl'isəs* < *Ulysses*. In closed syllables: *brɪŋk'rhɒf* < *Brinkerhoff*; *sinsəpɔ* < *Sincebaugh*, Du.

2) With written *e*. In open syllables: *siniki* < *Seneca*. In closed syllables: *mək'inzi* < *McKenzie*; *pək'ipsi* < *Poughkeepsie*, Du.

3) With written *ü*. In open syllables: *liki* < *Lücke*, Ger.

89. Short *i*, like short *e*, has been stable from the earliest times, notwithstanding the occasional interchange with *e* (§ 81). It is found in both open and closed syllables, but is far more common in the latter.

90. Short *i* from a longer vowel is found in a few words, usually in closed syllables and before voiceless consonants. Such

cases are 'wisdom,' 'woman,' conforming to the common rule that in compounds or dissyllables before combinations of consonants a long vowel was shortened in ME. (cf. 'duke,' 'duchess,' 'child,' 'children'). The cases of shortening, arranged in order of the following consonants, are: 'fifth,' 'fifty,' 'little,' 'breeches,' 'strip,' 'drip,' 'Poughkeepsie,' 'sick,' 'rick' (for hay), 'women,' 'thimble,' 'seems' (sometimes), 'build,' 'hid,' 'dreary,' 'weary.' 'Build' is perhaps questionable as a shortening, and 'hid' has no doubt been influenced by the participle, which appears as 'hid,' not 'hidden.' Ger. *ü*, like ME. umlauted *u*, has become *i* by unrounding.

91. The interchange of *e* with *i* has been noticed under *e*. A similar, but more regular, interchange is of *i* with *e*, occurring especially before nasals. Examples are: 'general,' 'generally,' 'apprentice,' 'attendance,' 'engine,' 'Seneca,' 'Prentiss,' 'McKenzie.' Words that had earlier undergone the change are: 'string,' 'mingle,' 'link,' 'singe,' 'grin.' After *y* or *g*, the change occurs in 'yet,' 'yesterday,' 'get,' and earlier in 'give.' Other examples are 'steady,' 'instead,' while it had earlier occurred in 'silly,' 'chill,' 'six,' and 'nib.'

## B. THE LONG VOWEL *î*.

92. The long vowel *î*, not before *r*, develops from ME. *ê* (from whatever source) if remaining long. It comes also from *e* when lengthened in ME., as it was especially in open syllables and before *ld*, *nd*, *mb*. It springs from:

I. 1) WG. *â*, WS. *æ*, *êa* by a palatal, ME. *ê*. In open syllables: *grîdi* < *grêdig*, 'greedy.' In closed syllables: *ivnîn* < *æfen*, 'evening'; *spîts* < *spæc*, 'speech'; *sid* < *sæd*, 'seed'; *did* < *dêd*, 'deed'; *nîdl* < *nêdl*, 'needle'; *rid* < *rêdan*, 'read'; *slîp* < *slêpan*, 'sleep'; *fîp* < *scêap*, 'sheep'; *mîl* < early ME. *mêl*, Eng. *meal-time* (cf. Kl. *Mahl* 2); *brîð* < *brêð*, sb. (ME. *brêð*) before the shortening of the sb. to *brêp*, 'breathe.'

2) WG. *â*, WS. *ê* by umlaut of *ô* before a nasal, ME. *ê*. In closed syllables: *kwîn* < *cwên*, 'queen.'

3) WG. *ai*, WS. *ê* by umlaut, ME. *ê*. In open syllables: *sî* < *sê*, 'sea.' In closed syllables: *dîl* < *ðêl*, 'deal'; *îtf* < *ælc*, 'each'; *rîtf* < *rêcan*, 'reach'; *hît*, vb., < *hêtan*, 'heat'; *hwît* < *hwête*, 'wheat'; *lîd* < *lêdan*, 'lead'; *lîst* < *lêst*, 'least'; *lîn*, vb., < *hlênan*, 'lean'; *klîn* < *clêne*, 'clean'; *lîv* < *lêfan*, 'leave.'

4) WG. *ai*, WS. *ê* + *g*, ME. *ai*, *ei*. In open syllables: *iðr* (*iðr*) < *æghwæþer*, 'either'; *niðr* (*nvðr*) < *næghwæþer*, 'neither.'

5) WG. *ô*, WS. *ê* by umlaut, ME. *ê*. In closed syllables: *fil* < *fêlan*, 'feel'; *kin* < *cêne*, 'keen'; *grîn* < *grêne*, 'green'; *sîm* (*sîms* often) < *sêman*, 'seem'; *sîk* < *sêcan*, 'seek'; *bîtf* < *bêce*, 'beech'; *kîp* < *cêpan*, 'keep';

*swit* < *swéte*, 'sweet'; *fit* < *fēt*, 'feet'; *mīt* < *métan*, 'meet'; *grit* < *grétan*, 'greet'; *fīd* < *fēdan*, 'feed.'

6) WG. *a*, WS. *é* by umlaut of *ó* < *a* + *n*, ME. *é*. In closed syllables: *hīl* < *hēla* < \**hōhila*, < *hanhīla*, 'heel.'

7) WG. *au*, WS. *éa*, *ý* by umlaut, ME. *ê*. In open syllables: *fīi*, sb., < *flēah*, 'flea'; *stīpl* < *stýpel*, 'steeples.' In closed syllables: *bāl-iv* (*bliv*) < *belýfan*, 'believe'; *līf* < *léaf*, 'leaf'; *dīf* < *dēaf*, 'deaf'; *fīt* < *scýte*, 'sheet'; *bīt* < *béatan*, 'beat'; *nīd* < *nýd*, *néad*, 'need'; *īst* < *éast*, 'east'; *bīn* < *béan*, 'bean'; *stīm* < *stēam*, 'steam'; *strīm* < *strēam*, 'stream'; *tīm* < *tēam*, 'team'; *drīm* < *drēam*, 'dream'; *drīn* < *dréahnian*, Kl., 'drain.'

8) WG. *eu*, WS. *éo*, ME. *é*. In closed syllables: *fřiz* < *fřéasan*, 'freeze'; *břif* < *béof*, 'thief'; *dřip* < *déop*, 'deep'; *křip* < *créopan*, 'creep.'

9) WG. *e*, WS. *e*, ME. *é* before *ld*. In closed syllables: *fīld* < *sceld*, 'shield'; *yīld* < *geldan*, 'yield'; *fīld* < *feld*, 'field.'

10) WG. *e*, WS. *éo* by contraction, ME. *é*. In open syllables: *sī* < *séon*, < \**sehwan*, 'see'; *nī* < *cnéo* < \**cnéow*, 'knee'; *trī* < *tréo* < \**treow*, 'tree'; *fī* < *féo* in inflectional forms, 'fee.' In closed syllables: *hwīl* < *hwéol* < \**hwehol*, 'wheel'; *sin*, pp. and pret., < *séon*, 'seen'; *bātwin* < *betwéonan*, 'between.'

11) WG. *e*, WS. *ē* by lengthening, ME. *é*. In open syllables: *hī* < *hē*, 'he'; *mī* < *mē*, 'me'; *wī* < *wē*, 'we'; *īvn* (*ivm*) < *ēfen*, cf. Sie., 121 *et seq.*, 'even.'

12) WG. *e*, WS. *e*, ME. *ê*. In open syllables: *wīzl* < *wesle*, *wesole*, 'weasel.' In closed syllables: *stīl* < *stelan*, 'steal'; *mīl* < *melu* (ground grain); *bakw-ið* < *becweþan*, 'bequeath'; *yīst* < *gest*, 'yeast'; *lītf* < *leccean*, 'leach'; *īt* < *etan*, 'eat'; *wīv* < *wefan*, 'weave'; *wīn* < *wenian* (to accustom), 'wean.'

13) WG. *a*, WS. *ý* by umlaut of contraction, ME. *ê*, *é*. In closed syllables: *stīl* < *stýle*, *stēli* (cf. OHG. *stahol*), 'steel.'

14) WG. *a*, WS. *ǣ* by umlaut, ME. *ê*. In closed syllables: *hīv* < *hebban*, 'heave'; *mīt* < *mete*, 'meat.'

15) WG. *a*, WS. *y* by umlaut of breaking, ME. *é* before *ld*. In closed syllables: *wīld* < *gewyldan*, Kl., 'wield.'

16) WG. *i*, WS. *éo* by contraction, ME. *é*. In open syllables: *břī* < *ðřéo*, 'three'; *fī* < *séo*, 'she'; *fřī* < *fřéo*, 'free'; *bī* < *béo*, 'bee'; *bī* < *béon*, 'be.'

17) WG. *i*, WS. *i*, ME. *i*, *é*. In closed syllable: *wīk* < *wīcu*, ME. *wēke* (*wike*, *wucu*), 'week.'

II. 1) Lat. *á*, WS. *ǣ*, *ý* by umlaut of palatal *éa*, ME. *ê*. In closed syllables: *strīt* < *strata*, OE. *stræt*, 'street'; *třiz* < *caseus*, OE. *cýse*, 'cheese.'

2) Lat. *e*, WS. *é*, ME. *é*. In open syllables: *fřiv* < *febris*, OE. *fēfor*, 'fever.'

III. 1) Scand. *ei*, ME. *ei*. In closed syllables: *wīk* < *weīkr*, ME. *weīk*, 'weak.'

2) Scand. *e*, ME. *ê*. In closed syllable: *līk* < *leka*, ME. *leken*, 'leak.'

IV. 1) OF. *e*, ME. *ê* (*é*). In originally stressed syllables, open: *agřī* < *agreen*, 'agree'; *dęgrī* < *degre*, 'degree'; *fībl* < *feble*, 'feeble.' Closed: *fīst* < *feste*, 'feast'; *bīst* < *best*, 'beast'; *pītf* < *peche*, 'peach'; *přitřf* < *prechen*, 'preach'; *sīs* < *cessen*, 'cease'; *rōs-īt* < *receit*, 'receipt'; *kōns-īt* < *conseyte*, 'conceit.'

2) OF. *ai*, ME. *ê*. a) In originally stressed syllable, closed: *pis* < *pees*, 'peace'; *pliz* < *plesen*, 'please'; *displ'iz* < *displesen*; *iz* < *ese*, 'ease'; *dāfit* < *defet*, 'defeat'; *rətr'it* < *retreten*, 'retreat'; *trit* < *treten*, 'treat.' b) In originally unstressed syllables, open: *tritis* < *tretis*, 'treatise'; *fitfærz* < *fetures*, 'features'; *rīzn* < *resoun*, 'reason'; *sīzn* < *sesoun*, 'season.'

3) OF. *ei*, ME. *ei*. In originally stressed syllables, closed: *rās'iv* < *receiven*, 'receive'; *dās'iv* < *deceiven*, 'deceive.'

4) OF. *ue* (Beh., p. 104, 152), ME. *ê*. a) In originally stressed syllables, closed: *bif* < *beef*. b) In originally unstressed syllables, open: *pipl* < *peple*, 'people.'

5) OF. *ie*, ME. *ê*. a) In originally stressed syllables, closed: *grif* < *grief*; *tʃif* < *chief*; *pis* < *pece*, 'piece'; *rəl'iv* < *releve*, 'relieve.'

V. Late Loan-words. 1) Lat. *i*. In open syllables: *fār'ini* < *farina*.

2) Lat. *e*. In open syllables: *frikāntli* < *frequent* + *ly*; *aid'i* < *idea*; *tīpid* < *tepidus*, 'tepid.' In closed syllables: *kōal'is* < *coalescere*, 'coalesce'; *sinəri* < *scena*, 'scenery.'

3) Lat. *æ*. In open syllable: *tidzæs* < *tædiosus*.

4) Fr. *i*. In open syllables: *fivər'i* < *charivari*, 'charivari.' In closed syllables: *distrik(t)* < *district*; *məf'in* < *machine*, not from ME.

5) Span. *i*. In open syllable: *məsk'itr* < *mosquito*.

6) Greek *η*. In open syllable: *krait'irin* < *κριτήριον*, 'criterion.'

VI. Names. 1) With written *e*. In open syllables: *kərn'iləs* < *Cornelius*; *dʒin'ivi* < *Geneva*; *ðw'igó* (*wigó*) < *Owego*; *swidnərdʒin* < *Swedenborgian*.

2) With written *i* in closed syllable: *wiznr* < *Wisner*.

93. Words in which *î* occurs have sprung from ME. *ê*, *ê* (close and open). The separation is not easy, and from the standpoint of ME. alone has never been satisfactorily made. But comparing the earlier and later development, the separation may be made as follows:

1) Words now spelled with *ē*, *ee*, *ei*, *ie*, had close *ê* in ME., except 'greedy,' 'evening,' 'speech,' 'seed,' 'deed,' 'needle,' 'sleep,' 'sheep,' 'steep,' 'sheet,' 'need,' 'steel,' 'street,' 'cheese,' possibly 'wild.' To these, fuller lists of *î* words would add some examples, but not many compared with the whole number.

2) Words now spelled with *ea* had open *ê* in ME., either from an OE. long open vowel, or by lengthening in open syllables in ME.

This division holds good also for words with long *î* before *r* (cf. §§ 95, 96). The exceptions under 1) show that in some words open *ê* had become close *ê* before others for some reason not easy to see.

The two classes of words remained distinct until comparatively recent times. Those of the first class became *î* in the 16th century, the words of the second class becoming close *ê* about the

same time. In the 18th century words in *ea* also became *i*, with a few exceptions, as *great*, *break*.

94. Certain words require special attention. *iðr*, *niðr*, are the regular forms for 'either,' 'neither,' but *noðr* is often heard, perhaps influenced by 'other.' Instead of these forms we should expect *êðr*, *nêðr*, in uninterrupted development, forms surviving among the Irish to-day. But these words fluctuated in the 18th century, the *i* finally establishing itself. 'Drain,' as *drin*, is an exceptional development, unless two forms are to be predicated for ME. times, one \**drein*-, \**drain*- < OE. *drēahnian* when the vowel + *h* has become the diphthong, and one \**drēn*- in which the *h* had been lost before ME. times, as may be indicated by OE. *drēnian*. The two words 'leak,' 'leach,' both with *i*, cannot both come from OE. *leccēan*, which would give regularly only *litf* ('leach'). It seems clear, therefore, that Sweet is right in deriving 'leak' from the Scandinavian, represented by Icl. *leka*. The form *əblidʒ* is perhaps from a late Fr. form, while the present English *əblaidʒ* is the proper form from ME. *obligen*. The written *e* is long *i* in *tepid*, *coalesce*, because these were introduced as eye-words (cf. *a* as *ê* in *tariff*, § 83). The lengthening of written *i* in *distrik(t)* < *district* and *wiznr* < *Wisner* is late and peculiarly dialectal.

### C. LONG *i* BEFORE *r* (*iə*).

95. Before *r* in closed syllables a glide is developed, more perceptible in the case of this closed vowel than after the more open *æ*. This is represented by *iə*, and it springs from:

I. 1) WG. *â* (Germ. *ê*), WS. *ê* (*êa* by a palatal), ME. *ê* (*é*): *fīər* < *fîēr*, 'fear'; *yīər* < *gêar*, 'year'; *biər* < *bêr*, 'bier.'

2) WG. *â* (Germ. *ê*, WS. *êa* by contraction, ME. *ê*: *nīər* < *nêar* (\**nâhor*), 'near.'

3) WG. *a*, WS. *êa* by contraction, ME. *ê*: *tīər* < *têar* (\**tâhor*), 'tear'; *iər* (of corn) < *êare*, \**eahor*, Kl.

4) WG. *a*, WS. *ea*, by *r* + cons., ME. *ê*: *biərd* (*bæərd*) < *beard*; *giər* < *gearwe*, 'gear.'

5) WG. *ê*, WS. *ê*, ME. *ê*: *hiər* < *hêr*, 'here.'

6) WG. *e*, WS. *e*, *ie* by umlaut of breaking, ME. *ê*: *fīər* < *sceran*, 'shear'; *spiər* < *spere*, 'spear'; *smiər* < *smierwan*, 'smear.'

7) WG. *au*, WS. *ý* by umlaut, ME. *ê*: *hiər* < *hýran*, 'hear'; so *hiərd*, 'heard'; *iər* < *êare* (organ of hearing).

8) WG. *eu*, WS. *éo*, *ý* by umlaut, ME. *ê*: *diər* < *déor*, 'deer'; *diər* < *déore*, 'dear'; *biər* < *béor*, 'beer'; *stiər* < *stéor*, sb., 'steer'; *stiər* < *stýran*, 'steer,' vb.

II. 1) Scand. *æ*, ME. *é*: *snīar* < *sneren*, cf. Dan. *snærre*, 'sneer.'

2) Scand. *e*, ME. *ê*: *blīar* < *bler-* in *blereyed*, 'blear-.'

3) Scand. *a*, ME. *ê*: *skiār* (*skæar*) < *skeren*, 'scare'; so *skiart*, 'scared.'

III. 1) OF. *e*, ME. *ê*: *kliār* < *cleer*, 'clear'; *piār* < *apperen*, 'appear.'

2) OF. *ie*, ME. *é*: *fiār* < *fers*, 'fierce'; *tīār* < *chere*, 'cheer'; *riār* < *rere*, sb., 'rear'; *piār* < *piere*, 'pier.'

IV. Late Loan-words. Fr. *e*, *ie*: *kārīār* < *carrière*; *sinsīār* < *sincère*.

V. Names. With written *ee*: *biārz* < *Beers*.

96. According to § 93, the spelling of words with *iə* indicates that the long *i* before *r* (*iə*) springs both from close and open *ê*, *ê* of ME. The only exceptions are *bier*, which springs from open *ê*, and *dear*, adj., from close *ê*. The first must have become close *ê* in early MdE. times, and it is possible that *dear* merely indicates that confusion of spelling which we know existed before the distinctive use of *ea* and *ee* had been established. Certain double forms are discussed in § 76, and to these may here be added *biārd*, *bæard*, for 'beard.'

## 6. THE VOWEL *o*, OPEN AND CLOSE.

97. The vowel *o* in English appears as open and close, long and short. In IthD., however, the open short *o* has become unrounded, and appears as short to the long *a* of 'father,' while the close short *o* is seldom found. It is necessary to separate also the long close *o*, which appears before *r* with a glide. The vowel will therefore be considered under (A) open long *o* (*ɔ*), (B) close short *o* (*ð*), (C) close long *ô*, (D) close long *o* before *r* (*ðə*).

### A. LONG OPEN *o* (*ɔ*).

98. The vowel *ɔ* is not so common in IthD. as in LdE., where it appears regularly before *r*. In IthD. *o* before *r* is open or close *o*: the former as with *a* before *r*, appearing without the glide; the latter always found as *ðə*. IthD. *ɔ* springs from:

I. 1) WG. *a*, WS. *a* (*æ*), *ea* by breaking, ME. *a*. In open syllables: *wātr* < *wæter*, 'water'; *smōlif* < *smæl*, 'smallish'; *ɔləz*, *ɔlrz* < *ealne weg*, Ch., *always*, 'always.' In closed syllables: *smōl* < *smæl*, 'small'; *hōl*, sb., < *heal*, 'hall'; *ɔl* < *eall*, 'all'; *fōl* < *feallan*, 'fall'; *gōl* < *gealla*, 'gall'; *wōl* < *weal*, 'wall'; *stōl* < *steal*, 'stall'; *sōlt* < *sealt*, 'salt'; *hōlt* < *healt*, 'halt'; *bōld* < *\*bællod*, ME. *balled*, 'bald'; *bōk* < *balca*, 'balk'; *wōrn* < *wearnian*, 'warn'; *swōrm* < *swearm*, 'swarm'; *wōrm* < *wearm*, 'warm.'

2) WG. *a*, WS. *a*, *ea* + *g*, ME. *a* + *w* (*au*). In open syllables: *drɔ*

< *dragan*, 'draw'; *nɔ* < *gnagan*, 'gnaw.' In closed syllables: *dɔn* < *dagian*, ME. *dagnien*, 'dawn.'

3) WG. *a*, WS. *á*, *éá* by contraction, ME. *á* + *w* (*au*). In open syllables: *rɔ* < *hréaw*, 'raw'; *þɔ* < *þáwan*, \**þagu*, 'thaw'; *klɔ* < *cléa* < *clawu*, 'claw'; *strɔ* < *stréaw* < \**strawa*, Kl., 'straw.'

4) WG. *a*, WS. *ea* by *u*-umlaut + *f*, ME. *a* + *w* (*au*). In closed syllable: *hɔk* < *heafoc*, 'hawk.'

5) WG. *a*, WS. *ɔ* before nasal, ME. *ɔ*. In closed syllables: *lɔŋ* < *long*; *rɔŋ* < *wrong*, late OE. Chron. 1124; *þrɔŋ* < *þrang*, 'throng'; *tɔŋz* < *tange*, 'tongs'; *þɔŋ* < *þwang*, 'thong'; *sɔŋ* < *sang*, 'song'; *strɔŋ* < *strang*, 'strong.'

6) WG. *a*, WS. *ó* < *a* + *n*, ME. *ô* (*o*). In closed syllables: *sɔft* < *sôfte* < \**sanft*, 'soft'; *brɔt* < *brôhte* < \**branhte*, 'brought'; *þɔt* < *þôhte* < \**þanhte*, 'thought.'

7) WG. *o*, WS. *o*, ME. *o*. In open syllables: *fɔrɔrd* < *fore* + *weard*, 'forward.' In closed syllables: *bɔrn* < *boren*, pp., 'born'; *kɔrn* < *corn*; *hɔrn* < *horn*; *þɔrn* < *þorn*, 'thorn'; *stɔrn* < *storm*; *nɔrþ* < *north*; *hɔrs* < *hors*, 'horse'; *stɔrk* < *storc*, 'stork'; *lɔst* < *ge-losed*, ME. *yløst*, 'lost'; *fɔrst* < *frost*; *brɔþ* < *broð*, 'broth'; *mɔþ* < *moððe*, 'moth'; *ɔftn* < *oft*, 'often'; *dɔg* < *dogga*, 'dog'; *fɔg* < *frogga*, 'frog'; *gɔd* < *god* (in oaths *gad*).

8) WG. *o*, WS. *o*, ME. *o* + *g* (*h*). In closed syllables: *trɔþ* < *troh* (Eng. *trɔf*), 'trough'; *bɔt* < *bohte*; *wrɔt* < (*ge-*)*worht*, through IWS. *-wroht*.

9) WG. *e*, WS. *eo*, by breaking, or *o*-umlaut, ME. *o* (*o*). In closed syllables: *dwɔrf* < *dweorh*, ME. *dwerf*, *dwarfe*, 'dwarf'; *forti* < *fewertig*, *fēwertig* (cf. Kl. *vier*), 'forty.'

10) WG. *á*, WS. *á*, ME. *ô*. In closed syllables: *ɔn* < *gánian*, 'yawn'; *gɔn*, pp., < *gân*, 'gone.'

11) WG. *ai*, WS. *á* + *h* (*w*), ME. *o* + *h*. In closed syllables: *ɔt* < *áhte*, 'ought'; *lɔrd* < *hláford*, 'lord'; *tɔt* < *têhte*, but IWS. *táhte*, 'taught.'

12) WG. *ai*, WS. *á*, ME. *o*. In closed syllables: *klɔþ* < *cláþ*, 'cloth'; *brɔd* < *brád*, 'broad.'

II. Lat. *u*, WS. *o*, ME. *o*. In closed syllables: *fɔrk* < *furca*, OE. *forc*, 'fork.'

III. 1) Scand. *a* + *g*, ME. *aw*. In open syllables: *lɔ* < *lɔg*, pl. made sg., ME. *lawe*, 'law'; *flɔ* < *flawe*, cf. Swed. *flaga*, 'flaw.'

2) Scand. *a*, ME. *o*. In closed syllables: *kɔl* < OE. *callian*, 'call'; *wɔnt* < *want*, sb., *wanten*, vb., cf. Icl. *vant*, *vanta*, 'want.'

IV. 1) OF. *o*, ME. *o*. a) In originally stressed syllables, closed: *əkɔrd* < *acorden*, 'accord'; *kɔrd* < *corde*, 'cord'; *rizɔrt* < *resorten*, 'resort'; *skɔrtf* < *scorchen*, 'scorch'; *hɔnt* < *haunten*, 'haunt'; so prep., *kɔrdin*, 'according,' and adv., *kɔrdinli*, 'accordingly' < *acorden*; *pəfɔrməns*, cf. ME. *performen*, 'performance'; *ɔrdr* < *ordre*, 'order.' b) In originally unstressed syllables, closed: *fortfən* < *fortune*; *bɔdr* < *bordure*, 'border'; *kɔrnɔr* < *cornier*, 'corner'; *fɔridɔ* < *forage* (sometimes *fēridɔ*); *mɔrtl* < *mortal*; *mɔrtəfai* < *mortifien*, 'mortify'; *þɔrtiz* < *authoritee*, 'authorities.'

2) OF. *au* < *a* + *l*, ME. *au*. In originally stressed syllables, closed: *difɔlt* < *defaut*, 'default'; *kɔrk* (with excrescent *r*) < *cauken*, 'calk'; *skɔld* < *scalden*, OF. *escalder*, later *eschauder*, 'scald,' may also be placed here.

3) OF. *au*, ME. *au*. In originally stressed syllables, closed: *kəz* < *cause*; *pəz* < *pause*; *kləz* < *clause*; *səs* (*sæs*) < *sauce*; *frəd* < *fraude*, 'fraud.'

V. Late Loan-words. 1) Fr. *o*. In open syllables: *mədʒːərəti* < *majorité*, 'majority'; *ɔrɪndʒ* < *orange*. In closed syllables: *kərdʒəl* < *cordial*; *sortmənt* < *assortment*; *hɔstail* < *hostile*; *pɔrkəpajɪn* < *porkepyn* (?), 'porcupine.'

2) Dutch *â*. In closed syllables: *bəs* < *baas*, 'boss.'

VI. Names. 1) With written *a*. In open syllables: *ɔnəndːrʒi* < *Onondaga*. In closed syllables: *ɔlbəni* < *Albany*.

2) With written *o*. In open syllables: *grɔtn* < *Groton*. In closed syllables: *dʒɔrdʒi* < *Georgia*; *mɔrʒɪn* < *Morgan*.

99. IthD. long open *o* (*o*) springs from two sources:

1) ME. diphthong *au*, either from OE. *a* + back guttural (sometimes *w* vocalized), or from OF. *au*.

2) ME. short open *o*, or *a*, which was rounded to open *o* in early MdE., when lengthened before certain consonants or consonant combinations.

Examples of the first class are 'draw,' 'straw,' 'yawn,' 'hawk,' 'cause.'

100. The consonants or consonant combinations before which an earlier open *o* has been lengthened are, in general, those before which long *ê* and *â* have developed; that is, *f*, *ʃ*, *s*, the back nasal *ŋ*, and *r* + consonant. Examples are 'often,' 'broth,' 'frost,' 'strong,' 'corn.' The vowel *o* also springs in a few words from ME. open *o*, whether originally short or from long open *o* before *ht* (*h*). Here are to be placed 'brought,' 'thought,' 'bought,' 'wrought,' 'ought,' 'sought,' 'taught,' 'trough.' Certain words need special explanation. In 'for' (when stressed *fɔr*) the lengthening occurs before *r* final, as does *â* in *far*, also. 'Cloth' (*klɔp*) is to be explained as from ME. *clɔp*, with short *o*, the shortening being parallel to that in 'breath,' 'feather,' 'heather.' The proper name 'Groton' should be *grɔtn*, but has retained its open *ô* as a place name, for some unknown reason. In *yawn*, *gone*, we should also expect *ô*, the arrested development being due perhaps to the nasal.

101. Before *l* final, or *l* + consonant, *a* had, in the 16th century, developed a glide, which was represented often by *u* (cf. HES., § 784). Afterwards the vowel became long by the absorption of the *u*, and fell in with words having *au* from the OF., or from OE. *a* + *g* (*h*). Examples are 'all,' 'small,' 'hall,' 'halt,' 'salt.' Here belong also 'balk,' 'chalk,' 'walk,' 'talk,' which lost their *l* after lengthening the preceding vowel.

102. The effect of rounding by preceding *w* is seen especially in those words in which, but for this influence, we should have *â*.

Examples are 'warn,' 'warm,' 'swarm,' 'water,' 'dwarf,' 'wharf.' In 'dwarf' the original *e* first became *a*, and then *o* by the effect of the preceding *w* and the following *r + f*. In 'want' (*want*) the *w* keeps the vowel from appearing as *æ*, as is shown by such words as 'haunt' (*hant, hænt*), in which the *æ* is perhaps more common.

103. Before *g*, *o* is usual in 'dog,' 'hog,' 'frog,' 'log,' 'fog,' but *â* sometimes occurs. In 'God' (*god*) *o* is the reverential form, but *â* occurs in oaths. For 'broad,' cf. § 106.

#### B. SHORT CLOSE *o* (*ð*).

104. Short close *o*, so common in New England, is not found in many words of IthD., except in unstressed syllables. It changes in a few cases with long close *ô*, and in others passes into *v*. The nearest approach to the vowel is the *ô* before *r*, when it is united with a glide (*ðə*). Examples of *ð* are:

I. WG. *ai*, WS. *â*, *æ* by umlaut, ME. *ê*. In closed syllables: *ònli* < *ænlice*, 'only'; *hòm* (*høm*) < *hám*, 'home'; so *hòmli*, *hòmbli* (*hømli*, *hømblist*), *hòmspæn* (*hømspæn*), 'homely,' 'homeliest,' 'homespun'; *bòt* (*bót*) < *bât*, 'boat'; *ròd* (*ród*) < *râd*, 'road.'

#### C. LONG CLOSE *ô*.

105. Long close *ô* springs regularly from WS. *â*, *ô + w*, or from ME. *ê*, due to lengthening before *ld*, *mb*, sometimes from other sources. It develops from:

I. 1) WG. *ai*, WS. *â + w* (*h*), ME. *ou*. In open syllables: *fô* < *fâh*, 'foe'; *rô* (*a* series) < *râw*; *þrô* < *þrâwan*, 'throw'; *wô* < *wâ-wa*, 'woe'; *blô* < *blâwan* (as the wind); *krô* < *crâwe*, 'crow'; *snô* < *snâw*; *sô* < *sâwan*, 'sow'; *nô* ('know') < *cnâwan*; *ô* ('owe') < *âgan*; *dô* < *dâh*, 'dough.'

2) WG. *ai*, WS. *â*, ME. *ê*. In open syllables: *nô* < *nâ*, 'no'; *tô* < *tâ*, 'toe'; *hóli* < *hâlig*, 'holy.' In closed syllables: *ôþ* < *âþ*, 'oath'; *bôþ* < *bâþa*, 'both'; *klôz* < *clâþas*, 'clothes'; *rôz* < *â-râs*, 'rose'; *ðôz* < *þâz*; *drôv* < *drâf*, sb., and *drâf* pret. of *drifan*, 'drove'; *grôv* < *grâf*, 'grove'; *fôn* < *scân*, 'shone'; *stôn* < *stân*, 'stone'; *bôn* < *bân*, 'bone'; *drôn* < *drân*, 'drone'; *rôd* < *râd*, sb., and < *râd*, vb., 'road,' 'rode'; *tôd* < *tâdie*, 'toad'; *bôt* (*bòt*) < *bât*, 'boat'; *rôt* < *wrât*, pret. of *writan*, 'wrote'; *sôl* < *sâvol*, 'soul'; *mól* < *mâl* (a spot); *ôk* < *âc*, 'oak'; *rôp* < *râp*, 'rope'; *sôp* < *sâpe*, 'soap'; *fôm* < *fâm*, 'foam'; *môst* < *mâst*, superl. of *more*.

3) WG. *ô*, WS. *ô + w*, ME. *ou*. In open syllables: *rô* < *rôwan*, 'row'; *flô* < *flôwan*, 'flow'; *grô* < *grôwan*, 'grow'; *blô*, sb., < *blôwan*, to bloom; *stô* < *stôvian*, 'stow'; *bist-ô*, cf. ME. *bistôwen*; *glô* < *glôwan*, 'glow.'

4) WG. *o*, WS. *o*, ME. *ê* before *ld*, *mb*. In closed syllables: *gôld* < *gold*; *môld* < *molde*, 'mould'; *kôm* < *cômb*.

5) WG. *o*, WS. *o* (*eo* by palatal), ME. *ø*, *ê* in open syllables: *ôvr* < *ofer*, 'over'; *ôpn* < *open*. In closed syllables: *hól* < *hol*, 'hole'; *fól* < *fola* 'foal'; *kól* < *col*, 'coal'; *nól* < *cnol*, 'knoll'; *stól* < *stolen*; *tól* < *tol*, 'toll'; *bólt* < *bolt*; *kólt* < *colt*; *sók* < \**socian*, 'soak'; *yók* < *geoc*, 'yoke'; *brók* < *brocen*, pp., 'broken'; *smók* < *smocian*, 'smoke'; *flot* < *flota*, 'float'; *brót* < *brotu*, 'throat'; *hóp* < *hopian*, 'hope'; *stóv* < *stofa*, 'stove'; *nóz* < *nosu*, 'nose'; *hóz* < *hosu*, 'hose.'

6) WG. *o*, WS. *o* + *g*, ME. *ou*. In open syllables: *bó* < *boga*, in 'rainbow.'

7) WG. *u*, WS. *u*, ME. *û* before *ld*. In closed syllables: *fólđr* < *sculdor*, 'shoulder.'

8) WG. *a*, WS. *ea* by *l* + cons., ME. *ê* by *ld*. In closed syllables: *hóld* < *healdan*, 'hold'; also, *hólt*, sb., variant of Eng. *hold*; *óld* < *eald*, 'old'; *bóld* < *beald*, 'bold'; *tóld* < *tealde*, 'told'; *sóld* < *sealde*, 'sold'; *fóld* < *fealdan*, 'fold'; *kóld* < *ceald*, 'cold.'

II. 1) Lat. *á*, WS. *á*, ME. *ê*. In closed syllables: *pól* < *pál*, Lat. *pálus*, 'pole.'

2) Lat. *o*, WS. *o*, ME. *ê*. In closed syllables: *róz* < *rose*, Lat. *rosa*, 'rose'; *sól* < *sole*, 'sole'; *póst* < *post*, Lat. *postis*.

III. 1) Scand. *á*, ME. *ê*. In open syllables: *fró* < *fró*, Scand. *frá*, 'fro.' In closed syllables: *lón* < *lone*, Scand. *lán*, 'loan.'

2) Scand. *a* + *g*, ME. *ou*. In open syllables: *ló* < *louh*, Scand. *lâgr*, 'low.'

IV. OE. *o*, ME. *ê* (*ø*). a) In originally stressed syllables, open: *stóri* < *storie*, 'story'; *nóbl* < *noble*; closed: *klóz* < *close*, vb.; *sap·óz* < *supposen*, 'suppose'; *klós* (*klóstr* comp. with excrescent *t*) < *close*; *kôt* ('coat') < *cote*; *nót* < *note*; *klók* < *cloke*, 'cloak'; *ról* < *rolle*, 'roll'; *æpr·ótf* < *approchen*, 'approach'; *dóm* < *dome*. b) In originally unstressed syllables, open: *grósr* < *grosser*, 'grocer'; so *grósrí* < *grossery*, 'grocery'; *ódr* < *odour*.

V. Late Loan-words. 1) Lat. *o*. In open syllables: *pætr·ólm* < *petr· + oleum*; *lókæ·f·ókæ* < *loco· + foco·*; *pródús*, sb., < *producere*, 'produce'; *prógres*, sb., < *progressus*, 'progress.' In closed syllables: *džók* < *jocus*, 'joke.'

2) Fr. *o*, *ou*, *ó*. In open syllables: *hótl* < *hótel*; *rótín* < *routine*; *nótis* < *notice*; *nófn* < *notion*. In closed syllables: *nótsæbl* < *notice*, 'noticeable'; *pæv·ók* < *provoquer*, 'provoke'; *tít·ótlr* < *total*, 'tee-totaler.'

3) Ital. *o*. In open syllable: *gænd·ólæ* < *gondola*.

4) Port. *o*. In closed syllable: *kóknæts* < *cocoanuts*.

VI. Names. In open syllables: *kæzæn·óvi* < *Cazinovia*; *dík·óti* < *Dakota* (Ind.); *džín·ói* < *Genoa*; *gilb·ói* < *Gilboa*; *ai·ói* < *Iowa* (Ind.); *móhæk* < *Mohawk* (Ind.); *nóvi·sk·ófi* < *Nova Scotia*; *óvid* < *Ovid* (Lat.).

106. IthD. long close *ô* springs regularly from ME. long open *ê*, or from a diphthong *ou*. ME. long open *ø* springs in turn from two sources: 1) OE. *á*; 2) OE. *a*, or *æ*, when lengthened in ME. before *ld*, *mb*, or in open syllables. Apparent exceptions are 'ought,' 'taught,' 'thought,' 'brought,' 'sought,' 'soft,' 'yawn,' 'gone,' 'cloth,' 'broad,' but all of these except the last have been noticed in § 100. 'Broad' is explained by Sweet (HES., § 841) as due to the preceding *r*, but this seems hardly true, since there are

several words with preceding *r* in which the development is regular, as 'road,' 'rode,' 'rope.'

107. All long *ô*'s before *l*, not from ME. long *ô*, are a development of the 17th century from *o* + a glide formed before *l* in the 16th century (cf. HES., §§ 784, 808). Parallel to this is the development of *a* before *l* into *o* through *a* + glide. An exception to this occurs in *stôl*, from the preterit *stal*, 'stole,' but this may have been influenced by the *ô* of *stole*, participle for *stolen* in IthD., or it may possibly have had *â* in ME. by lengthening in a monosyllable. 'Old,' 'cold,' are not exceptions, since the *a* had been lengthened in ME. before *ld*. Many long *ô*'s are to be accounted for by the lengthening which took place in open syllables in ME. This accounts for 'close,' adj., 'dose,' 'rose,' 'nose,' 'hose,' 'close,' vb., 'suppose,' 'over,' 'stove,' 'cove,' 'open,' 'hope,' 'soak,' 'yoke,' 'smoke,' and many others. It would not account for 'post' < ME. *post*, 'gross' < *gros*, 'hole' < *hol*, unless we suppose these also had *ô* in ME., by lengthening as monosyllables, or from the inflected forms. Such lengthening did occur in some words even in OE. (cf. Sie., 122).

108. The spelling with *oa* established itself about the time that the long *o*, written *oo*, became *û* in sound, so that *oa*, as *ea*, denoted a more open sound (cf. HES., § 831).

#### D. THE CLOSE *ô* BEFORE *r* (*ðə*).

109. Before *r* close *ô* appears with a glide, retaining always, however, its close quality. This is *œ* in LdE., a sound never heard in IthD. (cf. HES., p. 280 *et seq.*). The sound springs from:

I. 1) WG. *ai*, WS. *â*, ME. *ô*: *ðər* < *âr*, 'oar'; *sðər* < *sâr*, 'sore'; *gðər* (of a dress) < *gâra*; *bðər* (an animal) < *bâr*; *ðər* < *âr*, 'ore'; *mðər* < *mâra*, 'more'; *hðərs* < *hâs*, ME. *hêrse*, 'hoarse.'

2) WG. *ó*, WS. *ó*, ME. *ô*: *swðər* < *swór*, pret., 'swore'; *flðər* < *flór*, 'floor.'

3) WG. *o*, WS. *o*, ME. *ô*: *bif·ðər* < *beforan*, 'before'; *fðərþ* < *forþ*, 'forth'; *hðərd* < *hord*, 'hoard'; *bðərd* < *bord*, 'board'; *mðərn* < *murnan*, cf. OHG. *mornen*, 'mourn'; *snðər* < \**snorian*; ME. *snorin* (Kl. *schnarchen*), 'snore'; *bðər* < *borian*, 'bore'; also the pp. *swðər* < *sworen*, 'sworn'; *tðər* < *toren*, 'torn.'

4) WG. *e*, WS. *eo* by *r* + cons., or *u*-umlaut, ME. *ô*: *sðərd* < *sweord*, 'sword'; *fðər* < *feower*, *fēower* (Kl. *vier*), 'four.'

5) WG. *u*, WS. *u*, ME. *ô*: *dðər*, 'door' < *duru*(?)

II. OF. *o*, ME. *ô*: *stðər* < *store*; *rist·ðər* < *restoren*, 'restore'; *sðər* < *soren*, 'soar'; *pðərk* < *pork*; *fðərs* < *force*; *kðər* < *core*.

110. The sound ( $\delta\theta$ ) represents in many cases an original short vowel lengthened in ME. in open syllables or before  $r$  + voiced consonant, as 'hoard,' 'board.' This lengthening is proved by the spellings with *oo, oa, o + e* final in these words. In the case of those from OE.  $\delta$  we should expect  $\hat{u}$  as in *poor*, but 'swore,' pret., may have been influenced by *sworen* the participle; and the spelling 'floor,' 'door,' would indicate a  $\hat{u}$  sound, actually heard in the 17th century, according to Ellis, EEP., I, p. 101.

7. THE VOWEL *u*.

111. Historically at least the vowels *v, u, û*, are to be placed together, *v* and *u* representing the older *u*, sometimes *o*, and  $\hat{u}$  being a development from  $\delta$  of an older time. From these, also, must be separated the long *u* ( $\hat{u}$ ) before *r*, although the instances of it are few. The vowel *v* is short and open, unrounded, while *u* and  $\hat{u}$  are close rounded vowels standing in the relation of short and long.

A. THE VOWEL *v*.

112. The vowel *v* is derived regularly from WG. *u*, OF. *u, ü*, but as one of the commonest sounds it has also many other sources, as follows:

I. 1) WG. *u*, WS. *u* (*o, eo* by a palatal), ME. *u*. In open syllables: *kvnin* < *cunnan*, 'cunning'; *foræ* < *furh*, 'furrow'; *þoræ* < *þurh*, 'thorough.' In closed syllables: *son* < *sunu*, 'son'; *sun* < *sunne*, 'sun'; *run*, pp., < *urnen*, with *r*-metathesis, 'run'; *spun* < *spunnen*, pp., 'spun'; *won* < *ge-wunnen*, pp., 'won'; *big-vn* < *begunnen*, pp., 'begun'; *wondr* < *wundor*, 'wonder'; *þondr* < *þunor*, 'thunder'; *sonk* < *suncen*, pp., 'sunk'; *fronk* < *scruncen*, pp., 'shrunk'; *dronk* < *druncen*, pp., 'drunk'; *hvngr* < *hungor*, 'hunger'; *svn* < *sungen*, pp., 'sung'; *sprvn* < *sprungen*, pp., 'sprung'; *tvn* < *tunge*, 'tongue'; *gvn* < *geong*, 'young'; *svm* < *sum*, 'some'; *swvm* < *swummen*, pp., 'swum'; *dvm* < *dumb*; *tvmbl* < *tumbian*, ME., *tumben, tumblen*, 'tumble'; *plvk* < *pluccian*, 'pluck'; *klvk* < *cloccian*, 'cluck'; *ðvs* < *bus*, 'thus'; *not* < *hnutu*, 'nut'; *gv* < *gut*; *fvvl* < *sceofl*, 'shovel.'

2) WG. *u*, WS.  $\hat{u}$  < *u + n*, ME. *u*. In open syllable: *svðern* < *sûþerne*, for \**sunþ*, 'southern.' In closed syllables: *vs* <  $\hat{u}s$  for \**uns*, 'us'; *dvst* <  $\hat{d}ust$  for \**dunst*, 'dust.'

3) WG. *u*, WS. *y* by umlaut, ME.  $\hat{u}$  (*y, e*). In closed syllables: *brvsl* < *brystl*, 'bristle'; *fvst* < *fyrst*, with loss of *r*, 'first'; *fv* (*fet*) < *scyttan*, 'shut.'

4) WG. *o*, WS. *o, u*, ME. *u* (*o*). In open syllable: *hvni* < *honeg*, 'honey'; *vvn, vvm, vvin* < *ofen*, 'oven.' In closed syllables: *bvk* < *bucca*, 'buck'; *lvv* < *lvfian* and *lvfu*, sb., 'love'; *abvv* < *abufan*, 'above.'

5) WG. *a*, WS. *a* ( $\varrho$ ), ME. *a* ( $\varrho$ ). In open syllable: *rvðr* < *hrafpr*,

'rather.' In closed syllables: *əm·vŋ* < *ongemong*, 'among,' so *mŋkŋst*, '(a)mongst.'

6) WG. *a*, WS. *ó* < *a* + *n*, ME. *o*. In open syllable: *vðr* < *ôðer*, 'other.'

7) WG. *e*, WS. *eo* by *r* + cons., ME. *e*, *u*, *o*. In closed syllables, with loss of *r*: *bøst* < *berstan*, 'burst'; *wøp* < *weorþe*, 'worth.'

8) WG. *ú*, WS. *ú*, ME. *u*. In open syllables: *høzi* < *húswif*, 'hussy.' In closed syllables: *røst* < *rúst* (Kl. but Sie. *rust*); *føv* < *scúfan*, 'shove'; *þøm* < *þúma*, 'thumb'; *søk* < *súcan* (*súgan*), 'suck'; *røf* < *rúh*, 'rough'; *bøt* < *bútan* (< *be* + *útan*), 'but'; *vø* < *úp*, 'up'; *slømr* < *slúma*, 'slumber.'

9) WG. *ó*, WS. *ó*, ME. *ó* (*o*). In open syllables: *rødr* < *røþor*, 'rudder'; *brøðr* < *bróðor*, 'brother'; *møðr* < *móðor*, 'mother.' In closed syllables: *møst* < *móste*, 'must'; *gløv* < *glóf*, 'glove'; *ærvf* < *genóh*, 'enough'; *tøf* < *tóh*, 'tough'; *døn* < *gedón*, 'done'; *flood* < *flód*, 'flood'; *blød* < *blód*, 'blood.'

10) WG. *ai*, WS. *á*, ME. *ó*. In closed syllables: *wøn* < *án*, 'one'; *nøn* < *nán*, 'none'; *wøns(t)* < *áness*, 'once'; *hømli*, *hømbli* (with excrescent *b*), (*hòm*) < *hám* ('home') + *-ly*; *hømspøn* also 'homespun'; *høl* < *hál*, 'whole.'

11) WG. *â* (Germ. *ê* + nasal), WS. *á*, ME. *ø*. In closed syllables: *mønþ* < *mónað*, 'month'; *møndi* < *mónandæg*, 'Monday.'

II. 1) Lat. *u*, WS. *u*, ME. *u*. In open syllable: *bøtr* < *butyrum*, OE. *butre*, *butere*, 'butter.'

2) Lat. *ú*, WS. *ú*, ME. *u*. In closed syllable: *pløm* < *prúnum*, OE. *plúme*, 'plum.'

III. Scand. *u*, ME. *u*. In open syllable: *bøsl* < *bustelen*, 'bustle.' In closed syllables: *vøgli* < *ugglig*, ME. *ugli*, 'ugly.'

IV. 1) OF. *u* (*o*, *ou*, Beh. pp. 104, 109), ME. *u*, *o*, *ou*. a) In originally stressed syllables, open: *svfr* < *suffre*, 'suffer'; *døbl* < *duble*, 'double'; *trøbl* < *trublen*, 'trouble'; *køpl* < *kuplen*, 'couple.' Closed: *trøss* < *trussen*, 'truss'; *tøtf* < *touchen*, 'touch'; *spøndg* < *spouge*, 'sponge.' b) In originally unstressed syllables, open: *køridg* < *corage*, 'courage'; *føridgin* < *forage*, 'foraging'; *førn* < *forein*, 'foreign'; *køri*, vb., < *curryen*, 'curry'; *gløtn* < *glutun*, 'glutton'; *bøtn* < *boton*, 'button'; *bøtri* < *butelerie*, 'buttery'; *kølr* < *colour*; *møni* < *monie*, 'money'; *sømæn* < *somouns*, 'summon.' Closed: *nømbr* < *number*, *nombre*; *kømpni* < *companie*, 'company'; *kømført* < *confort*, 'comfort'; *kønstøbl* < *cunestable*, 'constable'; *køntri* < *contre*, 'country'; *kønðgr* < *congeouren*, 'conjure'; *bøtlr* < *buteler*, 'butler'; *døvøglr* < *jogelour*, 'juggler.'

2) OF. *ü*, ME. *u*. a) In originally stressed syllables, closed: *døvdg* < *juggen* (also *dgedg*), 'judge'; *døvs(t)* < *just* (also *dges*, *dgis*). b) In originally unstressed syllables, open: *døvfis* < *duchesse*, 'duchess.' Closed: *døvdgmont* < *gugement*, 'judgment'; *døvstis* < *justice*; *møltøplai* < *multiplien*, 'multiply'; *hømb* < *humble*, 'humble.'

3) OF. *oi*, ME. *u*. In originally stressed syllables, closed: *møsti* < *moyste*, 'musty.'

V. Late Loan-words. 1) Fr. *o*, *ou*. In open syllables: *bøkl* < *bocle*, 'buckle.' In closed syllables: *bøtmønts* < *aboutir* + *ment*, 'abutments'; *løndg* < *allonger*, 'lunge'; *lømbr* < *Lombard*, Skeat (?) 'lumber'; *gølf* < *golfe*, 'gulf'; *røp·vøbløkn* < *republique*, 'republican.'

2) Lat. *u*. In closed syllables: *agk·vltfəl* < *agricultura*, 'agricultural'; *mskəlr* < *musculus* (\**muscularis*), 'muscular.'

3) Span. *u*. In open syllables: *bvfələ* < *bufalo*, 'buffalo.'

VI. Names. With written *o*. In closed syllables: *dəm·vn* < *Dumond*, Fr.; *məng·vmri* < *Montgomery*.

113. Under OF. and ME. the vowel *u* (*o*, *ou*) is given as by Behrens (pp. 104, 109) for a vowel appearing under several forms but with like quality, and best represented by *u*. From this is to be clearly separated the *o*, which in ME., as well as in OF., never appears as *u*, *ou*, and has become in ModE. *ô* or *o* in most cases.

114. The vowel *v* dates from the 17th century, when short *u* began to be so pronounced. In the 16th century short close *o*, especially before nasals, fell in with short *u* in sound, and this explains the *v* from *o*. It is to be noticed, also, that some WG. *o*'s have been *u* from the earliest times, as shown by OE. *lufu*, *abufan* (Sie. 55). Anomalous are those *v*'s from *a* and *e*. Of the first, however, 'rather' (*rððr*) may have been influenced by 'other,' which is like 'mother,' 'brother,' from WS. *ô*. The *v* in 'among' is the going over from open *o* before a nasal. Original *e* becomes *v* only by the dropping of *r*, which had, as in 'first' (*fɹst*), made the preceding vowel a guttural. This is proved, also, by the number of *u*'s before *r*, which are now *ë* (cf. § 85).

115. The shortening from *ô* or *û* began in the 17th century (cf. Ellis, EEP., I, pp. 157-9), where it is found in 'blood,' 'flood,' as well as in Fr. words with *ou*. To these, no doubt, others have been added. The examples are here placed with relation to the following consonant: 'whole,' 'up,' 'but,' 'suck,' 'rough,' 'tough,' 'enough,' 'us,' 'rust,' 'dust,' 'must,' 'brother,' 'mother,' 'other,' 'southern,' 'huzzy,' 'husband,' 'rudder,' 'flood,' 'blood,' 'shove,' 'glove,' 'thumb,' 'slumber,' 'done,' 'one,' 'once,' 'none,' 'won,' 'month,' 'Monday,' 'plum,' sometimes 'homely,' and 'homespun.' From these and the other examples it will be seen that *v* occurs especially before nasals.

116. The interchange of *e* with *v* occurs in a few words, as 'shut,' 'just,' 'judge,' but the examples are too few for determining the reason of the change. It may be said, however, that *set* for 'shut' occurs as early as ME. times and in Elizabethan English.

## B. THE VOWEL SHORT *u*.

117. Short *u* is not a common sound in English, but it occurs somewhat oftener in IthD. than in LdE. It springs from:

I. 1) WG. *ó*, WS. *ó*, ME. *ó*. In closed syllables: *huf* < *hóf*, 'hoof'; *ruf* < *hróf* (also *rnf*), 'roof'; *huk* < *hóc*, 'hook'; *luk* < *lócian*, 'look'; *fuk* < *scóc*, 'shook'; *buk* < *bóc*, 'book'; *bruk* < *bróc*, 'brook'; *sut* < *sót*; *fut* < *fôt*, 'foot'; *rut* < *wrótan* (to 'root'); *hud* < *hód*, 'hood'; *gud* < *gód*, 'good'; *stud* < *stód*, 'stood.'

2) WG. *á* + nasal, WS. *ó*, ME. *ó*. In closed syllables: *sun* < *sóna*, 'soon'; *spun* < *spón*, 'spoon'; *brum* < *bróm*, 'broom'; *hum* < *hwám*, 'whom.'

3) WG. *ú*, WS. *ú*, ME. *ó* before a nasal (?). In closed syllable: *rum* < *rúm*, 'room.'

4) WG. *u* (?), WS. *u*, ME. *u*. In closed syllables: *pul* < *pullian*, 'pull.'

5) WG. *u*, WS. *ú* < *u* + *n*, ME. *ú*. In closed syllables: *kud* < *cúpe* < \**cunþa*, 'could.'

6) WG. *o*, WS. *o*, ME. *ó* before *ld*. In closed syllables: *fud* < *scolde*, 'should'; *wud* < *wolde*, 'would.'

7) WG. *o*, WS. *u*, ME. *u* (*ū*). In closed syllables: *ful* < *full*; *wul* < *wulle*, 'wool'; *wulf* < *wulf*, 'wolf'; here also *put* < *potian* (?), 'put.'

8) WG. *i*, WS. *i*, ME. *ū* after *w*. In closed syllable: *wud* < *wudu*, \**widu*, 'wood.'

9) WG. *i*, WS. *i*, ME. *u* (*o*) after *w*. In open syllable: *wumæn* < *wifman*, 'woman.'

II. Lat. *o*, WS. *ó*, ME. *ó*. In closed syllable: *kuk* < *cóc* < *coquus*, 'cook.'

III. 1) Scand. *ó*, ME. *ó*. In closed syllables: *kruk* < *cróc*, Icl. *krókr*, 'crook'; *tuk* < *tóc*, Icl. *tók*, 'took'; *rut* < *róte*, Icl. *rót* for *wrót* (or is this OE.?), 'root.'

2) Scand. *u*, ME. *u*. In closed syllables: *bul* < *bule*, Icl. *buli* (or is this Eng. \**bull*? cf. Murray), 'bull.'

IV. 1) OF. *ü*, *u* (*o*), ME. *u*, *ou*. In open syllables: *fugr* < *sugre*, 'sugar'; *hupin* < *houpen* in 'whooping-cough.'

2) OF. *oi* (*ui*), ME. *u*. In open syllable: *bufl* < *buschel*, OF. *boissel*, 'bushel.'

118. Short *u* occurs usually in closed syllables and from early long *ô*, which first became *û*, as shown by the spellings *oo*, *ou*, and was then shortened. Sometimes, however, the vowel springs from ME. *u*, especially after labials and before *l*, as in 'pull,' 'full,' 'bull,' 'put,' 'bushel,' while it occurs after *w* in 'wood,' 'wool,' 'wolf,' 'woman,' though not before *n*. In 'wood,' 'wool,' the vowel may have been long in ME., and certainly was in early Mde. Short *u* from older long *û*, *ô*, seems never to occur before the fricatives, and it is especially frequent before *k*, *t*, *d*, *n*, or *m*. In 'room' both the spelling and the puns of Shakespeare lead us to assume that OE. *û* had become *ô* before the nasal, perhaps in ME. times, as this is the only exception to the natural development of OE. *û*.

C. THE VOWEL *û*.

119. Long closed *u* (*û*) descends regularly from WS. *ô* from whatever source, and from such Romance sounds as became *ô* in ME. It springs from:

I. 1) WG. *ô*, WS. *ô*, ME. *ô*. In open syllables: *tû* < *tô*, 'to'; *dû* < *dôn*, 'do.' In closed syllables: *stûl* < *stôl*, 'stool'; *kûl* < *côl*, 'cool'; *tûl* < *tôl*, 'tool'; *pûl* < *pôl*, 'pool'; *rûst* < *hrôst*, 'roost'; *bût* < *bôt*, ('to boot' in a wager); *blûm* < *blôma*, 'bloom'; *glûm* < *glôma*, 'gloom'; *dûm* < *dôm*, 'doom'; *lûm* < *ge-lôma*, 'loom'; *brûd* < *brôd*, 'brood'; *fûd* < *fôd*, 'food.'

2) WG. *ô*, WS. *êo* by palatal, ME. *ô*. In open syllable: *fû* < *scêoh*, 'shoe.'

3) WG. *â* + nasal, WS. *ô*, ME. *ô*. In closed syllable: *mûn* < *môna*, 'moon.'

4) WG. *a* + nasal, WS. *ô*, ME. *ô*. In closed syllables: *tûp* < *tôp*, 'tooth'; *smûð* < *smôð*, 'smooth'; *gûs* < *gôs*, 'goose.'

5) WG. *â*, WS. *â*, ME. *ô*. In open syllables: *hû* < *hwâ*, 'who'; *tû* < *twâ*, 'two.' In closed syllables: *ûz* (*wûz*, earlier) < *wâse*, 'ooze'; *swûp* < *swâpan*, 'swoop'; *hûm* < *hwâm*, 'whom'; *swûn* < *a-swânian*, perhaps, 'swoon.'

6) WG. *a*, WS. *ǫ* + *mb*, ME. *ô*. In closed syllable: *wûm* < *womb*.

7) WG. *eu*, WS. *éo*, ME. *ô*. In closed syllables: *fût* < *scêotan*, 'shoot.'

8) WG. *eu*, WS. *éo*, *ie* by umlaut + *w*, ME. *eu*. In open syllables: *trû* < *trêowe*, 'true'; *nû* < *nîwe* (*nîewe*), 'new'; *brû* < *brêowan*, 'brew'; *tfû* < *cêowan*, 'chew.' In closed syllables: *trûp* < *trêowp*, 'truth.'

9) WG. *au*, WS. *êa* + *h* or *w*, ME. *eu*. In open syllables: *flû* < *flêah*, 'flew'; *dû* < *dêaw*, 'dew.'

10) WG. *î*, WS. *î* + *g*, *w*, ME. *iu*. In open syllables: *stûard* < *sti(g)weard*, 'steward.' In closed syllables: *tûzdi* < *Tîwesdæg*, 'Tuesday.'

11) WG. *u* + *h*, WS. *u*, ME. *uh*. In open syllables: *brû* < *burh*, *bruh*, 'through.'

II. Lat. *o*, WS. *ô*, ME. *ô*. In closed syllables; *skûl* < *schola*, OE. *scôl*, 'school'; *prûv* < *probare*, OE. *prôfian*, 'prove'; *nûn* < *nona*, OE. *nôn*, 'noon.'

III. 1) Scand. *û*, ME. *ô*. In closed syllables: *bûp* < *bôpe*, cf. Icl. *búð*, 'booth.'

IV. 1) OF. *o*, ME. *ô*. In closed syllables: *fûl* < *fol*, 'fool.'

2) OF. *o* (*oe*, *ue*, Beh., pp. 104, 152), ME. *ô*. In closed syllables: *mûv* < *moven*, 'move' *aprvûv* < *approven*, 'approve'; *ræprvûv* < *reproven*, 'reprove.'

3) OF. *ü*, ME. *u* (*û*). In open syllables: *kyûris* < *curious*. In closed syllables: *krûl* < *cruel*; *pæzûm* < *presumen*, 'presume'; *rûd* < *rude*; *dûk* < *duc* (?), 'duke,' cf. Beh.; *dgûs* < *jus*, 'juice.'

4) OF. *ui*, ME. *u*, *ui* (*û*). In closed syllables: *sût* < *sute*, 'suit'; *frût* < *fruyt*, 'fruit.'

5) OF. *eu*, ME. *iu*, *eu*. In closed syllables: *rûl* < *riwle*, 'rule'; *dgûz* < *jewes*, 'Jews.'

6) OF. *eau*, < *ell* + cons., ME. *eu*. In open syllables: *byûti* < *bealte*, *beaute*, 'beauty.'

V. Late Loan-words. 1) Lat. *u*. In open syllables: *kûpr* < Low Lat. *cuparius*, 'cooper.' In closed syllables: *intêdûs* < *introducere*, 'introduce';

*pæd'ús* < *producere*, 'produce'; *ræd'ús* < *reducere*, 'reduce'; *slút* < *salutare*, 'salute'; *krúd* < *crudus*, 'crude.'

2) Fr. *u* (*ou*). In open syllables: *súmæk* < *sumac*; *rækr'útín* < *recruter*, 'recruiting'; *krúpr* < *croupière*, 'crupper.' In closed syllables: *prún*, sb., < *prune*; *brút* < *brut*, 'brute'; *flút* < *flute*.

3) Span. *o*. In open syllable: *kæn'û* < *canoa*, 'canoe.'

4) Indian *u* (?) In closed syllables: *pəp'ús* < *pappoose*.

VI. Names with written *u*. In open syllables: *kyúgi* < *Cayuga*, Ind.; *kyúti* < *Cayuta*, Ind.; *húgənat*s < *Huguenots*; *dʒúləs* < *Julius*; *dʒúlai* < *July*; *rúlɔf* < *Ruloff*; *yútiki* < *Utica*. In closed syllables: *brún* < *Bruyn*; *byúlz* < *Buels*.

120. Besides the regular development of *û* from ME. *ô*, the vowel springs usually from ME. *eu*, *iu*, from whatever source, by absorption of the preceding vowel. Long *û* occurs especially in open syllables and before those consonants that have lengthened short vowels in MdE., that is, before *p*, *s* (not *f*), and *l*. The principal cases in which it occurs before other consonants are the following: 'bloom,' 'doom,' 'whom,' 'gloom,' 'loom,' 'womb,' 'presume,' 'moon,' 'noon,' 'prove,' 'move,' 'approve,' 'reprove,' 'boot,' 'shoot,' 'suit,' 'fruit,' 'brood,' 'rude,' 'swoop,' 'duke.'

121. Especially worthy of note is the *û* from OE. *â* always after *w*. This is a regular development, and it is probable that the long *â* after *w* became close instead of open *ô* in ME. times, since we have these words sometimes spelled with *ô*. Examples are: 'who,' 'whom,' 'two,' 'ooze,' formerly 'wooze,' 'swoop,' 'swoon,' if from OE. *aswanian*, as seems probable. Apparent exceptions are 'so,' 'woe,' but the first clearly develops from ME. *sá* (*sô*), which had wholly lost its *w*, and 'woe' was in OE. 'wêa,' 'wâwa,' from the last of which forms our word would be a natural development (cf. § 105). 'Swoon' is usually referred to ME. *swownen*, but this should give *swaun* or *swôn* by regular development, the first of which does occur with excrescent *d* in 'swound.' For the rounding influence of *w*, cf. also §§ 63, 102.

122. Long *u* (*û*) occurs with *y* (*yû*) when initial, sometimes after a consonant, as in *byûti*, *kyûris*, *Byûlz*, for 'beauty,' 'curious,' 'Buels.' This is clearly distinguished from *iu*, which occurs in a few words (cf. § 133).

123. The examples of *û* before *r* (*uə*) are so few that they may be placed here in a note. They are noticeable only because of the appearance of the glide. Examples are: 'poor,' 'endure' < OF. *poure*, *endurer*, ME. *poure*, *enduren*; 'tour' < Fr. *tour*; besides, words in *-er* after *û* show the same (*uə*), due to shortening, as 'brewer,' 'sewer,' (*bruər*, *suər*).

8. THE DIPHTHONG *ai*.

124. The diphthong *ai* comes from OE. *i*, *y*, from a front vowel + front *g* (*h*), or from ME. *i* < older *i* + *ld*, *nd*, *mb*. Before *r* it appears with a glide *aiə*, though the examples are not numerous. It springs from:

I. 1) WG. *i*, WS. *i*, ME. *i*. In closed syllables: *hwail* < *hwile* 'while'; *ais* < *is*, 'ice'; *waiz* < *wis*, 'wise'; *laif* < *lif*, 'life'; *waif* < *wif*, 'wife'; *naif* < *cnif*, 'knife'; *ə'aiv* < *onlife*, 'alive'; *laik* < *gelic*, 'like'; *daik* < *dīc*, 'dike'; *straik* < *strican*, 'strike'; *raip* < *ripe*, 'ripe'; *raid* < *ridan*, 'ride'; *said* < *sidan*, 'side'; *slaid* < *slidan*, 'slide'; *waid* < *wid*, 'wide'; *taid* < *tid*, 'tide'; *rait* < *writan*, 'write'; *hwait* < *hwit*, 'white'; *bait* < *bitan*, 'bite'; *fain* < *scinan*, 'shine'; *raim* < *rim*, 'rhyme'; *taim* < *tīma*, 'time.'

2) WG. *i*, WS. *i* < *i* + *n*, ME. *i*. In closed syllables: *faiv* < *fif*, 'five.'

3) WG. *i*, WS. *i* + *g* (*h*), ME. *ih*. In open syllables: *ai* < *ic*, 'I'; *fraidi* < *Frigedæg*, 'Friday.' In closed syllables: *tail* < *tigole*, 'tile'; *stail* < *stigele*, 'stile'; *nain* < *nigen*, 'nine'; *ə'ait* < *alīhtan*, 'alight.'

4) WG. *i*, WS. *i* + *ld*, *nd*, *mb*, ME. *i*. In closed syllables: *waild* < *wilde*, 'wild'; *maild* < *milde*, 'mild'; *tfaild* < *cild*, 'child'; *bih'aind* < *behindan*, 'behind'; *waind* < *windan*, 'wind'; *faind* < *findan*, 'find'; *graind* < *grindan*, 'grind'; *baind* < *bindan*, 'bind'; *blaind* < *blindan*, 'blind'; *klaim* < *climban*, 'climb.'

5) WG. *e*, WS. *i* by palatal-umlaut, ME. *i* + *h* (*g*). In closed syllables: *rait* < *riht*, 'right'; *nait* < *cniht*, 'knight'; here also *brait* < *beorht*, \**breoht*, *bryht*, 'bright'; *fait* < *feohtan*, ME. *fihten*, 'fight.'

6) WG. *e*, WS. *i* by lengthening, ME. *i*. In open syllables: *bai* < *bi*, *bī*, 'by.' In closed syllable: *saið* < *siðe*, \**sigðe*, 'scythe.'

7) WG. *u*, WS. *y* by umlaut, ME. *i*. In open syllables: *drai* < *drýge*, 'dry.' In closed syllables: *bail* < *býl* (Eng. 'boil,' 'bile'); *mais* < *mýs*, 'mice'; *haiu* < *hýf*, 'hive'; *praid* < *prýta*, 'pride'; *braid* < *brýd*, 'bride'; *haid* < *hýdan*, 'hide'; *haid*, sb., < *hýd*, 'hide.'

8) WG. *au*, WS. *éa* + *h* (*g*), ME. *é* + *h* (later *ih*). In open syllables: *ai* < *éage*, 'eye'; *hai* < *héah*, 'high'; *lai* < *léag*, 'Iye.' In closed syllables: *haitp* (*haiþ*) < *héahðu*, 'height.'

9) WG. *eu*, WS. *éo*, ME. *é* + *h* (later *ih*). In open syllables: *flai*, vb., < *fléogan*, 'fly'; *flai*, sb., < *fléoge*, 'fly'; *fai* < *scéoh*, 'shy.' In closed syllables: *lait*, sb. and adj., < *léoht*, 'light'; *lait*, adj., < *leoht*, 'light', cf. Sie., 84, n. 4.

10) WG. *á*, WS. *éa* (cf. Sie., 57, 2), *d.*), ME. *é* + *h* (later *ih*). In open syllable: *nai* < *néah*, 'nigh.'

11) WG. *a*, WS. *i* by palatal-umlaut, ME. *i* + *h* (*i*). In closed syllables: *mait* < *miht*, 'might'; *nait* < *niht*, 'night.'

12) WG. *u*, WS. *y* by umlaut, ME. *i* + *g* (*i*). In open syllable: *bai* < *bycgan*, 'buy.'

13) WG. *u*, WS. *y* by umlaut + *nd*, ME. *i*. In closed syllable: *kaind* < *ge-cynde*, 'kind.'

II. Lat. *i*, WS. *i*, ME. *i*. In closed syllables: *mail* < *mīl*, Lat. *mīlia*,

'mile'; *pail* < *pīlum*, OE. *pīl*, 'pile'; *pain* < *pīnus*, OE. *pīn*, 'pine'; *wain* < *vinum*, OE. *wīn*, 'wine'; *kraist* < *Christus*, OE. *crist*, 'Christ'; *paip* < Low Lat. *pīpa*, OE. *pīpe*, 'pipe.'

III. 1) Scand. *i*, ME. *i*. In closed syllables: *þraiv* < *þrīven*, 'thrive.'

2) Scand. *ý*, ME. *i*. In open syllables: *skai* < *skie*, ON. *ský*, 'sky.'

3) Scand. *â*, ME. *ê* + *h*. In open syllables: *slai* < *sleh*, ON. *slêgr*, 'sly'; *slait* < *slehte*, ON. *slêgb* (?), 'sleight.'

IV. 1) OF. *i*, ME. *i*. a) In originally stressed syllables, open: *krai* < *cry*; *spai* < *spien*, 'spy.' Closed: *braib* < *bribe*; *ædv'ais* < *avys*, 'advice'; *prais* < *pris*, 'price'; *spais* < *spice*; *nais* < *nice*; *dʒais(t)* < *giste*, 'joist'; *fain* < *fine*; *kwait* < *quyte*, 'quite.' b) In originally unstressed syllables, open: *laibri* < *librairie*, 'library.'

2) OF. *oi*, ME. *oi* (17th century *oi*, *ai*). a) In originally stressed syllables, closed: *paint* < *point*; *æp'aint* < *apointen*, 'appoint'; *dʒain* < *joyne*, 'join'; *dʒaint* < *joint*; *lain* < *loyne* (of beef); *bail* < *boylen*, 'boil'; *aistr* < *oystre*, 'oyster.' b) In originally unstressed syllables, open: *dʒainr* < *joinour*, 'joiner'; *paizn* < *poisoun*, 'poison.' Closed: *aintmænt* < *oynement*, 'ointment.'

3) OF. *o* + *l*, *oi*, ME. *oi* (17th century *oi*, *ai*). In originally stressed syllables, closed: *ail* < *olie*, *oyle*, 'oil'; *spail* < *spoylen*, 'spoil'; *sail* < *soyle*, 'soil.' In originally unstressed syllable, open: *ailət* < *æillet*, 'eyelet.'

V. Late Loan-words. 1) Lat. *i*. In open syllables: *dairi* < *diarium*, 'diary'; *sailənt* < *silentem*, 'silent.' In closed syllables: *pərv'aid* < *providere*, 'provide'; *yûn'ait* < *unitus*, 'unite.'

2) Fr. *i*. In open syllables: *saiəti* < *société* (also *səs'aiəti*), 'society'; *vaiłət* < *violette*; *pairət* < *pirate*. In closed syllables: *pail* < *pile*.

3) Fr. *oi*. In open syllables: *impl'aimənt* < \**employment*.

4) Du. *i*. In closed syllables: *splais(t)* < *splissen*, 'splice.'

5) Du. *y*. In closed syllables: *haist* < *hyssen*, 'hoist.'

VI. Names. In open syllables: *baii* < *Bahia*; *haiə* < *Ohio*; *karl'aini* < *Carolina*; *pemb'aini* < *Pembina*; *dər'aitr* < *De Ruyter*; *elm'airi* < *Elmira* (also *əlmairi*); *aizik* < *Isaac*. In closed syllables: *kənt'ain* < *Cantine*; *laidʒ* < *Elijah*.

125. The diphthong *ai* before *r* should be represented by *aiə*, but it does not occur in many words. Typical examples are as follows:

1) WG. *ī*, WS. *ī*, ME. *ī*: *aiərn* < *īren*, 'iron'; *waiər* < *wīr*, 'wire.'

2) WG. *ú*, WS. *ý* by umlaut, ME. *ī*: *faiər* < *fýr*, 'fire'; *haiər* < *hýr*, sb., *hýrian*, vb., 'hire.'

3) WG. *eu*, WS. *ý* by umlaut, ME. *ī*: *maiər* < *mýra* (in 'pis-mire').

4) OF. *i*, ME. *ī*: *dəs'aiər* < *desiren*, 'desire.'

5) OF. *ie*, ME. *ê*: *ent'aiər* < *enter*, 'entire'; *skwaiər* (*skwæər*) < *squiere* (IME. *ī* ?), 'squire.'

Other examples occur, especially by the addition of *-er* as in 'crier,' 'dyer,' 'higher,' 'buyer,' etc.

126. Three sources have been pointed out for MdE. *ai*, and these account in the main for *ai* of IthD. In LdE. this diphthong is *æi*, which, according to Ellis (EEP., I, p. 227, long *i*), has prevailed since the 17th century. In IthD. the sound is nearer *a + i* than *æi* would indicate, and perhaps furnishes another evidence of the preservation of an older speech.

127. From the examples it appears that *ai* springs regularly from ME. *i* (*i*) + *h* (*g*), while ME. *e* (*æ*) + *h* has given *ê*, except in 'either,' 'neither' (cf. §§ 82, 94). MdE. *ai* < *i* (*i*) + *h* (*g*) indicates the final lengthening of the *i* in both cases, whether *ih* remained long, or the *i* was first shortened before *h*, or *h* + cons., as in the case of *ôh* (cf. § 100). Examples of *i* + *h* are: 'I,' 'by,' 'Friday,' 'tile,' 'stile,' 'mine,' 'light,' 'right,' 'knight,' 'bright,' 'flight,' 'might,' 'night.' In 'eye,' 'high,' 'bye,' 'fly,' sb., vb., 'shy,' 'light' (easy), 'nigh,' 'sly,' the earliest ME. forms show *êh* (*eh?*), the regular development, but later forms show *ih*, from which the modern forms have come.

128. The most characteristic *ai* of IthD. is that which, in common speech, is *oi* in many words. Examples are: 'boil' (a sore), 'joint,' 'point,' 'appoint,' 'join,' 'joiner,' 'joint,' 'loin,' 'sir-loin,' 'boil,' vb., 'oyster,' 'poison,' 'oil,' 'spoil,' 'employment,' 'hoist.' It is well known that *oi*, *ai*, were variants in the 17th century, and *ai* lived into the 18th century at least.

### 9. THE DIPHTHONG *au*.

129. The diphthong *au* springs regularly from ME. *û* from whatever source, as well as from a back vowel + guttural *h* (*g*), or *w*. Its sources are:

I. 1) WG. *û*, WS. *û*, ME. *û*. In open syllables: *brau* < *brû*, 'brow'; *pauzænd* < *pûsænd*, 'thousand.' In closed syllables: *aul* < *ûle*, 'owl'; *faul* < *fûl*, 'fowl'; *haus* < *hûs*, 'house'; *maus* < *mûs*, 'mouse'; *taun* < *tûn*, 'town'; *daun* < *of-dûn*, 'down'; *braun* < *brûn*, 'brown'; *aut* < *ût*, 'out'; *ab·aut* < *onbûtan* (also *baut*), 'about'; *spraut* < *sprûtan*, Kl., 'sprout'; *wið·aut* (*ið·aut*, *ðaut*) < *wipûtan*, 'without'; *praud* < *prût*, 'proud'; *laud* < *hlûd*, 'loud'; *fraud* < *scrûd*, 'shroud'; *kraud* < *crûdan*, 'crowd.'

2) WG. *û*, WS. *û + g*, ME. *û*. In open syllables: *bau* < *bûgan*, 'bow.' In closed syllables: *draut* < *drûgað*, 'drought.'

3) WG. *u*, WS. *û*, ME. *û*. In open syllables: *nau* < *nû* < *nu* by lengthening in OE., 'now.'

4) WG. *u*, WS. *û* < *u + n*, ME. *û*. In closed syllables: *sauþ* < *sûþ*, 'south'; *mauþ* < *mûþ*, 'mouth.'

5) WG. *ô*, WS. *û*, ME. *û*. In open syllables: *kau* < *cû*, 'cow'; *hau* < *hû*, 'how.'

6) WG. *ô*, WS. *ô + h*, ME. *o + w*, *ou*. In open syllable: *plau* < *plôh*, 'plough.'

7) WG. *u*, WS. *u + nd*, ME. *û*. In closed syllables: *haund* < *hund*, 'hound'; *saund* < *gesund*, 'sound,' adj.; *waund* < *wund*, sb., and *wundian*, vb., 'wound'; *graund* < *grund*, 'ground'; *faund* < *funden*, pp., 'found'; *baund* < *bunden*, pp., 'bound.'

II. 1) Lat. *û*, WS. *û + h*, ME. *û*. In closed syllable: *traut* < *tracta*, OE. *trûht*, Pog., § 179, 'trout.'

2) Lat. *o + nasal*, WS. *u*, ME. *û* before *nd*, *nt*. In closed syllables: *paund* < *pondo*, OE. *pund*, 'pound'; *maunt* < *mont*, OE. *munt*, 'mount.'

III. 1) OF. *u*, *o*, ME. *u*, *ou*. In open syllables: *vau* < *vow*, *avowen*; *âl'au* < *alowen*, 'allow.'

2) OF. *u*, ME. *u*, *ou*. a) In originally stressed syllables, closed: *saund* < *soun*, 'sound,' sb.; *saund* < *sounen*, 'sound,' vb.; *kənf'auund* < *confunden*, 'confound'; *raund* < *ronde*, 'round'; *ək'aunt* < *acounten*, 'account'; *kraun* < *crowne*, 'crown'; *daut* < *doute*, 'doubt'; *raut* < *rute*, 'rout.' b) In originally unstressed syllables, closed: *kaunti* < *counte*, 'county'; *faundr* < *founder*.

IV. Names. In open syllables: *kaudri* < *Cowdry*. In closed syllables: *məg'aun* < *McGowan*.

**130.** The diphthong *au* before *r* occurs with a glide *auə*. Examples are:

1) WG. *û*, WS. *û*, ME. *û*: *auər* < *ûre*, 'our'; *sauər* < *sûr*, 'sour'; *fauər* < *scûr*, 'shower'; *bauər* < *bûr*, 'bower.'

2) OF. *u*, ME. *û*: *auər* < *houre*, 'hour'; *flawər* < *flur*, 'flower'; *tauər* < *tour*, 'tower.'

**131.** The quality of the diphthong *au* has been described in §§ 5, 9). Since the 17th century it has had a pronunciation represented by Ellis as *əu* (EEP., I, p. 230), separating at that time from the written *ou* (*ow*), which is now *ô*, as in 'know,' 'grow' (cf. § 105). In 'room' no change to *au* has occurred (cf. § 118).

#### 10. THE DIPHTHONG *oi*.

**132.** The diphthong *oi* occurs only in loan-words, mainly from the Romance languages. In many of these, as has been pointed out (§ 128), it interchanges commonly with *ai*, so that it is not a common diphthong. It springs from:

I. OF. *oi*, ME. *oi*. In originally stressed syllables, open: *dʒoi* < *joie*, 'joy'; *dist'oi* < *destroyen*, 'destroy.' Closed: *t'fois* < *choys*, 'choice'; *vois* < *vois*, 'voice'; *moist* < *moyste*; *noiz* < *noyse*, 'noise'; *void* < *voyde*.

11. THE DIPHTHONG *iu*.

133. This diphthong is rarer in IthD. than *oi*, *û* or *yû* occurring in place of it in the majority of words. It occurs from :

I. WG. *au*, WS. *êa*, ME. *ê + w*. In open syllables : *fiu* < *fêawe*, 'few.'

II. OF. *ü*, ME. *u*. a) In originally stressed syllables, closed : *əb'iu* < *abusen*, 'abuse'; *exsk'iu* (*skiu*) < *excusen*, 'excuse'; *ək'iu* < *acusen*, 'accuse'; *fium* < *fum* (?), 'fume'; *miut* < *muet*, 'mute'; before *r* in *piur* < *pur*, 'pure'; *kiur* < *cure*.

III. Late Loan-words. 1) Lat. *u*. In closed syllables : *kiut* < *acutus*; *skiur* < *securus*, 'secure.'

2) Fr. *ü*. In closed syllables : *kiub* < *cube*; *miul* < *mule*.

134. Perhaps no rule for *iu* can be stated with exactness for so few examples, but it seems to occur after labials, *m*, and the palatal *k*, especially when it is not followed by *l*.

## 12. VARIATIONS IN QUANTITY.

## A. HIATUS AND CONTRACTION.

135. Hiatus occurs occasionally by loss of *h*, or *w*, and is followed by contraction. Examples are : a) by loss of *h*, *skêri* < *Schoharie*; b) by loss of *w*, *dʒûl* < *jewel*; *mækd·ôl* < *McDowel*; *stôl* < *Stowell*; *mæg·aun* < *McGowan*.

136. Contraction, without hiatus, by loss of consonant, occurs in :

1) *û* < *û + ə* : *krûl* < *cruel*; *byûlz* < *Buels*; *brûn* < *Bruyn*. In unstressed syllables : *inflûns* < *influence*; and *ə* < *û + ə* in *vêrtfəs* < *virtuous*.

2) *æə* < *e + ə* : *bêær* < *Thayer*; *sæær* < *Sayre*.

3) *ai* < *ai + ə* : *baimbi* < *by-an(d)-by*; *laibl* < *liable*.

4) In unstressed syllables, a) from *i + i* : *berin* < *burying*; *emptinz* < *emptyings* (yeast); *hmlist* < *homeliest*; *welpist* < *wealthiest*; b) from *i + ə* : *yunit·êrin* < *Unitarian*; *krait·irin* < *criterion*; *kiûris* < *curious*; *kvrin* < *currying*.

## B. LENGTHENING AND SHORTENING.

137. Under the various vowels have been discussed the general laws of lengthening in IthD., and they are therefore not repeated here. A few examples of special peculiarity may be mentioned. In closed syllables : *êg*, 'egg'; *lêg*; *êdʒ* < *edge*; *plêʒær*, 'pleasure'; *mêʒær*, 'measure'; *sîk* ('sick'), sometimes; *wiznær* < *Wisner*. In open syllables : *têkl* < *tackle*; *têrif* < *tariff*; *pêrants* < *parents*; *tîpid* < *tepid*; *ôvid* < *Ovid*; *bâtfr* < *butcher*. Some of these, perhaps, as *têrif*, *tîpid*, are to be explained as

book words, and it can only be said that these have been classed in speech with those words having long vowels in open syllables.

138. More numerous are the examples of shortening, as might be expected from the greater number of vowels shortened since ME. times. Examples are :

- 1)  $\alpha < a$  with loss of  $r$ : *pætridʒ*, 'partridge'; *kætridʒ*, 'cartridge.'
- 2)  $e < \hat{e}, \acute{e}$ : *nebr*, 'neighbor'; *nebrhud*, 'neighborhood'; *nekid*, 'naked'; *mebi* < *may-be*; *deri* < *dairy*; *meri* < *Mary*; *plegi* < *plaguey*; *feli* < *shaly*.
- 3)  $i < \text{ME. } \acute{e} (\hat{e})$ : *driri*, *wiri* < *dreary*, *weariy*; *simz* < *seems*; *pæk'ipsi* < *Poughkeepsie*.
- 4)  $\acute{o} < \acute{o}$ : *ðnli*, 'only'; *hðmli*, 'homely'; *hðmspæn*, 'homespun'; *bðþ*, 'both'; *bòt*, 'boat'; *ròd*, 'road'; *hòm*, 'home'; but cf. § 124, and the following:
- 5)  $v < \acute{o}$ : *hvm*, 'home'; *hvmliſt*, 'homeliest'; *hvmſpæn*, 'homespun'; *hol* < *whole*.
- 6)  $u < \acute{u} (oo)$ : *fud*, 'food'; *sut*, 'soot'; *huf*, 'hoof'; *ruf*, 'roof'; *ſun*, 'soon'; *ſpun*, 'spoon'; *brum*, 'broom'; *kupr*, 'cooper.'

In many of these cases there are similar shortenings since ME. which belong to all dialects. Compare with 2) 'every,' 'empty,' 'weapon,' 'any'; with 3) 'riddle,' 'strip,' 'drip,' 'breeches'; with 6) 'hook,' 'look,' 'book,' 'foot,' 'good,' 'room.'

### C. MONOPHTHONGING AND DIPHTHONGING.

139. Diphthongs become monophthongs by the absorption of one element, usually the latter. This occurs in IthD., especially before  $r$ :

- 1)  $\acute{a} < ai$ : *ârif* < *Irish*; *târd* < *tired*; *ârn* < *iron*; *hârm* < *Hiram*.
- 2)  $\acute{a} < au$ : *âr* < *our*; *sâr* < *sour*; *flârin* < *flouring*, adj., 'flouring mill'; so *hâryə* < *how-are-you*.
- 3)  $\alpha < ai$ : *skwæər* < *squire*; *æri* < *Ira*.

Similar monophthonging of  $ai$  ( $ei$ ) to  $\alpha$ ,  $\alpha\acute{e}$ , has occurred since ME. times regularly in cases where the  $a$  was followed by a  $g$  which was vocalized to  $i$ : *fæər* < *fair* < *fæ̃ger*. Compare, also, § 76.

140. The first element in the case of the earlier diphthong  $i\acute{u}$  has been absorbed, or in some cases has become the semi-vowel  $y$ . The absorption of the  $i$  has left the long  $\acute{u}$  in such cases as *nû* < *new*, or *knew*; *dû* < *dew*; *stûərd* < *steward*; *tûzdi* < *Tuesday* (cf., also, § 120).

141. Diphthongization sometimes occurs, as in *faiər* < *fair* (cattle show); *kwairi* < *quarry*.

## 13. THE VOWELS IN UNSTRESSED SYLLABLES.

## A. PRIMARY AND SECONDARY STRESS.

142. Secondary stress is much less forcible in IthD. than in the speech of educated people in America. The latter give a levelled stress to all words, so that the secondary is almost as strong as the primary accent. This may be exemplified by a comparison of the pronunciation of educated people in America and in England. Compare English *Glædstən, læbrətəri*, 'laboratory,' *trævliŋ*, 'travelling,' with American *Glædstən, læbrətəri, trævəliŋ*. The following words are from Sweet's Primer of Spoken English: *solitri*, 'solitary'; *librəli*, 'liberally'; *grædzəli* 'gradually'; *wandrɪŋ*, 'wandering'; *mænfli*, 'manfully'; *wɒndəfli*, 'wonderfully.' With these compare Sheldon's pronunciation, as given in DIALECT NOTES, Part II, pp. 37-41. Examples are: *ʊnkʌmfətəbl*, 'uncomfortable'; *ævr-idz* (three syllables), 'average'; *blækbəri*, 'blackberry'; *disʌnrəbl* (five syllables), 'dishonorable'; *izili*, 'easily'; *nəs-r-i* (three syllables), 'nursery'; *solitəri*, 'solitary'; *wɒndəf-t-i* (four syllables), 'wonderfully.' In this respect IthD. more nearly corresponds with English speech, as the great number of cases of syncope will show (cf. § 147).

143. The commonest vowels of unstressed syllables in IthD. are *i*, *ə*, *ë* only before *r*, in general *i* representing front vowels and *ə* back vowels. Before nasals *ə* appears regularly in '-ment,' '-ent,' '-ence,' '-ance.' Under secondary stress the long vowels may be preserved in quality, though never so completely as in the speech of educated persons. The short *i* occurs regularly in the endings '-ed,' '-es,' '-est,' '-et,' '-ege,' '-age,' '-ate,' '-ness,' '-less,' as well as for final *a*, or *ia*. Examples of the latter are numerous, but may be illustrated by the following:

1) *i* < *a* final: *mən'ërv-i*, 'Minerva'; *apri* < *opera*; *æfriki*, 'Africa'; *kalri*, 'cholera'; *kləri*, 'Clara'; *sindrəli*, 'Cinderella'; *kænədi*, 'Canada,' etc.

2) *i* < *ia* final: *pensl-v'ëni*, 'Pennsylvania'; *kæləf'orni*, 'California'; *məl'ëri* < *malaria*; *vikt'óri* < *Victoria*; *vërdz'ini* < *Virginia*, etc.

## B. APOCOPE.

144. Examples of words in final *i* < *ia* may be regarded as apocope (see above). It occurs also in *aid·i* (*aidi*) < *idea*; *daiər·i* < *diarrhœa*; *fən·æŋ* < *Chenango*; *dzérəm·ai* < *Jeremiah*; *taiðg* < *Tioga*; *ʊmbər·el* < *umbrella*; *laidz* < *Elijah*.

## C. APHÆRESIS.

145. Aphæresis is very common in IthD. It occurs in the cutting off of:

1) *a*: *bændænd*, 'abandoned'; *bilæti*, 'ability'; *baut*, 'about'; *bøtmænts*, 'abutments'; *kædæmi*, 'academy'; *kamæd·êfæn*, 'accommodation'; *kørdin*, *kørdinli*, 'according(ly)'; *kaunt* < *account*; *kræs* < *across*; *dæptid*, 'adapted'; *grid* < *agreed*; *løn*, 'along'; *merækn*, 'American'; *piærd* < *appeared*; *point* < *appoint*; *printis*, 'apprentice'; *sørtmænt*, 'assortment'; *stanif*, 'astonish'; *tenræt* < *at-any-rate*; *tætft*, 'attached'; *tæk* < *attack*; *tendz* < *attends*; *tenfn* < *attention*; *wê* < *away*; *kiut* < *acute*.

2) *e*: *lektid*, 'elected'; *lekfn*, 'election'; *lektrik*, 'electric'; *laidg* < *Elijah*; *nøf*, 'enough'; *piskæp·êlin*, 'Episcopalian'; *stæblist*, 'established'; *væpr·êfn*, 'evaporation.'

3) *de*: *pend* < *depend*; *skripfn*, 'description'; *stîlr* < *distiller*.

4) Other examples are: *kæz* < *because*; *telædgænt* < *intelligent*; *têtrz*, *têtiz* < *potatoes*; *haiæ* < *Ohio*; *wigò* < *Owego*; *þoræti*, 'authority'; *septin* < *excepting*.

## D. ECTHLIPSIS.

146. For ecthlipsis of single consonants, see under the several consonants, especially *w*, *y*, §§ 153-6. Ecthlipsis of a syllable is also not uncommon, as the following examples show: *æftnæn*, 'afternoon'; *ægk·vltfl*, 'agricultural'; *bøtnæt*, 'butternut'; *fi·væri* < *chivirari*; *kællêtid*, 'calculated'; *kaŋg·êfænli*, 'congregational'; *kæns·idæbl*, 'considerable'; *dændzæs*, 'dangerous'; *f·êvæbl*, 'favorable'; *gøvnær*, 'governor'; *mænæf·æktær*, 'manufacturer'; *mizæbl*, 'miserable'; *næts·læiz*, 'naturalize'; *nætsli*, 'naturally'; *pførm·æns*, 'performance'; *pært·ikli*, 'particularly'; *præksin*, 'practising'; *sæpntend*, 'superintend'; *tîlsn* < *Tillotson*; *talæbli*, 'tolerably'. It will be seen that in the majority of cases the dropped syllable contains a liquid, usually *r*.

## E. SYNCOPE.

147. Owing to the strength of the primary stress syncope is very common. The examples may be grouped as follows, as they show syncope:

1) In the syllable preceding the principal accent: *æblistis(t)*, 'abolitionist'; *bliv*, 'believe'; *karl·aini*, 'Carolina'; *kyúgi* < *Cayuga*; *kyúti* < *Cayuta*; *sindr·eli*, 'Cinderella'; *klekt*, 'collect'; *kampt·ifn*, 'competition'; *krekt*, 'correct'; *drektr*, 'director'; *drektri*, 'directory'; *plis* < *police*; *slútid*, 'saluted'; *skiur* < *secure*; *slekt*, 'select'; *saiæti* < *society*; *spóz*, 'suppose'; *spraiz*, 'surprise.'

2) In syllables following the principal accent: *æbslút*, 'absolute'; *ækrit*, 'accurate'; *æmptét*, 'amputate'; *enþin*, 'anything'; *art'ilri*, 'artillery'; *békri*, 'bakery'; *barl* < *barrel*; *bauri*, 'Bowery'; *bnfló* < *buffalo*; *bërl* < *Burrill*; *bërt* < *Burritt*; *bøtri*, 'buttery'; *kæbnit*, 'cabinet'; *kænsræs* < *cancerous*; *kæptlis(t)*, 'capitalist'; *kærlain*, 'Caroline'; *kæplik*, 'Catholic'; *sitzn*, 'citizen'; *kóknats*, 'cocoanuts'; *kërntsi* < *currency*; *desprit*, 'desperate'; *dai'æmtr*, 'diameter'; *dairi*, 'diary'; *drektri*, 'directory'; *dist'ilri*, 'distillery'; *dërm* < *Durham*; *elgant*, 'elegant'; *fæktri*, 'factory'; *fæmli*, 'family'; *fedrális(t)*, 'federalist'; *fainli*, 'finally'; *falwørz*, 'followers'; *dʒenrl*, 'general'; *gregri*, 'Gregory'; *gróstri*, 'grocery'; *hikri*, 'hickory'; *histri*, 'history'; *intrist*, 'interest'; *dʒúlrl*, 'jeweller'; *læfbl*, 'laughable'; *laibri*, 'library'; *litrl*, 'littler'; *livri*, 'livery'; *mæklini*, 'McElhinney'; *mæf'inri*, 'machinery'; *mødʒ'ørti*, 'majority'; *mænaf'æktrin*, 'manufacturing'; *merlønd*, 'Maryland'; *memri*, 'memory'; *mekskøn*, 'Mexican'; *milrait*, 'Millerite'; *mæng'ømri*, 'Montgomery'; *narwin* < *narrowing*; *nai'ægri*, 'Niagara'; *nótsæbl*, 'noticeable'; *æk'éfni*, 'occasionally'; *øfsørz*, 'officers'; *apzit*, 'opposite'; *pær'ælsis*, 'paralysis'; *pæstrét*, 'pastorate'; *pitrl'ólml*, 'petroleum'; *paltiks*, 'politics'; *paplr*, 'popular'; *paztiv*, 'positive'; *patri*, 'pottery'; *prezdænt*, 'president'; *privlidʒ*, 'privilege'; *prabli*, 'probably'; *prapti*, 'property'; *rilaiz*, 'realize'; *rili*, 'really'; *ridʒmant* < *regiment*; *reglr*, 'regular'; *rid'iklæs*, 'ridiculous'; *sevrl*, 'several'; *singlr*, 'singular'; *slëvri*, 'slavery'; *slipri*, 'slippery'; *spirt'fális(t)*, 'spiritualist'; *skwërl*, 'squirrel'; *sølfri*, 'sulphury'; *tænri*, 'tannery'; *telgræf*, 'telegraph'; *tit'ótlrl*, 'teetotaler'; *tërbl*, 'terrible'; *tërblist*, 'terriblest'; *tiŋkrin*, 'tinkering'; *þiri* < *theorie*, 'theory'; *vailæt*, 'violet'; *vail'in*, 'violin'; *vizbl*, 'visible'; *viztin*, 'visiting.'

3) In syllables separated by one from the principal accent: *brøðrnlo*, 'brother-in-law'; *semætri*, 'cemetery'; *kæns'idrbl* (a syncopated), 'considerable'; *difrn's*, 'difference'; *difrnt*, 'different'; *grædgáli*, 'gradually'; *figrn* < *figuring*; *mækr'l*, 'mackerel'; *prinsæpli*, 'principally'; *pøhibøtri*, 'prohibitory'; *temprns*, 'temperance'; *wøndrfli*, 'wonderfully.'

4) In syllables where syncope leaves vocalic *l, n, m, r*. Vocalic *n*: *bentn*, 'Benton'; *karpntrin*, 'carpentering'; *karpntr*, 'carpenter'; *sërt'nli*, 'certainly'; *kalnz*, 'Collins'; *katn*, 'cotton'; *kërtn*, 'curtain'; *dentn*, 'Denton'; *distiln*, 'distilling'; *kiln* < *killing*; *lukn* < *looking*; *martngilz*, 'martingales'; *mítzn*, 'meetings'; *mítn*, 'mitten'; *pudn*, 'pudding'; *pønkn* < *pumpkin*; *rëzn*, 'raisin'; *ratn*, 'rotten'; *setn*, 'setting'; *filn*, 'shilling'; *fëvn*, 'shaving.' Vocalic *l*: *tʃænl*, 'channel'; *navlti*, 'novelty'; *tønl*, 'tunnel'; *vesl*, 'vessel'; *læfbl*, 'laughable'; *skwërl*, 'squirrel'; *tërbl*, 'terrible'; *vizbl*, 'visible.' Vocalic *r*: *dʒenrl*, 'general'; *dʒúlrl*, 'jeweller'; *paplr*, 'popular'; *reglr*, 'regular'; *sevrl*, 'several'; *singlr*, 'singular.' Vocalic *m*: *fæntm*, 'phantom'; *tæntm*, 'tandem'; *batm*, 'bottom'; *batmin*, 'bottoming.'

## 14. FURTHER NOTES ON THE VOWELS.

## A. NASALIZED VOWELS.

148. Nasalized vowels occur but seldom, and have been noticed as constant only in a few cases. In asking for the repetition of a remark not understood, *hw*, or *hê*, is used. The word 'something' becomes successively *swmpin*, *sonpin*, with assimilation of *m* to *n*, and then *swpin*, very commonly.

## B. SVARABHAKTI.

149. The influence of the liquids *l*, *r*, is very decided in IthD., as shown by the changes taking place in the preceding vowels, as well as in the introduction of glides. The introduction of a full vowel under the influence of *l* or *r* occurs occasionally. Examples are: *eləm* for 'elm,' *vmbər·el* for *umbrel*, shortened from 'umbrella.'

## C. CHANGE OF ACCENT.

150. The recessive tendency of the Germanic accent shows itself in IthD. in carrying over some words accented on the last syllable, or last but one, in ordinary English. These words are constant in showing the accent on the first syllable: *hôtel*, *enklain*, sb., *ensaid*, sb., *bætû* from 'hotel,' 'incline,' 'inside,' 'bateau,' a small boat. The following words have the accent on the first syllable in most cases, though sometimes they are accented, as in educated speech: *aidi*, *intens*, *œlmairi*, *pôlîs*, for 'idea,' 'intense,' 'Elm·aira' (*Elmira*), 'police.'

## V. THE CONSONANTS.

## 1. GENERAL.

151. The general relations of the consonants is sufficiently indicated by the following table from Sweet (PrPh., HES.). Any peculiarities will be indicated in the special discussion of each consonant.

## CONSONANT SYSTEM OF ITHACA DIALECT.

		Throat.	Back.	Front.	Point.	Point-Teeth.	Blade and Blade-point.	Lip.
VOICELESS.	open	h				ɸ	s, ʃ	f
	side							
	stopt		k		t			p
	nasal							
VOICED.	open			y	r	ʒ	z, ʒ	v, w
	side				l			
	stopt		g		d			b
	nasal		ŋ		n			m

Besides these should be mentioned the double consonants *tf*, *dʒ*, *ks*, *gz*, and *hw*.

152. In the discussion the consonants will be considered in the following order :

1) The Sonorous Consonants, including the semi-vowels *w* and *y*, the liquids *l* and *r*, the nasals *m*, *n*, *ŋ*.

2) The Non-sonorous Consonants, including the labials *p*, *b*, *f* and *v*, the dentals *t*, *d*, *ɸ*, *ð*, *s* and *z*, the gutturals and palatals *h*, *k*, *g*, *ʃ*, and *ʒ*, the double consonants *hw*, *tf*, *dʒ*, *ks*, and *gz*.

2. THE SEMI-VOWELS *w*, *y*.

*w*.

153. Initial *w* corresponds to Germ. and OE. *w*, as in the word 'wound'; to Scandinavian *v*, as 'window' < *vind-auga*; to Latin *v*, as in 'wall' < *vallum*, OE. *wall*; 'wine' < *vinum*, OE. *wīn*. It does not occur in original Romance words, except for *u* in the combination *kw* (*qu*). *w* occurs also in the consonant combinations *hw*, *kw*, *skw*, *tw*, *dw*, *pw*, *sw*, being wholly lost in the OE. combinations *wl*, *wr*. Examples of existing consonant combina-

tions are: *hwæar*, 'where'; *kwik*, 'quick'; *skwæar*, 'squire'; *twaist*, 'twice'; *dwel*, 'dwell'; *þwört*, 'thwart'; *swim*. Initial *gw* is heard in rapid speech where *w* develops from *o* before a vowel. Examples are: *gwaut*, *gwin*, *gwap*, *gwon*, from 'go' + 'out,' 'in,' 'up,' 'on.' Initial *w* is sometimes dropped, as in *iks* for 'weeks,' 'ið' for 'with,' 'ið·in' for 'within.'

154. Medial *w* occurs in 1) stressed syllables, as *biw·æar*, *tæw·ardz* < *beware, towards*; 2) compounds where the vowel after it receives secondary stress, as *skidwè* < *skid-way*; 3) consonant combinations, as *ræk·w·aiær*, *intw·ain* < *require, intwine*. Medial *w* is lost in unstressed syllables, before the unstressed vowels *ə*, *i*. Before *ə*: *slæz* < *always*; *bækærdz*, 'backwards'; *æftrærdz*, 'afterwards'; *færærd*, 'forward'; *sæskæh·æni* < 'Susquehanna'; *wudærd* < *Woodward*; *yoŋænz* < *young ones*; *ikæn·aksl* < *equinoctial*; *frikæntli* < *frequently*. Before *i*: *bastik* < *Bostwick*; *længidz* < *language*; *nōrits* < *Norwich*; *natist·ændin* < *notwithstanding*. Medial *w* is developed in *nārwin* < *narrowing*; *falwærz* < *follower*, 'followers'; *dʒenæweri*, *febæweri* < *January, February*.

## y.

155. Initial *y* is equivalent to the Germ. and OE. semi-vowel *j*, written *g* in OE., as in 'yard,' 'yellow.' It has been developed initially also before *û* in words from the OF. or Latin, as in *yûz* < *use*, *yûnyæn* < *union*, *yâtiki* < *Utica*. By this development before a vowel, or by reason of contraction, it appears in the consonant combinations *by*, *ky*, as in *byûlz* < *Buels*, *byûti* < *beauty*, *kyûgi* < *Cayuga*, *kyûti* < *Cayuta*, *kyûris* < *curious*; in *myæʒmi* > *miasma* it has developed from the vowel *i*.

156. Medial *y* occurs in *biy·end* (also *bi·end*), 'beyond'; *kænt·inyæd*, 'continued'; *mænyæl* < *manuel*, 'manual'; while it is developed before *ə* in *gælyæns* < *gallons*. But medial *y*, like medial *w*, suffers ecthipsis in many cases, as shown by the following: *kærn·ilæs* < *Cornelius*; *dænoł* < *Daniel*; *êgu* (*êgær*) < *ague*; *figærd* < *figured*; *dʒinæs* < *genius*; *dʒenuain* < *genuine*; *dʒûlæs* < *Julius*; *lail* < *loyal*; *papælr*, 'popular'; *papæl·êfn*, 'population'; *regælr* (*reglr*), 'regular'; *repæt·êfn*, 'reputation'; *rœilti* < *royalty*; *singælr*, 'singular'; *spekæl·êfn* < *speculation*.

3. THE LIQUIDS *l, r*.*l*.

157. The consonant *l* occurs in all positions and in words from all sources. It is a stable sound, though it appears as vocalic *l* in many words (cf. § 147, 4, for examples). *l* occurs in the combinations *pl, bl, kl, gl (dl), fl, sl*. It is heard as *dl* for *gl* in 'glass' occasionally, and it appears as excrement in *tfimbli, tfimli* < *chimney*. Besides this it is found replacing *r* in *moltr* < *mortar*.

*r*.

158. Ithaca dialect *r* is the cerebral *r*, made with a recurved tip of the tongue placed nearly against the hard palate. It is found in words from all sources, and occurs frequently in all positions, the final *r* never becoming the vowel glide *ə* as in LdE. *r* occurs in the consonant combinations *pr, br, fr, tr, dr, ʃr, kr, gr, sr*, as in 'proud,' 'brow,' 'friend,' 'trout,' 'drown,' 'throat,' 'crowd,' 'grow,' 'shroud.' Sometimes *dʒr, sr*, occur by syncope of a vowel before *r*, as in *dʒrârd* < *Girard*, *sraund* < *surround*. Vocalic *r* also occurs not infrequently, as shown by § 147, 4. Initial *r* is occasionally lost, as in *ait* < *right*.

159. Medial *r* often shows metathesis, as in *êndærz* < *Andrus*; *bai'agər'fi*, 'biography'; *tfildær'n*, 'children'; *høndærd*, 'hundred'; *mækærl*, 'mackerel'; *pærp'æærd*, 'prepared'; *përti* < *pretty*; *pærd'ús*, 'produce'; *pært'ekf'n*, 'protection'; *pærv'aidn*, 'providing'; *pærv'izn*, 'provisions'; *tævræn*, 'tavern'; *êpærn*, 'apron.' It should be said that in many of these cases the sound is often simply vocalic *r*.

160. Echthipsis of *r* occurs regularly in certain stressed syllables, more commonly in unstressed ones.

1) In stressed syllables: *dêst, dêsnt* < \**darst*, 'dare,' 'dare not'; *fvst* (*fsvst-rét*) < *first* ('first-rate'); *pæsl* < *parcel*; *høs* < *horse*; *møs* < *Morse*; *pvsj* < *pursy*; *køs* < *curse*; *wþ* < *worth*; *hæf* < *harsh*; *kætridʒ* < *cartridge*; *pætridʒ* < *partridge*; sometimes *søkæmstæns, pʃfek(t)li* < *circumstance, perfectly*.

2) In unstressed syllables: *ædvataiʒ*, 'advertise'; *æftænún*, 'afternoon'; *kvləd* < *colored*; *entæpraʒ*, 'enterprise'; *infəm'êf'n*, 'information'; *intəd'ús* 'introduce'; *tétæz, tétiz* < *potatoes*; *prapæti* < *property*; *pæs'istənt, sæv'ê* < *survey*; *yestædi*, 'yesterday'; *yæs'elf*, 'yourself'; *vəm'ant*, 'Vermont'; *dʒenəl* < *general*; *pæ'úm*, 'presume'; *pæ'ef'n*, 'possession'; *pæh'ibətəri*, 'prohibitory'; *pæp'el*, 'propel'; *pæ'tekf'n*, 'protection'; *pæv'ign*, 'provision'; *pæv'ók*, 'provoke'; *repæ'zentid*, 'represented'; *sekət'eri*, 'secretary'; *þi* < *three*.

It should be noted that these are representative examples actually heard, though ecthlipsis does not always occur, since *r* is preserved even in unstressed syllables as a rule.

161. Excrecent *r* is not infrequent. Examples of it in stressed syllables are: *dartr* < *daughter*, *marðr* < *Mather*, *marstr* < *master*, *kork* < *calk*, *orbarn* < *Auburn*, *ortr* < *ought + to*. In unstressed syllables it occurs as medial in *færn·ilyer*, 'familiar,' *pørt·êtrz* < *potatoes*, *hwinærd* < *whinnied*, *olærz* < *always*; as final in *felr* < *fellow*, *falr* < *fallow*, *falr* < *follow*, *halr* < *halloo* and *hollow*, *narær* < *narrow*, *nigr* < *negro*, *sælr* < *shallow*, *tælr* < *tallow*, *tæb·ækr* < *tobacco*, *walr* < *wallow*, *windr* < *window*, *yælr* < *yellow*, *ortr* < *ought + to*, *kaindr* < *kind + of*.

#### 4. THE NASALS *m*, *n*, *ŋ*.

##### *m*.

162. The labial nasal *m* occurs in all positions and in words from all sources. It occurs in the consonant combination *sm*, besides vocalic *m*, for which see § 147, 4. The consonant assimilates to *n* in *sonpin* < *something*, and in this case the *n* finally nasalizes the vowel (cf. § 148).

For *m* by assimilation of *n*, see under *n*. With few exceptions the consonant is stable.

##### *n*.

163. The dental nasal *n* occurs also in all positions and in the combination *sn*, as well as from all sources. In general *n* is stable, but it is assimilated to *m* in *baimbai* < *by-an(d)-by*, *ivm* < *even*, *vvm* < *oven*, *græmæ* < *gran(d)ma*. Before *m*, *n* is lost in *gøvæmænt* < *government*. *n* results regularly from *ŋ* of the ending *-ing* (cf. § 164). *n* is sometimes excrecent, as in *hizn*, *hërn*, *thæærn*, for 'his,' 'hers,' 'theirs,' and in 'nðr' for 'other' in 'some way o' nother,' 'something or nother.' For vocalic *n*, see § 147, 4.

##### *ŋ*.

164. The consonant *ŋ*, written in present English *ng* or *n* before *k*, is strictly a Germanic sound, but it occurs in words early introduced, as *æŋkr*, 'anchor,' or by assimilation in words of later borrowing, as *kaŋgris* < *congress*. It can occur only as medial or final, while in the formative ending *-ing* it has regularly become *n*. Examples are very numerous, as *bildin*, 'build-

ing'; *hwipin*, 'whipping'; *kablin*, 'cobbling'; *draivin*, 'driving'; *hæŋin*, 'hanging,' etc. This is further reduced to vocalic *n* in many cases, as *kiln* < *killing*, *lukn* < *looking*, *pærv-aidn* < *provid-ing*, *rêzn* < *raising*, etc. Sometimes, though less commonly, final *ŋ* is reduced to *n*, when not a part of the *-ing* suffix. Examples are: *enpin*, 'anything'; *næpin*, 'nothing'; *puðn*, 'pudding'; *filn*, 'shilling'; and occasionally a proper name, as *kufin* < *Cushing*.

5. THE LABIALS *p*, *b*, *f*, *v*.

165. The labials are preserved with few changes in IthD. They may occur in all positions, but initial *p* is rare in Germanic words; and initial *v* is not original in English, being developed from *f* in a few words, and occurring in many from Romance sources. *b* is excrement after *m* in a few words, as *tʃimbli*, *træmbli*, *hðmbli*, *hðmblist* < *chimney*, *trammel*, *homely*, *homeliest*. It is unvoiced to *p* in *plump* < *plumb*, *sinsipɔ* < *Sincebaugh*, a Dutch name. *f* has become *v* in *kæv·skin* ('calf-skin'), perhaps in imitation of the plural, while *v* has become *f* in *tæn·fæt* < *tanvat*, *dɔv·têl* < *dove-tail*, and *b* in *ribit* < *rivet*.

6. THE DENTALS *t*, *d*, *þ*, *ð*, *s*, *z*.*t*, *d*.

166. The dentals *t*, *d*, occur in all positions and in words from all sources. They are for the most part stable, but certain peculiarities have been noticed.

1) *t* is lost, when final, after *s*: *dɔgais* < *joist*; *æbl·ifnis*, 'abolitionist'; *æm·anks*, 'amongst'; *gris* < *grist*; *bæptis*, 'Baptist'; *bis* < *beast*; *bitw·iks* (from earlier *betwixt*); *fedrælis*, 'federalist' *ges* < *guest*; *dɔs*, *dɔis* < *just*; *mepædis*, 'Methodist'; *pris* < *priest*; *spirt·fælis*, 'spiritualist'; *læs* < *last*. After *f*, *k*, *p*: *gif* < *gift*; *bef* < *theft*; *distrik*, 'district'; *ekwidæk* < *aqueduct*; *rekêlek* < *recollect*; *træk* < *tract*; *fæk* < *fact*; *kep* < *kept*; *rep* < *rept* for *reaped*. In *great* (*grêt*) it is lost sometimes, especially before a consonant: *grê·big* for *great big*. This *t* is not replaced in the plural, and is occasionally dropped before *s* within a word, as *præksin* for *practising*; so *æks* < *acts*, but *ækt* usually in the singular.

2) *t* is excrement in: *ækræst* < *across*; *klôstr* < *closer*; *wɔnst* < *once*; *twaist* < *twice*; *æt·ækt* and *æt·æktid*, 'attacked'; *wiʃt*, present, 'wish'; *sêft* < *safer*; *telægræftin* < *telegraphing*; *tenænt* < *tenon*; *tððr* < *other*; in *oʃtn* it has probably always remained in common speech. It is very common between *n* and *s* final, as *hents*, 'hence'; *hwents*, 'whence'; *sents* < *since*; *wɔnts*, 'once';

*kvrantsi* < *currency*; uniting with *f* also in the double consonant *tf* (cf. § 176).

3) *t* becomes *d* regularly in *pâdnr* < *partner*.

4) *t* is also common in words pronounced with *tf* by educated people, when the *t* is older, and probably in these words originally. Examples are *nêtr* < *nature*; *aktl* < *actual*; *kritrz* < *creatures*, applied to cattle especially; *ledgislêtr* < *legislature*.

For *t* < *d*, see under *d*.

**167.** The dental *d*, like *t*, is sometimes lost, sometimes excrescent, and sometimes undergoes changes.

1) *d* is lost when final or in compounds after *n*: *bæn(d)*, 'band'; *bih·ain(d)*, 'behind'; *græn(d)*, 'grand'; *grænmæðr*, 'grandmother'; *grænsøn*, 'grandson'; *hæn(d)*, 'hand'; *hænsəm*, 'handsome'; *læn(d)*, *lænlord*, 'land,' 'landlord'; *sæn(d)*, 'sand'; *sæn-bòærd*, 'sandboard'; *saun(d)*, 'sound'; *stæn(d)*, 'stand'; *þausæn(d)*, 'thousand'; *kærtlan* < *Cortland* < Du. *Cortlandt*; *hæmøn* < *Hammond*; *bænfil* < *Banfield*; especially before *z*: *frenz*, *tenz*, *ërænz*, *paunz*, *haunz* < *friends*, *attends*, *errands*, *pounds*, *hounds*; after *n* and before *l* in *hænl*, *kænl*, *kinlin* < *handle*, *candle*, *kindling*. After *l* in *gól(d)*, *ól(d)*, *mól* *bòærd*, 'mould board'; *skæflin* < *scaffolding*.

2) *d* becomes *t*, especially after *l*, *n*, as in *hólt* < *hold*; *sekænt* < *second*; *tæntm* < *tandem*; also in *høgzi* < *hogshead*.

3) *d* is excrescent in *draund*, *draundid* < *drown*, *drowned*; *föld*, *földid* < *foal*, *foaled*; after *l* in *maild* < *mile*, as "a ma'ild from here"; in *staild* (as "a certain *staild* house,") < *style*; so also in *frénd* < *frame*, as "a *frénd* house," where it is by analogy of part. adj.

4) *d* appears regularly in *fērdr* < *further*.

5) *d* unites with following *i* to form *dʒ* in *indʒən* < *Indian*.

þ, ð.

**168.** The dentals þ, ð, occur only in words of Germanic origin, never from Latin or Romance sources. The former occurs most commonly in initial and final position, sometimes as medial. It is lost especially before *s*, *z*, as in *lenks* < *lengths*, *mønns* < *months*, *saiz* < *scythes*, *klòz* < *clothes*, *òz* < *oaths*, *pæz* < *paths*, *bêz* < *baths*; perhaps is dropped in *sevn dè* < *seventh day*. A þ occurs by analogy for *t* in *haitþ* < *height*, a form which existed in the 17th and 18th century English also; and in *troþ* < ME. *trog*, *troug*, MdE. *trough*.

**169.** Initial ð is found only in words which do not usually bear sentence stress, as 'then,' 'the,' 'that,' 'these,' 'this,' 'those,' 'them,' 'their,' 'there,' 'though,' 'thus.' Medial ð is commonest between vowels, as in 'father,' 'feather.' Final ð is not common, but occurs in 'with,' 'smooth,' 'soothe,' and certain verbs 'bathe,' 'breathe,' 'clothe'; sometimes before the voiced plural sign *z*,

where it, however, usually disappears. In all other cases, however, it is stable, *fērdr* < *further*, in which *d* replaces it, being an old word.

s, z.

170. The consonant fricative *s* occurs in all positions and in words from all sources. The sound *z*, on the other hand, is purely a late English development from *s*. It occurs initially in a few loan-words, of which 'zero,' 'zest,' 'zinc,' 'zigzag,' 'zeal,' are in common use. It occurs medially between vowels especially, and finally often. Especially to be noticed is *z* final in words which do not bear sentence stress: 'as,' 'has,' 'is,' 'was,' 'these,' 'those'; but *s* is preserved in 'this,' 'us,' and after *n* in 'hence,' 'since.'

#### 7. THE GUTTURALS AND PALATALS *h, k, g, f, ʒ*.

*h, k, g.*

171. The guttural *h* is an aspirate, occurring only initially and medially, more commonly the former. It belongs primarily to Germanic words, but has been introduced in many from Romance sources, in which it was written but not pronounced. There is no such fluctuation in the use of *h* as among the common people in England — a fluctuation which Sweet says began at the close of the 18th century (cf. HES., § 888), though some evidence of it exists in very early MSS. Initial *h* is mute only in 'heir,' 'hour,' 'honor,' 'honest'; but it is lost in certain words when not bearing sentence stress, as 'he,' 'him,' 'have,' 'had.' Medial *h* is lost before vowels in *biav* < *beehive*, *beɲəm* < *Bingham*, *biymtn* < *Binghamton*, *nebrəd* < *neighborhood*, *děrm* < *Durham*, *fərid* < *forehead*, *həgzit* < *hogshead*, *mæklini* < *McElhinney*, *skæri* (*skæəri*) < *Schoharie*. It is excrement in 'handiron' < *andiron* by folk-etymology.

172. The gutturals *k, g*, occur in all positions and in words from all sources. They are stable consonants, few peculiarities being noticed in IthD. A *g* is heard as *d* in *spaidlæs* < *spy glass*, but this is not common. A *k* is lost occasionally, as in *bērles* < *burlesque*, *kæs* < *casks*.

*f, ʒ.*

173. The palato-dentals *f, ʒ* (from *sy, zy*), are late English developments, dating from the 17th and 18th centuries. The sound *ʒ* does not occur initially, and seldom finally; medially it

is found between vowels in 'measure,' 'pleasure,' 'azure,' 'seizure,' 'fusion.'

174. The sound *f* is a regular development of OE. palatal *sc*, as in 'shoe,' 'shaft,' 'shadow,' 'dish.' It probably springs from Scand. final *sk* in 'harsh,' possibly in other words, and develops from OF. sounds represented by *ci*, *ce*, *si* (*se*), *ti*, in such words as 'fashion,' 'ocean,' 'version,' 'faction,' etc. The consonant is stable in IthD., but after *n* a *t* is often introduced, giving the double cons. *tf* (cf. § 176).

### 8. THE DOUBLE CONSONANTS *hw*, *tf*, *dʒ*, *ks*, *gz*.

#### *hw*.

175. The guttural aspirate *hw* is purely Germanic and occurs only as initial or medial. In England this sound has been reduced to *w*, the change beginning toward the close of the 18th century (cf. HES., § 918). In IthD. the sound is regularly preserved, though *w* for *hw* is occasionally heard as an individual peculiarity. In unstressed syllables *hw* is sometimes reduced to *w*, sometimes lost, as is *h*. Examples are: *nðærz* < *nowheres*, *sømærz* < *somewheres*, *eniwærz* < *anywheres*. Occasionally *hw* is heard for *w* at the beginning of a word, as *hwêt* < *wait*.

#### *tf*, *dʒ*.

176. The dental-palatal *tf*, *dʒ*, from *t*, or *d* + *y* are late developments, but are now very common. The change is similar to the change of *s* + *y* into *ʃ* (cf. HES., §§ 915, 927), and began in the earliest MdE. Distinct from these later developments are the *tf*, *dʒ*, from OE. palatal *c*, OF. *ch* (Beh., pp. 177, 178), and OF. *j*, *g* (pronounced *dʒ*). The sounds occur in all positions and are in the main stable. The former, usually represented by *ch*, springs from:

1) OE. palatal *c*: 'chose' < *céas*; 'chaff' < *ceaf*; 'Chapman' < *céapman*; 'bench' < *benc*, through \**bence*; 'teach' < *tæcean*.

2) OF. *ch*: 'chase,' 'chapter,' 'chance.'

In LdE. (HES., § 930), the groups *ntf*, *ltf*, are reduced to *nf*, *lf*, by loss of *t*, but this is not true of IthD. On the other hand, in the combination *nf* a *t* is often introduced, making *ntf* as in *sentfæri* < *century*, *sentfær* < *censure*, *mentfæn* < *mention*. In some

words, instead of the *tf* that we should expect, we find *t* (cf. § 166, 4).

177. *dʒ* springs initially and medially from :

1) OF. or Lat. *j* (*g*) : 'jail,' 'journey,' 'join,' 'joke,' 'juice' ;

finally from :

1) OE. *cg* : 'edge,' 'hedge.'

2) OF. or Lat. *g* : 'age,' 'cage,' 'gage.'

It is found occasionally, also, from late *d + y*, as in *indʒən* < *Indian*. Occasionally it is unvoiced, as in *hatʃ-patʃ* < *hodge-podge*. In LdE. (HES., § 930) *ndʒ* becomes *nʒ*, as in *singe*, but in IthD. *ndʒ*, as well as *ldʒ*, is stable.

*ks, qz.*

178. The double consonant *ks*, and its voiced companion *qz*, show no peculiarities in IthD. Neither occurs in any other than medial or final position, *ks* being more common as final, and medial in voiceless company, as *extri* < *extra*. The *qz* occurs finally only in plurals of words ending in *g*, as *ègz, lègz* < *eggs, legs*. Medially it occurs between vowels when the accent follows it, as in 'exist' (*igzist*), 'exact,' 'examine,' 'exempt,' 'example,' 'exaggerate.'

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## VI. CONCLUSION.

179. It remains to point out, if possible, the relations of IthD. to the natural development of English in the mother country. This is not easy, since dialect work in England has been confined to present dialects with little or no regard to their historical relations, while the history of English sounds has considered only the standard speech. But we may safely assume that IthD. is the outgrowth of the speech of English immigrants coming to this country in the 17th century, except so far as it has been influenced by the conditions affecting American English since that time. The influences affecting American English are these :

1) later immigration from the mother country ;

2) schools and schoolmasters ;

3) a more constant and wide-spread intercourse within America itself, than has been true among the common people in the mother country.

All these influences, whatever be their individual importance, have tended to prevent the formation of such decided differences in dialect as exist between the north and south, the eastern or southwestern parts of England; in other words, they have tended to keep the local dialects nearer the standard language than is common to the dialects of England or Germany.

To settle the question of the original English dialect, or dialects, from which IthD. has sprung, it is necessary to know exactly either the English dialects of the 17th and 18th centuries, or the part or parts of England from which the first immigrants came. The first seems impossible, since English dialects have not been treated historically; the second is almost equally hopeless, since in the cases of all individuals there has been a second migration, usually from New England. But the present resemblance of American English to standard English, and especially to that of the last century, appears to indicate that an English dialect with close resemblance to standard English is the predecessor of IthD. This has some confirmation in the judgment of Ellis, as shown by the following quotations, in which he is speaking of the "Eastern Division" of English dialects: "In the American Colonies, afterwards the United States, a distinctly East Anglian character was introduced" (*English Dialects: Their Sounds and Homes*, p. 57). "In the eastern United States — New York and Massachusetts — there is a tinge of Norfolk" (*EEP.*, V, p. 236). These statements are by no means conclusive, but from them and from other facts already mentioned it seems probable that we are to look for the English predecessor of IthD. in the "Eastern Division," as Ellis calls it, or that part of the older Midland of which Ellis says: "The general character is a closer resemblance to received speech than can be found in any other division" (*English Dialects: Their Sounds and Homes*, p. 48).

180. If, therefore, we may assume that IthD. has developed from an English dialect closely resembling standard English, we may gain some idea of historical relations by a comparison of IthD. and LdE. with the English of preceding centuries. This may be done by means of the following tables, based on Ellis (*EEP.*, p. 28-240), and Sweet (*HES.*, p. 202-272). The table of LdE. is based on Sweet (*HES.*, PrPh.), and the Primer of Spoken English.

## THE LONG VOWELS.

MIDDLE ENGLISH.	16TH CENT.	17TH CENT.	18TH CENT.	19TH CENT.	
				IthD.	LdE.
â . . . . . <i>acre</i>	â	æ	ê	ê	ei
ê (close) . . . . . <i>feel</i>	ê, î	(ê), î	î	î	ij
ê (open) . . . . . <i>heat</i>	ê	ê	î	î	ij
ê (close, open before r), <i>fear</i>	êr	êr	îr	iər	iə (r)
ê (open before r) . . . <i>hair</i>	êr	ær	ær	æər	eə (r)
î . . . . . <i>while</i>	ei	ai	ai	ai	ai (əi)
î (before r) . . . . . <i>iron</i>	eir	air	air	aiər	aiə (r)
ô (closed) . . . . . <i>cool</i>	ô, û	û	û	û	uw
ô (open) . . . . . <i>stone</i>	ô	ô	ô	ô	ow
ô (open before r) . . . <i>floor</i>	ôr	ôr	ôr	òər	ɔə (r)
û . . . . . <i>house</i>	qu	au	au	au	au
ai (ei) . . . . . <i>say</i>	ai	æi, ê	ê	ê	ei
au . . . . . <i>draw</i>	au	ɔ	ɔ	ɔ	ɔ
ou . . . . . <i>snow</i>	ou	ô	ô	ô	ow
eu . . . . . <i>dew</i>	eu	iu, yu, û	iu, yu, û	iu, yu, û	iu, yu, û

## THE SHORT VOWELS.

a . . . . . <i>hat</i>	a	æ	æ	æ	æ
a + f, þ, s, ŋ, n + cons., <i>laugh</i>	a	æ	ê	ê	â (æ)
a before r + cons. . . . <i>harm</i>	ar	ar	æ (â ?) r	âr	â (r)
e (open) . . . . . <i>set</i>	e	e	e	e	e
e (before r) . . . . . <i>earth</i>	er	er	ër	ër	eə (r)
i . . . . . <i>sit</i>	i	i	i	i	i
ɔ . . . . . <i>body</i>	ɔ	ɔ (a) <sup>1</sup>	ɔ (a) <sup>1</sup>	a	ɔ
ɔ + f, þ, s, ŋ, r + cons., <i>long</i>	ɔ	ɔ	ɔ, ɔ	ɔ	ɔ, ɔ
u . . . . . <i>sun</i>	u	ɛ	ɛ	ɛ	ɛ

It will be seen from this table that the vowels of the IthD. show not only a marked difference from LdE., but a marked similarity to standard English of the 18th, and in some respects of the 17th, century. The differences between IthD. and LdE. have been given at length in § 5, and need not be restated. But that IthD. corresponds in the main to standard English of the 18th century is proved by the following facts :

<sup>1</sup> For this *a* cf. Kluge, PGr., p. 883.

1) The long vowels *ê, î, ô, û*, have not become diphthongal, as in LdE.

2) Short and long *æ, ê*, have been preserved, even before the voiceless fricatives *f, þ, s*, where LdE. has *ä*.

3) The semi-vowel *r* and the double consonant *hw* are always preserved, while in LdE. *r* remains only before a vowel, and *hw* has lost its first element.

**181.** In addition to these are three features of the IthD. vowel system, which, compared with standard English, are even older than the 18th century, so far as the researches of Ellis and others indicate. They are :

1) The unrounding of older short open *ø* to *a* (cf. table, and § 5, 5).

2) The preservation of the variant *ai* for *oi* in such words as 'point,' 'joint' (cf. § 124).

3) The *â* before *r* + cons., sometimes before *r* final, as in 'harm,' 'far.'

The first of these was first noted in the last years of the 16th century, according to Kluge in PGr., p. 883, § 102. The second is assigned by Ellis and Sweet to the 17th century (cf. EEP., I, p. 229, HES., § 854), but it lingered into the 18th century (cf. EEP., I, p. 135).

**182.** The last peculiarity, *a* before *r* + cons., requires special mention. IthD. *â* < ME. *a* appears only before *r* + cons., or occasionally before *r* final. This *â* before *r* + cons. is found in the 17th century, and Ellis thinks it may have remained into the 18th century (cf. EEP., I, p. 72). Either supposition would account for IthD., since the latter contains both 17th and 18th century peculiarities; and we must suppose it possible for the *â* to have remained before *r*, even if it did not in LdE. Moreover, if the *â* had become *ê* in the 18th century, it would have ranged itself with the *ê*'s before the voiceless fricatives *f, þ, s*, and would probably have remained *ê*, as they have done in IthD.

When it is stated that IthD., in comparison with the standard language, represents an 18th century English, it is not to be implied that some of the peculiarities of IthD. may not be found at present in one or more English dialects. Thus the *ai* for *oi*, the flat *æ*, and the non-diphthongal long vowels *ê, î, ô, û*, are still found in the Eastern Division in England, while the cerebral, or reverted, *r*, so characteristic of IthD., has been lost. The latter is found, on the other hand, in southern or southwest-

ern England; but as the loss of *r* in standard English and in 'Eastern' occurred in this century, according to Ellis and Sweet, cerebral *r* may be more naturally accounted for as a survival in IthD. than as the influence of another English dialect.

183. The question remains, "Why should IthD. preserve an older English than that of the mother country?" To this the answer of Ellis may be inferred from the following extract: "The results of emigration . . . are curious and important. By emigration is here specially meant the separation of a considerable body of the inhabitants of a country from the main mass, without incorporating itself with another nation. Thus the English in America have not mixed with the natives, and the Norse in Iceland had no natives to mix with. In this case there is a kind of arrest of development, the language of the emigrants remains for a long time in the stage at which it was when emigration took place, and alters more slowly than the mother tongue, and in a different direction. Practically the speech of the American English is archaic with respect to that of the British English; and while the Icelandic scarcely differs from the old Norse, the latter has, since the colonization of Iceland, split up into two distinct literary tongues, the Danish and Swedish. Nay, even the Irish English exhibits in many points the peculiarities of the pronunciation of the 17th century" (EEP., I, p. 19, 20). Without accepting all that is here said, the numerous instances in which isolation, as by emigration, and an arrested development in speech occur side by side seem to indicate a causal connection between the two. At least, in the absence of any other assignable cause, it may be stated with assurance, that the older forms of speech in IthD. are due to conditions attending isolation from the mother country by emigration.

184. From these considerations the following conclusions are drawn:

1. The dialect of Ithaca represents, in comparison with standard English, a dialect of the 18th century, with certain peculiarities usually attributed to the 17th century.

2. This arrested development is due to emigration and separation from the mother country.

3. The predecessor of IthD. is probably the English of the Eastern Division in England, as given by Ellis.

## THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SOCIETY.

THE meeting for the year 1890 was held on Tuesday, Dec. 30, 1890, beginning at about 9.15 A.M., at Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn., the University kindly offering a room for the purpose. In the absence of the President and the Vice-President, the Hon. John M. Lea of Nashville was requested to preside, who welcomed the members of the society and others present, and spoke briefly of the conservative character of Southern pronunciation. Committees were appointed to examine the Treasurer's accounts, and to prepare a list of officers. The Secretary's report was then read as follows :

## REPORT OF THE SECRETARY FOR THE YEAR 1890.

Since the last annual meeting of the Society the first part of *DIALECT NOTES* has been published, and sent to all members of 1889 and to such others as have later paid for it. It was not ready to be sent to members until February; and the list of members as published in it accordingly includes not only those who had paid for the year 1889, but also some others who had become members for the year 1890 only. It did not appear, after a short trial, that copies could be sold through booksellers at the price of one dollar; and it was therefore decided in March to reduce the price from that time on, for non-members of 1889, to fifty cents. A little over seventy copies were placed on sale with various booksellers, and a small number of copies have been sold at this reduced price, some through booksellers, and some in consequence of direct application to the Secretary. But it is obvious that the publications cannot be regularly put on sale to the general public at a less price than members themselves pay, and if we are to have any success in selling them, it will be necessary to enlarge our membership so as to be able to print more, and thus not need to put the price for single parts very high.

It was thought well also to offer the publication at cost to any of our own members who had paid the full fee for the year 1889,

and might wish to take additional copies. For Part I. this price was twenty cents per copy, this including the cost of postage. The edition consisted of five hundred copies. Further, it was later decided that such members of the Executive Committee and such District Secretaries as thought they could make good use of some copies in the interest of the Society should receive five copies each for free distribution.

In April the printing of one thousand copies of two articles in Part I. which illustrate the kind of collections we desire — the “Contributions to the New England Vocabulary” and the “Various Contributions” — with a brief accompanying circular, was authorized, it being intended to distribute them in the hope of gaining new members and new contributions, as well as corrections and additional information for the words noticed in Part I. About three hundred of these are still left, which it is intended to send out after the 1st of January. This reprint was the nearest approach that has been possible during the year to the word-list spoken of at the last meeting as desirable, the result of careful study of some one dialect. The publication of a special study of one dialect is, however, in contemplation, and this may furnish the desired material.

The preparation for the printer of Part II. of DIALECT NOTES, the Society's publication for the year 1890, was completed about the end of June, but this part was not ready for delivery until late in August. It contains much more material from various parts of the country than Part I., and in every respect except one was a gratifying publication. This exception was its cost, which exceeded the amount in our treasury; and in consequence the Society is still in debt, though the amount of its debt has been considerably diminished. Only a few copies have thus far been sold, and these almost if not entirely only to members themselves as additional copies at cost. This price for members of 1890 has been set at forty cents, the price for non-members being one dollar.

The delay in the publication of Part I. until 1890 caused some misunderstanding in a few cases, where Part I. was called for, and one dollar sent after the price of this part had been reduced to fifty cents. It was sent in these cases with the explanation that this payment would not entitle the sender to the publications for 1890 as well as to Part I., but that for this purpose an additional payment of fifty cents was necessary, while full payment

of one dollar for 1889 would give the privilege of taking, if desired at any time, additional copies of Part I. at cost. In two cases no answer was received to this explanation, and Part II. was sent to the persons concerned, it being assumed that it was not likely they wished to pay one dollar as members for 1889 for the privilege mentioned, and it being then not quite certain that no more would be published in 1890. A letter was also sent explaining the circumstances, but no answer has yet been received in either case. [Since this was written payment has been received from one of these persons, and the address of the other was unknown to the postal authorities.]

The following persons have consented to act as District Secretaries in addition to those mentioned in the last report: Professor E. Alexander, Chapel Hill, N.C.; Dr. W. E. Waters, Cincinnati, O.; and Dr. M. D. Learned, Baltimore, Md. (for eastern and southern Pennsylvania).

During the year several of the members of 1889 dropped out, but this loss has been more than made good by new members; and our list for 1890 numbers about 164 [increased somewhat since the meeting].

It seems that the most success in gaining new members is obtained by personal communication and explanations made by members to others who may not at first be much interested, and who would pay little or no attention to printed circulars. It is much to be desired that every member should do what he can towards increasing our membership and towards getting contributions of all sorts to our publications, even from persons who may not wish to join the Society. We have either already received, or are in expectation of receiving, much more matter than was published in Part II.; but we cannot print this amount in 1891, to say nothing of what we may fairly expect to receive in the coming months, unless our supplies of money are increased. To print according to even so simple a phonetic system as ours is more difficult and more expensive than to follow the ordinary usages of English orthography, which for scientific purposes are so cumbrous and misleading as to be almost useless. Postage, too, is no unimportant item in our list of necessary expenses, and some saving could be made if members would all pay their fees promptly. Membership fees received at any time during the calendar year are regularly credited to that year, unless another year is specified.

The members of the Society are doubtless aware of the attempt made by Mr. Grandgent (our Treasurer), as Secretary of the Phonetic Section of the Modern Language Association, to collect material for determining some of the variations in pronunciation in this country. We may hope that the results derived from his study and classification of the answers to his circular will soon be accessible. They will, it may be supposed, be read in the course of the sessions of the Modern Language Association, which were begun yesterday evening at this University.

E. S. SHELDON, *Secretary.*

The Treasurer then presented his report, covering the period since the organization of the Society:

TREASURER'S REPORT FOR 1889 AND 1890.

1889.

*From March 14, 1889, to March 14, 1890.*

RECEIPTS.

157 membership fees for 1889 . . . . .	\$157 00
Sale of 86 copies of DIALECT NOTES, I. . . . .	21 75
Total . . . . .	\$178 75

EXPENDITURES.

Printing 500 copies of DIALECT NOTES, I. . . . .	\$85 68
“ 2340 copies of Constitution . . . . .	22 50
“ 2280 circulars . . . . .	20 00
“ 1000 bills for Treasurer . . . . .	2 25
“ and sending 140 notices . . . . .	2 00
“ 12 placards . . . . .	2 00
Stamps and stationery . . . . .	30 61
Total . . . . .	\$165 04
On hand, March 14, 1890 . . . . .	\$13 71

1890.

*From March 14, 1890, to Dec. 23, 1890.*

RECEIPTS.

164 membership fees for 1890 . . . . .	\$164 00
5 membership fees for 1891 . . . . .	5 00
1 membership fee for 1892 . . . . .	1 00
1 membership for 1893 . . . . .	1 00
Sale of 13 copies of DIALECT NOTES, II. . . . .	5 20
Left over from 1889 . . . . .	13 71
Total . . . . .	\$189 91

## EXPENDITURES.

Printing 500 copies of DIALECT NOTES, II. . . . .	\$184 27
“ 1000 copies of SELECT SHEETS . . . . .	11 00
“ 900 circulars . . . . .	5 00
“ and sending 175 notices . . . . .	2 75
Stamps and stationery . . . . .	15 51
Total . . . . .	<u>\$218 53</u>
Deficit, Dec. 23, 1890 . . . . .	\$28 62

C. H. GRANDGENT, *Treasurer.*

The committee appointed to examine the Treasurer's accounts reported that they had been found correct. The committee chosen to present nominations for officers for the year 1891 offered the following list: For President, James M. Hart, Ithaca, N.Y.; for Vice-President, Charles F. Smith, Nashville, Tenn.; for Secretary, Edward S. Sheldon, Cambridge, Mass.; for Treasurer, Charles H. Grandgent, Cambridge, Mass.; for the Editing Committee, the Secretary, George L. Kittredge, Cambridge, Mass., and W. H. Carruth, Lawrence, Kan.; for the Executive Committee, in addition to these officers, James W. Bright, Baltimore, Md., John P. Fruit, Russellville, Ky., and Charles W. Kent, Knoxville, Tenn. These nominations were approved by the meeting; and there being no further business, it was voted to adjourn.

E. S. SHELDON.

In this number of the NOTES is presented the study of an American dialect referred to above in the Secretary's report. The expense of printing renders any extended editorial comments for the present impossible, but perhaps some points will be taken up later. Meanwhile it is recommended that investigators give their attention mainly to collecting the facts as they now are, and to recording such information concerning the state of the language in America and incidentally in England since the beginning of the colonization period as may be obtainable from, for example, the various printed and written records, the memory of aged persons as to their own early pronunciation and that of the preceding generation, determination of the original homes of the settlers and their later migrations, and comparison with the dialects spoken in England in this century and with "standard" English in its somewhat varying forms.

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<sup>1</sup> This list includes five names of persons who have paid the full price, one dollar, for Part II. of DIALECT NOTES since the close of the year 1890, without specially requesting that this be considered as the membership fee for that year.

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[Total, 183.]



# DIALECT NOTES.

## PART IV.



### A CONTRIBUTION TOWARDS A VOCABULARY OF SPANISH AND MEXICAN WORDS USED IN TEXAS.

DURING a residence of nearly nine years in the state of Texas, at different intervals, I have collected the words in the following vocabulary, among people, mostly Americans, who had spent most of their life in the state: surveyors, cattlemen, prospectors, land agents, and old settlers on the border, who used the words introduced as they would words already naturalized in English.

My thanks are especially due to two gentlemen who have furnished me with valuable information, — R. W. Andrews, Esq., and W. E. Cox, Esq., the former of Waco, the latter of San Antonio. The most valuable help received, however, was from General X. De Bray, Spanish clerk in the Land Office, in Austin, whose long acquaintance with words, manners, and places in this state has provided me with valuable data, historical and etymological. To him I wish especially to express my gratitude.

In working out my notes I have constantly consulted Bartlett's Dictionary of Americanisms, and references are made to his work (B.). Through the kindness of the author I was also able to use for native words a vocabulary of Mexican words used in Spanish, privately printed for the author (*Glosario de Voces Castellanas derivadas del Idioma Nahuatl ó Mexicano, por Jesus Sanchez*; no date or place) (S.).

Professor Coulter's work on the Texas flora (U. S. Department of Agriculture. Manual of the Phanerogams and Pteridophytes of Western Texas, by John M. Coulter. Washington: Government Printing Office. 1891) (C.) has furnished me with much valuable aid, especially in the botanical determination of Texas plants with Spanish or Mexican names.

This vocabulary could easily have been made much larger, the difficulty being in selecting words used only, or mainly, in Texas, or with special Texan acceptations.

The population of Texas, and especially of the western portion, where naturally the largest number of the words introduced are in use, being exceedingly heterogeneous, and the settlement of the country too recent to have produced amalgamation of the different nationalities, it goes without saying that there can be no question of uniformity in pronunciation or accentuation. In fact the phonetic phenomena vary almost infinitely according to place and person, this being especially the case with words frequently used in writing or printing, when most Americans pronounce them as if they were English, while the original pronunciation persists with occasional variations among others. I have heard, *e.g.*, the word *acequia* is pronounced *acéquia* (the normal pronunciation), *acequía* or even *assay-kwía*.

The vowels have become obscured and have often vanished altogether. The common appellation of *San Antonio*, for example, is *San Antón* or even *Santón*. The consonants, as may be expected in a Spanish dialect, have also undergone great variations. The *d* is often entirely elided, especially in endings between vowels; *Salado* has become *Saláo*; *Colorado*, *Coloráo*; and at the end of words. The soft *c* and *z* are sounded sharp, like Spanish *s*. The *j* and *g* aspirated (*x*) have lost their guttural aspiration and are reduced to a spiritus lenis or even to a mere hiatus: *Bexar*, *be'ar*. The *b* and *v* are even more interchangeable than their Spanish prototypes; the family name *Benavides* is often written and pronounced *Venabides*. The *r* and *rr* are not trilled as in Spanish. The *ll* when initial is pronounced like *l* (by Americans) or like *y*, and generally like *y* when in the body of a word: *Llano*, *lāno* or *yāno*; *tortilla*, *torti-ya*. *H* is frequently aspirated, as in *hondo*. Americans very frequently give *s*, especially between vowels, the value of English *z*, as in *El Paso*, etc.

For the convenience of American readers the accented syllable in the following words will bear an acute accent ('). This, however, should not be understood to be the Spanish graphic accent, which is used only according to certain limited rules. The plural ending is sometimes added, preceded by a hyphen, to the singular form.

**acéquia** (for the accent see p. 186) : irrigating ditch or trench (see B.).

**adóbe**: sun-baked tile or large brick, as in B. By extension the tenacious clay used as material. The word is often pronounced by Americans *ad-ób*; on the border it is *ad-ó-bé* or even simply *dób-é*.

**aguardiente** (i.e. *agua ardiente*): brandy or whiskey.

**álamo**: poplar, cottonwood (*Populus monilifera*). Many places in Texas bear this name, among others the famous mission in San Antonio (*Mision de San Valero*), scene of the massacre of the Texan garrison by the besieging Mexicans. This *mision*, secularized in 1804, was occupied in 1811 by troops sent out to suppress the insurrection, and among others by a battalion from the district of "El Alamo de Parras" in Coahuila, Mexico. The building was then given the name of this battalion; which it has retained ever since.

**alaméda**: a walk planted with *álamos*, cottonwood trees; in general, a walk or park planted with any kind of trees.

**albérea**: a water hole, water pocket, watering place. Used only in Western Texas.

**alcáide**: a judge, magistrate, from Arabic (see Littré). This word is often applied to justices of the peace, more specifically to O. M. Roberts, governor of Texas, who was a justice of the peace in the early days of Texas, as an affectionate nickname, "the Old Alcalde."

**alfárga**, -s, **alforjas**: saddlebags. Used almost exclusively in the plural. The forms *alforge*, *alfarge*, etc., are also used in Texas.

**alfilária**: a forage plant of Western Texas (*Erodium cicutarium*, L'Her.) (C.).

**amargóso**: the bark of the goat bush (*Castela Nicholsonii*, Hook). Used as a febrifuge, and intensely bitter, as its name implies (C.).

**aparéjo**: pack saddle. The *j* is reduced to a mere spiritus lenis.

**arriéro**: mule driver (B.). Seldom used in Texas.

**arróba**: Mexican weight, twenty-five pounds, and Mexican measure, thirty-two pints.

**arróyo**: a ravine with very steep banks, and no water except after a rain (B.); a creek with steep banks, sometimes a small watercourse in sandy country, a drain. The Spanish meaning is simply brook or creek, or even street gutter. This word is in common use all over the Southwest.

**atájo**: a drove of mules (B.). From *atajar*, to divide off. The *j* is a mere hiatus.

**atóle**: thin gruel made of maize meal and water or milk (B.). This word is probably of Mexican origin, though not in S. The prepared corn meal only is often called *atole*.

**barránca**: a deep ravine with very steep banks and without water at the bottom except in the rainy season (New York *Nation*, No. 969. See B.). The form *barranco* is applied to a bluff or to the steep bank of a river.

**báyou**. Though aware that this word is commonly derived from French *boyau*, I am not aware that a stream of any kind has ever been so called in French, nor is the change of French *boy-* into English *bay-* probable. The word is found only in countries formerly under Spanish rule, and Spanish

*bahía* comes nearer, both as to phonetics and meaning, to the Anglicized *bayou*. An arm of the sea, the accidental and secondary outlet of some river.

**beldúque** (or Spanish *verdúgo*): a sheath knife, smaller than the *machete* (*q.v.*) and larger than the *cuchillo*. The changes in this word are a striking instance of the fate of consonants in Spanish and its dialects. The forms used in Texas and Mexico are *verduque*, *berduque*, *belduque*. This word is in very common use in Western Texas.

**biságre**: a plant of the cactus family, sometimes sliced and candied in Mexican sugar (*Echinocactus horizonthalonius*).

**boníto**: a species of fish also called *albacore* (*Scomber pelamys*). Though this word may come from the following, it may also be derived from French *bonite*, a fish in the Mediterranean, which Littré derives from Low Latin *boniton*.

**boníto**: pretty, nice. It supersedes in Spanish America *lindo*, and is of frequent occurrence in Western Texas.

**braséro**: a pan to hold lighted charcoal, mostly of copper or brass. The *brasero*, which takes the place of fireplaces and stoves in Spanish America, is found in every household in Southern Texas, to keep lighted charcoal from one meal to another.

**brávo**: bold, impetuous, in speaking of a stream; *Rio Bravo del Norte*, synonym of Rio Grande. Said of Indians it means wild, roaming, uncivilized.

**brónco**: rough, wild, not broken, in speaking of horses.

**brónco** (from the preceding word): an unbroken mustang, and by extension any native pony, even after being broken.

**búrro**: an ass, donkey. Also a saw-horse. Of common use in Western and Middle Texas.

**caballáda**: a "bunch" or drove of horses. Generally pronounced *cavy-yard* by Americans. The forms *cávallad*, *caballad*, *cavallard* (B.) are the more common in Texas.

**caballería**: a land measure (that which was granted to the *caballero*, or man on horseback in contradistinction to the *peon*, or man on foot) = 107.95 acres.

**caballéro**: a horseman, a cavalryman — more generally, a gentleman.

**cabálla**: a horse. Also written *caballo*.

**cabéstro**: rope made of hair. Also *cabero* (B.)?

**cachupín**: a native Spaniard settled in America; used opprobriously. Also *gachupin*.

**cacomíte** (from Mexican *cacomiltl*, S.): an edible bulbous root. The name is applied to a number of different bulbs, but chiefly to *Sisyrinchium Bermudiana* and *Tigridia pavonia*, both belonging to the family of *Iridiæ*.

**calabacilla**: a gourd with round fruit the color of an orange (*Cucurbita fœtidissima*, H. B. K.). (C.)

**calabózo**: jail, guard-house, prison. The common form is *calaboose* (as in B.).

**camóte** (from Mexican *camotli*, S.): sweet potato, yam (*Batata edulis*). Occasionally heard on the Rio Grande. **Camote del monte** (mountain potato): a shrubby plant with yellow flowers and small edible tuberous roots

(*Peteria scoparia*, Gray). (C.) **Camote del raton** (mouse potato): *Hoffmanseggia stricta*. (C.)

**cañón**: a deep gorge or mountain pass. This word may be said to be naturalized in English, which has shifted the accent to the first syllable.

**cárga**: a load, a charge. A Mexican dry measure, four *fanegas* (q.v.).

**carne**: meat. Used mostly in conjunction with other words in names of dishes; as *chile con carne*, i.e. red pepper and meat, red pepper seasoned with meat.

**cavalli**: a species of fish found in the Gulf of Mexico. The etymology of the word is doubtful. The *ll* is not liquid.

**cebolla**: onion. Often found in proper names of rivers or creeks. The word in such connection has frequently been translated into English.

**chacáte**: a small shrub common in Southern and Western Texas (*Krameria canescens*, Gray). The bark is used as a dyestuff by Mexicans. Probably of Mexican origin.

**chaparájo, -s**: leather overalls worn by cowboys to protect their legs from thorny bushes. Probably from Spanish *chapa*, a protecting strip of leather on seams. The form *chaperajo* is found sometimes (see *Harper's Magazine*, July, 1891).

**chaparrál**: primarily a thicket of *chapparros*, stone oaks or scrub oaks, then any kind of extensive bushy thicket (cf. B.). In very common use. The berries called in Texas *chaparral* berries are the fruit of a species of *Berberis* (*B. trifoliata*).

**chárco**: a puddle, shallow water hole.

**chilaquiles**: a Mexican dish of vegetables seasoned with red peppers, or of pieces of fried *tortilla* in red pepper sauce. From Mexican *chilaquiltil* (S.).

**chilchóte**: green peppers, sweet peppers. From Mexican *chilchottl* (S.).

**chile**: the Spanish *pimiento*, red pepper. Used in Texas especially in the name of the Mexican dish *chile con carne* (see **carne**). From Mexican *chilli* (S.).

**chínche**: chinch-bug, bed-bug (*Cimex lectularius*).

**chiváro, -s**: leggin; used almost altogether in the plural. Origin unknown; probably from Spanish *chavarí*, a kind of cloth, or from *chiva*, a goat.

**cíbolo**: wild bull, primarily buffalo bull. Seldom used in Texas except in names of rivers, creeks, and bayous.

**ciénega** (B.): a morass, a small marsh. The Spanish form is *cenagal*.

**cincha**: saddle girth, generally made of plaited hair ropes. The usual form in Texas is *cinch*.

**cinch, v.t.**: to put the cinch on a horse, to tighten the girth. Sometimes two *cinchas* are used; they are then called *cinchas de ginetá*.

**colfina**: a small tree or shrub, prickly ash (*Xanthoxylum pterola*). (C.) Origin unknown.

**colorádo**: dark brownish red, reddish. Often used of rivers or creeks.

**comál**: a slightly hollow utensil of stone or earthenware on which *tortillas* are cooked or baked. Name of a river and county in Texas. From Mexican *comalli* (S.).

**comíno**: a way, path, trail, and by extension a journey. It is the form used in Texas for Spanish *camino*.

**corrál**: an enclosure for cattle (see B.), and in general a pen or enclosure.  
**corrál**, *v.t.* As in B. (4th ed.). The Spanish verbal form is *corralar*, and more usually *acorralar*.

**coyóte**: prairie wolf. Often improperly spelled and pronounced *cayote*. From Mexican *coyotl* (S., as in B.).

**coyotillo**: a shrub of Western Texas, with blackish poisonous berries and beautiful pinnate-veined leaves (*Karwinskia Humboldtiana*). It is a diminutive of the preceding word.

**esquíte**: pop-corn sweetened. From Mexican *izquilt* (S.).

**exído**, -s. Originally common, a tract of land upon which the citizens had the right to thresh their wheat, to pasture their cattle, etc. In Spanish or Mexican settlements in Texas the town tract, land set apart to lay out a town. Very seldom heard, but frequently found in deeds and other documents, public or private. See **Porcion** and **Suerte**.

**faudángo**: a dance brought over from Spain and not originally American, also the tune; by extension any dancing party or public ball of low order.

**fanéga**: a dry measure, about two and a half bushels. By extension as much land as may be sowed with a *fanega* of seed.

**fiésta**: a festival, formerly a holiday celebrated on the patron saint's day of a church, town, or village. By extension any festivity, religious or national. Even a *corrida de toros*, a bull fight, is a *fiesta*.

**frijól**, -es (also *fréjol*): a kind of long red bean, one of the standard articles of diet of the Mexicans. The name in Spanish applies to a different kind of bean (*Phaseolus vulgaris*).

**frijolillo**: a large shrub of the family of *Leguminosæ*, with bright red, very poisonous beans (*Sophora secundiflora*). (C.)

**frío**: cold. In proper names of rivers, etc. Name of a river, county, and town in Texas.

**gáucho**: a crooked iron for branding horses.

**grúllo** (also spelled *gruía*), *adj.*: smoke-colored, "clay bank," of isabel color, in speaking of horses. The word comes from Spanish *grulla*, a crane.

**guayacán**: lignum vitæ (*Guaiacum angustifolium*, Engelm). A medicinal plant used by Mexicans.

**haciénda**: a large farm or plantation. In land measurement the *hacienda* held five square leagues or 22,440 acres.

**hóndo**: deep. In names of rivers, etc., *Arroyo hondo*.

**huajillo**: a shrub of Southwestern Texas (*Pithecolobium brevifolium*). (C.) Probably of Mexican origin with a Spanish diminutive suffix.

**huajolóte** (also *guajolóte*): wild turkey (*Meleagris gallopavo*). From Mexican *huexolotl* (S.).

**huarácho**, -s: a kind of sandals worn by Indians and the lower classes generally. Used generally in the plural only. This must be a native word, though not in S.

**huiséche** (also *huaji*, *guaje*): a small tree or shrub with very sweet smelling yellow flowers (*Acacia Farnesiana*, Willd.). From Mexican *huaxin*.

**istle**, **ixtle**: very strong fibre from which sisal hemp is made. It is taken by decortication from the long leaves of *Agave rigida*, var. *sisaleana*. From Mexican *ichtli* (S.). This word should not be confused with

**iztle**: a sort of obsidian used by the Indians to make arrow points, knives, etc. From Mexican *itztili* (S.).

**jabalí**: wild boar, peccary.

**jacál**: a hut, cabin; the name given to the dwellings of the lowest classes in Mexico. From Mexican *xacalli* (S.).

**jamón**. Properly a ham, but not used in this acceptation in Texas. On the border it is the name commonly given to a guitar.

**jornáda**. The extension of meaning of this word has been very great in Spanish and its dialects, and several of the meanings have been brought across the sea. Meaning primarily a day's time, like *ournée* in French, it may mean a day's work, a day's fight, a day's journey, or a journey in general, as in English, without specification of time, life's journey, a battle, a campaign, the number of pages that may be printed in one day, the work of any kind that may be done in that time. More specifically, in Texas it has two popular meanings: a land measure, *i.e.* as much land as may be ploughed in one day; the other a long reach of travel in a desert country without water (see B.).

**labór**: a land measure of 177 acres, as in B. (4th ed.).

**labradór**: a farmer, a countryman.

**ladíno**. In Spanish, learned, knowing Latin; then crafty, cunning. In Texas as a noun, a vicious, unmanageable horse, full of cunning and tricks.

**lagúna**: a lagoon, shallow lake without outlet, or an arm of the sea, a sound, a bay.

**lariáta**: lariat. See **Reata**.

**légua**: a league; a land measure in Texas, 4420 acres.

**límpio**: clean, clear. Used in names of rivers, creeks, etc. *Rio Limpio*.

**lláno**: a plain. Name of a river, county, and town in Texas. In this state the *ll* is pronounced like English *l*, not as in Spanish.

**lóbo**: a wolf. In Texas the larger wolf is called *lobo wolf* (*Canis occidentalis*) to distinguish it from the prairie wolf or *coyote* (*Canis latrans*).

**lóco**, *adj.* Applied to a number of plants that are hurtful to cattle. Loco grass, loco weed (*Astragalus mollissimus* and *Oxytropis Lamberti*). The plant called *melon loco* is a gourd about the size of an orange (*Apodanthera undulata*, Gray). (C.)

**lóma**: a hill, an eminence. Often found in proper names of places.

**machéte**. As in Webster. Carried by almost every Mexican laborer, often without a sheath.

**maguéy**: a succulent plant (*Agave Americana*). Often applied indiscriminately to any species of *Agave*. This word, according to Sanchez, is not Mexican, but probably of West Indian origin.

**manáda**: a flock, a herd. In Spain it usually means a flock of sheep. In Texas it is applied specifically to a small drove of horses, about a score.

**manzaníta**. Diminutive of *manzana*, an apple. Name given to a shrub not identified, probably *Achania malvariscus*.

**matadór**: a killer, butcher, slaughterer.

**mecáte**: a rope or cord. This word is often used by cattlemen. From Mexican *mecatíl* (S.).

**mésa**: a table; more specifically a flat plateau or mountain top (cf. B.),

so common in the geological formation of Texas and other states to the west, as well as of Mexico.

**mesílla.** As in B. A diminutive of the preceding word.

**mesquite:** a tree (*Algarobia glandulosa*) found extensively in Western Texas, and forming immense roots, so that the larger part of the tree is underground. This is not to be confused with *mesquite grass* (*Stipa spata*), which is a fine, short grass found in the same region. From Mexican *misquitl* (S.). B. has *mesquit* or *muskeet*.

**metáte:** a hollowed stone on which corn is ground, as in B. The most indispensable utensil of every Mexican household. The instrument or pestle with which the grinding is done is called *metlapíl* in Mexico. In Texas the first word generally implies both parts. From Mexican *metlatl* (S.).

**mezeál:** spirituous liquor distilled from *pulque* (q.v.). From Mexican *mexcalli* (S.).

**misión:** mission, missionary station of the Roman Catholic church; also the buildings and settlement of such stations.

**mónte:** a game of cards, as in B.; three-card monte. Also timber land.

**Monte del río:** river bottom.

**muláda:** a drove or herd of mules, as in B. Not Spanish, but formed from Spanish *mula*, a mule, and the suffix *-ada* expressing aggregation, in analogy with *caballada* (q.v.).

**navája:** clasp-knife, pocket-knife.

**nogál:** properly the walnut tree, in Texas the pecan tree (*Carya olivæformis*), as *nuez* (*nuéces*), in Spanish walnut(s), applies in Texas to the pecan nut, and is found in the proper names of rivers and creeks; as *Nueces* river. The hickory is called *nogal encarcelado*.

**nopál:** a cactaceous plant belonging to the prickly pear, or *Opuntia* tribe. In Mexico all *Opuntia* with flat articles are called *nopal*. More specifically the nopal is *Opuntia coccinellifera*. The common prickly pear (*Opuntia vulgaris*) goes by the name of nopal in Texas. From Mexican *nopalli* (S.).

**ocotílo:** a tree or shrub of the tamarisk family with long racemes of bright scarlet flowers (*Fouquieria splendens*). (C.) Origin unknown.

**ójo:** properly an eye. Used in Texas only in the sense of a spring — *ojo de agua* (see B.).

**pálo:** a stick, pale, pole, tree. Found in names of trees: *palo pinto*, red-wood, *palo blanco*, hackberry, *palo de hierro*, ironwood; also in proper names of places: *Palo Alto*, *Palo Pinto*. *Palo verde*, a shrub (*Parkinsonia Torreyana*).

**partída:** a drove of cattle. This word answers to the common American words 'a lot,' 'a heap,' etc., speaking of an indefinite quantity.

**pátio:** interior court in Mexican houses, surrounded by buildings, and often adorned with fountains and flowers; the Roman *impluvium*.

**peládo, -s.** Originally the past participle of *pelar*, to peel, to strip off, to pluck. The word is generally pronounced *paláo*, the first *a* being very much obscured or entirely slurred, and the *d* silent. The term is applied to Mexicans of the lower classes, the rabble, and is more generally used in the plural. Cf. French *va-nu-pieds*, *sans-culotte*, and Spanish *descamisado*. Compare this word with *Colorado* and *Salado*, which are frequently seen in print or

writing, and have preserved the *d* in the pronunciation of English-speaking Texans, while this, seldom written or printed, has dropped it. *Colorado* and *Salado* show the influence of the written upon the spoken language.

**peón**: a day laborer, as in B. The men of the lower classes are commonly called thus. The primary meaning is foot soldier, a man on foot in contradistinction to one on horseback, *caballero*.

**peyóte**: a plant of the cactus family, sometimes called "dry whiskey," as it is said to produce intoxication when chewed (*Mamillaria fissurata*, Engelm., or *Anhalonium fissuratum*, Lemaire). Probably of Mexican origin.

**picácho**: a large, isolated peak (see B.).

**pilón**: a loaf of sugar. The usual forms in Texas are *pilonce* and *piloncillo*; they are applied to small loaves of unrefined Mexican sugar in the form of a truncated cone three or four inches high, which come generally wrapped in yucca or palm leaves. They taste very much like maple sugar.

**pinión**: a species of pine tree, also the fruit or nuts of the tree, which are sweet and nourishing. This is the Texas form of Spanish *piñon* (cf. B.).

**pinóle**: parched corn ground and mixed with honey or sugar (as in B.). From Mexican *pinolli* (S.).

**pínto**: painted, mottled, light red. In speaking of horses it has been translated in the Southwest into *paint* (see B., *s.v. paint*), *i.e.* piebald. As a noun, a piebald horse. This word is frequently found in names of places, as *Palo Pinto*, *i.e.* painted pole, the name of a county in Texas.

**píta**: name of certain agaves and their fibres which are used as thread by the Mexicans (see B.).

**pitaháya, pitáya**: the fruit of certain cacti. The fruit of almost any cactus, except *opuntia*, is called thus by the Mexicans, almost without discrimination, although it is generally the fruit of some *echinocereus*. In Arizona and Sonora the fruit of *Pilocereus giganteus* and *giganteus Thurberii* goes also by this name. Probably of native origin.

**pláya**: properly a beach. In Texas the dried-up bed of some shallow lake or lagoon (see B.).

**pláza**: a public square (as in B.), sometimes planted with trees. It is the representative of the Southern court-house square, and no village with self-respect is without at least one.

**pómpano**: a fish of the herring family found in the Gulf of Mexico.

**porción**. Primarily a portion or share. A quantity of land apportioned to primitive settlers when organizing new towns, and lying outside of the *exidos* (*q.v.*), town tract. The extent of these varied according to provinces, etc.; the more generally accepted extent was 30,000,000 square *varas* (*q.v.*) or  $1\frac{1}{2}$  square leagues, equivalent to 5314 acres. The present meaning is a tract of land, indefinite both as to dimension and situation.

**pótro, fem. pótra**: a young horse or mare not yet broken.

**potréro**: a pasture, generally for colts and young horses. Also a piece of land easily fenced in, situated in the bend of a stream or in a valley with a narrow pass for entrance.

**presídio**: a military post or settlement (as in B.), often also a place of confinement for convicts. This word is often retained in names of places,

though sometimes dropped. The Spanish name of *Del Rio*, a town on the Texas side of the Rio Grande, was *Presidio del Rio Grande del Norte*.

**própio**: common, reservation for public buildings (as in B., *s.v. propios*).

**puéblo**: a village (as in B.).

**puérco**: dirty, from *puerco*, a hog. Often found in proper names of rivers, etc., as *Rio Puerco*.

**púlque**: the fermented juice of *Agave Americana* or *maguey*. Sanchez ascribes to this word a South American, Chilean, origin; he says the word is not Mexican, though Mexicans enjoy the thing.

**ranchería**: a collection of *ranchos* (see **Rancho**; also in B.).

**ranchéro**: a man who keeps a *ranch* (*q.v.*) or lives in one. Seldom used (cf. B.).

**ráncho**: a ranch; primarily a mess, mess-room (see B., Farmer's *Americanisms* and the Century Dict.).

**reáta**: a lariat. Both B. and Webster now give the origin of *lariat* correctly. There is no Spanish *lariata*.

**rebóso**: the headgear of Mexican women, corresponding somewhat to the *mantilla* of the mother country (see B.).

**retáma**: broom sedge. In Western Texas a plant of the family of *leguminosae* (*Parkinsonia aculeata*).

**rincón**: a corner, a nook, a mountain recess, the bend of a river, etc. Often used by surveyors in describing land.

**ródeo**: a circuit, a "round-up" of cattle (see B.).

**saládo**, *adj.*: salt, salty. Used frequently in names of rivers and creeks, as *Rio Salado*. Name of a river and town in Texas. Americans pronounce the second *a* flat, as in *late*; old inhabitants and Mexicans pronounce *saláo*, with the first and the second *a* broad, as in *father*.

**serápe**: a Mexican blanket, generally woven by hand by Indian women, with stripes of variegated colors. The *serape* has no opening or slit for the head, like the *poncho*, but is worn by men only, thrown across the shoulders (cf. B.).

**sítio** (*de ganada mayor*): a land measure equal to 25,000,000 square *varas* (*q.v.*), 4428 acres, a square league of land. *Sítio de ganada menor* = 1777 acres (cf. B., *s.v. sitio*).

**sombréro**: a hat. More specifically a Mexican hat with high tapering crown and wide brim, either of felt or straw, and often profusely adorned with silver bands, medals, and embroidery.

**sótole**: a species of cactus not identified.

**suérte**: chance, lot, a quantity of land in a newly founded town, for which the settlers drew lots. These were situated within the limits of the *exidos* (*q.v.*), and were intended for gardens, orchards, etc. The *suerte* was generally irrigable, and contained 152,352 square *varas* (*q.v.*), or 27 acres. The word is now applied to any small lot of land.

**tamál**, **-es**, **tomále**, **-s**: a Mexican dish made of maize crushed on the *metate* (*q.v.*), mixed with minced meat and a liberal quantity of red pepper. The mass is rolled in pieces of corn shucks, and after being dipped in oil is cooked in the steam of water. Tamales are about three or four inches long by one in circumference. It is a favorite dish in Texas, and they are sold on the streets by Mexican peddlers. From Mexican *tamalli* (S.). This word is

used in Texas as if the singular were *tomale* or *tamale*; it is seldom used except in the plural. San Antonio goes by the name of *Tamale village*, *Tamale town*, or *Tamaleville* (cf. B.).

**tapadéro**: "toe-fender" of Mexican stirrup. Also and more frequently, though incorrectly, *tapidero*. Probably from Spanish *tapar*, to cover.

**tertúlia**: an evening party.

**tinája**. Primarily an unglazed jar in which water is cooled by the evaporation of the percolating water. By extension a water hole or pocket (cf. B.).

**tornillo**: a tree or large shrub closely related to the *mesquite* (*q.v.*). The beans are used as food by men and animals (*Prosopis pubescens*).

**tóro**: a bull, buffalo bull. *Correr toros*, to take part in a bull fight.

**tortilla**: a thin, round, soft cake made of coarse meal ground on the *metate* (*q.v.*) and baked on a stone or earthenware griddle. The substitute for bread among Mexicans; used also as spoon and napkin (cf. B.).

**tresillo**: a Mexican game of cards played by three persons.

**túle**. As with other plant names this applies to a variety of species that have nothing in common but the name. On the Pacific slope it is *Scirpus lacustris* (see B.). In Texas it is applied to several species of yucca, and to certain kinds of reeds not identified. From Mexican *tollin* (S.).

**túna**: the edible fruit of certain *Opuntia*. More specifically of *Opuntia tuna*, not of the *pitahaya* as B. has it (see B.).

**uña de gáto**: *i.e.* cat's claw. Name of a shrub with sharp spines, of Western Texas (*Mimosa biuncifera*). (C.)

**váca**: a cow. Often spelled with double *c* in Texas. The word is found in compound names of creeks, rivers, etc. *Rio de la Vaca*, Lavacca river.

**vára**: a rod; a lineal land measure, 0.93118 American yards (cf. B.). Still the only measure in use in Texas; the old system of measurement has been superseded by the metric system in all Spanish-speaking countries.

**verde**: green. A component of many geographical names. *Val verde*, *Agua verde*, etc. For *Palo verde* see **Palo**.

**verdúgo**. See **Belduque**.

**yérba del buey**: *i.e.* ox grass, a plant of the *Vitis* family, a very ornamental vine of Western Texas (*Cissus incisa*). (C.)

**yérba de véculo**: a medicinal plant known also under the name of *damiana* (*Turnera diffusa*). (C.)

**zacáte**: grass, fodder. From Mexican *zacatl* (S.).

**zopilóte**: turkey buzzard (*Cathartes atratus*). The national bird of Mexico. From Mexican *tzopilótl* (S.).

H. TALLICHET.

A few notes only may be here added on some of the words mentioned by Professor Tallichet. For *bayou* the French source seems to me for phonetic reasons better than Spanish *bahía* (with its accented *i*), and the meaning raises no serious difficulty; cf. the various senses of *gut* in English. A Spanish *bonito* is in

Salvá, where it is called "*muy comun en los mares de España.*" As to the origin of the name, see Murray. On *cincha*, *cinch*, see "DIALECT NOTES," Part II, p. 60. *Corral* in the new Webster is marked as accented on the *a*; in the previous edition it had the accent on the first syllable. Was this latter accentuation merely a mistake, or is it really in use anywhere in the Southwest? On the history of the word *fundango*, see Skeat in the Transactions of the London Philological Society, 1886-87. The spelling *yarner* for *llano* occurred in the *Century* magazine some months ago. Salvá defines *sarape* (he does not give *serape*) as a blanket "que tiene una abertura en el centro para meter la cabeza," thus agreeing with B. Professor Tallichet writes me that the *serape* certainly has no such opening, and that his statement is corroborated by two persons who have resided for years in Mexico and Texas.

E. S. S.

Mr. H. C. Ripley, civil engineer, Galveston, Texas, writes me that the *hacienda* contains five 'leagues,' or 22,140 acres, not 22,440; that the *legua* or 'league,' is 4428 acres, not 4420; that the *vara* =  $33\frac{1}{2}$  inches = .925925 + yards, not .93118 yards.

G. H.

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### UNCLE REMUS IN PHONETIC SPELLING.

[THE following phonetic transcription of a part of an *Uncle Remus* story was originally made by Professor J. P. Fruit of Kentucky, for the Phonetic Section of the Modern Language Association of America. We afterwards went over it together several times, he reading the tale, and I following him with the phonetic text and making the few changes that seemed to be necessary. Professor Fruit tells me that the language he spoke as a child was essentially the dialect of Uncle Remus. He says, further, of this story: "It represents the negro dialect that has most influenced the speech of the South. It is the language of the negroes when they were parts and parcels of our households. Then the negro was a great factor in forming our spoken language." The alphabet we have used is that of the American Dialect Society. I have kept the ordinary word-divisions except in the case of unaccented particles, which I have joined to the words with which they seem to be most closely connected. A dot (·) indicates that the following vowel has the stress. Professor Fruit's *û* (as in *too*) is, when accented, pronounced a little further forward than the *û* of the North. His *au* often approaches *au*. —C. H. GRANDGENT.]

wailz dêəz gwain daun dəb'rig roud, dʒɔin ətw'en ən'ë, brë foks  
hî tek'n stop rait kwik, ənl'au: "rən yë, brë ræbit! rən yë! ef

mæ·ai eint sîvmi, yê dæs·ainz hwâ mistê dæg bin ləŋ, ənm·oun dæt, dêə rait frefj." brê ræbit hî saidl ɛp nl·uk. den hî lau: "dæt a træk eint nevê fit mistê dæg fut indər·aun wël. wot mekit mô baindn," sêz·î, "ai den gən nb·in kweintid wid dəm·æn wot mek dæt træk, tû ləŋ gou tət·ək baut," sêz·î. "brê ræbit, plizsə, telmî hin·eim." brê ræbit hî læf læk hîm·ekin lait əs·əmpn nê. "ef ai eint mek nô mist·êks, brê foks, dip·ô krîtê wot mek dæt træk izk·əzn wailkæt, nô môn nô les." "hau big izi, brê ræbit?" "hî des baut yò heft, brê foks." den brê ræbit mek læk hî tək·in widhis·ef: "tət, tət, tət! hit maiti feni dæt ajsud rən ɛp ən kəzn wailkæt ind·is pat ədiw·ël. tûbi jô, tûbi jô! meni ənm·eniz dit·aim ai sî mai oul grændædi kik ənk·ɛf kəzn wailkæt, twel aig·it sâri bautim. ef yû wənt eni fən, brê foks, rait nau dit·aim tæg·itit." brê foks ɛpn æks, hî did, hau hî gwain hæv eni fən. brê ræbit hî lau: "îzi nef; des gôən tækl oul kəzn wailkæt, ənl·æmim raun." brê foks hî sətê skrætj hiy·ë, ənl·au: "ê, ê, brê ræbit, ai fyêd. hî træk tû mətj læk mistê dæg." brê ræbit des set rait daun indir·oud, ənh·olê nl·æf. hî lau, sêz·î: "jû, brê foks! hûd əp·ɛŋk yûz sô skyëri? des kəm luk ətd·if yê træk rait klôs. izde eni sain əkl·ə enihw·âz?" brê foks blîdz tæg·î dətdew·ənt nô sain nô klô. brê ræbit sei: "wel, den, ef hî eint got nô klô, hau hî gwain tət·ɛtyu, brê foks?" "wot gən widhit·ûfs, brê ræbit?" "jû, brê foks! krîtêz wot baks dit·rîz eint gwain bait." brê foks tək·n tək nê gud luk ətdətr·æks, ənd·ən himən brê ræbit put aut fətəf·oləm ɛp. dew·ənt ɛp dir·oud, ənd·aun dil·ein, ənk·rəs dit·ənip pætj, ənd·aun ədr·in, ən·ɛp əb·ig geli. brê ræbit hî den dit·rækin, ən·evi taim hî fain wən, hî ɛpn holê: "yê nê træk, ən·ô klô dâ! yê nê træk, ən·ô klô dâ!" dê kep ən ənk·ɛp ən, twel baimibai dê rən ɛp widikr·îtê. brê ræbit hî holê aut maiti bigiti: "hêou dâ! wot yû dûin?" dikr·îtê luk raun, bəthi·eint sêin nɛpin. brê ræbit lau: "ou, yun·întê luk səl·in! wîəl mek yû tək fô wîə dən ləŋ widyu! kəm, nau! wot yû dûin aut dâ?" dikr·îtê rɛb his·ef gin ətr·î des læk yû sî dîz yê haus kæts rɛb gin ətjy·ë, bəthi·eint sêin nɛpin.

\* \* \* \* \*

"gô ɛp dâ, brê foks, nef hî fyûz təsp·on, slæpm·n daun! dæt diw·ei mai grændædi dən. yû gô ɛp dâ, brê foks, nef hî dæst tət·rai tər·ən, ail des hwël in ənk·ɛtj·im."

\* \* \* \* \*

brê foks sî dikr·îtê luk sô maiti ɛmbl, setin ɛp dâ læk hî begin əf, ənh·î sətê tək hat. hî saidl ɛp tōdzim, hî did, ənd·esêz hîəz

mekin redi fətəsl·æpim, ɔul kəzn wailkæt drəd bæk ənf·ɔtʃ brē  
foks əw·aɪp krəs dist·ɛmæk.

\* \* \* \* \*

“hitim əg·in, brē foks! hitim əg·in! aim əbræknyu, brē foks!  
ef hī dæst tər·ɛn, ail inəb·aut kriplim, dæt ai wil. hitim əg·in!”  
əl dis taim, wailz brē ræbit gwain ən dis əw·ei, brē foks hīəz  
əskw·ɔtin daun, hōlin hist·ɛmæk widb·ɔf hæn·z, ənd·es əm·ɔnin:  
“aim rūint, brē ræbit; aim rūint! ɹɛn fetʃ did·ɔktə! aim tītɔtəli  
rūint!”

J. P. FRUIT.

### ENGLISH SENTENCES IN AMERICAN MOUTHS.

IN a circular issued, in behalf of the Phonetic Section, in the summer of 1890, I requested members of the Modern Language Association of America to write out, in phonetic spelling, their pronunciation of paragraph 38 of Sweet's *Elementarbuch des gesprochenen Englisch*. The following seven specimens have been offered to me. Wherever Sweet's phraseology was foreign to the contributor, it has been slightly modified. The spelling used is that of the American Dialect Society. In the matter of spacing it has seemed to me best to abandon Sweet's system: I have written separately all words containing either a primary or a secondary accent, and have joined unaccented particles to the words with which they seem to be most closely connected. A dot (·) indicates that the following vowel is accented; when the stress is on the first syllable of a group, the accent is not marked. Letters enclosed in parentheses represent sounds that are omitted in hasty speech. Inflections have been marked with some care: ' after a word denotes a rising, ` a falling, ^ a rising-falling, v a falling-rising, - a level tone. Sounds that do not correspond to Sweet's descriptions I have mentioned in my brief introductions to the several specimens.

#### MAINE.

Contributed by Professor E. S. Sheldon, of Harvard University. Professor Sheldon's Maine pronunciation has been somewhat altered by the study of phonetics, by travel, and by residence in Cambridge, Mass. His mother was from Boston, and his father from Connecticut. His *ɛ* seems to be higher than Sweet's, and is usually slightly rounded. I suspect that his pronunciation of 'more' (and words that rhyme with it) is not the

commonest one in Maine; his *mə* is, however, the ordinary form in New York City, and is common in Boston.

(hæ)vð·ei gət əf·aðə'? nou<sup>1</sup> ðəf·aðəz<sup>1</sup> ded<sup>1</sup> bətðəm·vðəz<sup>1</sup> stil (ə)l·aiv<sup>1</sup>. hwɛ(t)dī dai ov<sup>2</sup>? kəns·vmpʃən<sup>1</sup> əsəm·vðə diz·iz əvðəl·vɪz<sup>1</sup>. ai pət iwəzk·ild (i)nər·eilroud<sup>1</sup> æksidənt<sup>1</sup>. nou<sup>1</sup> ðæt wəz ði·vɪŋkl<sup>1</sup> (h)izbr·vðə<sup>1</sup>.

hau dəyud·û'? kwait<sup>1</sup> wel<sup>1</sup> pænkyu<sup>1</sup> hau əy·û'? hau əðei əl ət·oum<sup>1</sup>? əl wel<sup>1</sup> (ə)ks·ept ðəb·eibi<sup>1</sup>. hwɛts ðəm·vætə wiðəb·eibi<sup>1</sup>? ai dount<sup>2</sup> nou<sup>1</sup> (e)gzæktli<sup>1</sup>·fiwəzkr·aiinj<sup>1</sup> əl nait loŋ<sup>3</sup> ðəm·vɛs(t)bi sɛmpjɪŋ<sup>1</sup> rɔŋwiðə<sup>3</sup>. pūə<sup>4</sup> pɪŋ<sup>1</sup> aim sori tuh·iərɪt<sup>1</sup> yū dount luk wel<sup>1</sup> yəs·elf<sup>1</sup>. nou<sup>1</sup> aim il<sup>1</sup> frəm w·ont ə(v)sl·ip<sup>1</sup>.

ai kant<sup>1</sup>·it fæt<sup>1</sup> itm·eibi<sup>1</sup> veri gud fəs·vəm<sup>1</sup> pīpl<sup>1</sup>·bətɪtd·vznt sūt mī<sup>1</sup> itm·eiksmi fil sik<sup>1</sup>.

itsv·eri klous<sup>1</sup> inh·iə<sup>1</sup>·wið·væt big faɪə<sup>1</sup> (ə)n(d)·əl ðəw·indouz fət<sup>1</sup>·aikn hadli brīð<sup>1</sup>.

ai(h)əd hadli eni brekfəst<sup>1</sup> ðis məəniŋ<sup>1</sup>·bətəid·ount fil ət·əl·hɛŋgrɪ<sup>1</sup> ai·vəm<sup>1</sup> ræðə pɛsti<sup>1</sup>·dou<sup>1</sup>. hwɛtl yuh·væv tədriŋk<sup>1</sup>? aɪfəd<sup>5</sup> laik səm w·ətə<sup>1</sup>. hæv ək·vɛp əvt·i<sup>1</sup>·ðætɪl dūyū məə gud<sup>1</sup> itlri·fr·ɛʃyū<sup>1</sup>. hæv ən·vðə<sup>1</sup>! haf ək·vɛp<sup>1</sup> pliz<sup>1</sup>. ai nou əm·væn<sup>1</sup> (h)ʊp·iŋks nɛpiŋ<sup>1</sup> əvdrɪŋkiŋ siks kɛps əvt·i<sup>1</sup>·streit of<sup>6</sup> bətð·en idrɪŋksit veri wik<sup>1</sup>. itm·vɛs(t)bi veri bæd<sup>1</sup> fərim<sup>1</sup>. yəs<sup>1</sup> itsp·oilz izdidz·estʃən<sup>1</sup>.

#### MASSACHUSETTS.

Contributed by myself. My mother was born in western Massachusetts; my father (a Frenchman by birth) was bred in Philadelphia; my own dialect was formed in Boston and Cambridge. My *ɔ* is almost, and my *o* is quite unrounded; I think, however, that the rounded vowels are common in eastern Massachusetts. My *ɛ* is probably higher than Sweet's, and decidedly round. For my *a* the tongue lies nearly flat in the bottom of the mouth. My *v* is, I suppose, pronounced further forward than Sweet's; my *ð* is a rounded *v*.

vð·ei enif·aðə'? nou<sup>1</sup> ðəf·aðəz<sup>1</sup> ded<sup>1</sup> bətðəm·vðəz<sup>1</sup> stil laiv<sup>1</sup>. hwaddi dai ov<sup>2</sup>? kəns·vmpʃən<sup>1</sup> əsəm·vðə diz·iz əðəl·vɪz<sup>1</sup>. ai pət iwəzk·ild<sup>1</sup> nər·eilrōd<sup>1</sup> æksdənt<sup>1</sup>. nou<sup>1</sup> ðæt wəz ði·vɪŋkl<sup>1</sup> hiz brvðə<sup>1</sup>. hau dəyəd·û'? veri wel əp·vænkyu<sup>1</sup> hau əy·û'? hau əðe·əl

<sup>1</sup> Either *kwait* or *wel* may have the stronger accent. Perhaps *veri wel* is more usual.

<sup>4</sup> Or *pua*.

<sup>2</sup> Or *dou nou*, or *dɔn·ou*.

<sup>5</sup> Or *aɪft*.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps rather *loŋ*, *rɔŋ*.

<sup>6</sup> Rather of *with long o*.

əth·oum\ ɔl- wel- ksept ðəb·eibi\ hwats ðəm·ætə wiðəb·eibi<sup>1</sup>?  
aid·ount nou\ gʒækli- fiwəzkr·aiiŋ ɔl- nait- ləŋ\ ðəm·ɛsbi səmp·piŋ<sup>2</sup>  
rəŋwiðə-. puə piŋ\ aims·ori təh·irit\ yud·ount luk wel yəs·elf.  
nou- aim·il- frəm·wənt əfsl·ip\.

ai- kant- it- fæt\ tmeibi veri- gud- fəs·əm\ pīpl- bətitd·ɛznt  
sût mī tmêksmi fil sik\.

tsveri klôs nh·iə- wið·æt big faie- nəl ðəw·indôz<sup>1</sup> ʃet- aikn  
hadli brīð\.

aiædh·adli eni- brekfəst\ ðism·əniŋ-<sup>2</sup> bətaid·ount fil təl<sup>3</sup> hɛŋgri<sup>4</sup>  
aim·ræðə pəstiðð<sup>5</sup>. hwatl yuh·æv tædr·iŋk\? aift laik smwətə.  
hæv ək·ɛp ət·i\ ðætl\ dûyu mòə- gud<sup>6</sup> itlrəfr·ɛʃyu\ hæv ən·ɛðə!  
haf ək·ɛp\ pliz-. ai nou əm·æn- upiŋks nəpiŋ\ əvdr·iŋkiŋ siks  
kɛps ət·i- strēt əf<sup>3</sup> bətðen\ idr·iŋksit veri\ wik<sup>6</sup>. tməsbi veri  
bəd<sup>6</sup> fərim-. yes- itsp·oilz izdidz·ɛstʃən<sup>6</sup>.

#### NEW YORK CITY.

Contributed by Mr. L. F. Mott, of New York City. Mr. Mott is a good representative of that part of cultivated New York society whose speech has not yet been affected by Anglomania. He has not the traditional *ɛi* of his native city; both his *ɛ* and his *ɒ* are, I think, like mine.

hævðei əf·aðə<sup>4</sup>? nou- ðəf·aðəz ded\ bətðəm·ɛðəz- stil əl·aiu\.  
hwatdidi daiou\? kəns·ɛmfən- əsəm·ɛðə diz·iz əvðəl·ɛŋz\ aip·ət-  
hiwəz·ild- inər·eilwei<sup>5</sup> æksidənt\ nou- ðæt·wəz ði·ɛŋkl\ hiz-  
br·ɛðə.

hau duyud·û\? veri·w·el\ ðæŋkyu\ hau əy·û\? hau əðei·əl  
əth·oum\? ɔl wel<sup>6</sup> eks·ept ðəb·eibi\ hwats ðəm·ætə wiðəb·eibi<sup>1</sup>?  
aid·ount nou\ egz·æktli\ fiwəzkr·aiiŋ<sup>2</sup> ɔl nait ləŋ\ ðəm·ɛstbi səmp·piŋ<sup>2</sup>  
rəŋwiðə\ puə piŋ\ aims·ori təh·irit\ yud·ount luk·w·el- yəs·elf.  
nou- aim·il- frəm·wənt əvsl·ip\.

aik·ant it fæt\ itm·ei<sup>3</sup> bī<sup>6</sup> veri gud fəs·əm<sup>6</sup> pīpl- bətitd·ɛznt<sup>6</sup>  
sût<sup>6</sup> mī<sup>6</sup> itm·êksmī fil sik\.

its·veri klôs\ inh·iə- wið·æt big faie- ənd·əl ðəw·indôz ʃet\ aikn  
hadli brīð\.

<sup>1</sup> In an accented syllable I should write ou at the end of a word or before a voiced consonant.

<sup>2</sup> 'Morn' = mɔən, but 'morning' = mɔniŋ.

<sup>3</sup> I should be more likely to say rait daun.

<sup>4</sup> izðerf·aðə liviŋ would be more natural.

<sup>5</sup> Oftener reilroud.

<sup>6</sup> Rather a compromise between syût and sût.

aihæd hadli enibr·ekfæst' ðism·œniŋ- bətəid·ount fil ət·əl hɛŋgrɪ' aimr·aðə pɛstɪ' ðou-. hwatl yuh·æv tædrɪŋk'? aɪfud laik sɛmw·ətə'. hæv ək·ɛp ət·ɪ' ðætl dūyu mæə gud' itlɪfr·ɛʃju'. hæv ən·'ɛðə'! hæf ək·ɛp' plɪz-. aɪn·ou əm·æn^ hɪp·ɪŋks nɛpiŋ əvdr·ɪŋkiŋ- sɪks kɛps əvt·ɪ strɛt·əf' bətð·en- hidr·ɪŋksɪt veri wik'. itm·'ɛstbi veri bædfɔrim'. yes- itsp·oilz hizdidz·estʃən'.

## PENNSYLVANIA.

Contributed by Mr. A. C. Garrett, of Philadelphia. Mr. Garrett's *v*, *o*, and *ɔ* are almost exactly like mine. His *a* varies between my *o* and *a*; before *r* it is nearly always *o*. His *ɛ* is slightly rounded, and is modified by the formation of the following *r*, which begins simultaneously with the *ɛ*. After all other vowels the *r* begins later, and is generally preceded by an audible glide. The *r* itself is a somewhat vowel-like consonant, as the tip of the tongue, which is raised toward the roof of the mouth, does not come within fifteen millimetres of the top of the palate; after front vowels it rises toward the roots of the teeth; after other vowels it is formed much further back, the vowels themselves being pronounced with the tongue somewhat retracted. At the end of an unaccented syllable *r* often disappears; *r* before a vowel is made in about the same way as final *r*. Mr. Garrett's sentences show greater variations in pitch than American speech usually offers: the first word of a sentence is especially apt to be pitched high.

hævðe əf·aðər'? nou' ðəf·aðəz' ded' bətðəm·'ɛðəz' stil əl·aɪv-. hwotdidi daiəv'? kəns·ɛmpʃən' ər sɛm ɛðər diz·ɪz əvðəl·ɛŋz'. aɪ pət ɪwəzk·ild inər·ɛlɾəd' æksɪdənt'. nou' ðæt·wəz ði·'ɛŋkl' ɪzbr·'ɛðə'.

hau dyud·'u'? veri wel- pænkyu' hau əy·'u'? hau ərðe·əl əth·'əm'? əl' wel' eks·ept ðəb·eibi<sup>1</sup>. hwots ðəm·ætə wiðəb·eibi<sup>2</sup>? aɪ dɔnt nou' əkz·æktli' ʃi wəzk·aɪŋ əl nait ləŋ' ðəm·'ɛsbi sɛmpɪŋ' rɛŋwiðər'. puər piŋ' aɪm sori təh·irit'. yud·'ɔnt luk wel^ yərs·elf'. nou' aɪms·ik' frəm·wənt əvsl·'ɪp'.

aɪ' kənt<sup>2</sup> ɪt fæt' itm·'ɛbi veri gud fəs·əm pipl' bətɪd·'ɛznt sūt mi^ itm·'ɛksmi fil sik'.

itsverɪkl·'ðs' inh·iər' wið·æt big faeər' ənd·əl ðəw·indəz^ ʃɛt- aɪkn' hordli brɪð'.

ah·æd hordli enibr·ekfæst' ðism·œrniŋ- bətəd·'ɔnt fil əb·it hɛŋgrɪ' əmr·oðə pɛrstɪ^ ðou-. hwotl yəh·æf tædrɪŋk'? aɪd laik sɛmw·ətər'. hæv ək·ɛp ət·ɪ' ðætl dūyu mðər gud' itlɪfr·ɛʃjə'. hæv ən·'ɛðər'! hæf<sup>2</sup> ək·ɛp' plɪz-. aɪ nou əm·æn- ʊp·ɪŋks nɛpiŋ əvdr·ɪŋkiŋ sɪks'

<sup>1</sup> The final *i* in *beibi* is very close.

<sup>2</sup> The vowel in *kənt* and *hæf* is intermediate between my *a* and *æ*.

kɛps əvt·iʰ strɛt·əfʰ bətð·en it·êksit veri wikʌ. itm·ɛsbi veri bæd·fərimʷ. yes- itsp·oɪlz izdidʒ·estʃənʌ.

## MARYLAND.

Contributed by Mr. D. H. Wingert, of Hagerstown. Mr. Wingert's dialect was formed in northern Maryland. His *o* and *ɔ* are about like mine; but his *a* before *r* is *o*, and he pronounces *ɔ* for *o* in the word 'ou.' His *e* is very high before *s*, and very low before other consonants. His *ɛ* has no lip-rounding, and seems to be higher than mine. His *v*, which appears to be produced further forward and higher than mine, sounds almost exactly like Parisian *o* in *botte*. His *û* and *u* are formed a little further forward than Northerners pronounce them; for *ur* (as in 'poor') he says *ôɹ*. The two elements of diphthongs are very distinct; the first element differs according to the nature of the following consonant:—

FIRST ELEMENT OF	BEFORE VOICELESS CONS.:	FINAL, OR BEFORE VOICED CONS.:
<i>ai</i>	: between <i>a</i> and <i>v</i> ;	<i>a</i> .
<i>au</i>	: " " " "	between <i>a</i> and <i>æ</i> .
<i>ou</i>	: <i>ô</i> ;	<i>ô</i> .

At the end of a word, and before a consonant, *r* appears as a glide, the tip of the tongue approaching the tops of the teeth, but not coming near enough to produce a buzz; between vowels it generally disappears, or is replaced by a faint *w*; between a consonant and a vowel it offers no peculiarities. Throughout Mr. Wingert's speech there is a tendency to prolong accented and omit unaccented syllables.

hævðei əf·aðərʰ? nousər- ðəf·aðərz dedʰ bətðəm·vðərz stil liviŋʰ.  
hwoddidi daiovʰ? kəns·ɛmpʃən- ərsem·vðər diz·iz əvðəl·ɛŋʰ. aɪp·ət  
probbli iwəzk·ild inər·eɪlrôdʰ æksdəntʰ. nou- probbli ðæt·wəz  
ði·ɛŋklʰ hizbr·vðərʰ.

haudd·ûʰ? vei wel- pəŋkyəʰ hau ɔryəʰ? hau ər·əl yerfouksʰ?  
ðeə əl wel- eks·ept ðəb·eibiʰ. hwotiz ðəm·ætər wiðəb·eibiʰ?  
əh·ordli nouʰ ʃiwəzk·rəɪŋ əl nait ləŋʰ ðer sɛrtli məsbi səmpʃiŋ  
rəŋʰ wiðərʰ. pðər piŋʰ aim vei sori təh·iəvitʰ yud·ount lukʰ wel·  
yərs·elfʰ. nou- aim sik- fər·wənt əfsl·ipʰ.

ək·ænt it fætʰ itm·eibi vei gud fərs·əmʰ pipl- bətitd·vznt sût niʰ  
tmêksmi filʰ sikʰ.

itsv·ei hotʰ inh·iərʰ wið·æt big faiər- ən·əl ðəw·indəz ʃet- ək·ænt  
hordli brɪðʰ.

aiəd hordli enibr·ɛkfəstʰ sm·ərniŋʰ bətəd·ount fil təl hɛŋgriʰ  
aimr·əðər pɛrsti ðouʰ. hwodl yuh·æv tədr·iŋkʰ? ail tək səmw·ədərʰ.  
wilyəh·æv ək·ɛp ət·iʰ ðətl dūyu mðər gud- itlri·fɛʃyʰ. hæv

ən·vðər¹ hæf ək·rɛp¹ plɪz¹. ain·ou əm·æən¹ hup·ɪŋks nɛpɪŋ əb·aut¹  
drɪŋkɪŋ sɪks kɛps ət·ɪ¹ rait strɛt əf¹ bətð·en hidr·ɪŋksɪt vei wɪk¹.  
itm·rɛsbɪ vei bædfəim¹. yes¹ itsp·oɪlz izdidz·estfən¹.

KENTUCKY.

Contributed by Mr. G. T. Weitzel, of Frankfort. Mr. Weitzel's *a*, *ɔ*, and *o* are about like mine. His *v* is pronounced with the mass of the tongue in the middle of the mouth, the tip touching the bottom of the lower teeth, and the jaws almost closed; this *v* is common in the South. His *û* and *u* are made further forward than mine. His *ɛ* is rounded, and is modified by the formation of the following *r*, which begins simultaneously with the *ɛ*. After all other vowels the *r* begins later. The *r* itself, which is formed near the roots of the teeth, is (except before a vowel) never more than a glide, and generally becomes inaudible at the end of unaccented syllables.

hævðei əf·aðə¹? nou¹ ðəf·aðəz ded¹ bətðəm·vðəz¹ stil əl·aiv¹.  
wotdidi daiov¹? kəns·rɛmfən¹ ər səm·vðər diz·ɪz əvðəl·rɛŋz¹. ai pət  
iwəzk·ild inər·eilwei æksdənt¹. nou¹ ðæt·wəz ði·rɛŋk¹ hizbr·vðə¹.

hau arɔv¹? priti wɛl¹ ʃæŋkyə¹ hau ərɔ·v·û¹? hau ər·əl ðəf·òks  
eth·oum¹? evri bodi wɛl¹ eks·ept ðəb·eibi¹. wots ðəm·ætə  
wiðəb·eibi¹? ai dən·ou ekz·æktli¹ ʃi wəzkr·aiiŋ əl nait ləŋ¹ ðerməsbi  
sɛmpɪŋ rəŋwiðər¹. puər pɪŋ¹ aim sori təhy·ɛrit¹. yû dount luk¹  
wɛl¹ yərs·elf¹. nou aim filiŋ¹ bæd¹ frəml·æk əsl·ɪp¹.

aik·ænt ɪt fæt¹ itm·eibi veri gud fərs·əm¹ pipl bətitd·rɛznt əgr·ɪ  
wiðm·ɪ¹ tmɛksmɪ fil sik¹.

tsv·eri klòs¹ inhy·ər¹ wið·æt big faiər¹ nəl ðəw·indəz¹ ʃet¹ aikən  
hardli brɪð¹.

aiəd hardli eni brekfəst¹ ðism·ərniŋ¹ bətaid·ount fil ət·əl hɛŋgri¹  
aim ræðə pɛrsti¹ ðou¹. wotlyu¹ hæv təd·rɪŋk¹? aɪfəd laik səm·  
w·ətə¹. hæv ək·rɛp ət·ɪ¹ ðæt¹ dūyə·mðər gud¹ itl¹ rifr·ɛfjə¹.  
hæv ən·vðə¹? hæf ək·rɛp¹ plɪz¹. ai nou əm·æən hup·ɪŋks nɛpɪŋ  
əvdr·ɪŋkɪŋ sɪks kɛps ət·ɪ¹ strɛt əf¹ bətð·en¹ hidr·ɪŋksɪt veri wɪk¹.  
tmɛsbɪ veri bædfərim¹. yes¹ itr·ûinz izdidz·estfən¹.

MISSOURI.

Contributed by Mr. R. L. Weeks, of the University of Michigan. Mr. Weeks's parents came from New York State, but his own pronunciation was formed in northern Missouri. His *a* and *ɔ* are like mine; his *o* is a

¹ The *t* in these words has a sound between *t* and *d*.

short *a*; his *v* and *ò* are formed a little further back than mine. His *e* before *l* is very low. His *ë* has no lip-rounding, but is modified by the formation of the following *r*, which begins simultaneously with the *ë*. After all other vowels the *r* begins later, and is often preceded by an audible glide. Whenever *r* occurs in this piece, it seems to be produced at the roots of the teeth, the tip of the tongue being turned backward; but final *r* after *a* is formed further back. Mr. Weeks's *r* is, of course, never trilled, and at the end of an unaccented syllable it is often scarcely audible.

hævð'eï əf'æðər'<sup>1</sup>? nou' ðəf'æðərz ded' bətðəm'vðərz- stil əl'aiv'. hwæt'didi daiov'? kəns'empfən' ərsəm'vðər' diz'iz əvðəl'vɥz'. aip'ət- iwəzk'ild- inər'eilrôð' æksidənt'. nou' ðæt wəz ði'vɥkl' hizbr'vðər'.

hau duyud'û'? veri w'el' ðæŋkyu' hau əry'û'? hau ərðei'əl əth'oum'? əl wəl' (ə)ks'əpt ðəb'eibi-. hwəts ðəm'ætər wiðəb'eibi'? aid'ount nou' ekz'ækli- f'iwəzkr'aiiŋ əl nait ləŋ' ðərm'əsbi səmp'pŋ rəŋ' wiðər'. puər piŋ' aims'əri təh'irit'. yud'ount luk' wəl' yərs'elf'. nou' aim'il-<sup>2</sup> frəmw'ənt<sup>3</sup> əvsl'ip'.

aik'ənt it' fæt- itm'ēbi veri gud' fərs'em' pipl- bətitd'vznt siut m' itm'ēksmi fil sik'.

itsv'eri klòs' inh'iər- wið'æt big faiər- ənd'əl ðəw'indəz<sup>^</sup> f'et- aikn hardli br'ð'.

aihæd hardli enibr'ekfəst' ðism'ərniŋ- bətaid'ount fil ət'əl hɛŋgri' aimr'æðər- pərsti' ðou-. hwətl yuh'æv' tədriŋk'? aifud laik- səmw'ətər'. hæv ək'vəp əvt-i' ðæt l dūy mðər gud' itlrifr'əfyu'. hæv ən'vðər'! hæf ək'vəp' pliz-. ain'ou' əm'æn- hup'iŋks nəpiŋ' əvdr'iŋkiŋ siks kəps əvt-i- strēt'əf' bətð'en- hidriŋksit<sup>^</sup> veri wik'. itm'əsbi veri bædfərim'. yes' itsp'oilz hizdidz'estfən'.

C. H. GRANDGENT.

### NEWSPAPER JARGON.

ALMOST every newspaper office has phrases or words peculiar to itself, growing out of the necessity of daily work or the fancy of some inventive youngster who finds a short way of saying something. For this reason it would require the aid of a good many persons to form a list anywise complete of the slang of the

<sup>1</sup> izðerf'æðər liviŋ *would be more natural.*

<sup>2</sup> aimdɣ'vst əb'əut sik *would be more natural.*

<sup>3</sup> *Tends toward want.*

newspaper. In general, the inciting cause for the invention of peculiar phrases in a newspaper office is haste, and not a desire to be picturesque or fanciful, as might be thought the case with actors. So adjectives and verbs, the significant words of a sentence too cumbersome to be frequently repeated orally or in type, come to be used as nouns. The semi-transparent paper used for copying, becomes *manifold* or *flimsy*, as it is looked upon from the point of utility or that of frailty. An article which requires to be published promptly is marked *must*, evidently the sole relic of some sentence like "This must go in to-night." The proof usually returns from the composing-room with *must* repeated several times in large bold-faced type across the top. I think this word is used in a large number of newspaper offices. In *The Cincinnati Gazette*, however, before it was merged in *The Commercial Gazette*, the phrase was *get in*. This, of course, was a complete sentence, but whether or not it would eventually have been shortened to *get* or *in* is hard to say. An article marked with the word *must* is spoken of as a *must*, or emphatically — if there is absolutely no way of keeping it out of the paper — as a *dead must*. Moreover, as the word is usually accompanied on the copy with the initials of the man who makes the order, there follows a gradation, so that one hears of "Mr. X's must," "Mr. Y's must," and these degrees sometimes have a value according to the authority of the person named, and when accompanied by certain initials might be contemptuously disregarded. Where an article is not a *must*, it may still be a *desirable*, and if for some reason delay is necessary, the copy or the proof is marked *deferred*, though I do not remember having heard this word used as a noun. It is usually worked into a sentence, as "That is deferred matter."

The word *stuff* is of frequent use in a newspaper office, sometimes with almost the exact meaning of the German *stoff*, sometimes in allusion to completed work; as, for example, a man might say "That was pretty good stuff," meaning that the writing was of some value. On the other hand, he would say "What stuff!" meaning that the material was worthless or had been ill-handled. The word *matter* is also much used, with a common, though, perhaps, not invariable distinction, that it refers to an article after it has been put in type, while *stuff* more frequently characterizes what is still in manuscript. In New York the word *story* is of more frequent use than in other cities; almost everything that a reporter can possibly write, especially if it is of any

length, is looked on as a *story*: a *good story*, if well done; a *bad story*, if ill done; a *ghost story*, if doubted. The phrase *fairy tale* is synonymous in this case with *ghost story*. A *story* is called a *fake* when the writer has evidently been at no pains, because of haste or some other reason, to gather his material; when he has depended on a too fertile imagination for his details; or when he has invented the whole thing and some delicacy is felt about calling him point-blank a liar. *Fakes* are the natural and habitual product of an order of beings called *space-grabbers*, *space-fiends*, who are the special abomination of the copy-reader. It is the *space-grabber's* ambition to enhance his weekly bill by every variety of device, but his main reliance is on the quantity of manuscript that he can get through the copy-reader's hands into type. The blue-pencil is used mercilessly in such cases, and the *space-grabber* takes revenge by describing the copy-reader as a *butcher* or *cutter*. The words *space-fiend* and *space-grabber* are also used enviously sometimes in speaking of a reporter who is fortunate in obtaining subjects that fill worthily large place in the paper. *To fake* and *faker* are obvious cognates of the noun already defined.

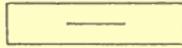
*Space* and *time* are not metaphysical entities to newspaper men, for they bear a vital relation to the pay of most reporters. Metaphysically space and time coexist, but they cannot coexist in a newspaper man's bill. He may receive pay for the number of hours he has worked on a given task, or for the dimensions of the result of his labor as printed, but he cannot obtain both measures of payment for the same article. Space measurements are usually in columns and fractions of a column, the denominator of the fraction being the price of a column. Thus at ten dollars a column, the fraction is rendered in tenths and, perhaps, a half-tenth. The work for which the reporter is paid is usually done on *assignment*. His name is placed in a book called the *assignment-book*, along with others, and opposite each name is the topic which the man is expected to look after. As the tool of his trade is what the English artisan usually calls a "blacklead," he is called somewhat sardonically a *pencil-shover* or *pencil-pusher*. When he has obtained considerable *space* for a *story*, he declares that he has had a *good show*. He describes by the verb *to work up* both the method of obtaining his material and the manner of writing it. The opposite of a *fake* is a *straight story*. Important news which he has obtained for his own paper in advance of

others, he calls a *beat* or a *scoop*, and if the news is exceedingly important, he plumes himself on a *king beat*. If the subject he is at work on is uninteresting to him he characterizes it as a *grind*; if it is something he has to *work up* in the track of somebody else, he flouts it as *stale news*, a contradiction in terms. In one newspaper office that might be named a mannerism which was frequently met on the *assignment-book* became the regular phrase for a theme that had lost its freshness, and it was called a *further-about*, the original formula having been "Mr. Jones — Further about such or such a matter." Reporters characterize a task in which there is more running than writing by the expressive compound *leg-work*. If a reporter is at a distance from the office and has to use the telegraph, he is usually expected, unless he has definite instructions already, to *wire* the office a *query*. If a correspondent intends to cover a variety of subjects, he frequently sends in advance a *schedule*, which contains a list of topics and an estimate of quantity. When he comes to make up his bill, he takes all the articles he has written for a given period and pastes them together, end to end. This he calls his *string*. This practice he borrowed from the printers, from whom he also obtained the word *take*, which he uses sometimes in the sense of *assignment*. Like the printer, he has *fat takes* and *lean takes*, those by which good pay is easily obtained and those which cost much labor and give small returns.

An article sent by mail, express, or telegraph to a newspaper by one of its own writers is described as *special correspondence*, *special dispatch*, or simply *special*. Coming from one of the news or press associations it would be called a *general news dispatch* or credited to the individual association; but in conversation it would probably be described by the initial letters of the association's name, thus *A. P.* for Associated Press; or it would be spoken of as *regular*. In New York the word *special* is also used as a noun to describe an article of interest from some other point of view than that of news. In other cities such an article is frequently called a *feature*.

Some of the words and phrases peculiar to the composing-room require also to be used by the editors. The title and sub-titles of an article are called its *heads*; and in the office of *The New York Tribune* this word is transferred to the paragraphs in the first column of the editorial page, which are called *ed-heads*. If an article is sent to the printer without its *heads* or without being

completed, it is accompanied with the direction *turn rule*. In the proof the article then appears with a black bar at the top or bottom, as the case may be. Sometimes a particular sort of rule is used for this purpose, and then the direction becomes, for example, *ad. rule*; that is, "Put an advertising rule at the place indicated." Various kinds of dashes are used in a newspaper office, but the only one I can think of now that has a legend attached to it is the two-em dash, so called because its length is twice that of the type face of the letter *m*. Described with Roman numerals in lower case, after the old fashion, the name looks like this: *jim dash*. Naturally it came to be called the *Jim dash*. But in some newspaper offices it is called a *shirt-tail dash*, because the manuscript sign for it is made in the following manner:—



Of course other dashes can be indicated in the same way, with an additional description of the size required. A frequent use of the *shirt-tail dash* is to separate a news paragraph from explanatory matter added to it. The result is that the explanatory matter also receives the name *shirt-tail*, and the novice is astonished by having a dispatch thrust at him with the injunction, "Put a shirt-tail to that."

Examples of abbreviated phrase are *subs* for *suburban news*; *home-city* for *Home and City News*; *by-tel*, used in conversation for *by telegraph*. Many such abbreviations are forgotten probably as soon as they are invented. Only the few that are found to be really time-saving apparatus are retained.

The telegraph office also furnishes the newspaper with some phrases. In rapid writing after the telegraph instrument *this morning* becomes *smorning* and *this afternoon*, *safternoon*. *He committed suicide* is replaced by the barbarism *he suicided*, and thus some money is saved. These bits of economy have to be translated into ordinary language before being sent to the printer. When the Press Association has completed its night's work, the newspapers in many cities receive notice of the fact in the words, *Thirty on report*. As some time elapses, however, before the newspaper is ready to leave the press, and in the interval news might be received of a great fire or some other important matter which should be mentioned, it is usual to supplement the preliminary leave-taking. A messenger opens the business-office

door and bawls out, "Good night, Mr. So-and-So," not for politeness' sake, but merely as a matter of duty. He thus gives notice that no more dispatches under any circumstances are to be expected from the association until the work of the next day begins. In New York the words *Two o'clock* give the finishing touch to the work of the night.

The process of arranging the masses of type in the form is called *making-up*. The result is spoken of as a *make-up*, with adjectives appropriate to the degree of merit in the arrangement. But the man who handles the type in the process is also called a *make-up*, and the phrase has still another signification; as, when things are brought into juxtaposition that would have been better apart, the night editor may be asked, "Well, what sort of a *make-up* do you call that?"

I have used the word *article* oftener, perhaps, than I should. The ready writers for the press usually speak of their productions as *pieces*. The distinction is similar to that between *journalist* and *newspaper man*. A *journalist* is said to be a person who writes things and a *newspaper man* is one who puts what the *journalist* writes into the waste-basket.

J. S. TUNISON.<sup>1</sup>

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## A FEW NEW ENGLAND WORDS.

In the following list I have marked all words and phrases that I know to have been used in other places than Plymouth, Mass.; but many of the unmarked words are doubtless common throughout New England. Where no place is mentioned, Plymouth is understood.

**band-wagon**: omnibus or "barge."

**brief** (brif): prevalent (as in Bartlett). "Measles are *brief* in Westport." Little Compton, R.I.

**chunk**: a closely-built horse. New England, *passim*. [Cf. Bartlett.]

**clearn through** (klɪən): clear through, clean through. Perhaps it is *clean* influenced by *clear*. Plymouth and Cambridge. [Also at Southwest Harbor, Me., *klɪən* has been heard.]

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<sup>1</sup> The author desires to acknowledge indebtedness in the preparation of this paper to Messrs. L. C. Bradford and Frederick Evans of *The New York Tribune*.

**clevel** or **clevil**: a grain of corn. [Cf. Murray.]

**cleverly**. "As soon as I *cleverly can*; i. e. *possibly* or *reasonably can*." [Cf. Murray, s.v. 4.]

**college**: an outhouse.

**cross critter**: a bull. Swanzey, N.H.

**dass** (dæs): dare (affirmative of *dasn't* [dæsn't], see p. 73). "I don't quite *dass*."

**digging tracks**: shovelling paths in the snow. Salem.

**dike**: bank of earth, without reference to water; e.g. bank of a terrace. Perhaps a result of the Pilgrims' sojourn in Holland.

**doze**: to decay.

**dozy**: decaying. "A *dozy* post." [Farmer gives this for Pennsylvania.]

**drudge** (drudʒ): to dredge. Plymouth or Sandwich, Mass.; also Wilmington, Del.

**empire**: umpire. Almost universal among boys in Plymouth.

**fair to middlin'**: pretty well (of the health). Common in replying to the question "How are you?"

**farow** (fêrô): farrow. "A *farow* cow."

**folded**: foaled. "The colt was *folded* at such a time."

**full as a tick**: drunk. Used also of fulness of any kind.

**get it over**: get over it. Salem.

**gormy** or **gormin' round** (gɔm-). Said of a horse that "gawks" in stable or harness.

**grubby**: the sculpin. Salem. [In Century dictionary, without citation.] [Cf. Bartlett, s.v. *toadfish*; and "The 'crapies' (pronounced *crapias*), as the latter [sculpin] were denoted," in the Boston *Evening Transcript* (Notes and Queries). Sept. 6, 1890 (R. W. Willson).]

**hain't** (hâint): am not. "I *hain't* very well."

**harry**. "A *harry* of time" = an uncomfortable time or experience. Cf. "Old Harry" (= the devil) and "a devil of a time."

**hightantrabogus** (h:aitænræb'ôgəs): a noisy good time; as in "raisin' *hightantrabogus*."

**h'ist** (haist): to get up. "Won't you please to *h'ist*?" Wilton, N.H.

**hookin' off**: playing truant. [See p. 78.]

**letter-egg**: a small egg, the last of the *letter* (litter).

**mild**: a mile. [Cf. pp. 9, 166.]

**miser** (maizə): mouser. "Her [a kitten's] mother was a dreadful good *miser*."

**mull**: to move sluggishly. "I went *mulling* along." "Let the fire *mull* along." Rhode Island.

**opodildoes** (ôpəd'il-). "He's on his *opodildoes*" (said of a spirited horse).

**pelter**: an old, worn-out horse.

**perky**: "chipper." "A *perky* little girl."

**p'ison** (paizn). "P'*ison* neat" = extremely neat.

**poke**: to travel slowly. "This train *pokes*." [Cf. **slow-poke**.]

**poky**: slow. "A *poky* train." [Cf. *pokey* in Bartlett.]

**porch**: the "L" of a house.

**potterin.** [See Bartlett, *s.v.* *potter*, 2.] “*Goin’ potterin’*” (a boy’s sport). Salem.

**powerful:** very (as in Bartlett). “*Powerful weak.*”

**pudge up** (pʌdʒ): to rouse and stimulate; to “prod.”

**rut:** the noise of the waves on the beach.

**saxon:** sexton. Sandwich, Mass.

**second-handed:** second-hand.

**setters, steerers, belly-bumpers:** three ways of “coasting.” Salem.

[Cf. p. 60.]

**shakes.** *No great shakes* = mediocre.

**skimp:** to scrimp.

**skimpy:** stingy. [Cf. Century dictionary.]

**skwy** (skwai): askew. “Put the book on the table *skwy.*” “This picture hangs *skwy.*” Salem.

**skwywise** (skwaiwaiz): the same as *skwy.* Salem.

**slow-poke:** a slow person. [Cf. **poke, poky**, and Bartlett, *s.v.* *poke*, n. 3.]

**sneakins-meakins** (snik-, mik-): mean. “She called me *sneakins-meakins.*”

**soggy:** comatose (of a dying person). Marblehead. [Cf. *sog* in the Century dictionary.]

**some punkins:** of some importance. “He thinks he’s *some punkins.*”

[Cf. *some*, p. 70.]

**spade** (spêid): to spay.

**sprightly:** high-flavored, tart. “A *sprightly* apple.”

**spudge:** to stick (as with a knife). Plymouth (or Salem?).

**squawmish** (skwə-): queasy.

**takle** (têk-l): tackle, as in *block and takle.*

**tantrum:** tandem. [Cf. p. 166, § 167, 2.)]

**teethache:** toothache. “She’s got the *teethache*, and so she come down town to have it out.” Plymouth and Cape Cod. [Cf. Bartlett.]

**tempest:** a thunder-shower.

**tough.** “*Tougher’n a billed owl*” (said of an enduring person).

**trainers:** soldiers. [Cf. p. 20, and also Bartlett, *s.v.* *train*, *v.* and *trainers.*]

**trap-door:** a triangular rent in cloth. [Cf. *trappatch*, p. 20.]

**wallop** (woləp): to belch. “My food don’t set well. I kind o’ *wallop* it up.” Wilton, N.H.

**whipstock:** whip-socket. Rhode Island.

L. B. R. BRIGGS.

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## NEW ENGLAND NOTES.

My dialect is that of the town of Needham (now Wellesley), where my father was born and lived the first twelve years of his

life. My mother was Boston born and bred. Her early life was passed among literary people, and she was better educated in childhood than most of her sex at the time (she was born in 1811). Locality excepted, I might adopt the language of Part II, p. 33.

I was familiar in my boyhood with the expressions *to play hookey* and *hook Jack* (pp. 22, 78), *to stump* (= challenge), *let the old cat die, slew* (= a great quantity), *he up and did it, he took and hit him, to cut and run, to leg it* (p. 25). The expression *cut, cut behind*, was used to call the attention of a driver to boys running behind his wagon. *So fashion* (p. 23) was a phrase of my father's.

P. 35. Unless my memory is entirely at fault Tutor James Jennison at Harvard College taught me the pronunciation *glōri*, rather than *glōri*. I pronounce *source sɔəs* and *sauce sɔs*; *hoarse hɔəs* and *horse hɔs*, with an inclination towards *hos*. I should also say *sentʃəri* (p. 36).

**umbrella** (p. 37). I heard last summer (1890) an aged Cape Codder say *æmbər-il*.

**been** (p. 38). My father always said *ben*.

**because**. I now say *bik·ɔz*, but I think *bik·oz* is more natural to me.

**jaundice**: *dʒandis*.

**earthenware**: *ëpnwæə*.

**extraordinary** (p. 39): *ekstr·ɔdn-eri*.

**castle**: *kasl*; trained to *kàsl*.

**quarrel**: *kworil*.

**lonely**: *lounli*.

**oatmeal** (p. 40): accent on first syllable strong, on second slight. *Rye meal* and *Indian meal* hardly as compound words at all, or at least with equal accent on both parts.

**rascal**: *raskəl*.

P. 41. I say (or said before making a conscious change) *rut*, *rud* (only an arithmetic word with me), *ruf*, *sun*, *rum*, for *root*, *rood*, *roof*, *soon*, *room*. *Pagan* is to me *peigən*, and in *morsel* and *parcel* I have *l* rather than *il*.

P. 56. *Bloodsucker* was common in my childhood, so *piss-abad* for the "white-weed." *Kwèts* was the only pronunciation I knew till I saw the word *quoits* in print.

**go** (p. 59). Suggested by *goes out*, is my childhood phrase *lets out*. "School lets out at 12."

**belly-bumper** (p. 60). My word was *guts-dive*.

**guardēen** (p. 61). I find the word spelled exactly so in a Suffolk probate document dated April 14, 1761.

**ingine** (indʒain; p. 68). This was the ordinary pronunciation till corrected in school.

**tassel** (p. 72). My pronunciation was *tosl*.

**bull-tucker** (p. 72). *Bull-frog* and *bull-paddy* were very familiar to me.

**fezinah** (p. 73). I often heard this from a Yankee farmer thirty years ago.

**gosh all hemlock** (p. 73) is very familiar to me.

**tittly benders** (p. 75). My pronunciation was *till-i bendəz* or *bendôz*. The expression was applied to the ice itself. "Running benders" was a common phrase.

**tortience** (p. 75). I never heard the word, but am reminded of the word *titman*, applied to the last born and often weakest and smallest pig in a litter. I have known two schoolmasters who applied the term to their weakest and least promising pupil.

**jag**: a small load (p. 76), is familiar to me.

**coast**: to slide down hill (p. 77). Perfectly familiar. In fact, I never used any other word.

**duck** (p. 77). *Duck-stone* was my name of the game.

**forelay** or **forlay** (fōlei, with nearly equal accent on each syllable): to lie in wait for, head off. Heard last summer from a Cape Cod farmer who had in early life been a sailor. The dictionaries give the word with this meaning, quoting Dryden. Is it common nowadays?

I have a neighbor, unschooled but intelligent, a native of Vermont, who says "get offn that grass," "take the harness offn the horse." Is *offn* common anywhere in New England? The form *housen* (p. 25) I heard frequently used thirty years ago on Cape Cod (Chatham).

M. GRANT DANIELL.

## ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS TO WORDS PREVIOUSLY MENTIONED.

A SPECIAL interest attaches to the notes of Professor J. Henry Thayer, as they give some Boston uses among schoolboys of forty or fifty years ago; and to those of Mr. P. P. Claxton of Asheville, N.C., who finds that several of the words in the list in Part I, pp. 18-20, are not confined to New England, but "are not uncommon in parts of North Carolina and Tennessee." Those which he notes below he has frequently heard. Besides what appears here, Lieutenant H. J. Darnall has contributed notes on

words heard in the South and not previously mentioned, which will be used with similar contributions from others for a later issue of the "NOTES." The following extract from his letter of Feb. 18, 1891, shows the territory covered by his observations: "I was born in Virginia and spent the earlier part of my life there. Since then I have lived in North Carolina for ten years, and then in Tennessee. Most of the words given are those I have heard in that section, but several of them I have gotten during the last few months in Missouri."

**afeard** (p. 69). "I have heard this from old people in Chicopee, Mass." (F. L. Palmer.)

**banty** (p. 76). Common in New England. (F. L. P.)

**beat hoop** (p. 18). Also in Salem. (L. B. R. Briggs.)

**belly-bumper** (p. 60). See p. 212.

**belly-whacker** (pp. 49, 60). Lieutenant H. J. Darnall writes that *belly-buster* is the word he has always heard in this sense.

**bif** (p. 72) or **biff**. "Current among students in the South, meaning 'to strike.' It is used oftenest in the game of marbles, but has also a wider use. 'He *biffed* him on the ear.'" (H. J. Darnall.)

**black frost** (p. 69). "Also English and Irish; usually understood, I think, as opposed to *white frost*, the hoar frost being absent." (James Lancey.)

**bob-sled**: double runner (p. 72). "Common also about New York City and Eastern New Jersey." (James Lancey.) (See Century dictionary.)

**boogie** (pp. 18, 77). Not peculiar to Portsmouth. Children in Belcher-town (Western Massachusetts) used to call the thing in question a *poker* (rhyming with *joker*, *stoker*); some called it a *boogher* (pronounced so as to rhyme with *cougar* by some, with *sugar* by others). (Chas. W. Greene.) Called *bugger* in the South, the *u* sounded like *oo* short [*u*]. (John C. Branner, Little Rock, Ark.)

**budge** (pp. 18, 77). "Common in Boston in my youth." (J. Henry Thayer.)

**bull-tucker**. See p. 213.

**carry** (p. 70). Lieutenant H. J. Darnall reports from Virginia, "Carry the horse to water," and "To carry (= escort) a lady to or from church." Common in Virginia and Maryland. (James Lancey.)

**cat**: in "let the old cat die" (p. 25). "Common in Boston in my youth." (J. Henry Thayer.) See also p. 212.

**cat**: a game at ball (p. 63). "We also played [in Georgetown, D.C.] *round-cat* = 'scrub' here in New England." (Angelo Hall.) "I am very familiar with the uses mentioned on p. 63, also with 'Cat-I one holt.'" (H. J. Darnall.) ["Scrub" in New England is that form of base ball played when there are too few players to have opposing sides.]

**caught** (pp. 18, 77). "Common in Boston in my youth." (J. Henry Thayer.)

**cellar-case** (p. 18). *Cellar-door* was used in Salem, Mass., up to 1864. (W. S. Beaman.)

**claw out** (p. 18). Also in parts of North Carolina and Tennessee. "He'll *claw out* of it in some way." (P. P. Claxton.)

**coast** (pp. 21, 58, 77). "The only word used by the boys in Boston in my youth." (J. Henry Thayer.) "Common in Boston in 1862-67, and has been in Orange, N.J., since at least 1868. Of late years it has become, I think, universally applied to bicycle-riding down hill by gravity." (James Lancey.) "A much-used colloquial word in this section [Mexico, Mo.]. I have always heard it in the South." (H. J. Darnall.) In Western Pennsylvania is used *to sled* or *to sled-ride*. (W. O. Sproull.) In Georgetown, D.C., the word is *sleigh-ride*, *v.* (Angelo Hall.) See also p. 213.

**corn** (p. 64). "He feels his oats" is said by Mr. James Lancey to be common in England and Ireland of a frisky horse (regardless of his fat), and, metaphorically, of a frisky boy or young man.

**croaky** (p. 18). Also in parts of North Carolina and Tennessee. (P. P. Claxton.)

**cut** (pp. 25, 77). Mr. James Lancey notes that *to cut*, *to cut and run*, *to cut sticks*, and *to cut his stick* are all English school-slang in the sense of "to run away." See also p. 212.

**deaf** (dif; pp. 50, 56). This pronunciation is frequent among uneducated people in North Ireland. (James Lancey.)

**dlight** (p. 18). Cf. *doit*, a trifle, in the dictionaries.

**duck** (pp. 21, 77).) "'To play duck' was the only phrase" in Boston. (J. Henry Thayer.) In Georgetown, D.C., *duck on davy*. (Angelo Hall.) "I remember in Queen Elizabeth's time, a wealthy citizen of London left his son a mighty estate in money, who, imagining he should never be able to spend it, would usually make 'ducks and drakes' in the Thames, with twelve pences, as boys are wont to do with tile sherds and oyster shells." (H. Peacham, *The Worth of a Penny*, 1641[?]. Arber's *English Garner*, VI, 259.) See also p. 213.

**ear** (p. 64). Cf. *to go off on his ear* = to go away angry, and *to get on his ear* = to get angry, cited by Mr. James Lancey as New York and New Jersey slang, but perhaps universal in the United States.

**easy** (pp. 18, 78). Also quite common in parts of North Carolina and Tennessee. (P. P. Claxton.)

**fen**: to forbid (p. 61). So in "English school (Cheltenham) slang; e.g. *fen fubs* (at marbles). 'Fen plucks!' would avert the *plucks* (i.e. pinches), which were the penalty for small fibs, stale news, and other improprieties, provided the phrase was pronounced before the infliction of the penalty was begun." (James Lancey.)

**(ker)flummux** (p. 64). This is used in some parts of New England as an adverb; as, *to fall kerflummux*. (F. L. P., Chicopee, Mass.)

**fezinalh** (p. 73). See p. 213.

**fogo** (p. 21). "I have heard *fugo* (pronounced *flugô*) in the same sense in New England. *Fogo* is common enough among North of Ireland people." (Chas. W. Greene.)

**fortinah** (p. 73). "I find this word is known also in Chicopee, Mass." (F. L. P.)

**fretty** (p. 19). Also in parts of North Carolina and Tennessee. (P. P. Claxton.)

**fun**: as a verb (pp. 19, 78). Also in parts of North Carolina and Tennessee. (P. P. Claxton.)

**funny**: as a noun (pp. 19, 78). "Not common, but I have heard it once or twice." (P. P. Claxton, Asheville, N.C.)

**gall** (pp. 21, 78). "Common slang about New York City and Newark, N.J. I think it usually conveys a note of approval, just as *cheek* carries a shade of disapproval. *Gall* denotes pluck, audacity, courage of one's conviction under difficulties. *Cheek* often implies conceit, effrontery, offensive self-assertion, etc." (James Lancey.)

**gas** (p. 61). The pronunciation *gaz* is common in Baltimore, Md. (James Lancey.)

**go, goes out** (p. 59). See p. 212.

**guardeen** (p. 61). See p. 213.

**heavy-handed** (pp. 19, 78). "Common in Boston in my youth." (J. Henry Thayer.) "In England said of one who, in shaving carelessly, cuts away some of his beard." (James Lancey.)

**hen-hussy** (p. 74). Known in New Haven, Conn., and Springfield, Mass. (F. L. Palmer.)

**het**: heated (p. 71). "Common also in blacksmiths' forges in New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, and, I should say, generally in the Northern and Eastern States." (James Lancey.)

**hookey** (pp. 22, 78). "I was born and brought up on Fort Hill, Boston, attended three public schools and one private school there, and served one year as usher in the Boston Latin School; and in all the period from 1840 to 1850 the current phrase among the boys was *to hook Jack*. The phrase *to play hookey* never greeted my eye or ear before I opened the 'DIALECT NOTES,' Part II." (J. Henry Thayer.) "I am sure I never heard the expression [*to play hookey*] used in any of these seven schools [in Boston, 1865-79]; nor have I ever heard it at any other time from a Boston school-boy." (C. H. Grandgent.) See also p. 212. "*To play hookey* is much heard in Springfield, Mass. In Camden, N.J., the boys 'bag it.' *Hook it, hook off* = steal off, and *bag it* = steal it." (Chas. W. Greene.) *To play hookey* is common in Western Ohio, but is never used in Western Pennsylvania. (W. O. Sproull.) *To play hookey* was a common phrase in Georgetown, D.C. (Angelo Hall.)

**housen** (p. 25). See p. 213.

**idea** (p. 24). The accent on the first syllable is very common in Philadelphia. (Chas. W. Greene.)

**indeedy** (pp. 22, 78). "In Georgetown, D.C., used only in such phrases as *yes indeedy*, or *no indeedy*. We never said *indeedy* with no other word before it." (Angelo Hall.)

**ingine** (p. 68). See p. 213.

**jag** (p. 76). The sense "a load of drink" (more than one can well carry; see Century dictionary) has been known in Boston for only a very few years. See also p. 213.

**king's excuse** (p. 65). Lieutenant Darnall reports the North Carolina phrase as *king's crew*.

**kilt**: killed (p. 68). "Also Irish, but sometimes = very nearly — not quite — killed: '*kilt* and spacheless and callin' for a dhrop o' dhrink.'" (James Lancey.)

**kitty-cornered** (pp. 6, 78). "Familiar to an elderly lady of Springfield, Mass., a native of Chicopee." (F. L. P.)

**knucks** (p. 65). In Chicopee, Mass., this game is called *knugs* (nægz) and the process of shooting the marbles at the knuckles of the defeated one is called *giving him the knugs*. (F. L. P.)

**la** (p. 74). "This word is very familiar with me; in fact, I use it constantly myself and have heard it all my life." (H. J. Darnall.)

**leg it** (p. 25). See p. 212.

**meech** (pp. 19, 78). "Common in Boston in my youth, especially *meeching* as an adjective." (J. Henry Thayer.) *Michin* (mîtsin) is reported from Plymouth, Mass., and is in use in various parts of New England.

**on the mending hand** (pp. 19, 78). "Common in Boston in my youth." (J. Henry Thayer.) "I found Mr. Attorney and Mrs. Gerrard and all their howshold in helth, saving the yong gentleman, who I trust is *on the mending hande*." (Recorder Fleetwood to Lord Treasurer Burley, 1577; Ellis's Letters, 2d Series, III, 55. See also Century dictionary, *s.v. hand*.) (G. L. K.)

**miled** (mailed): for mile (p. 9). Also Plymouth, Mass. (L. B. R. Briggs.)

**mush-melon** (p. 74). Also New York and New Jersey. (James Lancey.)

**ornery** (p. 65). "This is familiar in New England, but is it a native word or an imported one?" (F. L. P., Chicopee, Mass.)

**out** (p. 19). "The wind is *out*" is common in North Andover, Mass. (Chas. W. Greene.)

**particular** (p. 68). The accent of *pētiklə* is on the *i*.

**pernickely** (p. 62). For this read **pernickety**.

**pope-night** (p. 18). "I saw the Gunpowder Plot celebrated by a 'bone-fire'<sup>1</sup> at Norwich, Conn., in 1844. My mother told me that she had often seen its celebration in that place." (Chas. W. Greene.) "Thirty years ago what we called 'Gunpowder Treason' was celebrated by a big bonfire on Salem Neck." (W. S. Beaman.) [In this connection I may note that while I knew as a boy the rhyme, "Remember, remember, The fifth of November, Gunpowder treason and plot," I never connected it, so far as I can remember, with the pumpkin lanterns which were familiar to me as to other boys. I think it likely that I got it directly or indirectly from some book, and have since found it (also beginning "Please to remember") in the "Mother Goose" rhymes, a source suggested by Mr. Bendelari. — E. S. S.]

**practical** (p. 40). For *prätikəl* read *præktikəl*.

**primilco** (pp. 19, 79). "Two elderly ladies, natives of Chicopee, Mass., recall the phrase 'dressed in their primlicues' = dressed in their best."

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<sup>1</sup> Is this form still in use?

(F. L. P.) Professor J. Henry Thayer notes that *in pimlico order* was common in Boston in his youth.

**quate**: a quoit (pp. 50, 75). See p. 212.

**ride out** (pp. 19, 79). "This use is familiar in Chicopee, Mass.; as, 'The room looks as if it was going to *ride out*.'" (F. L. P.)

**ride up** (pp. 19, 79). Also in parts of North Carolina and Tennessee. (P. P. Claxton.)

**rubbers** (pp. 19, 79). Quite common in parts of Middle Tennessee, where the phrase is *to pass through the rubbers*. (P. P. Claxton.) "To meet with the rubbers was common in Boston in my youth." (J. Henry Thayer.)

**scooch** (pp. 19, 79). "Instead of this we have *scrooch*, which is quite common." (P. P. Claxton, Asheville, N.C.) "Here called *scrooch*." (John C. Branner, Little Rock, Ark.)

**skeezix** (p. 62). "Slang about New York City, where, I should say, it has the force of a slightly contemptuous but good-natured appellation; as who should say 'old stick-in-the-mud.'" (James Lancey.)

**slew**: a great quantity (p. 25). See p. 212.

**snoot**: nose (p. 75). Also in vulgar use in New York City and Philadelphia. (James Lancey.)

**soaky** (p. 66). "Cf. English school slang (Cheltenham) *soak it*, a contemptuous and insulting rejoinder to a complaint against a blow or other injury = 'I'm glad of it! make the most of it!'" (James Lancey.)

**so fashion** (p. 77). "Common in Boston in my youth." (J. Henry Thayer.) See also p. 212.

**sojer** (pp. 19, 79). Also, in England, "to play old soldier," *i.e.* to sham illness or other disability. (James Lancey.) *Soldiering* = shirking, used of a horse that makes his mate do more than a fair share of work. Plymouth, Mass. (L. B. R. Briggs.)

**soople** (p. 72). The reference should be to p. 50. The pronunciation *sûpl* is noted by Professor L. B. R. Briggs as common in Plymouth, Mass., and in New England generally, and by Mr. James Lancey as "frequent among uneducated people in North Ireland (say County Londonderry)."

**sound**: sound asleep (p. 19). Also Plymouth, Mass. (L. B. R. Briggs.)

**sprawl** (p. 19) = energy; as, "I haven't any *sprawl* to-day." Marblehead and Salem. (R. W. Willson.)

**squirrel** (p. 50). The pronunciation *skwërl* is "frequent among uneducated people in North Ireland (say County Londonderry)." (James Lancey.) [My dialect has *skwërl*. — E. S. S.]

**srink** (p. 69). The appearance of *sr* for initial *fr* is also known in England; see Ellis, *Early English Pronunciation*, V, 14\*, No. 52, **shrivelled**. It is common in New England, where Mr. F. L. Palmer notes *sril*, *sraud*, *srain*, *srwb* for the written *shrill*, *shroud*, *shrine*, *shrub*. Mr. James Lancey remarks that *srink* is "heard among Philadelphians of fair education."

**stand in hand** (p. 19). Also in parts of North Carolina and Tennessee. (P. P. Claxton.)

**stump**: to challenge (p. 25). See p. 212.

**swipe** (p. 66). See the citations in the Century dictionary.

**tassel** (p. 72). The pronunciation *tɒsl* is heard among farmers in Chicopee, Mass. (F. L. P.) See also p. 213.

**thing-um-a-bob** (p. 66). "*Thingembob* or *thingumbob* (not *thingem-a-bob*), *thingamy*, *thingmajig* (not *thingemajig*), also English." (James Lancey.)

**thrash, thresh** (pp. 23, 79). The same distinction holds good in England. (James Lancey.) "I should use these just as E. S. S. would; but in Jefferson County, N. Y., where the population is mostly pure New England stock transplanted about eighty or ninety years ago, *thrash* is the only word used; *thresh* would mark the person who used it as one who put on airs." [Cf. p. 59]. (Angelo Hall.)

**tittly benders** (p. 75). See p. 213.

**took**: "He *took* and hit him" (p. 25). See p. 212.

**tough it out** (p. 20). "Among the uneducated of this section I believe this phrase is used in this sense, to the exclusion of all others." (P. P. Claxton, Asheville, N. C.) Mr. Chas. W. Greene writes that he heard this lately from a negro once a slave in Maryland, now living in New Jersey.

**up**: "He *up* and did it" (p. 25). See p. 212.

**vengeance**: gentians (p. 24). "In Western Massachusetts I have heard this plant called *jinshang*, evidently by confusion with *ginseng*, which is called *sang* for short in many parts of the United States." (Chas. W. Greene.)

**wrestle** (p. 76). The pronunciation *ræsl* is "frequent among uneducated people in North Ireland (say County Londonderry)." (James Lancey.)

The following notes have been received on words used in playing at marbles (see p. 24, and *knucks* in the preceding list, p. 217). In Georgetown, D. C., are used:—

**allies**: marbles. *Marbles* is never used.

**agatey**: a marble made of material supposed to resemble agate.

**cungeons!** or **cungeon roots!** An exclamation supposed to prevent one's marble from being hit.

**back-a-licks**: used in "back-a-licks takes over"; that is, if a marble hit another by rebounding from a wall, that shot shall not be counted, but another one shall be allowed.

**cunny-thumb**: used in the phrase "to shoot cunny-thumb"; that is, with the marble held between the thumb and the middle of the forefinger. This kind of shot is much feebler than when the marble rests on the end of the forefinger.

**fat**. One's marble is *fat* when in playing "little ring" it stays in the ring when it ought to have come out.

**fen**. When you said "fen clarances" your opponent had no right to *clear* away the rubbish lying between his marble and yours. The phrase "fen everything" deprived your opponent of all privileges, such as *clarances*. When boys saw a dead animal they would say, "fen all round my family and spit out," and then would spit. [Cf. **fen** (p. 215).]

**go**. By calling "first go" you obtained first shot.

**purgy**: the hole in the dirt which was the first goal into which to get your marble.

**toy**: the marble with which you shot.

**to play for good**: to play for "keeps."

ANGELO HALL.

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The uses in Missouri are somewhat different [see p. 24]. Thus *dubs* means, not doublets, but that the player has blundered, and by crying "dubs" is entitled to play again. *To fudge* is to cheat. The expression *to bunker* means to win a game; as, "I bunkered him," meaning "I won." A *taw* is the playing marble, especially in the game of simple rolling; as, "Long Taw." Another common expression is *clip*; as, "I clipped it," or "two at a clip." It means either success in a shot or a single chance. Marbles themselves are almost universally called *chineys* (from *china* perhaps). *Evers* and *vent* are used as in Kentucky.

A. A. BERLE.

The following corrections have been noted: —

P. 36, line 15. For *sentfəri* read *sentšəri*.

P. 55, No. 20. For XIX (pp. 13-14) read XIX (pp. 63-64); and in No. 30 for 1875, p. 22, read 1871-72, p. 22 of the Appendix. (J. Geddes, Jr.)

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#### THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SOCIETY.

By the kindness of President Welling of Columbian University, Washington, D.C., a room was obtained for the Annual Meeting of 1891 at that University. The meeting was called to order about 8 P.M. on Wednesday, December 29, by the President of the Society, Professor J. M. Hart, and committees were appointed to examine the Treasurer's accounts (Dr. J. W. Bright and Mr. E. H. Babbitt) and to nominate a list of officers for the year 1892 (Professors A. M. Elliott, H. E. Greene, and E. M. Brown). The former committee reported in due time that the Treasurer's accounts had been examined and found correct, and the latter reported the following list of officers for 1892, which was approved: For President, James M. Hart, Ithaca, N.Y.; for

Vice-President, James M. Garnett, University of Virginia; for Secretary, Edward S. Sheldon, Cambridge, Mass.; for Treasurer, Charles H. Grandgent, Cambridge, Mass.; for the Editing Committee, the Secretary, George L. Kittredge, Cambridge, Mass., and George Hempl, Ann Arbor, Mich.; for the Executive Committee, in addition to these officers, James W. Bright, Baltimore, Md., E. M. Brown, Cincinnati, O., and Alcée Fortier, New Orleans, La.

The reports of the Secretary and the Treasurer were read as follows:—

#### SECRETARY'S REPORT FOR 1891.

During the year 1891 a third part of "DIALECT NOTES" has been published, containing a study of the Ithaca Dialect, by Dr., now Professor, O. F. Emerson, and the proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Society in 1890. A special agreement was made with Professor Emerson as to the amount to be contributed by him toward the cost of printing, in view of the number of copies of his paper desired by him and the estimated length of his work; and it was hoped that as a result it would be possible to print this part without leaving the Society in debt. But the paper proved longer than was expected, partly in consequence of some editorial additions (the translation of examples), and though the author kindly increased somewhat the amount of his contribution, and although the size of the edition was reduced to a total of three hundred and fifty copies, the printer's bill was considerably in excess of the amount in the Treasurer's hands, and our deficit is larger than at the time of the last report. In consequence it will probably be necessary to lessen the amount to be published in 1892, unless our funds can be increased. There has been some sale of our publications, and we have received enough new subscriptions to make our membership list a very little larger than it was one year ago. This is in great part the result of a circular prepared in September and sent mainly to libraries in this country and in Europe, the expense, which was not great, being borne by two of the Society's officers.

Several interesting and difficult questions are raised by Professor Emerson's paper, which the Secretary hopes to discuss later.

The price of additional copies of Part III to members of 1891 has been set at ninety cents, and a few copies have been taken at this price.

Some new contributions have been received, among which may be specially mentioned a paper by Professor H. Tallichet on Spanish or Mexican words used in Texas, which was forwarded to the Secretary through Professor Sylvester Primer, now District Secretary in Texas at the University of Texas in Austin. There has been some correspondence with Professor Tallichet in regard to this paper, which is in itself of interest and shows how similar work can be done elsewhere for words of foreign origin, and the author has finally offered to contribute thirty dollars for two hundred copies of it, to be printed as early as possible in 1892, as part of the next number of "DIALECT NOTES." It seems to the Secretary desirable to print this paper with some of the other material on hand, and to postpone the question of a further publication in 1892 till a later time in the year, when perhaps our financial condition will allow the issue of another number.

E. S. SHELDON, *Secretary.*

#### TREASURER'S REPORT FOR 1891.

*From December 23, 1890, to December 28, 1891.*

##### RECEIPTS.

1 membership fee for 1889 .....	\$1.00
14 membership fees for 1890 .....	14.00
162 membership fees for 1891.....	162.00
9½ membership fees for 1892 .....	9.50
1 membership fee for 1893 .....	1.00
1 membership fee for 1894 .....	1.00
Sale of "DIALECT NOTES," I, II, III.....	109.40
Total .....	<u>\$297.90</u>

##### EXPENDITURES.

Deficit of 1890 .....	\$28.62
Stamps and stationery.....	11.20
Printing and mailing "DIALECT NOTES," III.....	311.34
Printing and mailing notices of meeting .....	3.00
Total .....	<u>\$354.16</u>
Deficit, December 28, 1891.....	\$56.26

C. H. GRANDGENT, *Treasurer.*

These reports having been accepted, a call was made for any reports or statements which District Secretaries present might be

prepared to offer. In response Dr. Learned said that he had laid before the Pennsylvania German Society a scheme to prepare a Pennsylvania German lexicon containing forms and etymologies also. The matter had been referred by that society to a committee, which was now considering it. Dr. Learned had asked an appropriation of that society for continuing the work; the expense of publishing the lexicon when complete had not yet been considered. The phonetic notation used by him in his already published work on the Pennsylvania German dialect had raised some difficulties, but these did not appear to be serious.

The condition and prospects of the Society, in view of its indebtedness and consequent inability to print all the material it has, were then discussed. President Hart said that this was practically a coöperative society existing for the sake of publication, and the value of such an organization must depend largely on the amount — not on the merit only — of what it published. Two hundred pages a year would be equivalent to more than four times one hundred pages, while a society which could only print fifty pages a year would seem hardly worth keeping alive. We should print much and bring out the great variety in American speech. The more and the more diversified our matter is, the better. He hoped we might print generously, but not recklessly. The question might arise whether we should increase our subscriptions.

The Secretary hoped it would not be necessary to increase the membership fee. Many of our members are college professors or other teachers who do not receive large salaries, and have many calls for money, from other associations, for example. He was not yet discouraged, though his hopes had not been fully realized. It might in the future be worth considering whether our organization had better be merged in some other, as the Folk-Lore Society, the Modern Language Association, or the American Philological Association. Some of our members would then drop out, for those associations all charged a higher fee. In answer to a question from Professor Elliott, he specified some of the material which he hoped to see printed early in 1892, estimating the number of pages and the probable cost. There would remain a quantity of material and some surplus in money for another number to be published later in the year if enough additional money could be raised.

Professor Elliott agreed with what the President had said, and

hoped the policy adopted would be aggressive; that we should push forward, and in case of a deficiency which we could not meet otherwise, that special subscriptions would be called for. He said also that the lack of an interesting programme for the meeting caused a number of persons to absent themselves [there were not quite twenty members present]. He had been asked what the programme was, and had been obliged to answer that it was purely a business meeting, whereupon his questioners had said, "Then we won't come." Perhaps it would be well to have a paper read, followed by discussion and an interchange of ideas.

It was here proposed that a collection be immediately taken to diminish the deficit as far as possible by contributions from those present. Other members would, it was to be hoped, contribute also as soon as the urgent need of funds was brought to their attention. This was put to vote and carried unanimously, and as a result the sum of seventeen dollars and fifty cents was later placed in the hands of the Treasurer.

Mr. Grandgent reminded members that there had been such a discussion as Professor Elliott wished at the meeting in Cambridge in 1889, and it was that feature which had made that meeting so interesting. In answer to a question whether an increase of the annual fee to two dollars would diminish the money receipts, he said it probably would somewhat.

Mr. Babbitt suggested that money could be raised by appeals to wealthy men. Coöperation in publication was also possible; if matter on dialects were printed through other societies, copies enough for our use might be obtained. On the other hand, as was said also by another member, our own imprint was desirable.

Mr. Grandgent said that if any of our members who published elsewhere would send deprints to all our members it might help us not to lose members. They would get more for their money.

Professor Elliott spoke of the experience of the Modern Language Association, whose membership fell off when only one issue a year was printed, while now with quarterly publication a great advance was shown. So for the Dialect Society; it was not necessary to print very much at a time, but it was important to print oftener.

Mr. Chamberlain mentioned that he had planned a collection of material on Indian languages, which might be sent to members of this society though printed by another.

Professor Smyth, the secretary of the American Philological

Association, said that that association had a considerable surplus, and that papers might be proposed to it for publication. Deprints were regularly supplied to the number of fifty copies.

Dr. Bright said the Society was not moribund; there was no necessity for hurrying; it was doing good in keeping alive. The whole problem of dialect study here was new; we ourselves were not altogether clear as to what should be done or how it should be done. All the higher institutions of learning were preparing graduates who would be more and more fit to do such work. One of his own students was thinking of a linguistic island in the Tennessee mountains as a field for future work. It was not well to press matters too much now. In answer to disagreement expressed by the President, who wished to have word-lists printed as fast as possible, otherwise we should only be putting off the day when the material can be worked over, he explained that he wished to emphasize the need of caution. There was no immediate cause for alarm.

Dr. Learned spoke of the local pride in the preservation of a varying speech in some localities, which might be successfully appealed to. He would have found explanatory circulars useful. The Secretary said that such a circular had been widely distributed, and it must be due to accident or oversight that Dr. Learned had not received a supply. Mr. Babbitt said that such circulars did little good unless accompanied by personal explanation or appeals, and Professor Walter said that he sent circulars to all the high school teachers in Michigan without a single response. A similar result was reported from Ohio.

The Secretary spoke of some of the problems offered in America, particularly in pronunciation, such as the question what phenomena were new developments in America. He mentioned as examples of cases where doubt might exist the pronunciation of *wh* in America (see *Modern Language Notes* for May, June, and November, 1891), the *r* after a vowel and not followed by another vowel (*hear, hard, cord, etc.*). He said there was considerable evidence that the pronounced *r* in such cases, in some parts of the country, particularly Ohio and vicinity, was a later development from an earlier stage represented now in New and Old England. In New England, for example, words with older final *r*, like *here, there, father*, had each two pronunciations depending on the beginning of the next word when closely connected in pronunciation; one with the *r* (*here is, there are, father or mother*), the other without a

real *r* (*here she comes, there goes*). One of these two forms might have become exclusively used, the other being lost. Or the *r* might be in part artificial, due to the spelling and the influence of the dictionaries and the school teachers. It could not be assumed as certain that the pronounced *r* was a retention of the earlier English pronunciation.

Mr. Grandgent thought that this *r*, when more retracted than the ordinary initial *r*, was probably of artificial origin, and instanced a case where he had been able to observe the pronunciation of three generations of the same family, the last having a pronounced *r* in such cases, while the first did not have it. He mentioned also a book of near the close of the last century, which gave, in a list of words pronounced alike but spelt differently, *fust* and *first*, and also *bust* and *burst*. As another case of artificial influence, he mentioned that while usually in New England words like *ask*, *pass* are pronounced with *a*, yet nearly all the children in the Boston schools now say *æsk*, *pæes*, etc., probably on account of the dictionary pronunciations taught them by grammar school teachers.

Mr. Babbitt said the *y*-like pronunciation of *r* (in words like *first*) common in New York City and vicinity was certainly an American development; and this reminded Mr. Grandgent that the same peculiar sound for *r* had been reported to him from Western South Carolina.

Mr. Chamberlain said that after about two years passed in Worcester, Mass., he found himself losing the *r* in such words as those mentioned. Personal pronunciations (and vocabularies) such as were given in Part II of "DIALECT NOTES" were interesting and desirable.

Professor E. M. Brown said that the rapid collection of different pronunciations is difficult, there are so few who can notice pronunciations and record them correctly.

The President said that we needed not pronunciations only, but should collect words and meanings of words, and the sooner the better. The literature, and particularly the theological literature, of the Elizabethan age might throw light on American usages. The word *near*, in the sense of 'close in money matters,' 'stingy,' was used in older English, *neerenes* (i.e. nearness — of the nobility) occurring in the *Third Blast of Retrait from Plaies*, etc., p. 133 (anno 1580. In Hazlitt's *English Drama and Stage*, etc., Roxburghe Library, 1869).

Mr. Chamberlain mentioned this use of *near*, and the word *nash*, 'dainty,' as familiar to him. He mentioned also *two-handed* in the sense of 'awkward' — "don't be such a two-handed boy" — as known in Warwickshire. The President spoke of *south* meaning 'left' in *south paw*, a left-handed base-ball pitcher; *south-handed* had been mentioned to him by Englishmen.

On account of the lateness of the hour, it being about half-past ten, the meeting then adjourned.

E. S. SHELDON.

Suggestions of subjects to be discussed at the annual meeting of 1892 are invited from all members of the Society. They should be received early enough to be considered, so that notice of one or more such subjects may be given with the call for the meeting.



# DIALECT NOTES.

## PART V.

### KENTUCKY WORDS.

#### I. PECULIAR WORDS AND USAGES.

**beateneſt**: not to be beaten (in the ſuperlative). "He is the *beateneſt* man I ever ſaw." "That is the *beateneſt* trick I ever heard of."

**bein' as** (bîns). "*Bein's* it's you, I will take a dollar for it." [Also in New England; but the pronunciation is *bînz*. Is it really *bîns* in Kentucky? In Michigan *bîən əz*. Cf. Bartlett, *s.v. being*.]

**bent**: the timbers of one ſide of a barn as they ſtand framed together. [Not in Murray; cf. the Century dictionary and Webster's International dictionary for this ſenſe.]

**bit**. "To get bit": to be cheated in making a purchaſe. [Also in New England and Michigan.]

**bobbee** (bobî). See Webster, *baubee, bawbee*. [The definition there is a half-penny, a ſenſe which does not have a clear meaning in this country; cf. Bartlett, *s.v. cent*.]

**brash** (bræſ): pert. "He is too brash." [Cf. Murray, *s.v. brash*, adj.,<sup>2</sup> and Century dictionary.]

**bread and butter, come to ſupper**. In the game of "hiding the ſwitch" this is the call to hunt the ſwitch.

**chitches**: bedbugs. [See Murray and Century dictionary.] "The chitches like to eat [= nearly ate] me up in that hotel."

**confab**, *n.* As in Webster. [Murray and Century dictionary give a verb alſo; is it uſed anywhere in this country?]

**conoſtogas** (konəſtôgiz): brogans. [In Michigan *stogies*. Cf. p. 237.]

**cut out**. "He cut me out of my girl." [Universal? In New England rather *with* than *of*, or, as in Michigan, ſimply "he cut me out."]

**dare** (dæə). Children in quarrelling ſay, "I dare you," "I dog dare you," "I black dog dare you," "I double dog dare you," "I double black dog dare you." [In Michigan *dare* and *double dare*.]

**doin's** (duinz): entertainment. "What kind 'o' doins are you goin' to have at your houſe?" [Vulgar in Michigan.]

**doodle bugs**. See Bartlett [who gives it only for Louisiana].

**dry grins**: the smiles of one teased.

**fix**. "Out of fix" = out of health, out of humor, out of almost any normal condition of body or mind. [Also known in Michigan.]

**frog-sticker**: the old blunt-pointed Barlow pocket-knife bought for children. Schoolboys say, "Loan me your *frog-sticker*."

**funked**: rotten. Used only of tobacco: *funked* tobacco.

**gallows** (gæləs): suspenders [pl. ? or sing. *gæləs*, pl. *gæləsiz*, as elsewhere?] "A *one-gallus'd* fellow" is a worthless man. In the sense of 'gibbet' the pronunciation is *gælēz* [in Michigan *gælōz*].

**good**. "For good and always" = forever. [Cf. ordinary English for *good and all*.]

**groun' y** (grauni). "*Groun' y* coffee."

**hand-gallop** (hæŋgæləp): hurry. "He went in a han'-gallop."

**hard-run**. To be *hard run* is to lack money and the comforts of life.

**heeled**. To be *heeled* = to be prepared for an undertaking. [So to be *well heeled*, Massachusetts.]

**hiding the switch** (haidin switʃ). This is the name of a game.

**hind-sights**. See **socks**, p. 232.

**honey-fuggle** (hənifəgl). See Bartlett.

**jewlarky** (dʒʊlarki): sweetheart. "I'm going to see my jewlarky."

**jower** (dʒəʊə): to quarrel. "They jowered ever so long."

**june-in'** (dʒʊnin): running fast. "She came a-june-in'." An onomatopoeic word, from the humming noise made by what we call *June-bugs*. They are the bronze-coated beetles that children catch to tie long strings to their legs to hold them while they hum in their efforts to fly away. [The name *June-bug* is probably known all over the Northern states.]

**kitin'** (kaitin): moving rapidly. "To go a-kitin'." [*kite*, v., in this sense is known also in New England and Michigan. Cf. Bartlett, s.v. *kite*, *skite*.]

**knee high to a duck**: very short. [Bartlett gives four other similar jocular expressions, — knee high to a mosquito, to a grasshopper, to a toad, to a chaw of tobacker. The second of these he assigns to Maryland, the third to New England; but at least the second is also known in New England.]

**lay**. "I *lay* you'll catch it," same as "I 'low you'll catch it" and "I'll be bound you'll catch it." [Is this use of *lay* (= *bet*), nearly or quite obsolete in book-English, with a dependent clause and no noun as object, common elsewhere?]

**lay**. "To see how the land lays (lies)" = to understand things.

**lay off**: to intend. "I laid off to tell him."

**level**: levy. "To *level* on one's property."

**licks**. "To mend one's licks" = to quicken one's steps. "When the dog got after me, I mended my licks."

**lift**. "On the lift" = convalescent. "He is on the lift." [Cf. **on the mend**, **on the mending hand**, pp. 19, 78, 217.]

**make up**. Referring to something planned, it is asked, "When did you all make that up?"

**mind out**. See the example under **word with the bark on it**, p. 233.

**muley cow**: cow without horns. [Cf. Bartlett. Is the first syllable pronounced *myù* or *mu*? The latter is the pronunciation marked in Webster's International dictionary and the one used in Michigan.]

**po'**. "To put up a po' mouth" = to plead poverty.

**pullikins**: a dentist's forceps.

**punish**: to suffer. "I punished so in my new shoes."

**quiled up** (kwaïld): coiled up. [The pronunciation looks analogous to that in other words with *ai* and *oi* (cf. **jine** = **join**, p. 68) in Kentucky and elsewhere, and the *qu* (*kw*) by the side of *c* (*k*) suggests the same variation in spelling in other words, as in *coit* and *quoit*, *coif* and *quoif*, *coin* and *quoin*, and other cases. Apparently the phenomenon is due to labialization of the initial consonant under the influence of the following rounded vowel, analogous to English dialect forms with *wh* instead of *h* (whoame = home). Cf. the note on **huckleberry**, p. 74, and **quiri** = **curl**, p. 75. These spellings with *qu* occur from the sixteenth century on; see the words in Murray, so far as they occur. — E. S. S. Cf. also the initial *w* of *one*. — G. H.]

**rain seeds**: the clouds that make the mackerel sky.

**red**: a red cent. See Bartlett, *s. v.* *nary red*, *red* (*cent*). [Perhaps still in general use; but when now used does it not mean simply a cent, not a red cent?]

**rig**: to tell a joke on. "He rigged him good." Also as a noun: "he got a rig on him."

**sand**. "To raise sand" is slang for to get furiously angry, the same as "to raise Cain." [*To raise Cain* means in New England and Michigan to "carry on" noisily, whether from anger or not.]

**sass**: sauce (impertinence), also as a verb. See Bartlett and the dictionaries.

**sassy** (sæsi): saucy. See Bartlett and the dictionaries.

[In New England the uneducated pronunciation is generally *sasi*, or perhaps *sæsi*; in Michigan the vowel is vulgarly *æ*, otherwise *ɔ*.]

**segashuate**. "How duz yo' syntums seem ter segashuate?" [also in J. C. Harris, *Uncle Remus*, 1881, p. 24] = how do you do? [See the interesting notes on *sagatiare*, *segashuate*, in *Journ. Amer. Folk-Lore*, III, 64, 311.]

**setfast** (setfæst): the knot on the horse's back made by the saddle.

**shank**. "To'ds de shank o' de evenin'" (touds di fænk [fæŋk?] v [ə?] di ðvniŋ) = late in the afternoon. A negro phrase. [Cf. *jest the edge o' the evenin'*, New England.]

**sharply**. "Right sharply" = pretty well. "He did right sharply."

**shindig** (findig): a dance or party. See Bartlett. [Also in Michigan.]

**sight unseen**. To trade knives *sight unseen* is to swap without seeing each other's knife. [*unsight unseen* in New England and Michigan.]

**skeet** (skît): skate. [Which sense is meant?]

**skoot** (skut). To *skoot* away is to disappear suddenly. [Apparently = *scoot* in Bartlett; in New England and Michigan pronounced *skût*.]

**skrieky** (skrîki): creaky. [Cf. *scream* in the dictionaries.]

**skunked**: beaten in a game without having made a single point, "white-washed." See Bartlett and Century dictionary. [Also in New England.]

**slanchindicular** (slæntfindikele). See *slantendicular* in Bartlett. [The accent is probably on the third syllable.]

**smack dab** (smæk dæb): exactly [?]. "He hit him *smack dab* in the mouth."

**socks**. To "knock the socks off" is to whip one thoroughly; the same as to "knock one's hindsights off."

**soon** (sūn): shrewd. "He is a *soon* man." "He is a sooner." [Is the word *sooner* here a comparative, or does the second example (also heard at Saginaw, Mich. — G. H.) mean the same thing as the first one, and is the ending *-er* added somewhat as in *goner* (see Bartlett)?]

**souse** (sauz): to plunge, to stick in. "Souse a pin into him."

**sparkin'**: courting. "To go sparkin'." "What girl were you sparkin' last Sunday?" [Cf. Bartlett, who does not mention the use with a personal object. It is common in New England and Michigan.]

**spit**. "The ve'y spit an' image o' him" = the exact image of him. ["He's the spit of his father," or a similar phrase, has been reported for New England, perhaps only from Irish speakers of English. Cf. also J. C. Harris, *Uncle Remus*, 1881, pp. 82, 91.]

**split the difference**. "I'll give you twenty cents for your knife." "I'll take thirty for it." They *split the difference*, making the price twenty-five cents. [Also in New England and Michigan.]

**spludge**. "To cut a spludge." See *cut a splurge* in Bartlett.

**spunk**: punk. Figuratively, 'pluck.' "He's got a heap o' *spunk*." [Both these meanings are in the dictionaries, but in the dialect familiar to me, in Maine, *spunk* has only the second meaning, and the word for the first meaning was *punk*. Does *punk* anywhere have both senses, and does *spunk* regularly have both? — E. S. S.]

**squeaky**: creaky. [Also in New England and Michigan.]

**squench** (skwentʃ): quench. [Also in Michigan.]

**squinch** (skwintʃ): squint. "He *squinces* his eyes." [Cf. *squinch up 'isself* = draws himself together, cowers, in C. C. Jones, *Negro Myths from the Georgia Coast*, 1888, p. 4.]

**squinch-owl**. Sometimes for *screech-owl*.

**stand**. "To stand one up and down" = to contend vehemently. "She *stood me up and down* that I was mistaken."

**stavin'** (stêvin): very [also in Michigan]. "That is a *stavin'* fine horse." Cf. Bartlett [who defines it only as 'great,' 'strong.' Both uses are known in New England].

**suck-egg**. A *suck-egg* dog is a superlatively mean dog. "He is as mean as a *suck-egg* dog."

**sugar-tit** (jugətɪt): sugar-teat. Sugar tied up in a piece of cotton cloth for the fretful child to suck. [Also in New England and Michigan.]

**swivet** (swivit). Cf. Bartlett, *s.v.* *sweat*, in the addenda. "Don't be in such a *swivet*." [An etymological connection with *sweat* seems out of the question.]

**tads** (tædz): children. "She had three little *tads*." [See Bartlett, who gives also *old tads* = old men. Cf. *little toad* as a term of endearment in New England and Michigan.]

**tailor**: to 'skunk' [see **skunked**, p. 231]. "We *tailored* them." [Any connection with the German use of *schneider*?]

**tan his jacket**: to whip him (a boy). [Also in New England.]

**throw up**. "To throw up one's socks" = to vomit vehemently and copiously.

**tobookit** (təbukit [the accent is presumably on the second syllable]). A child's imitation of the sound of the gallop of a horse.

**toes**. To "turn one's toes out to grass" is said of children when they first go barefoot in spring.

**washin'**. To go in washin' = to go in bathing. [The only New England vernacular phrase is *to go in swimmin'*.]

**where . . . at**. "Where is it at?" [Also Missouri, Ohio, and Baltimore, Md. Not used in New England or Michigan.]

**widow-man**: widower.

**widow-woman**: widow. [Also New England and Michigan.]

**word with the bark on it**. For emphasis. "That is the word with the bark on it; you better mind out."

**yeller janders** (yelə dʒændəz): jaundice.

## II. PRONUNCIATIONS AND GRAMMATICAL POINTS.

**borned**: born. Used by illiterate persons. "He was borned in 1852."

**bulge** (buldʒ).

**bulk** (bulk). [Cf. p. 238.]

**cupola** (kyŭpəl'ə[-ŏ?]). [Cf. **fistula**, **scrofula**, in this list. *kyŭpəlou* or -ŏ, with the accent on the first syllable, is common in New England and Michigan. Cf. Bartlett, *s.v.* *cupalo*.]

**cure** (kyour). [Is the *r* really pronounced?]

**druggy** (dreggi): dreggy.

**fistula** (fistyŭl'ə[-ŏ?]).

**flatform**. Sometimes used for *platform*.

**further** (fəðə).

**fuss**. Sometimes pronounced *fēs*.

**gather** (gyeðə). [Often in Michigan; so 'gethers,' in sewing. — G. H.]

**gear up** (gyē əp): to harness. [Cf. Part II, p. 76.]

**hilt or helt**: for *held*. "He *hilt* 'im fast."

**hurricane** (hærikêŋ).

**len'th** (lenþ). [Also in New England, as well as the similar form *strenþ* = *strength*. Occasional in Michigan.]

**less go** (les gŏ): let's go. [Also very common in New England and Michigan, where *let's* is hardly used except as a result of education.]

**pillow** pronounced like *pillar*, as *pilə*. [Common everywhere?]

**rat terrier** (ræt teəriə). [In New England the second word is pronounced *teriə*.]

**rear up** (reə əp). "The colt reared up." [In New England also *rear* in this sense is often *reə* or *ræə*, but before *up* an *r* is heard: *ræ(ə)r əp*.]

**screech-owl** (skritʃ əul).

**scrofula** (skrofyûl·o[-ô?]).

**skint** or **skunt**: skinned. "He *skunt* [pronounced skënt?] his hand."

**start-naked**: stark naked. "He is a start-naked villain." [An interesting retention of the old form; see Skeat's Etymological dictionary. Mr. A. W. Long, of North Carolina, reports that he never heard any other form than *start-naked* used in conversation in that state; and that two of his friends — one from Virginia, the other from South Carolina — make the same statement for those two states. The Century dictionary, *s.v.* *stark-naked*, refers to *stark*, *adv.*, and to *start-naked*, but the latter word is not in the book.]

**together**. Often pronounced *togæðə*. [*v* in the first syllable, or *ə*? The accent is doubtless on the second syllable.]

**trivet**. In slave times pronounced by negroes and children *tribit*.

**trompled on** (trɔmpeld): trampled on. [A vowel *v* in the second syllable is surprising: in New England, at least, the second syllable is *pîd*; never *pôld*, nor even *pald*. The vowel of the first syllable is probably often *o*, or perhaps even *ə*, in New England; as in *tromp* = *tramp*, *stomp* = *stamp*.]

**want** for *wasn't*. "He wa'n't there." [Common in New England, Michigan, and doubtless elsewhere, with the pronunciation *want*. See B. I. Wheeler, *Analogy and the Scope of its Application in Language*, 1887, p. 24.]

**wasp nest** (wɔs nes).

**where 'bouts**: whereabouts. [Common in New England, Michigan, and doubtless elsewhere.]

**yeast** (îst). [So occasionally in Michigan. — G. H.]

### III. WORDS MENTIONED IN PART II.

The following words mentioned in Part II are used here also: —

Pp. 60, 61, 62, 63. **allerickstix**; the pronunciation of **Auburn** [but the *r* is surely not pronounced; this must mean that *Orburn* and *Auburn* represent in Kentucky the same thing, — the first syllable being *ə*, or perhaps *æ*]; **cake** [this use is perhaps known all over the country]; **chuck** (also *chug*); **do-less**, **drag** [the pret. *drug* is doubtless meant]; **Gee whiz**, **Gee Whittaker**, **hellion**, **honey**, **kid**, **scasely**, **scrouge**, **slouch** ("he's no slouch"), **slough** [apparently pronounced *slû* or *sleu*], **wapper-jawed**, **whack** ("my liver is out o' whack"), **wrench** (*rents*: "did she reñch the clothes?").

Pp. 69, 70. **afeared**, **bed-fast**, **fish-fry**, **gaum**, **noggin**, **onliest** ("that's the onliest one there"), **some**, **turn**.

Pp. 71, 72. All of Professor Pearce's pronunciations I find here.

Pp. 72, 73, 74, 75. **bif** ("hit 'im a biff," also "hit 'im a clip" [this latter word is used likewise in New England]), **complected**, **copper**, **get** [apparently *I got it* = I have it, is meant], **jigger**, **led**, **lickerish**, **lozenger**, **mind** [doubtless in "if he was a mind to"], **mushmelon**, **mushrat**, **ou**, **ouch**, **pee-pee** (= a small turkey), **quate**, **quirl**, **recess** [of course the accent is the point], **secont**, **slicker**, **spludge**.

P. 76. **sad**, **gear**, **banty**.

JOHN P. FRUIT.

## NOTES FROM MISSOURI.

These brief notes are compiled from my remembrance of the rustic dialect in Jackson County, Mo., and have been substantiated by recent examination. I hope to make later a more extended study of this dialect and to outline in a systematic way its peculiarities, a few of which may be inferred from these scattered notes.

## I. PECULIAR WORDS AND USAGES.

**banter**: to dare. A boy will say, "I'll *banter* you to dive from that bank." Used also as a noun. [Cf. Bartlett.]

**bat** (bæt). "To bat the ears" is said of the action of a rabbit or other animal when it lays its ears close to the body. Kansas City, Mo. A man originally from Ohio, who had lived twenty years or more in central Kansas, tells me that in both places he has been familiar with the expression *bat the eyes*, used of the quick action of the lids when one tastes sharp vinegar. [See for this sense Murray, *s.v.*] He did not know the other sense, nor had I ever heard this latter.

**belly-buster**. Boys always use this word for coasting face downwards on their sleds. To coast sidewise, with the left leg slightly folded under the body, is called *lady-fashion*. [Cf. **belly-whacker**, DIALECT NOTES, Pt. IV, p. 214.]

**belt**. Very common for *blow*, in the expression, "Hit him a *belt*." Kansas City, Mo. [The verb to *belt* is used in New England; see also Murray, *s.v. belt, v.*]

**bit**: twelve and a half cents. General in phrases such as *four bits, six bits*, etc. [Introduced into northern Michigan by the miners. — G. H.]

**booger** (bugər) used in the sense already reported; see **boogle**, Pt. IV, p. 214. [*bugər*, mucus in nose, in Michigan is only used playfully in speaking to or of a baby or small child. — G. H.]

**butternuts**. The popular name for overalls of a butternut brown. To this day the natives in country neighborhoods so hate blue that they will not wear overalls of this color. Kansas City, Mo.

**cahoot**. A favorite word in the phrase, "The whole cahoot" = "the whole lot of them." Kansas City. [Cf. *cahoot* in the Century dictionary.]

**cellar-way**. *Bulkhead* and *cellar-case* (cf. p. 18, Pt. I) are unknown. Instead *cellar-way* is used. The word also applies to an entrance from within the house. Kansas City. [So in Michigan. — G. H.]

**charivari**. Pronounced *šivər'î* in the well-known sense sufficiently illustrated in Murray and the Century dictionary. [Cf. Emerson, *Ithaca Dialect*, § 146, p. 158 above.]

**chirk up**: cheer up. Frequent. Cf. Bartlett.

**cinch** (sintf): to pull a saddle-girth tight. Kansas City. I have heard of this word in New Mexico and Colorado, as well as in Kansas. It may well have been brought from New Mexico by the "prairie schooners," which had Kansas City and vicinity for their eastern terminus. *To get a cinch* on a person = *to get a "bind," a hold*, on him. There is a game of cards called *cinch*. Can this be meant for Fr. *cing*? [Cf. Pt. II, p. 60; Pt. IV, p. 196.]

**dummy**. Very common in the sense of *heavy, stupid*, as of a chicken with some disease. Kansas City.

**gee**: to suit. "They don't *gee* worth a cent" = they don't get along well together. Kansas City. Probably from the ox-call. [Cf. Century dictionary.]

**gumbo**. *Gumbo* is a name given in Kansas, Missouri, and Indian Territory, perhaps elsewhere also, to a hard, tough soil underlying the good soil. *Gumbo* can scarcely be plowed through at all, and is called a sure sign of poor soil. I have heard it also called *hard-pan*.

**gump(y)**. Both *gumpy* and *gump* are heard; = stupid dunce, awkward creature. Kansas City.

**hi-spy**. This is the name given by little girls to out-door hide-and-go-seek. I cannot remember having heard the word used of the in-door game. [In New England the game (not confined to girls!) is variously called *I spy, hi spy, hi-spy* (Cape Cod), *hide and (go) seek, hide and whoop*.]

**hookey**. 'To play hookey' for to play truant is universal. Kansas City. [See **hookey**, Pt. IV, p. 216.]

**jell**: to jelly. The usual verb in Kansas City is *to jell*. [So in Michigan. — G. H. Cf. Pt. II, p. 78.]

**jiggle = joggle**. [Both words are common in Michigan. — G. H.]

**johnnies**. A popular name for violets. Also used in Michigan.

**king's ex** (cf. p. 65): a call used by children to stop a game for a moment; = our call of *time* in baseball, etc. Cf. **barley's out**, p. 60.

**kitty-corner** (kiti) (cf. p. 8) = to cut off a corner by going across lots. In the Chicago *Inter-Ocean* for March 10, 1892, p. 1, the word is spelled *catty-corner*. Has this use been influenced by *cut a corner*?

**lam**. "Lam him one over the head," "give him a lam," = hit him once. Kansas City. [So in Michigan. — G. H. The verb is well known; see the dictionaries.]

**lickity-split and full-split**: at full speed. Kansas City. [*lickity-split* and *lickity-cut* in Michigan (G. H.) and New England; *slipity-licksty* has been heard from natives of Poughkeepsie, N.Y. Cf. *like split* in Bartlett.]

**like**. *I like to* = I came very near; as in "*I like to* died laughing." Cf. **used to** and **wished** in this list. [So in Michigan (G. H.) and New England.]

**nut-crack**: nut-cracker. Missouri, Michigan, and some other places.

**onery** (ɔnəri), in the well-known sense (see pp. 65, 217).

**ouch**. Here, as elsewhere, the exclamation *auts* is a cry of pain. Kansas City. [So in Michigan. Also German. — G. H. Cf. **ou, ouch**, p. 74.]

**plumb**: completely. The well-known use; see Century dictionary and Bartlett. [Familiar to me as a boy in Michigan. — G. H. Not a natural use in New England.]

**pûûig**, see **suke**.

**skiff**. 'Canoe' is almost purely literary. Its place is taken by 'skiff.' Kansas City.

**smack**. "Go smack and do it," said to children, = go at once. Kansas City.

**sock it to him** = "give it to him without mercy," "hit him hard," "let him have it. [Vulgar in Michigan. — G. H. Cf. p. 75.]

**stake and rider**. In building a rail fence, these are the pieces which are not horizontal, but act as leaning supports. Kansas City.

**steboy** (stib'oi): used in driving pigs. *Sûi*, pronounced very rapidly, is also used. The same word with its *û* much prolonged is often used in calling pigs. Perhaps the usual cry in driving stock, especially cows, is *hi there*. Cf. **suke**. Kansas City.

**stogies** (stôgiz): coarse, rough shoes or boots; also cheap cigars. [Cf. **conostogas**, p. 229, and Bartlett, *s.v.* *Conestoga wagon*.]

**suke**. Cows are often called by the word *sûk* or *sûki* (Kansas City). A general feed-call, often heard in the evening and not restricted to pigs, as might appear, is *pûûig*. The *û* is given the length of two or three syllables. The *ig* often approximates to a surprising degree the German *-ig* in *heftig*, etc. Cf. **steboy**.

**that-a-way**: in that way or manner. Kansas City. A fixed phrase is "I wouldn't go along *thet-a-way*, if I was you."

**used to** (yûz tə). "I use to go there often," referring to past time. *Use to could* is often heard. [So in Michigan (G. H.) and New England; cf. p. 69.]

## II. PRONUNCIATIONS AND GRAMMATICAL POINTS.

**across**. Usually *ækrɔst*. [Common in Michigan (G. H.) and in New England also.]

**adept**. See **crept**.

**arctics** (artiks): meaning 'overshoes.' [So in Michigan, but the word is restricted to such as cover the ankles. — G. H. In New England *atiks* is common; the adjective is *atik*.]

**asked** (æst). [*æst* = 'asked' is almost universal in Michigan; but *æst* = 'ask' is rare. — G. H. *ast* = 'asked' is common in New England. Cf. pp. 6, 37, 122 (§ 73, I, 3).]

**asphalt**. Often, if not generally, in Kansas City *æsfelt*. [Common in Michigan. — G. H.]

**ate**. Almost universally *et*, and so often in the past participle. [Occasional in Michigan. — G. H. Is not *et* an accepted pronunciation, at least when the past tense is spelt *eat*? Cf. the New English dictionary.]

**ought**. People in Kansas City almost invariably say *ought* for *naught*. 200 would be read, *tû ət ət*. [Cf. *New York Nation*, Feb. 25, 1892, p. 149. This is also common in New England.]

**baptist.** I know at least one large family in Kansas City, all the branches of which say *babdist*, and I think this pronunciation is found more generally. This same group of families also say *debudi* for 'deputy,' *debþ* for 'depth,' *debyət-êfan* for 'deputation.'

**been.** The pronunciation *ben* is common; I have also heard it in Franklin County, N. Y. [Common in New England.]

**bleating.** Generally *blætɪŋ* in Kansas City.

**bob** (bɒb). Kansas City.

**bog.** This and all similar words, as *dog*, *hog*, etc., are pronounced *bɔg*, *dɔg*, etc. [Also common in New England. Cf. p. 72.]

**boggy.** I heard a man from central Kansas pronounce this word exactly like *buggy*. He used the word half a dozen times, hence I can have made no mistake. The same man said *bɔg*.

**bulk.** Both *bɔlk* and *bʊlk* are heard in Kansas City. [*Bulk* accords with the rule for *u* between labial and *l*; cf. Sweet, History of English Sounds, p. 320. — G. H. Cf. also the pronunciations *bʊldʒ* and *bʊlk* for *bulge* and *bulk*, p. 233.]

**calm.** Generally *kæm*. I have heard the same pronunciation in central Kansas. Cf. **psalm**.

**cartridge** (kætrɪdʒ). Cf. **partridge** [and p. 6].

**catch.** Almost universally *ketʃ* in Kansas City. [Common in New England. Cf. p. 6.]

**cement** (sɪm'ent). [Both noun and verb are generally *sɪm'ent* in Michigan. — G. H. So in New England.]

**climb.** The preterite is often *klim*. I have also heard *klôm*, but the usual form is *klɔm*. [Both *klim* and *klɔm* are common in New England.]

**closter.** "Come closter" is very frequent in Kansas City for 'come closer.' [Is the pronunciation *klɔstər*? The positive *kloust* and the comparative *kloustə* can both be heard in New England, I think. — E. S. S.]

**congregation.** Generally *kɔŋgrɪg'êfan*. [The accent is presumably on the *ê*.]

**creek.** Always *krik* in Kansas City. [So in Michigan. — G. H. Probably known all over the country.]

**crept.** In *crept*, *adept*, *slept*, *kept*, *swept*, *wept*, the *t* is generally left off in Kansas City. [So in New England, except perhaps in the unpopular *adept*, and possibly in *wept*, which is not universally popular.]

**cupola.** Universally *ki'upəlô*. [Cf. p. 233.]

**Daniel.** This name is pronounced in Kansas City both *dænyel* and *dænl* [as in New England, where, however, a third pronunciation *dænɪl* or *-el* is also known]. Similarly *Nathaniel*.

**depth, deputation, deputy.** See **baptist**.

**egg.** The natives seem to pronounce *êg*; *eg* prevails in the city (Kansas City). [Cf. p. 6. In New England *êg* or *eig* is common.]

**faucet.** Always pronounced *fæsɪt* in Kansas City. [Both *æ* and *ɔ* in Michigan (G. H.) and in New England.]

**forge and forgery** both have in Kansas City the vowel of *for*. [So in Michigan. — G. H.]

**from** (frɛm), even in stressed positions.

**fur side.** Very frequent for 'further side' in Kansas City.

**gape:** to yawn. Universally pronounced *gæp* in Kansas City. [So in Michigan (G. H.) and not unknown in New England.]

**get.** In the great majority of cases called *gît* in Kansas City. [Common in New England.]

**gossamer.** I have heard three pronunciations of this in Kansas City: *gosəmər, gozəmər, gɔzəmər*. [The pronunciation *gozəmə* is known in New England, as well as *gosəmə*.]

**grease, v.** Pronounced in Kansas City *grîz*, as in the dictionaries. My family brought with them from western New York the sound of *s* instead of *z* in this word, and one very often hears this in Kansas City, but almost never in the surrounding country. [Is not *z* general in the South in the verb and the adjective (*greasy*)? My natural pronunciation has *s* in both.—G. H. In New England *s* is general in both. Cf. Bartlett.]

**halloo, v.** In Kansas City almost always *holər*. The exclamation is *hol·ô*. [So in Michigan.—G. H. Is the word *holler* (*holə* in New England) identical with *halloo*, or are these two different words?]

**haunt.** Pronounced by the natives (Kansas City) *hænt*. *Saunt* is *dʒænt*. I myself always said *hənt*, etc., but I do not know where I learned it, unless from my family, which came from western New York (Wyoming County). [I have heard only *ə* in Michigan, but 'aunt' is *ænt*.—G. H. All these words have usually, or at least often, *a* in New England.]

**het.** This is the favorite form in Kansas City instead of *heated*. A farmer would almost invariably say, for example, of a horse, that it was *overhet*. [Common in New England.]

**hit.** Very often pronounced *het* in Kansas City.

**holt = hold, n.** The usual word in Kansas City. "Give me a good holt." [Common among boys in Michigan.—G. H. The sound of the *o* is *ô*. In New England *hòlt* is the noun in very common use.]

**hoof.** In this and all similar words the native pronunciation (Kansas City) has *û*. Later settlers have of course [?] introduced *u*. [In Michigan *u* is usual.—G. H. Cf. *Mod. Lang. Notes*, VI, 464-5. My word is *hûf*.—E. S. S.]

**idea.** Generally accented on the first syllable in Kansas City. [Is this not general in the South?—G. H. Cf. pp. 24, 216.]

**Kansas.** The medial *s* is sounded in Kansas City either as *s* or as *z*; generally *z*. [*z* in Michigan (G. H.) and in New England.]

**keg.** Often pronounced *kæg* and *kêg* in Kansas City. [*kæg* represents the older form in standard English.—G. H. Both *kæg* and *kêg* or *keig* are common in New England. Cf. *egg, leg*.]

**kept** (*kep*). See *crept*.

**leg.** Very often indeed *lêg* or *leig* in Kansas City [and New England. Cf. *egg, keg*].

**licorice.** Generally *likərif* in Kansas City. [In Michigan *likrif*.—G. H. Cf. p. 74.]

**lif.** Children on the street (Kansas City) in time of snowballs cry to the passers, "Give me a lif?" = "permission to throw at you." [Common in Michigan in similar cases.—G. H. Also in New England.]

**In.** A popular shortening of *inden* in Kansas City; also called *bass*.

**Ioam** (lîm). Kansas City [and New England].

**loft.** In this and all similar words the vowel is *o* in Kansas City. Cf. **bog**. [Also known in New England.]

**ma.** The native pronunciation in Kansas City for *ma* (= mother) is *mə*. The same is true of *pa*. [So in southern Indiana. — G. H. Cf. p. 68.]

**men.** In Kansas City I have heard many say *min* who were not of Irish or other foreign birth or immediate descent.

**Methodist.** One occasionally hears in Kansas City *ð* in this word, and the final *t* is often omitted.

**Missouri.** Three pronunciations are heard in Kansas City, which I give in the order of frequency of use: *miz·ûri*, *miz·ûrə*, *mis·ûrə*. The first is the favorite with the natives [and is usual in Michigan (G. H.) and New England].

**much.** Many words, such as *much*, *such*, *touch*, are in Kansas City very frequently pronounced *metʃ*, etc. [Cf. p. 6.]

**naked.** Among the people (in Kansas City) it is generally *nekid*. [Cf. p. 41.]

**nape.** Almost universally *næp* in Kansas City. [So in New England.]

**Ohio.** The every-day pronunciation in Kansas City is *əhaiə* [of course accented on the second syllable. This is also known in New England. Cf. p. 17].

**pa.** See **ma**.

**partridge** (pætridʒ). [Cf. **cartridge**.]

**pert.** Pronounced by natives (in Kansas City) *pîrt*. [I find that most Southerners understand by *pîrt*, or rather *pîot*, 'well' or 'chipper,' and to those that know 'pert' it has its usual meaning; but to many it is only a book-word. — G. H.]

**psalm.** Generally *sæm*.

**pumpkin.** Always *pʊŋkɪn* in Kansas. [Very common in Michigan. Why less "correct" than *hæŋkərtʃɪf*? — G. H. Probably the natural pronunciation everywhere.]

**purslain or pursly** [?] (pəsli). [*pʊsli* is all but universal in Michigan (G. H.) and New England.]

**pursy** (pəsi). Cf. **purslain**, above. [*pʊsi* is general in Michigan, but is not considered a fine word. — G. H. Also common in New England.]

**put** (pət). In Kansas City very often made a perfect rhyme for *but*, *cut*. [So in New England often.]

**quinine** (kwainain). [Almost universal in Michigan now; *kwɪn·ɪn* and *kən·ɪn* were formerly common. — G. H. All three may be heard in New England, but the word has hardly become popular.]

**quoit.** Generally *kwət* in Kansas City. I am not sure that I ever heard any other pronunciation. [Cf. **quate**, p. 218.]

**really.** Among the natives in Kansas City *rîli*. [Occasionally so in Michigan. — G. H.]

**reservoir.** Pronounced in Kansas City *rezərvɔi*. I have heard this in Concord, N. H., and in Cambridge, Mass., also at Ann Arbor, Mich. [I once

heard the popular perversion *razor-boiler* at Saginaw, Mich. — G. H. The pronunciation intended above for the places in New England is probably *rezəvôi*; this can often be heard in Cambridge.]

**rinse.** Generally *rens* in Kansas City. I have also heard *rents*. [Both are known in Michigan, but regarded as vulgar. — G. H. Cf. **wrench**, pp. 63, 234.]

**rolly.** The form *rily* [pronounced *raili*?] is alone in use. [Is this word in its literal sense (rily water, etc.) in use anywhere in the South? I have failed to find it south of Indianapolis. — G. H. The forms *roil*, *roily*, in any sense are perhaps practically never used in New England.]

**route.** All but universally *raut* in Kansas City. [*raut* is yielding to *rât* in Michigan. — G. H. Both are used in New England.]

**sarsaparilla** (sæsprilə). [In Michigan *sæs(ə)prilə*. — G. H. Is not the accent on the *i*?]

**second.** In general with *t* at the end, instead of *d*, in Kansas City and some other places. [Cf. p. 75.]

**shafts.** Often called *fars*, an exact rhyme for *calves*, as pronounced in Missouri.

**shut.** Very often *set*. [Known also in New England. Cf. p. 6.]

**since.** In Kansas City very often pronounced like *sense* (sens). Cf. **rinse**. [So in New England.]

**slaked.** In *slaked time* this word is always pronounced just like *slacked*, or rather like *slack*: *slæk laim*. [So in Michigan. — G. H. In New England the verb is *slæk*, but *slæk* as the participle is not certain.]

**sleazy** (slēzi). [Also spelt *slazy*. Is the pronunciation *slīzi* common anywhere?]

**slept.** See **crept**.

**slough.** In Kansas City, as also in Michigan, pronounced *slû*. I think this is the word generally written *slew* in the phrase "a slew of them" = a great many. [In Michigan the pronunciation *slau* = mire, *slû* = great quantity. — G. H. Cf. p. 218, the two pronunciations in Webster's International dictionary, and *sloo*, *slue* in Bartlett.]

**soda.** Always *sôdi* in Kansas City. [Common in New England. Is it unknown anywhere?]

**stirrup** (stërëp). Universal in Kansas City. The same sound [ë] is always given in *squirrel* and *syrup*. [In Michigan *stërëp*. — G. H. In New England ë can probably be heard in all three words. Cf. p. 218 and *Mod. Lang. Notes*, VI, 85.]

**such.** See **much**.

**sure.** The popular pronunciation in Kansas City among the natives is *fôr*. [Is not the *û* of this word generally lowered to *ô* in the South? — G. H. Cf. *Mod. Lang. Notes*, VI, 87.]

**swam.** The usual preterite is 'swum,' pronounced *swm* [which is very common in New England].

**swept.** See **crept**.

**syrup.** See **stirrup**.

**tassel.** Generally *tosəl* or *təsəl* in Kansas City. [In Michigan *tosl* and *təsl*. — G. H. New England agrees with Michigan.]

**teat** (tit). Kansas City, universally. [So in Michigan. — G. H. Also in New England. Cf. **sugar-tit**, p. 232.]

**terrible**. In Kansas City *tērəbəl* in the popular pronunciation. [Is there really a vowel before *l*? The *ē* in the first syllable is doubtless common in New England. Cf. **stirrup**, in this list.]

**that**. Often pronounced *ðet* in Kansas City [and New England]. “What’s thet to you?”

**thrash**. The form *thresh* is not in use in Kansas City. [So in Michigan. — G. H. Cf. p. 219.]

**Tom** (təm). Kansas City.

**touch**. See **much**.

**tract**. The final *t* is generally dropped.

**tremendous**. Often heard as *trɪmɛndʒəs* [accent on *e*?] in Kansas City. [Probably known elsewhere.]

**treacle** (trɛsəl). [So in Michigan. — G. H. In New England perhaps *trɛsl*.]

**until**. Popularly called *unt-əl* in Kansas City.

**want**. In Kansas City one often hears “what do you whunt (= hwənt)?”

**was**. Almost the only form of the verb in the past tense, which runs: *I was, you was, he was, we was*, etc. *You was* is perhaps more frequent than *you were*, and is by no means confined to the country. *Was* is pronounced *wəz* [originally only the weak form. *You was* is still common among educated people in Michigan. Cf. the *Nation*, March 10, 1892, p. 191. It is the regular construction in Colman’s *Terence*, 1768. — G. H.]

**well** (wəl). Kansas City.

**wept**. See **crept**.

**wished** = a true present tense. “I wished you’d go” = I wish, etc. I have noticed this form elsewhere. [So in Michigan. Is this a contraction of “wish that”? — G. H. Or is it an imperfect subjunctive? This use is known also in New England.]

**wrestle**. Universally pronounced *ræsl* in Kansas City. [So by boys in Michigan. Cf. **Skeat**. — G. H. Cf. p. 219.]

**yes**. In Kansas City, as elsewhere [*e.g.* in New England], often pronounced *yɛə*. [*yɛə*, *ywə*, and *yawə* are all common in familiar talk in Michigan; *yep*, *yop*, and *yop* are playful. — G. H. Of these at least *yep* (with an unfinished *p*) is probably very well known all over the country.]

**yolk**. Fully four forms of this word are in use in Kansas City: *yôk*, *yôlk*, *yolk*, *yelk* (the last also so spelled). Of course the yolk is sometimes called the *yellow*. [My natural pronunciation is *yolk*. The primitive *yellow* is also common in Michigan. — G. H.]

R. L. WEEKS.

ADDENDA TO THE VOCABULARY OF SPANISH AND MEXICAN WORDS USED IN TEXAS.<sup>1</sup>

A FEW of the addenda to this vocabulary are due to the kindness of Captain John G. Bourke, U.S.A., to whom I wish to express my thanks.

**ábra**: a narrow pass between mountains; in Texas, more specifically, a break in a *mesa* (*q.v.*) or in a range of hills.

**acéite**: any kind of comestible oil.

**acémila**: a pack mule. From the Arabic.

**acéquia** (p. 187). Add: The words *zánja*, *zangéro*, replace in Arizona *acéquia* and *acequiador* (*q.v.*). From the Arabic.

**acequiadór**: the officer in charge of the *acéquias* (*q.v.*) in a community, who, between planting time and harvest, ranks everybody, even the *alcalde* (*q.v.*). *Acequiador* in Spain is the *acéquia* builder, while *acequiéro* is the officer mentioned above. (Franceson.)

**adiós**: a farewell salutation, — good-bye, adieu.

**adóbe** (p. 187). Under this word add: The forms *doby*, *dobies* are found in the Galveston *News*, April 19, 1892, with the meaning of *adobe* house(s).

**agostadéro**: a tract of open country used as a pasture; summer pasture. From *Agosto*, the month of August.

**agríto**. See **alگیرéta** for the meaning. Evidently a diminutive of *agrío*, sour. Cf. French *aigret* in Littré.

**agüero**: augury, omen. Generally used with *buen* and *mal*.

**ahjár**, *v.t.*: to give a young domestic animal — more generally a lamb — a foster-mother. The *j* has a slight aspirated *chuintant* sound.

**ajolóte**. See **axolótl**.

**alacrán**: a scorpion. Different species of the genus *scorpio*, common in Texas and Mexico.

**albércá** (p. 187). Add: Also permanent water in a *cañon* or *barranca*. Originally in Spanish, a water basin. From Arabic.

**albúr**: a game of cards. From Spanish *albures*, of Arabic origin.

**alfilária** (p. 187). Add: Also *alfiléria*, evidently from *alfitel* or *alfiler*, a pin, the suffix *-ia* or *-ria* expressing assemblage, aggregation, — pin grass. From the Arabic.

**alگیرéta** or **algeréta**: a small, red berry; the fruit of a species of *berberis* not identified, probably identical with the *chaparral* (*q.v.*) berry. (Geological Survey of Texas for 1890, p. 485.) The forms *algaríte*, *aguirite*, and *alguirite* have been met with. Probably from the Arabic, though not found in any Spanish dictionary available. See **agríto**.

<sup>1</sup> See Part IV, pp. 185 ff.

**aljibar**: a *cistern*. The Spanish form is *aljibe* or *algíbe*. From Arabic. For the sound of *j*, see **ahijar**.

**almúd**: a dry measure, one-twelfth of a *fanega* (p. 190), about a peck. Also as much as may be sowed with an *almud* of wheat or corn. (Eagle Pass *Guide*.) This word is probably of Arabic origin.

**áito**: a hill, an eminence, generally without trees.

**amargóso** (p. 187). Add: Used by Mexicans as a remedy for diarrhœa.

**ampáro**: protection. Specifically, in mining, permission to stop working a mine for a definite period, without forfeiting the concession. (Eagle Pass *Guide*.)

**anacahuíta**: a small tree of the borage family, often confused with the *anaqua* (*q.v.*). *Cordia Boissieri* (A. DC.). Both words from the Mexican *anacahuíte* or *amaquauhítl* (S.). Sanchez adds: "usada vulgarmente para combatir la tísis. El nombre Mexicano significa árbol para hacer papel (Amatl, papel, y quauhítl, árbol ó madero)."

**anáqua**: a tree or shrub of the borage family found in southwestern Texas; also known as "knackaway." *Ehretia elliptica* (DC.). See **anacahuíta**.

**ancón**: a piece of land on the banks of a river, generally in a bend, which is cultivated by irrigation. Very common on the lower Rio Grande. In Spanish the name applies to a small anchorage or roadstead. See Franceson.

**añéja**: a heifer. Origin obscure.

**arádo**: plowed land, cultivated land in general. Spanish *arada*.

**ardílla**: ground squirrel.

**arroyíto, arroyúllo**: diminutives of *arroyo* (p. 187).

**atájo** (p. 187). Add: Also a "bunch" of horses, tame or wild, though more generally the latter. Also a fence or enclosure in the corner of a pasture to stop or gather wild cattle.

**aúra**: a species of large Mexican vulture, not identified. Black vulture (?).

**axolótl or ajolóte**: *Amblystoma mavortium*, Mexican water-lizard. From Mexican *atl*, water, and *xolotl*, glutton (S.). This lizard is the object of a great many curious superstitions among the Mexicans. Sanchez says: "su carne es agradable al paladar, y el cocimiento de la piel es usado en la medicina vulgar para el tratamiento de la tísis pulmonar."

**ayudánte**: a man temporarily employed on a ranch or hacienda. Spanish *ayudar*, to help. Cf. English *adjutant*. See Skeat.

**azóte**: a switch, or anything used as a whip.

**beldúque** (p. 188). Add: Captain Bourke, U.S.A., suggests a popular etymology: he informs me that Mexicans derive the word from *Bel Duque*, handsome duke, which they say was the brand of a once famous blade of small size. This derivation would not account for the forms *verduque* and *berduque*; besides, the identical form of blade is known in Spain as *verdugo*.

**berréndo, fem. -a**: a deer, antelope. In southwestern Texas *berrendos* were found in herds of as many as two hundred. Though hunted down unmercifully, they may still be seen in herds of from ten to twenty. Probably so named on account of its color, *berrendearse* being used in some

provinces of Spain of the change in the color of ripening wheat. Salvá gives *berrendo* = "manchado de dos colores." Franceson has *berrendo* = californische Ziege.

**bezúgo**: a sort of coarse fish, buffalo fish; see Webster. Spanish *besugo*, a sort of fish.

**botón**: a button. More specifically in southwestern Texas, a peculiar knot at the end of a rope, or *reata* (*q.v.*).

**braguéro**: one of the girths, when two are used (see *cincha*); the one nearer the shoulder is the *cincha* proper; the one nearer the hip, the *braguero*. In Spanish, the breeching rope of a gun, to check the recoil.

**braséro** (p. 188). Add: Used also in southwestern Texas for heating purposes during northers.

**bríago**: a drunkard. The word is usually employed adjectively with *andar, ir, estar*, etc. Spanish *briaga*, a rope made of rushes tied round the beam of a wine-press.

**búey**: an ox. This word is used as an exclamation in driving cattle.

**cabéstro** (p. 188). Add: Often pronounced *cabresto*. Similar metatheses are of frequent occurrence.

**candelia**: bad weather; cold, wet weather, with rain and sleet, *killing* sheep and cattle; a wet norther. The origin of this word is obscure; it may be related to *candela* in the Spanish idiom *acabarse la candela* or *estar con la candela en la mano*, to be dying. The word implies the notion of dying.

**cantína**: bar-room; of frequent use. Often found on signs of Mexican bar-rooms.

**cañoncito**: a diminutive of *cañon*, a small cañon; more specifically, in southwestern Texas, an opening in the *chaparral* (*q.v.*) or in the *monte* (*q.v.*).

**caporal**: overseer, man who directs the work, but does not pay the laborers. See *mayordomo*.

**capúl, -es**: a tree or shrub of southwestern Texas, not identified, with small, blackish red or deep yellow edible berries, called *capúles*. See Salvá, *capuli*.

**cáracara**: a sort of vulture, probably the typical Mexican eagle, rather than *zopilóte* (p. 195). This word is probably of Mexican origin, though not in S.

**cárga** (p. 189). Add: 336 pounds.

**cargador**: the man in charge of the packs, in a pack train. (See *patron*.)

**carréta**: a primitive, two-wheeled cart; the wheels are generally solid and held together by wooden pins. The creaking noise made by these wheels is altogether unearthly, and may be heard at long distances.

**cáscara**: bark. More specifically, the dry bark of trees which is used to kindle fires.

**catán**: a fresh-water fish of the gar family, growing to a large size. Possibly from Spanish *cota*, a coat of mail, on account of its scales.

**céja**: eyebrow. In Texas, a long and narrow strip of *chaparral* (*q.v.*).

**célva**. See *selva*.

**cencérro**: leading mule in the pack train, wearing the bell, bell mare. From the Arabic.

**cenízo**: a shrub of southern Texas, not identified. Probably from Spanish *ceniza*, ashes, the leaves being ash-colored.

**cenzóntle** or **cenzóntli**: mocking-bird, *Mimus polyglottus*. From the Mexican *centzonlilatole*, four hundred voices (S.). The forms *chinchonte* (ch as in French), *sinsonte*, *consontle*, are also seen and heard.

**cérda**: horse- or cow-hair.

**cerfilla** or **cerfillo**: slender wax taper. Wax match of Mexican manufacture, far superior in the way of matches to anything manufactured in the United States.

**cerréro**, *fem.* -a: wild, unbroken; applied to horses. From an obsolete Spanish adjective, meaning proud, haughty.

**chápa**: a plate of metal, varying in shape and design, — usually of some precious metal, but also of brass and copper, or even of leather, — worn as ornament on the Mexican sombrero. See **chaparajo**.

**chaparájo** (p. 189). Add: Also called *chapareras*.

**chaparral** (p. 189). Add: Also the name of the chaparral cock, or road-runner, *Geococcyx Californianus* (Less.).

**chapóte** or **zapóte**: in Texas, a shrub or tree of the ebony family, Mexican persimmon. The fruit, smaller than the common persimmon, is quite as astringent when green and as sweet when ripe. It is also called black persimmon, and stains black everything it touches. It is used by Mexicans to dye sheepskins by boiling. *Diospyros Texana* (Scheele). From the Mexican *zapote*, *tzapotl* (S.). The Mexicans designate by this name a variety of fruits which have nothing in common, but that they are all edible: *Lucuma salicifolia* (Kunth.), *Diospyros obtusifolia* (Willd.), *Casimiroa edulis* (La Llave), *Achras sapota* (?) (L.), *Mammea americana* (L.).

**chaquéta**: a jacket; more specifically in Texas, a jacket made of leather or very heavy cloth, worn by cowboys as a protection against thorns of the *chaparral* (*q.v.*).

**chárco** (p. 189). Add: Also, sometimes, a bold spring, generally gushing forth from a ledge of rocks.

**chichárra**: harvest fly, *Cicada spumaria*.

**chicharrón**: crackles; bacon left in the pan after it is fried.

**chicóte**: a long whip with a wooden handle, used by cowboys in driving cattle. In Spanish, a rope end.

**chiltapín**: bird-pepper; a shrubby plant of the nightshade family, with yellowish or red berries, used by Mexicans as a condiment. *Capsicum baccatum* (L.). From the Mexican *chiltecpin* (S.).

**chiváro**, -s (p. 189; not *chivaro*, -s). Add: Also *chivarra*, -s.

**cicatríz**: a scar, generally on a head of cattle or a horse.

**cimarrón** or **simarrón**: wild, speaking of plants. Also used as a noun for shy, bashful children. See *Salvá*.

**cincha** (p. 189). Add: More specifically, the girth nearer the shoulders of the horse; see **braguero**. The form *cinche* is also common, and the masculine form *cincho* is also used. In Spain this form applies to a broad leather girdle worn by the peasants. See *Franceson*.

**comál** (p. 189). Add: Also the name of a round, black berry, with a taste somewhat resembling our whortleberry; oftener spelled *comá*.

**comíno** (p. 189). Add: The form *camino* is also used in Texas. Also cumin, cumin seed, often used as a condiment (the Spanish *comino*), of course a different word.

**conéjo**: a rabbit, "cotton tail."

**conetón**: an arborescent plant of the nightshade family, also called *tronadora*. *Nicotiana glauca* (Graham). Origin unknown.

**cópa**: a land mark; any well-known tree or group of trees in the prairie by which travellers or cowboys are guided. In Spanish, tree tops rounded in form.

**copíta**: a diminutive of *copa*.

**coróná**: a crown. Specifically, in western Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona, the highly decorated piece of canvas used to put over each pack.

**corrál**, *v.* (p. 190). Add: The verbal form *encorralar* is also used in southern Texas.

**coyotílo** (p. 190). Add: Captain Bourke informs me that the berry itself is edible, but that the people believe that if the small round seed is swallowed it will cause paralysis of the lower extremities. The Mexicans along the lower Rio Grande say that the *coyote* knows this important fact and, while very fond of the berry, invariably rejects the seed, hence the name.

**crín**: horsehair, from the mane only, also pronounced *clin*.

**cuárta**: whip of cowhide or horsehide. The form used all over Texas is *quirt*. Salvá gives it as a Cuban form.

**cuatezón**: a head of cattle, a goat, or ram without horns. Origin unknown, probably a native word.

**cuéro**: cowhide or horsehide.

**damíána**: a small western Texas plant of the composite family, with yellow flowers, exhaling a strong aromatic odor. *Chrysactinia Mexicana* (Gray). Several plants bear the same name in Mexico.

**denunciam(i)énto**. The Anglicized form *denouncement* is found in the *Eagle Pass Guide* (May 7, 1892). For the sense ('a mining claim') see *Geol. Survey of Texas*, p. 705.

**derramadéro**. From *derramar*, to pour, to pour out, to empty (liquids). The noun, which is obsolescent in Spain, means in Texas a drain, a draining canal, etc., and is found in proper names of such canals, e.g. *Derramadero del Gáto*.

**devisadéro**: a commanding hill or eminence used by cowboys to look for their horses or cattle. From *devisar*, to descry at a distance.

**domadór**: the equivalent of *ginete* (*q.v.*). From Spanish *domar*, to tame.

**dúlce**, -s, sweets; all sorts of desserts, sweetmeats, and candies are called *dulces*. Mostly used in the plural.

**empéine**: a horse's fetlock.

**eslabón**: link, steel. *Pedernal* (*q.v.*) *y eslabon*, flint and steel; still much used in western Texas.

**exído** (p. 190). Add: Sometimes spelled *ejido*, -s.

**féria**: a fair; often synonymous with *fiesta* (*q.v.*). (*Eagle Pass Guide*.)

**fíerro**: a brand or mark on cattle and horses. Old form of *hierro*, iron.

**fiésta** (p. 190). Add: In the plural *las fiestas* is synonymous with a fair, which generally lasts several days. The two words are used interchangeably.

**fósforo**: sulphur match, match in general.

**función**: function, high church ceremony or celebration. This Spanish word is being rapidly naturalized in English. Found under its English form in the *New York Times* and other metropolitan dailies with the meaning of ceremony in general.

**gañán**: specifically in Texas, the man leading the oxen when plowing.

**gaúcho** (p. 190; not *gaucho*). Add: Also the hook and crook such as the shepherds use in the miracle play of the *Pastores*, so common on both sides of the Rio Grande, at the *Noche Buena* = Christmas. A lop-eared horse is also called a *gaúcho*.

**gavilán**: a chicken-hawk; a species of *falconidæ*, not identified.

**ginéte**: a man whose business it is to break mustangs; a "bronco buster." From the Arabic; see Littré, *genet*.

**guáge, huáge**: a gourd, the fruit of *Crescentia cujete* (L.), used to make a variety of domestic utensils called in Mexico *tecomates*. Also the edible fruit of a plant of the leguminous family (*Acacia esculenta*). From the Mexican *huaxin* (S.).

**guayacán** (p. 190). Add: The root is used as a substitute for soap.

**hechízo**: any object whatever that is manufactured.

**horquéta, horquíta**: a little fork, diminutive of *horca*. A forked piece of wood tied to the leg of a horse to prevent his straying or running away. Often used on *ladinos* (see p. 191).

**huáge**. See **guáge**.

**huajíllo** (p. 190). Add: A diminutive of *huáge* or *guáge*. (*Dele* the second sentence.)

**huarácho** (p. 190). Add: Also spelled *huarache*.

**huélla or huáya**: a trail, a track.

**inventáριο**: an inventory. This word is in constant use among merchants and shop-keepers on the border.

**jálma**: pack saddle. *Sobre en jalma*, pronounced *suorín hammer* (Captain Bourke) in Arizona, cover to the pack saddle. Franceson has *enjálma*, in one word, with the meaning of "maurischer Saumsattel." Of Arabic origin.

**jamón** (p. 191). Add: In Arizona, bacon.

**jícara**: a Mexican household utensil, — a cup, etc., — made of certain gourds. From the Mexican *xicalli* (S.). Called also *tecomate* in Mexico. See **guáge**.

**jicóte**: a ground bee, the sting of which is exceedingly painful. From the Mexican *xicotli* (S.).

**jicotéra**: the nest of the *jicote* (*q.v.*).

**jilóte**: a "roasting ear," an immature ear of corn. Also *helote*, or *hilote*. From Mexican *xilotl* (S.).

**jocóqui or jocóque**: butter-milk. From the Mexican *xococ* (S.). Sanchez defines it "cosa agria. Preparacion alimenticia de gusto ácido hecha con leche."

**jórra**: any female domestic animal that is sterile. Origin unknown.

**labór** (p. 191). Add: The word has come to mean any field of small size; not definite. *Milpa* is used in Arizona and New Mexico in the same acceptations.

**lagarto**: an alligator; also the name of a town in Texas.

**lechúga**: lettuce.

**lechúza**: a small species of owl; undetermined. Also, and frequently, a witch. In Spain the tax-collector is often called *lechuzo*.

**legúmbre**: vegetables, "kitchen truck."

**léña**: any kind of fine wood or timber.

**lepiána**: a southern Texas annual of the composite family, used by Mexicans and Indians as a remedy for catarrh. *Hymenatherum gnaphaliospis* (Gray). Origin unknown.

**lébre**: a hare, a jack rabbit. In Texas used as an exclamation to express disbelief, incredulity; would probably answer to the American "rats!"

**limonillo**: a low herb of the composite family used as a perfume plant. *Actinella odorata* (Gray). Diminutive of *limon*, a lemon.

**loco**, *v.* To be *locoed* = to be rendered insane by eating *loco* (*q.v.*) weed or grass. "Sheriff Cooke brought down from the Quemado, yesterday, two Mexican families, — who all have the appearance of being *locoed*." (Galveston *News*.)

**machéte** (p. 191). Add: The form *machet* is found in the Galveston *News*.

**mádre**: mother. Used adjectively and meaning principal, main: *veta madre*, principal vein or lode, in mining; *sierra madre*, main range, of mountains; *acequia madre*, principal ditch. The name of a lagoon in southwestern Texas, *Laguna madre*, which, on account of its proximity to the island called *Isla del Padre* (see *padre*), has been thought to bear some connection with it, and variously distorted into *Laguna de la Madre*, or even *Laguna del Madre*, even in the best atlases and geographies (see, *e.g.*, Stieler's *Hand-atlas*).

**madróna**: a shrub or small tree of the heath family found in the foothills west of the Pecos. The berries of this plant are yellowish red, the size of currants, and have a pleasant sub-acid taste. *Arbutus Xalapensis var. Texana* (Gray). From Spanish *Madroño*, strawberry-tree (*Arbutus Unedo*).

**majáda**: temporary camp or hut of shepherds.

**majoráno**: a low shrub of the sage family in southern and western Texas, with small bluish or purple flowers. *Salvia ballotaflora* (Benth). From Spanish *mejorana*, sweet marjoram.

**malpaís**: bad lands, lava country. Cf. French *mauvaises terres*.

**manáda** (p. 191). Add: The word is more specifically applied to mares. See **remúdo**.

**máno**: a pestle or roller. See **metate**.

**mása**: the cornmeal, after it has been ground in the *metate* (see p. 192) and before being spread into *tortillas* (see p. 195).

**majordómo**: the manager on a ranch or *hacienda*. See **caporal**.

**máza**: a mace, a hammer, a pestle.

**mécha**: fuse or rope, taking the place of tinder in using flint and steel. See **eslabon**.

**médano**: a hill of pure white sand, without any vegetation whatever, common in southwestern Texas. The form *müégano* is also heard and seen.

**meláda**: a heavy crystallizing syrup, as it comes out of the vacuum pan and before it is run through the centrifugals, more generally called by its French name "*masse cuite*." This word is not in common use; it is a technical term used by sugar-boilers.

**melcóche** or **melcócha**: a sort of sweetmeat, candy. From *mel*, honey, and *cocer*, to cook, to boil.

**melón**: a musk melon.

**metáte** (p. 192): in Texas the second part is generally called *mano* (*q.v.*).

**mezcal** (p. 192). Add: Capt. F. H. Hardie, U.S.A., writes me: "*mezcal* is not distilled from *pulque*, but from the bulb of the *maguey* after it has been baked underground." This seems to agree with Sanchez, who says: "Aguardiente que se extrae de la misma planta."

**mogóte**: a thicket with heavy undergrowth, the refuge of wild cattle. The divergence of meaning from the Spanish acceptance is striking. In Spain it designates an isolated mountain with flat top (the American *mesa*, *q.v.*), or a sand-hill, a down.

**mónte** (p. 192). Add: Often used as an equivalent of *chaparral* (*q.v.*).

**montear**, *v.*: to be constantly in the *monte* (*q.v.*), to live or roam there. Used principally in the participle *monteando*.

**niztamál** or **nixtamál**: corn, after having been boiled with lime and before it is ground on the *metate* (*q.v.*), lye hominy. Of Mexican origin, though not in S. (*nexatl*, lye, and *tamal*, *q.v.*?)

**nogáda**: pecan candy, sold on the street in southern Texas by Mexican peddlers. Cf. French *nougat*.

**nória**: more or less complicated machinery to raise water from wells, tanks, or rivers, for cattle or for irrigation. In Texas, also a well. From Arabic; see Littré.

**orejón**, -es (*i.e.* big ear, from *oreja*, an ear, with the augmentative -on): dried fruit, — apples, peaches, apricots, and quinces. See **pasa**. This word is almost exclusively used in the plural.

**ortigía**: a kind of grass; not determined. Probably from Spanish *ortiga*, nettle.

**pádre**: father (*Eagle Pass Guide*). The title now given exclusively to Catholic parish priests since the suppression of the regular clergy in Mexico. *Isla del Padre*, name of a long and narrow sandy island on the southwestern coast of Texas, separated from the mainland by the *Laguna Madre* (see **madre**). This island was granted by the Spanish government to Franciscan *padres*, hence the name.

**pása**, -s: dried fruit, generally berries and small fruit, more specifically raisins. Used almost exclusively in the plural. See **orejón**.

**paséo**: public walk or promenade.

**pastór**: a shepherd.

**patrón**: the "boss," the man in charge of the pack train. See **car-gador**.

**pedernál**: flint. See **eslabon**. The name of a river tributary to the Colorado, *Rio de los Pedernales*, Flint River, now Pedernales River. This

word is regularly pronounced and very generally written *Perdinales*, or *Perdinalis*.

**péna**: a rock or cliff. Often found in proper names of places: *Pena Blanca*, etc. The *n* is not pronounced liquid as in the original Sp. *peña*.

**peón**. Under this word (p. 193) add: *peon dog* or *pelado (q.v.) dog*, a name given sometimes to the hairless Mexican dog.

**pertenéncia**: right of property. More specifically, in mining, a claim 100 metres square (*Eagle Pass Guide*).

**pescádo**: any kind of fish after it is caught. The *d* is silent.

**pezúña, pezúña, pesúña**: the hoof of a horse or cow.

**pilón** (p. 193). Add: Also the gratuity given by merchants to customers, whenever accounts are settled. This is always insisted upon by the poor along the Rio Grande. Cf. Louisiana French *lagniappe*.

**piltónte**: a kind of fish, not determined. It is probably of Mexican origin (*piltontli*, a child?); not in S.

**pontedúro**: a kind of sweetmeats, or candy made of *piloncillos*. (Cf. *pilon*, of which *piloncillo* is a diminutive.) Origin unknown. Perhaps from *poner* and *duro*.

**potránca**: a filly. See **potro** (p. 193).

**potrillo**: a very young colt. Pronounced *potríio*. Diminutive of *potro* (see p. 193).

**pózo**: a spring, generally issuing from a hole in the ground, not from a rock. Cf. B. Also called *pozo de agua*. A synonym of *ójo* and *ójo de agua* (see p. 192). The diminutive

**pozuélo** is also frequently used.

**puchéro**: a sort of thick soup, a favorite dish of the Mexicans. It is generally made of mutton and a bewildering variety of vegetables, herbs and fruits.

**quemádo**, *adj.* and *n.*: a burnt district. From Sp. *quemar*, to burn (*Galveston News*).

**quióte**: the fruit of the *pita* or *maguey (q.v.)* borne in a panicle on a long stem. It is always baked before being eaten. From the Mexican *quiótl* (S.).

**quirt**. See **cuarta**.

**ranchéro** (p. 194). Add: According to Captain Hardie this word is used very extensively.

**rebóso** (p. 194). Add: Also *rebozo*. See **tapadero**.

**remúdo or remúda**: a "bunch" of horses, about a score. Usually applied to geldings only. See **manada**. From *remudar* to exchange. The Spanish form is *remuda*, *remuda de caballos*, a change, a relay of horses.

**reparadéro**: part of a pasture fenced in or stockaded, into which herders run cattle or horses. See **atájo**.

**reventón**: a spring, bursting forth from the earth, from *reventar*, to burst. See **charco**.

**ruiseñór**: the Mexican nightingale, the mocking bird. See **cenzontle**.

**sáco** (the *a* as in *fate*): a dry water course, or ditch, probably the Sp. *seco*, dry. [Cf. **scopet**, **seca**.]

**saléa**: sheep- or goatskin, curried and stained or dyed. Probably from *sal*, salt.

**sandía** or **zandía**: a watermelon. From the Spanish, of Arabic origin.

**sapóte**. See **chapote**.

**scopét**: a short musket or carbine, from Sp. *escopeta*; cf. French *escopette*. This word and *saco* above are from the narrative of a participant in the Confederate expedition to New Mexico in 1862, published in the *Galveston News*.

**séca**: dry; as a noun, a drought. [Cf. **saco**.]

**sélva**: a shrub, not identified, but probably an *ilex*, of southern Texas, used in infusion as a substitute for tea.

**sendéra**: a path, a foot-path. Spanish *senda* and *sendero*.

**sestiadéro**: a shady spot where domestic animals take shelter during the heat of the day. The Spanish form is *sestadero*.

**sótole** (p. 194). Add: The same name is applied also to a species of *yucca*, undetermined, from which a vile liquor is distilled. In Arizona the name applies to soap weed. See **tequíla**.

**sudadéro**: a fissure in a well or water-tank, from which the water is flowing. From *sudar*, to sweat.

**tájo**: a deep cut or trench to collect water in time of drought.

**tapadéro** (p. 195). Add: The word is often used in Texas, Arizona, and New Mexico for *reboso* (*q.v.*).

**tápalo**: a coarse piece of cloth, a substitute among the lower classes for the finer and costlier *reboso* (*q.v.*). *Taparse* in some parts of Spain means to cover one's face with the *manto*.

**tapójo** or (better) **tapújo**: the blinders used on mules in pack trains.

**tecolóte**: a species of owl. *Bubo Virginianus* (Bp.). From the Mexican *tecolotl*.

**tepecáte**: a peculiar, small, black fish, found in the pools and lagunas of southwestern Texas. Probably Mexican. Not in S.

**tequesquite**: a kind of pop-corn. The native word *tequezquill* (S.) means an entirely different thing. Sanchez defines it: "eflorecencias salinas naturales, formadas especialmente por carbonato de sosa." He adds: "La palabra mexicana me parece derivarse de *tell*, piedra, y *quixtia*, parecido ó semejante." See **esquite** (p. 190) and cf. *tesquite* in B.

**tequíla**: a seductive Mexican alcoholic drink, made from the *sótole* (*q.v.*). (*Eagle Pass Guide*.) From the name of a small city in Mexico, where the liquor is principally distilled.

**ternéra**: a heifer.

**tertúlla** (p. 195). Correct: An *informal* evening party.

**tinajéra**: the stand upon which the *tinaja* (see p. 195) is kept, usually the three-pronged fork of a tree. Also a weed, not identified, covering miles of country in southern Texas. The leaves of this weed, like those of the *selva* (*q.v.*) are used as a substitute for tea.

**tlaco**, **tlac** (the *Galveston News* has the form *thlack*): a copper coin, about the size of an old style United States copper cent, one quarter of a *real*, also called *cuartillo*. "Two *thlacks* are equivalent to two and a quarter cents of our money" (*Galveston News*). From the Mexican *tlacoualoni*. (S.)

**toloáche**: annual of the family of *Pedaliaceæ*, with purple, sweet scented flowers. The Mexicans think this plant has the property of developing grad-

ual and permanent insanity. *Martynia fragrans* (Lindl). It is a strong narcotic. From the Mexican *tolozzin*. (S.)

**trompillo**: a common weed of the nightshade family in southern and western Texas. The berries, first green, then yellow, and black when ripe, the size of small marbles, are used for curdling milk. *Solanum elæagnifolium* (Cav.). From the Spanish, a diminutive of *trompo*, a top.

**tronadóra**: see **conetón**. From Spanish *tronador*, a rocket.

**únto**: the liquid fat of animals.

**vaciéro**: the name of the man who oversees the shepherds on a sheep ranch.

**válo**: dun colored, speaking of horses. Origin unknown.

**vaquéro**: cowboy. From *vaca*, a cow. Occasionally heard on the border. (*Galveston News*.)

**venéro**: a spring, a vein of water. See **sudadero**.

**vénta**: a sale. *Papel de venta*, bill of sale, written agreement.

**vineg(a)rón**: an insect of the family of *Arachnida*, said to be exceedingly poisonous, so much so that when a Mexican is bitten he does not send for the physician, but for the priest. Origin unknown; from *vinagre*, vinegar?

**viznága or biznága** (*Eagle Pass Guide*). *Echinocactus ingens* (Zucc.) is also known as *E. viznaga* (Hook.). By extension this name has been applied to other *echinocacti*, all growing to large dimensions, and some weighing as much as a ton, or more. They are armed with formidable spines, used, it is said, as toothpicks by Mexicans. The same word applies, in Spain, to a plant of the family of *Umbelliferae* (*Ammi viznaga*, L.), the sprigs of which are used as toothpicks. The origin of the word is obscure. Förster says of this plant: "Dieser Art legte Hooker den Namen Viznaga bei, weil die mexicanischen Ansiedler sich ihrer Stacheln als Zahnstocher (viznaga) bedienten." (*Handbuch der Cacteenkunde*.)

**yégua**: a mare. Found in proper names of rivers and creeks. *Yegua River*.

**zapote**. See **chapote**.

H. TALLICHET.

[The few notes which follow suggested themselves to me in reading the preceding list.

On *almud*, see Körting, *Lat.-roman. Wörterb.*, No. 450. For *briago*, cf. Old Sp. *embriago* and see Körting, *Lat.-roman. Wörterb.*, No. 2746. Presumably this is or was a Spanish dialect form. For the etymology of *ginete*, cf. Diez and Körting. The reference to Littré is intended to include the supplement. As to *jorra*, cf. in Salvá the adj. *jorro*, "con que se designa en la isla de Cuba el tabaco que no arde por su mala calidad." Instead of *madrona* an Anglicized form *mathrone* (presumably pronounced *mæðrôn* or *-oun*) is quoted in the Century Magazine, XLIV, 839. Is not *vallo* simply the Sp. *bayo*?—E. S. S.]

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<sup>1</sup> This list includes a few cases like those added to the list for the year 1890 (see p. 179).

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[Total, 183.]

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 ANNOUNCEMENTS.

For future publication : —

Language used to Domestic Animals. — *W. H. Carruth.*  
 What is a Dialect? — *E. S. Sheldon.*

It is hoped that copies of Professor Carruth's Language Map of Kansas can be obtained for members of the Dialect Society when it is completed. Similar maps are desirable for other states also. A few of the many other subjects which deserve treatment are here mentioned by way of suggestion.

1. Additions and corrections to articles or books already published, especially to Bartlett's *Dictionary of Americanisms* (4th ed., 1877, with addenda. The statements should be made as exact as possible for place, time, nationality of speakers, frequency of use, limitation to certain classes or sets of people, etc. Notes of this kind are best sent on separate slips of paper, one for each word or phrase discussed. If articles of some length are sent, whatever be the subject, a generous margin should always be left. Copies of the explanatory circular, reprinted in Part I, pp. 25-29, can be had on application to the Secretary).

2. Further observations like those asked for by Mr. Grandgent in his various circulars (see the Bibliography in this number, and also pp. 196-204 in Part IV).

3. Additions to our system of phonetic notation, or other improvements in it.

4. A comparison of "standard English" pronunciation as given in Murray, *New English Dictionary*, with that of one or more localities in this country. (Cf. also Part II, pp. 33-42.)

5. (See the last paragraph on p. 178, Part III.)

6. How shall the really popular elements of a dialect be determined?

7. Pronunciations or idioms current locally, which are traceable to foreign influence, but are not confined to foreigners speaking English.

8. Scotch and Irish influence on American speech.

9. The influence of "standard English" exerted, for example, through the dictionaries and the schools, on popular speech.

# DIALECT NOTES.

## PART VI.

### THE LANGUAGE USED TO DOMESTIC ANIMALS.

THERE is a peculiar interest attaching to the language used to domestic animals, due to the conditions under which it is employed. This language is wholly unhampered by conventional standards, by the restraints of consideration for authorities or dictionaries. With a given basis received by oral transmission, the modifications are subject solely to the instincts of the speaker. Thus, in this little field, language is still free to grow somewhat as we may suppose all our language grew before the introduction of writing and schools.

For convenience of reference I take up the matter under the heads of the animals involved. And first,

#### THE COW.

The most common long-distance call is *sûk*,<sup>1</sup> in such variety and modifications as follows: *s'ûk bos*, *s'ûk bos*, *s'û-uk*, *sûk*, especially the divided *sû-uk* with the first syllable much prolonged.

When near at hand the call is *su'k* (*u'* = short, rounded, low-mixed vowel), becoming shorter and with vanishing musical tone as the cows approach. This call is universal in Kansas, and, so far as I can learn, in the United States.<sup>2</sup>

The musical notation of this call as commonly given is as follows:—

(1)

sû - ûk    sû - ûk    sû - uk    sû - uk

[<sup>1</sup> Phonetic spelling is used.]

[<sup>2</sup> Cf. the note on *suke*, p. 237.]

(2)  (spoken.)  (spoken.)

sūk - bās, sūk - bās, and  
then as in (1).

To be noted is the gradual shading from high-back *û*, at a distance, to low-mixed *u*<sup>1</sup>, as the animal comes nearer.

The derivation of the call seems uncertain. It has been suggested that it is from *Sukey*, as being a common name for a cow; but against this is the fact that the name is met only occasionally, while the call is general.

Another long-distance call is *kò-h'òî*, or with modifications and the interspersed *bās*: *kò-h'òî*, *kò-h'ò-bās*, *kò-h'ò-bâsi*, *kò-b'âsi*. Another similar call is *kò-pp*, seldom, if ever, modified to *kòp* for cows. This call has less musical quality, and the dominant tone is about a fourth lower, as: —



(Spoken, kò) - hô - î | (kò) - hô - (bâsi).

When the animal is quite near at hand, this call is shortened into a coaxing *kò-b'âs*, or *k'ò-b'âs*, and this again, accented on the ultimate, is often used for a long-distance call, the *ò* of the first syllable being almost eliminated, as *k'ò-b'âs* or *k'ò-b'âsi*, the musical element being a single note, without downward slide.

The elements of this call are plainly: *ko'* = *come*, *ho'* = *home*, while the word *bos* seems to be a borrowing from Latin directly into colloquial language. Bartlett's notes on the word are incomplete.

From Arkansas is reported a variation of *sūk* in the form *swūk*, sung as in the former case, and running over into *suk* as the animal approaches. This *w* seems to be developed naturally out of a general tendency to round the sounds of calls for animals.<sup>1</sup>

From North Carolina is reported this peculiar call: "*Luk, steer, kw'ò*," used not alone for steers, but also for cows. The intoned syllables are *luk* and *kw'ò*, on the same pitch, the word *steer* being spoken, as: —

[<sup>1</sup> Cf., however, also the note on *quiled up*, p. 231.]



Luk - - - (steer), kwô - - ô, the sentence accent being on *kwô*.

I have no suggestion satisfactory to myself for the first word. It may be a call to the shepherd-dog transferred in use to his charge. *Kwô* can hardly be anything else than a modification of *kô* for *come*, the *w* to be accounted for by the tendency to rounding above referred to. If this is the actual origin of 'kwô,' it is interestingly suggestive of Gothic *qiman* (i.e. *kwiman*).

Further, I note from Lincolnshire, England, the call *k'ûsa*, of which I can be certain of the accent only, but this accent suggests the division *kû-sa*, the first part of which would probably be a modification of *come*; for the second I have no suggestion. (From Jean Ingelow.)

A few other words used to cows are: *Haist*, in urging the animal to lift a leg or to stand over; *sô*, modified to *sə*, in anger, used to persuade her to stand still; *stəboi* and *hwê*, used in warning or driving away. Of these, *haist* is a verb in the imperative, the same as *hoist*; *sô* is the common adverb; *hwê* is 'way, with the initial labial strongly aspirated; *stəboi*, used also in urging on dogs, is probably an initial hiss, common for this latter purpose, followed by *boy*, not an uncommon title for a dog.

#### SWINE.

Next to the cow is the hog for variety of terms used in talking to him. The most common calls are the various modifications of the word *pig*. *P'û-ig*, the first note prolonged, is sung, and on the same pitch as *sûk* for cows. (See p. 263.) When the animal is nearer, the word contracts into one syllable, shading as it approaches from *pûg* to *pe'g* (*e'* = French *eu*), and *pi'g* (*i'* = German *ü*), at last like the spoken word, save that the vowel is rounded.

Other forms of the distant call are: *Pû-ê-î*, sung with a yodling effect on the last syllable (Arkansas); *pig-û-î*, the middle syllable accented and sung, with a drop upon the *î*, with the same pitch as *sûk*; *pig-oi*, with same pitch as *kô-hoi* above. The last three are from Indiana.

In Illinois a familiar call is *hwû-î*, with same pitch and final drop as *pû-ig*. In Missouri and the South generally one may hear *hû-î*, the *î* long drawn and squealy. There may be a degenerate word in these calls, but it is not evident.

In Tennessee, *wûts* for the long-distance call and *wuts* when near at hand is sung like *sûk*. The syllable *wuts* is used in Kansas to drive hogs away.

In Virginia a long call for hogs is *tʃôk*, corresponding in pitch to *kô-hoi* above. *Kôp* is also reported as in use for hogs.

In Pennsylvania a long-distance call is *hwûdz*, on the same pitch as *sûk* above. Among the Pennsylvania Dutch the call for hogs is *ûts*, while to drive away hogs the word *uf* is used. Both *ʃ-uboi* and *s-uboi* are also heard.

In Indiana a peculiar call is used to bring pigs to the swill-trough, *tsu, tsu*, the consonants pronounced with an inspired breath.

For driving pigs away, common words are: *s-u-i*, *s-u-boi*, *he*<sup>1</sup>, and *hwê*.

#### HORSES.

The only long call I have heard for horses is *kôp*, undoubtedly a contraction of *kô-up*. From New York is reported a call, *k-ò-dzâk*, of which the latter syllable seems to be plainly the name of a horse.

Interesting are the signs used for starting, stopping, and directing horses. The various sibilant sounds used in starting, generally a right-sided click with breath inspired, may be literated (phonetic spelling is not used) 'chk,' 'tsk,' 'tch,' 'kch' (the last used by Hamlin Garland in *Main Traveled Roads*), but not 'cluck,' as often written. *Hô* and *hwô*, for halting, seem to be primitive exclamations, but suggest a possible connection with *hold*. A variety of this is *hwôp*, in which the *p* is naturally developed after the rounded vowel, for here, too, the vowel is more or less rounded.<sup>1</sup> For the same purpose Germans say *Br*,<sup>2</sup> and Cambridge (Mass.) drivers *st*. The familiar *dʒî* and *hɔ* as directions

[<sup>1</sup> For this *p*, cf. *yep* for *yes*, p. 242, and the explanation of *nope* for *no* in the *Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, I, 67 (Origin of the English Names of the Letters).]

[<sup>2</sup> That is, with a long labial *r*, sometimes, at least. See Sievers, *Phonetik*, 4th ed., § 290.]

for right and left (in the West used chiefly to oxen) correspond to Scotch *hwp* and *dên*. This *hwp* often becomes *hëp*, which shades easily into *hip*. This again suggests the familiar *yip* of the army-mule driver corresponding to his *yê* for *hɔ*. In the Southern states *haij* is used for *hɔ*. These calls are met in such combinations as: *Hwô-haij*,<sup>1</sup> *kəm-yê*. It is to be noted, furthermore, that *dʒi-ɔp* and *yip* are used for urging on, while *yê* is sometimes used for *hwô* or as a sign of encouragement, especially when drawn out into *yê-ê-ê-ê-ê-ei*. Still a different couple of words for right and left is reported from Suffolk County, England: *wârî* and *kɔbbî*.

Of the above words *hwp* and even *yip* are probably from *hi-ɔp*, though *yip* may be from *gypp* for *get ɔp*; *kɔbbî* may be denasalized from *kɔmmî* for *come here*. For the source of *dʒi*, *haij*, *dên*, and *wârî* I have no suggestion.

#### SHEEP.

In Illinois the long call for sheep is *k'ô-ſîp*, sung like *kð-bâs*. From Vermont, South Carolina, and Kansas is reported the call *kæ-d-ê*, often repeated on a pitch like *kð-bâs*. From Kansas and Michigan comes a call *tri-n'æŋ*, also often repeated. In the Scotch Highlands the sheep call is *k'iri*, oft repeated.

#### DOGS.

*Sik*, from *seek*, and *st*, are common for setting on a dog; *hi on* is rare and bookish, save in hunting. In Scotland the equivalent of *st* is *str* with (trilled *r*). Further are to be noted the peculiar modifications of 'here' made in calling, as, *hya*, *hye*, *hyu*; the last when the dog is near at hand.

#### FOWLS.

For chickens the call is a modification of 'chick' (*tʃe'k*), more nearly approaching *tʃik* when near at hand. The form *ſû* for driving away, even at long distances, seems to be a warning *j* supported by the vowel to make it carry. In southwest Missouri chickens are often called by drumming on a tin pan. In

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[<sup>1</sup> *Hwô-haij* also exists in Maine, being used to oxen.]

default of this a call imitating the sound is used, something like *klæ*, *klæ*, *klæ*.

Young turkeys are called by an imitation of their own plaintive call, *pî*, *pî*, the vowel generally somewhat rounded.

If any point of value is to be derived from these observations, it is the occurrence in the calls for animals of rounded vowels not met in other parts of our language, and the connection of these rounded vowels with the persuasive character of the words in which they are employed.

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[NOTE. — I intended to add some notes to this paper, but so much material has collected in my hands that it will be best to make a separate paper, to be published in the next number of the NOTES. — G. H. Some other editorial notes are reserved for use in the paper here announced.]

## HAF AND HÆF.

THE English language contains about 150 words in which an accented 'a' is pronounced by some speakers *a*, by others *æ*.<sup>1</sup> For most of these cases the dictionaries prescribe an intermediate sound, which, however, seems to be habitually used by comparatively few persons. In northern England *æ* prevails, in southern England *a*. America, too, is divided on this question, eastern New England inclining toward *a*, and the rest of the country toward *æ*. A similar difference of pronunciation exists for the prefix 'trans-' and the ending '-graph.'

Last October, acting in behalf of the Phonetic Section of the Modern Language Association of America, I sent to nearly all parts of our country circulars containing a question about the treatment of 'trans-' and '-graph,' and 128 words with doubtful 'a.' I have recorded 186 answers, representing Ontario, North Dakota, Iowa, Kansas, Missouri, Louisiana, Texas, and all the United States east of the Mississippi, except Delaware and Georgia. The results have been carefully tabulated; the most important facts ascertained will be set forth in this paper.

I shall apply the term "eastern Massachusetts" to all parts of that state east of the Connecticut River. "Eastern New England" consists of Maine, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and eastern Massachusetts. My "eastern Virginia" includes the northern and central (as well as the eastern) portions of the state. My "South" comprises all the region south of the Potomac; Ohio, Arkansas, and Canadian Rivers, except eastern Virginia. The rest of the country will be called "North and West." Of the 186 replies above mentioned, 57 came from eastern New England, 86 from the North and West, 13 from eastern Virginia; and 30 from the South.

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<sup>1</sup> In nearly all the cases the 'a' (or 'au') is followed by: (1) one of the spirants *f*, *s*, *ð*, *þ*; or (2) a nasal standing before another consonant; or (3) an *m* that is written 'lm.' Almost all the other examples are words that have been borrowed from foreign languages.

The pronunciation examined is that of highly educated speakers; but this does not differ very much, with regard to the words under consideration, from the speech of the lower classes. It is not to be supposed, however, that our dialects are free from artificial influences. The force of the dictionary, operating through the schools, has made itself felt in two ways. In the first place, it has impelled some careful students actually to adopt the theoretical intermediate sound: nineteen of my 186 correspondents<sup>1</sup> say they use it in at least some of the cases; it is commonest in the words in ‘-ance.’ Sometimes, of course, this midway vowel is not due to the dictionary, but is simply one stage in a transition from *æ* to *a*, or *vice versa*. For instance, I used to say *dænts* (‘dance’); but having lived for a number of years among people who pronounce *dants*, I often find myself saying *dànts*. In the minds of other persons, the dictionary, while not imposing its own pronunciation, has created an impression that the vowel actually in use, whichever one it be, is the wrong one: hence pupils in the *æ*-country are often trained to say *a*, and those in the *a*-region are taught with equal care to pronounce *æ*. At the present time the children in the public schools of Boston generally say *æ*; this is due partly to teaching and partly to the influence of the large Irish element in the classes. On the other hand, we find many speakers in the North, South, and West who use *a* in book-words, such as ‘quaff’ and ‘waft,’ but *æ* in the commonplace ‘calf,’ ‘half,’ and ‘laugh.’ In eastern New England the example of the mother country has reinforced our natural tendency toward *a*, and has led some persons to adopt this sound in such words as ‘ample,’ ‘example,’ ‘salmon,’ ‘sample,’ ‘answer,’ ‘banana,’ ‘piano’ (which their parents pronounced with *æ*), and even to introduce it into ‘banter,’ ‘canter,’ ‘masculine,’ ‘slander,’ and the like, where it can hardly be said to belong at all.

Before going further, it may be well to examine the vulgar treatment of the series in question. On the shores of the Great Lakes, in Indiana, in Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and all the South, *æ* seems to be employed by the uneducated in every one of the variable words<sup>2</sup>; in all the rest of the country, except

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<sup>1</sup> Three from New Hampshire, five from eastern Massachusetts, four from New York, and one from each of the following states: Rhode Island, Connecticut, Vermont, Ohio, Illinois, Virginia, Alabama. In some of the words *à* seems to be really popular in certain parts of eastern New England.

<sup>2</sup> Not including ‘father.’

eastern New England, *a* is said to be used in final ‘-alm’ (‘calm’ = *kam*),<sup>1</sup> and *æ* in all the other examples. In the rustic speech of eastern New England, so far as I have been able to observe it, *a* occurs in fully half of the 128 cases<sup>2</sup>; moreover, in some of the New England dialects,<sup>3</sup> *a* is regularly substituted for stressed *æ* before *r* followed by an unaccented vowel, as in ‘arrow,’ ‘barrel,’ ‘barrow,’ ‘harrow,’ ‘marrow,’ ‘marry,’ ‘narrow,’ ‘Paris,’ ‘sparrow,’ pronounced *arə*, *baəl*,<sup>4</sup> *barə*, *harə*, *marə*, *mari* or *mai*, *narə*, *paris*, *sparə*. The same substitution is found in some other words; I have noted the following: ‘adder,’ ‘apple,’ ‘asthma’ (*azmə*), ‘bantam,’ ‘Francis,’ ‘hammer,’ ‘matter’ (pronounced exactly like ‘martyr’), ‘rancid,’ ‘Saturday,’ ‘shadow’ (*fadə*).<sup>5</sup>

It should be mentioned, furthermore, that the quality of *æ* is not everywhere the same. In Pennsylvania, Maryland, the Valley of Virginia, western Tennessee, and doubtless in many other parts of the North, South, and West, *æ* before the spirants *f*, *s*, and *p* is drawled and formed very high, so that it becomes almost or quite a long *e*: ‘half,’ ‘grass,’ ‘path’ = *heef*, *grees*, *peep*. ‘Past,’ as I have heard it pronounced in Philadelphia, has often sounded to me nearly like ‘paste.’ Before *m* and *n*, in this same region, *æ* is very nasal. The vowel *a*, too, is subject to variations. In Pennsylvania, Maryland, eastern Virginia, and, I think, many parts of the North and West, *a* is often replaced by a long *o*, or even an *ɔ*: ‘father’ = *foðər*.

Returning now to our list, we find that both *a* and *æ* are used in every word given; yet some of the specimens have so few defenders of one sound or the other, that we can discard these examples from the list of variable cases. Such words are ‘father,’ which regularly has *a*,<sup>6</sup> and ‘ample,’ ‘fancy,’ ‘fantastic,’ ‘gap,’ ‘rant,’ ‘scant,’ which almost invariably have *æ*. The plurals ‘baths’ and ‘calves’ and the verb ‘halve’ are treated so nearly

<sup>1</sup> But *kam* is cited by Professor Emerson for the dialect of Ithaca, N.Y. I think it is tolerably common in all the North and West.

<sup>2</sup> It is common before the spirants, and rarer before the nasals, except in a few words, such as ‘Alabama,’ ‘almond,’ ‘calm,’ ‘aunt,’ ‘can’t,’ ‘shan’t.’

[<sup>3</sup> Also in parts of northern Indiana, southern Michigan, and Ohio. — G. H.]

<sup>4</sup> Also *barl* and *bal*. ‘A barrel of apples’ = *əb'al ə'aplz*.

<sup>5</sup> ‘Barrel’ and ‘tavern’ with *a* have been noted in Ithaca, N.Y., by Professor Emerson. See DIALECT NOTES, Pt. III, p. 118.

<sup>6</sup> Five correspondents apparently have *æ* in ‘father’: two from southern Pennsylvania, one from the District of Columbia, one from Tennessee, and one from South Carolina. I am told that *fæðər* is often heard in Connecticut.

like 'bath,' 'calf,' 'half,' that they need not be separately noted. Some speakers make a distinction between 'grant' and 'Grant': the latter is pronounced with *æ* a little oftener than the former; but the difference is too slight to be regarded. There is no distinction between 'aster' and 'Astor.' 'Draft' and 'draught,' on the other hand, cannot be classed together. We have left, then, 116 examples, besides 'trans-' and '-graph.' The derivatives that come from some of these words generally have, I think, the same vowel as their primitives. I might have added to my list 'Cincinnati,' 'Cleopatra,' 'giraffe,' 'Indiana,' 'mastiff,' 'molasses,' 'mustache,' 'Montana,' 'Nebraska,' 'pastime,' and 'pasture': if I am not mistaken, 'Cincinnati' and 'Montana' are treated somewhat like 'Alabama,' 'Indiana' and 'Nebraska' almost like 'Alaska,' 'Cleopatra' nearly like 'drama,' 'giraffe' about like 'raft,' 'mastiff' like 'master,' 'molasses' like 'lass,' 'pastime' and 'pasture' like 'pastor.' I take it for granted that 'alms,' 'balm,' 'palm,' 'psalm,' 'qualm,' have the same vowel as 'calm.' Several of my correspondents, in different states, pronounce 'drama' and 'gape' with *ê*; and a good many, in various parts of the country, have *o* or *ɔ* in 'tassel.'

### 1. EASTERN NEW ENGLAND.

The votes from eastern New England show 9 % for *a* to 91 % for *æ* in 'trans-,' but 51 % for *a* to 49 % for *æ* in '-graph.' In all the 116 words above mentioned both vowels are used; *a* has, in the following ones,<sup>1</sup>—

(1) from 1 % to 10 % :

salmon	aster	classify	drastic	massive
pantry <sup>2</sup>	bastard	dastard	gas	tassel

(2) from 10 % to 20 % :

example	pant	blather	asp	classic	nast
sample	piano	Alaska	blasphemy	elastic	plastic

(3) from 20 % to 30 % :

answer	askance	rather	gaff	lass
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<sup>1</sup> The words in each group are arranged with regard to the consonant — *p, m, n, ð, b, f, or s* — that follows the accented vowel.

<sup>2</sup> I think *pantri* was formerly common in the rural dialects.

## (4) from 30 % to 40 % :

advantage	enhance	aghast	casket	gasp
banana	trance	bask	castle	ghastly
command	lather	bass	castor	rascal

## (5) from 40 % to 50 % :

advance	glance	prance	alas	clasp	mass
blanch	grant	slant	basket	flask	nasty
branch	lance	daft	cask	grasp	pastor
dance	plant	haft	cast	mask	rasp

## (6) from 50 % to 60 % :

ant	France	chaff	waft	mast	plaster	task
chance	aft	Taft	ass	master	repast	vast

## (7) from 60 % to 70 % :

almond	graft	staff	class	grass
chant	quaff	ask	fast	last
craft	raft	blast	fasten	pass
draft	shaft	brass	glass	past

## (8) from 70 % to 80 % :

gape	drama	lath	path	wrath	after	draught
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## (9) from 80 % to 90 % :

can't	shan't	bath	half	laugh
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## (10) from 90 % to 100 % :

Alabama	calm	aunt	calf
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The vote on 'calm' is unanimous. It is to be noted in general that the more a word is used, other things being equal, the more it inclines (in eastern New England) to *a*: compare 'after' (8) and 'aft' (6), 'ask' (7) and 'bask' (4), 'fast' (7) and 'cast' (5), 'grass' (7) and 'mass' (5), 'basket' (5) and 'casket' (4), 'clasp' (5) and 'asp' (2). It appears, further, that, throwing out unpopular examples, the per cent. of votes for *a* in most of the *n*-words ranges between 40 and 60; in nearly all the *s*-words, between 30 and 70; in almost all the *f*-words, between 50 and 80; and in all the *p*-words, between 70 and 90. The distinction between 'calf,' 'half,' 'laugh' and the other cases of *f* can probably be traced to the dictionary; and the separation of 'can't,'

'shan't' from other *n*-words is perhaps the result of some artificial influence. The almost unanimous vote for *a* in 'aunt' seems to be due partly to the spelling 'au' and the analogy of words like 'haunt,' and partly to an effort to distinguish 'aunt' from 'ant.' Most of the support for *a* in 'advance,' 'advantage,' 'answer,' and 'castle' comes from Massachusetts.

The percentages given above represent eastern New England as a whole; but the pronunciation is not always the same in all quarters of this territory. We may, in fact, divide the region into three parts: in the first, which comprises Maine and eastern Massachusetts, the practice does not differ essentially from that shown by the general averages; in the second, which consists of New Hampshire, *æ* is a little more prevalent, especially before *n*; the third, Rhode Island, is unanimous for *a* in 'Alabama,' 'calm,' 'aunt,' 'can't,' 'shan't,' 'calf,' 'half,' 'laugh,' and prefers the same vowel in 'gape,' 'almond,' 'drama,' 'banana,' 'bath,' 'path,' 'class,' 'pass,' but shows a decided liking for *æ* in the other words.

## 2. EASTERN VIRGINIA.

Eastern Virginia is unanimous for *æ* in 'trans-' and '-graph.' It is divided on the pronunciation of 97 words, but does not show over 40% for *a* in any of them, except 'calm' (62%), 'aunt' (46%), and 'master' (54%). I am told that the old whig families affect *a*, while the democrats use *æ*. The vowel *a* has, in the following examples, —

### (1) from 1% to 10% :

ant	slant	daft	ass	castor	mass
banana	blather	Taft	bask	gasp	rascal
pant	lather	aghaſt	bass	ghaſtly	raſp

### (2) from 10% to 20% :

example	askaſce	plant	rather	graft	blaſt	claſp
ſalmon	enhanſce	prance	craft	alaſ	caſk	flaſk
ſample	lanſce	tranſce	draſt	baſket	caſtle	maſſive

### (3) from 20% to 30% :

gape	branch	France	aft	raft	faſt	maſt
almond	can't	glance	calf	ſhaſt	faſten	taſk
advance	command	graſt	chaſt	braſs	graſp	taſſel
advantage	danſce	laſt	haſt	caſt	maſk	vaſt

(4) from 30 % to 40 % :

Alabama	chance	path	half	waft	grass	past
drama	chant	wrath	laugh	ask	last	pastor
answer	shan't	after	quaff	class	nasty	plaster
blanch	bath	draught	staff	glass	pass	

It will be seen that 'calf,' 'half,' 'laugh' are not separated from the *f*-words, nor 'can't,' 'shan't' from the other cases of *n*.

### 3. NORTH AND WEST.

In the North and West only three speakers out of 86 use *a* in 'trans-' and in '-graph.' Both vowels are heard, however, in 103 of the 116 words; but in 89 of them *a* has less than 10 % of the votes. The occasional use of *a* in these 89 examples is probably due to the schools or to Eastern influences; *a* is a little less rare in 'can't,' 'shan't' than in the rest of the *n*-list. A trace of artificial influence can be found in the fact that there are more votes for *a* in 'wrath' than in 'bath,' 'lath,' and 'path.'

Here are the fourteen words in which *a* received 10 % or more, with the per cent. of votes for *a* in each: 'gape,' 11; 'Alabama,' 27; 'almond,' 31; 'calm,' 84; 'drama,' 36; 'salmon,' 14; 'aunt,' 22; 'piano,' 13; 'rather,' 11; 'draught,' 10; 'half,' 10; 'laugh,' 10; 'quaff,' 22; 'waft,' 13.

In general, there are more cases of *a* in Ohio and Indiana than in Michigan and Illinois. Nearly all the votes for *æ* in 'calm' come from Ontario and central and western Pennsylvania, which are almost unanimous for *kæm*. All the correspondents from Michigan, Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, North Dakota, and almost all from Ohio, Indiana, Wisconsin, and Missouri use *æ* in 'aunt,' 'can't,' 'shant.' Some speakers in Missouri pronounce 'shan't' with an *ê*.

### 4. SOUTH.

The South has no *a* in 'trans-' and '-graph,' and shows traces of it in only 27 of the 116 examples. Furthermore, only three of these 27 words received over two *a*-votes: 'Alabama,' with 17 % for *a*; 'calm,' 33 %; 'drama,' 20 %. The Gulf States are unanimous for *æ* in 'Alabama.'

C. H. GRANDGENT.

## LIST OF VERBS FROM WESTERN CONNECTICUT.

THIS list of verbs represents the actual usage of an individual who may be taken as a typical representative in the matter of dialect, of the rural population of his section in Litchfield County, Connecticut. He is about sixty years old, can read and write, but never goes to church, and seldom has occasion to talk with those who speak more conventional English than himself. His position in the town is somewhat that of Mr. B. Sawin in the *Biglow Papers*. The town is one remote from railroads, and city boarders do not reach it; the older inhabitants speak with considerable uniformity the same dialect as our subject.

No verb in their speech, with the single exception of *see*, has more than two forms; the preterit and past participle are in all cases alike.

I have used the ordinary spelling, occasionally adding the phonetic spelling in parentheses for the sake of certainty. Where two forms are given, it means that I have heard my subject use both; if one is in parentheses, he uses that form much less than the other.

bear	bore ( <i>born</i> in p.p. in speaking of birth, but "my trees haint bore so good this year")
beat	beat
begin	begun
bid	bid
bind	bound
blow	blowed
break	broke
bring	brought ( <i>brung</i> )
burn	burnt
bust	busted
catch (pron. ketʃ)	catched (pron. ketʃt)
choose (pron. tʃiuz)	chose
climb	clum ( <i>clim</i> is perhaps more common, but our friend never uses it)
come	come
creep	crep

cuss	cussed (pron. kɛst) (but <i>cursed</i> as a book-word. He never says <i>curse</i> in the present, even when a book-word. The adjective <i>cussed</i> (pron. kɛsid) is of course a very useful part of his vocabulary)
dare	darst (negative in pres. <i>dassent</i> [pron. dæst])
dive	dōve
do (pron. diu)	done
draw	drawed
dream	dreamt (pron. drempt)
drink	drinked (used often causatively, = to water : "go drink them oxen")
drive	druv
eat	eat (pron. ît)
fall	fell
fight	fit
find	foun(d)
fling	flung
fly	flew
freeze	froze
git	got (pron. got, never get)
give	give (gin)
go	went ( <i>gone</i> in p.p. is confined to adj. use, = 'away,' 'no longer present')
grow	g̃rowed
hang (pron. heŋ)	hung
hear	heard (pron. hîrd)
heat	het
heave	hove (pron. hōv or hev)
hide	hid
hold	held, hild
hurt	hurt
keep	kep
know	knowed (knew)
lay	laid (used also for pret. of <i>lie</i> )
lean	leaned (leant pron. lent)
learn (pron. lĕrn, larn)	learnt
lie	(lay) <i>laid</i> is also used
light	lit
put (pron. put)	put (pron. put)
quit	quit
ride	rode, rid
rise	riz
rive	rived (a familiar word in this region, being applied to a process of getting out shingles)
run	run
see	see, p.p. seen
shine	shone (pron. fôn)

show	showed
shoe (pron. fiu)	shod
slink	srunk
shet	shet
sing	sung
sink	sunk
set	set, sot (the verb <i>sit</i> is not used: <i>set</i> when transitive has pret. <i>set</i> , when intr. <i>set</i> or <i>sot</i> )
slay	slew (pron. sliu)
smite	smote
speak	spoke
spill	spilt
spile	spilt
strive	strove
swear	swore
sweep	swep
swim	swum
take	took
teach	tached (only in sense of 'keep school.' He uses <i>learn</i> , trans., in other senses)
tear	tore
thrive	thriv, throve.
throw	threwed
tread	trod
wake	waked
wear	wore
weave	wove
wet	wet
whet	whet
write	wrote

In my boyhood, in western Connecticut, I learned to know a common carpenter's tool as a "madz," and I think most of the fellow-workmen of my father, who was a carpenter, used that name. The explanation of the prefixed *m* is to my mind undoubtedly this: The word on account of its form was looked on as a plural, and always took a plural verb, as I remember the usage. The form with a demonstrative pronoun would then always be, in the dialect of the region, *them adz*, and the *m* was transferred to the noun, as the *n* of the indefinite article has changed places in some words.

E. H. BABBITT.

LOSS OF R IN ENGLISH THROUGH DISSIMILATION.<sup>1</sup>

THAT *r* not followed by a vowel is lost or reduced to a mid-mixed vowel in southern England and in the Southern and a part of the New England States is well known (Grandgent, *German and English Sounds*, § 15, 5). In his excellent study of the Ithaca dialect (DIALECT NOTES, III, § 160), Professor Emerson has recorded the occasional loss of *r* in a dialect that regularly retains it. With many of Professor Emerson's examples of loss of *r* at the end of a syllable and with others like them (for instance *dæsn̩t*, *kɔs* 'curse,' *pætrɪdʒ*, *bɔst* 'burst') I have been familiar from my childhood as a part of vulgar speech; and *pɔsi* 'pursy,' *pɔsli* 'purslain,' *sæsəprɪlə*, I should say now, if I had occasion to use the words. But most of these are descended from a dialect that lost *r* in this position before it was lost in the districts where *dæsn̩t kɛs*, *patrɪdʒ*, *pɛsi*, etc., are said; as is shown by the quality of the vowels. The modern *kætrɪdʒ* is probably due to the influence of *pætrɪdʒ*, and *sæsəprɪlə* may have been influenced by *sæsəfræs*.

But I would to-day note a very common but less extensive loss of *r* in my own dialect, which was formed in southern Michigan. I have observed the following cases; there are doubtless more. At least two-thirds of my students agree with me in nearly all the cases cited. The usage of a community, and even of an individual, varies according to the degree of influence exerted, consciously or unconsciously, by the spelling.

1) 'there' are, *ðɛr̩*, *ðɛr̩*, *ðer̩*, *ðəɹ̩*, or *ðr̩*; 'where' are, *hwɛr̩*, *hwɛr̩*, *hwer̩*, *hwɹ̩*; 'far' are, *fɑr̩*, *far̩*; 'for' her, *fɔr̩*, *for̩*, *fəɹ̩*;

2) less generally in 'fa(r)ther,' 'fo(r)ward,' 'fo(r)mer,' 'fo(r)merly' or 'forme(r)ly,' 'wa(r)mer,' 'wa(r)m water' (but 'warm'), 'pa(r)liamentary' (but 'parliament'), 'co(r)poration,' 'inco(r)porate,' 'no(r)thern' or 'northe(r)n'<sup>2</sup> and the name

<sup>1</sup> The symbols used in this article are those of the American Dialect Society, but I have adopted from Mr. Grandgent *ɛ̇* for the vowel in 'fair,' and *ɛ̈* for the first part of *a* in 'hate.' Syllabic *r*, *n*, are printed *r̩*, *n̩*. Where the ordinary spelling is used, the acute accent marks words (comparatively) stressed.

<sup>2</sup> I usually say 'northern,' but sometimes 'nothern' in contrast to 'southern.'

'Northen' (but 'north'), 'qua(r)ter' (but 'quart'), 'co(r)ner' (but 'corn'); occasionally in 'pa(r)lor,' 'fa(r)mer,' 'o(r)der,' 'wa(r)m weather';

3) usually in 'su(r)prise,' 'ente(r)prise,' 'o(r)thography,' 'the(r)mometer,' 'comfo(r)ter,' 'pa(r)ticular' (but 'participate'), less generally in 'afte(r)wards,' 'pe(r)fumery' (always 'perfume'), 'pe(r)formance' (but 'perfection'), and my wife's maiden name: 'Purmot' or 'Purmout' for 'Purmort';<sup>1</sup>

4) 'afte(r)noon,' 'yeste(r)day' (and 'yes(ter)day morning,' etc.), less frequently in 'Satu(r)day,' 'you(r),' 'you(r)self,' 'comf(or)table';

5) 'lib(r)ary' (sounded *laibʔri* or *laibri*; I have also heard *laib:eri*, only recently from a professor in Williams College, a native of Williamstown), 'Feb(r)uary' (sounded *febyu:eri*, *febu:eri*, or *febə:weri*).<sup>2</sup>

It is evident that the loss of the stressed *r* in 1) and 2) is due to dissimilation:<sup>3</sup> in 3) and 5) lack of stress (always favorable to dissimilation, cf. Greek  $\phi(\rho)\alpha\tau\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha$ ,  $\delta\rho\acute{\upsilon}\phi(\rho)\alpha\kappa\tau\omicron\varsigma$ , Latin *co(n)gnosco*, etc.), aided the loss. The forms *æfʔn·ûn*, *yes(tə)dè*, *sæt(r)dè*, *comf(r)təble*, etc., may be simply contractions, *r* etc. falling away next cognate sounds. Still 'afte(r)noon' may be due to 'afte(r)wards,' and 'yeste(r)day' and 'Satu(r)day' may have arisen before 'morning,' 'afternoon,' etc. *yu* for 'your' probably arose in the very common locutions, 'you(r) father,' 'you(r) mother,' etc.; if so, it too is due to dissimilation.

The different forms given under 1) arise from difference in time and rhythm: *ðeʔ* and *hweʔ* begin trochaic sentences, and so do *ðer* and *hwer* when followed by a very light syllable (for example, 'the(re a)re the boys,' 'whe(re a)re you going?'); *ðeʔ*, *ðer*, and *ðʔ* etc. begin iambic sentences when followed by a stressed syllable; while *ðer* and especially *ðʔ* precede a very heavily stressed

<sup>1</sup> Observe a similar uncertainty in the name of 'Philemon Pormort' or 'Pormont,' the first master of the Boston Latin School (Phillips Brooks, *The First School in America*, pp. 13, 20).

<sup>2</sup> This loss of one of two medial *r*'s I have observed also among those who, while losing final *r*, usually retain medial *r*.

<sup>3</sup> That the loss of *r* in 'there are' etc. ('I'll get it for her,' 'How far are you going?,' etc.) is not the same as that in 'what (are) you doing?,' 'how soon (are) you going?,' etc., is evident from the dissyllabic forms *ðeʔ*, *fɔr*, etc.; unless it be regarded as more likely that these forms are later and arose out of rhythmical considerations from the monosyllabic *ðer*, etc.

syllable. *fər* is the usual final form ('I'll get it fo(r h)er'), *for* and *fər* are used when a stressed syllable follows, but not necessarily immediately ('I'd do it fo(r h)er any day,' 'she bought them fo(r h)er old friend').

*ðeɹ* is often resolved into *ðe* and *r*, the *ðe* being used after a strong *ar* 'are' (so in 'there are many poor ones, are there?'); but as the sound *e* occurs only before *r*, *ðe* becomes *ðè* (like unstressed 'they'), occasionally it is reduced to *ðə*. This is so common that *ðè* for the indefinite 'there' is frequent even when not suggested by a preceding *ðeɹ* 'there are,' and may, if stressed, become full *ðei*. Thus 'thè were a good many in the room,' 'I only found two, but thè may be more,' 'thè's (*or thə's*) a man downstairs.'

This use of *ðè* for *ðe* is another illustration of the principle made use of by Sweet, *History of English Sounds*, § 732 (and afterwards by me, *Academy*, April 25, 1891), that when a sound arises under certain conditions and is brought into a position or condition in which the sound does not otherwise occur in the language in question, it is apt to be displaced by the nearest sound that does occur in that situation.

GEORGE HEMPL.

## SQUINT AND SQUINNY.

HAVING found by accident that my wife associated with the word *squint* an idea (namely, to peer through partly closed eyes) that differed materially from the one I had always entertained (that is, to be cross-eyed), I inquired of some 120 members of the University of Michigan as to what current usage is, and herewith present the results of this investigation.

Arranged without regard to parts of speech but with some attempt at logical development, the meanings of *squint* (in a few cases, *squint-eyed*) fall into the following scheme:—

I 1) to have strabismus, or improper direction of one or both of the eyeballs, due to disproportion in the length of the straight muscles (usually a permanent defect, though many persons can imitate it at will): "He squints." So *squint-eyed* = cross-eyed or cock-eyed.<sup>1</sup>

2) to look askance, for example, (a) contemptuously: "You needn't squint at me in that style, you're no better than we are"; (b) furtively: "What are you squinting at? This matter is none of your business"; (c) suspiciously: "He kept squinting at me all the time, as though he thought I'd pocket one of them."

3) (a) to have an indirect reference or bearing (cf. Century dictionary, *squint*, V 3); (b) *squinting* or *squint-eyed* = ambiguous or dubious, as "squinting praise," "a squinting construction," etc.

4) to incline or tend in a certain direction: "The very first article squints toward what I said he had in mind."

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<sup>1</sup> As was pointed out by Dr. S. W. Norton at the meeting in Chicago, this word too is differently understood: to me it means having one or both eyes directed outward while looking straight ahead; to Dr. Norton it means having eyelids that droop, especially at the outer corners. When reminded of a certain "cock-eyed" governor of Massachusetts, I remembered this use of the word. I must also have often heard the word *squint* in the sense marked II above, but it was only a year ago that I became aware of it and of its divergence from what is my usual meaning. All of which goes to emphasize the well-known fact that one's own usage may long keep itself uninfluenced by the usage of many about him.

5) (a) *squints*: two narrow openings in intercepting pillars of a church, which enable those in the side aisles to look obliquely at the high altar; (b) *squint-holes*: the long slits in the walls of barns to admit light and air (Gloucestershire).

II to contract the eyelids so as partly to close the eyes (either steadily or intermittently), blink: (a) occasional, because of unusually bright light: "He stood in the glare of the sun, squinting (up) his eyes, and," etc.; (b) occasional or habitual, because of near-sightedness; so *squint-eyed* = near-sighted.

III 1) to contract the eyelid at the outer corner so as partly to close the eye: (a) a knowing or lascivious wink: "He squinted at his partner, but said nothing"; (b) a permanent defect in the eyelid: "His left eye squinted, or opened incompletely."

2) to twitch (usually because of some nervous affection), said of the corner of the eye.

IV to close one eye —

1) and with the other (a) look through a crack or hole, peer: "I saw him squinting through the key-hole"; (b)  $\alpha$  look along an edge or a series of points: "Just squint along that edge, if you think it isn't straight";  $\beta$ ) take aim, as with a gun: "He levelled his rifle, took a squint at the spot, and fired"; (c) get a good view of an object, slang for  $\alpha$ ) a brief but critical glance: "You'd better take a squint at that before you," etc.;  $\beta$ ) any glance: "I wish I could get a squint at that" = get sight of it.

2) and draw up the cheek as a sign of uncertainty or of unwillingness to answer: "A shrug of the shoulders or a squint of his right eye was all the reply I could get from him."

It will be observed that I has to do with the ball of the eye and its muscles, while II, III, and IV relate to the eyelids. Now, strange as it may seem, the dictionaries recognize only I, and betray no acquaintance with II, III, and IV, and yet these meanings are by far the more familiar and general in America. That even the new American *Century Dictionary* so thoroughly misrepresents present usage in this country is a sad reminder that the making of dictionaries from older dictionaries is not yet a thing of the past.

Of the persons of whom I inquired, two (a little more than one per cent) knew I and part of IV but not II; 35 (27 %) knew I 1 and II, and some of them III or IV; 89 (70 %) knew II, and 60 of them part of III and IV, but not I 1, though four

knew I 2. In other words, 85 (67 %) knew II, but not I, and 124 (98 %) knew II; while only two (something over one per cent) knew I and not II, and even these knew part of IV.

By states they are as follows:—

I and IV, but not II: 1 Maine, 1 Michigan, = 2;

I, II (and some III or IV): 3 Massachusetts, 1 Connecticut, 1 Rhode Island, 1 Maryland, 1 Pennsylvania, 1 New York, 2 Ohio, 16 Michigan, 3 Indiana, 1 Tennessee, 1 Illinois, 2 Iowa, 2 Utah, = 35;

II (and some IV or III), but not I: 1 Vermont, 1 Massachusetts, 1 Connecticut, 1 Florida, 1 Pennsylvania, 6 Ohio, 6 Indiana, 50 Michigan, 17 Illinois, 2 Iowa, 2 Missouri, 1 Kansas, 1 California, = 90; but 3 from Michigan, and 1 from Illinois knew I 2.

From which it appears that I is best known in the East, and II in the West.

I 2 was known to most of those that knew I 1, and to some that did not. I 3 and 4 were known only from books, I 5 was not reported.

II *b* is as general as II *a*, but *squint-eyed* = near-sighted was reported only from 15 Michigan, 2 Indiana, 4 Illinois, 2 Iowa, 1 Missouri, 1 Kansas, 1 California, = 26; and so only in the West.

III 1 *a* is general, *b* is occasional, III 2 was reported only from 3 Michigan, 2 Chicago, 1 Indiana.

IV is well known all over the country.

As regards England, I have not been able to find that II, III, and IV are known there. *To squint at* = to glance at, is reported from Yorkshire, but the meanings I have classed under IV *a* and 3 may nearly as easily fall under I 2.

But *squinky* shows in England similar diversity of meaning: I 1 in East Anglia, Leicester, Sussex, and Somerset; I 2 in Leicester and Sussex; II in Leicester (“*squin(n)ying* eyes: narrow, contracted, like those of a very short-sighted person trying to make out something at a distance”); IV in Somerset (“I sead thee squinning round the corner”), and Leicester (“What have you got there? Let’s have a squinky”). The word also means weakly, undersized, shrivelled (Leicester), lean, thin (Isle of Wight), and even contemptible (East Anglia).

It will be observed that the above arrangement of the meanings of *squint* implies that the transition from I to II lies through the use of squints in a church, and later any similar narrow open-

ing to peer through. It is, however, as likely that the change came about because when an eye is partly closed, especially at the tail of the eye, the pupil and iris appear much as they do when the eyeball is turned outward and so into the tail of the eye.

If I may be allowed to add the "moral" of this brief paper, let it be this: When you observe a word, or a pronunciation, or a use of a word, that strikes you as strange, do not condemn it and prove its wrongness by showing the ones that used it that it is not so "in the dictionary"; but rather try to find how general the unrecognized word, or pronunciation, or meaning is, and put the results of your inquiry in such shape that they will receive justice at the hands of the next dictionary.

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## WHAT IS A DIALECT?

THE discussion of the question here chosen as a subject involves repeating much that has already been said before by such men as Whitney<sup>1</sup> in this country, Paul<sup>2</sup> in Germany, P. Passy<sup>3</sup> in France, and others. The only excuse for such repetition is that in the study of dialects in America the conditions are sufficiently peculiar to make it desirable to restate some main principles now perhaps generally accepted by scholars, with attention to these American conditions which make it well to emphasize certain principles specially, and well to note some possible additions or modifications. This will be but imperfectly done in the present article, for the study of the special conditions under which the English speech has taken and is taking shape in America is still in its beginnings. But the present is a time—the American Dialect Society being now in its fifth year—when we may well feel that a discussion of our subject with special reference to America can be begun with more hope of early profitable results than would have been justified when our Society began its existence. This article is meant as a contribution to such discussion, and its author will be best pleased if it shall provoke criticism and further discussion.

We may now make the following general statements, some of which we shall then discuss.

<sup>1</sup> See his *Language and the Study of Language*, Lectures i and iv, and *Life and Growth of Language*, chap. ix.

<sup>2</sup> See his *Principien der Sprachgeschichte*, 2d ed., 1886. For the reader's convenience I may refer also to the work based on this German original, though in some respects independent of it, by Strong, Logeman and Wheeler, entitled *Introduction to the Study of the History of Language*, London, 1891. In this see particularly chaps. i, ii, xxii, xxiii. No attempt is made here to mention all works which deserve study in connection with the general subject of dialects; some of the most important have been already mentioned under the heading "Bibliography" in previous numbers of DIALECT NOTES.

<sup>3</sup> See his *Étude sur les changements phonétiques et leurs caractères généraux*, Paris, 1890.

Language we consider primarily as spoken by the various individuals who use it. No two individuals use exactly the same language. All language is constantly changing and the gradual changes in different localities produce in time, in the lack of conservative or unifying forces, forms markedly different, even though the source of all these may have been the same, that is, with only slight and unnoticed individual variations. These different local forms of speech we may provisionally call dialects, but it is evident that a sharp line between dialects and language can only be drawn after adopting strict definitions of both words, also that no sharp line can be drawn between the slight, and for the most part unnoticed (though not necessarily imperceptible), differences among individuals speaking the same dialect or language and the more noticeable ones which we call differences of dialect. Dialects, thus understood, cannot be assigned in general to definite regions with sharply drawn geographical limits; but each one of their characteristics can be so delimited, though no two such characteristics may cover exactly the same territory. The so-called standard language is not a fixed and infallible standard, but is itself constantly changing with the course of time, and is different in the different places where it is spoken. The conservative and unifying forces keep these different forms of the standard language from departing excessively in any place from the somewhat ideal norm. In all its forms the standard language is, or very soon becomes, somewhat artificial, but this does not prevent it from exerting a strong influence on the more natural speech of different localities with which it comes in contact, nor from being somewhat affected by this. The tendency of its influence is to substitute a form of the standard language for each local dialect, as we see clearly wherever the standard language has such recognition as it has in England and France for example. The distinguishing characteristics of dialects most commonly noted are those of pronunciation; the phonology furnishes the usual dialect test.

For the sake of convenience may be added here that the method of study of dialects now recognized as the scientific one is the historical method.

After this brief statement of what seem to me the most important general principles for my purpose, — principles which I hope I may assume to be now pretty generally accepted by linguistic scholars, — we may discuss some of them with special reference

to America and add such special considerations as may seem necessary.

In speaking of language we mean primarily spoken language, not the written form which is, speaking generally, only a later and inexact representation for the eye of the language as spoken, that is, of the real language. But it is well not to forget that the written language has become extremely important in modern times, and that as a means of communication — the original purpose of language — it often completely takes the place of the spoken language, besides merely supplementing the latter. It has some obvious advantages which I need not here discuss, for our concern now is with the spoken language. Yet even the written language we must consider to some extent, for the written form has in the history of English, and not in that of English alone, exerted some influence on the spoken language. The most important influence of this sort is when the written form of a word has led to a change of pronunciation, a thing which in English has not been confined to words now only literary or uncommon, though it was doubtless at first confined to such words. The written language may also affect the vocabulary in any locality where it is known, introducing new words. I need only mention the spread through the newspapers of bookish words which easily get into use even among persons who cannot read, through those who do. Similarly bookish phrases spread. We recognize them usually at once, and rightly feel that they are not part of the natural speech, that they are not "popular words" or popular phrases. But are we not apt to forget that many words are now distinctly popular which once were as strange as any of the cases that now make us smile when we hear them? It is only necessary to think of the numerous common, every-day words in English which are of French origin, and to reflect on the influence of the speakers of more or less good book-English in this country where almost everybody reads and where, all over the country, children are carefully taught to avoid various forms of "bad English" by persons not all of whom can correctly distinguish in every case between bad English and idiomatic colloquial English, — it is only necessary to think for a moment of these things to realize the need of caution. The French adverb *encore* is not an old word in English use; the earliest citation in the New English Dictionary is from the year 1712, but the same century shows

us the word used in English as noun (1763) and verb (1748) as well as an interjection, and all three uses are common in the newspapers nowadays, as well as in conversation, while "there appears to be no evidence that . . . the French . . . word was ever similarly used in its native country." In spite of this advance towards popular use the pronunciation of the word is still fluctuating among those who know its origin. It depends on the meaning we assign to the word "dialect" whether or not we shall say that it belongs to the dialect of certain people, who pronounce it (I do not say incorrectly) as if spelled *ongcore* and put the accent on the first syllable. In the words *advance*, *advantage* the *d* is an intrusion in the spelling, due to mistaken etymology, but these words are now more popular than the nearly or quite obsolete *avaunt*. Similarly *corpse* is more popular than *corse*, which is now only poetic, but the *p* of *corpse* is again an etymological intrusion in the spelling. So the *g* of *recognizance* is an intrusion, and it is not always pronounced, though the older pronunciation without the *g* is perhaps in this country confined to lawyers, but in *recognize* we all pronounce the written *g*. Yet after all we should be surprised if we found more than comparatively few instances in the spoken language where the spelling had affected the pronunciation, especially if we found that any widely spread phenomenon in phonology affecting a large class of words was due entirely to this cause. We should also be ready to admit it only in the "standard language" or as a consequence of the influence of this, if we do find it in more popular use.

With regard, now, to the slight differences between individuals which, when they become considerable enough and localized enough, we call dialect differences, it is obvious that such differences may and do more or less exist not only in pronunciation, but also in other characteristics of speech. No two persons use the same vocabulary, or use with the same frequency all words common to both, and there are shades of meaning also different, in the cases of different persons, for the same word. There are the different vocabularies of the different trades and professions, of the mathematician, the physicist, the sailor, and so on. Even the language of women is to a certain extent different from that of men, and children, because they are children, differ in language from adults, and these forms of language also may be called dialects. The shifting character of word meanings is even greater than

that of pronunciation, and we may even say that in popular use words do not have in general exact meanings at all, that is, the boundaries of the idea expressed by a given word are more or less vague and shifting. The word *dialect* is itself an example which shows this to be true not of popular words only, but of many which are distinctly not popular. There are many words familiar to us to which we should yet be puzzled to assign exact meanings, and perhaps this is more the case in this country than in some others, because many words common in literature, and not uncommon in speech, are learned from books or from the conversation of others, without actual acquaintance with the things themselves. Consider how many city children have never seen a cow, or how many men and women know no more of the words *spruce*, *fir*, *pine*, *hemlock*, than that they are names of different kinds of trees. Even in a language with so little inflexion as standard English possesses, there may be differences in inflexion; compare the uses of *drank* and *drunk*, the former of which is actually preferred by some as the past participle of *drink*. Obviously, too, the processes of derivation and composition and all syntactic phenomena are subject to variation of a kind which we can hardly avoid calling dialectal. Where there is a literary or standard language, it is true, these variations can, to a greater extent than is the case with sounds, be kept under control, but there is nothing in the nature of language to prevent them from developing and causing linguistic change enough to produce what might properly be called dialects, as being local forms of speech not readily intelligible outside of the locality where they are in use. The reason why phonology is usually made the basis for dialect study is that it furnishes the most convenient and the most trustworthy criterion.

Before leaving the subject of individual differences we may note that it is possible to speak of the speech of any individual as a dialect. This may be done either when we wish to emphasize the existence of individual differences, and the fact that they are of the same kind as those greater ones which we usually have in mind when we speak of dialects, or when an individual's speech is under discussion as representative or typical of the speech of his locality, which all might agree in calling a dialect. A community of a considerable number of speakers is always, of course, found wherever a language or dialect is spoken, and each individual learns his dialect from the language used by others in

the same community, but he always and necessarily individualizes the dialect in his own use, and can use it, though he could not learn it, without their help. To be sure, in general his use of it is constantly affected by that of others. But it is obvious that, if we wish to be cautious, to guard against misrepresenting the dialect or dialects of a given locality, we must be careful to exclude, as far as possible, mere individualisms from our account, and therefore, when we study only one individual's speech, we shall be almost obliged to speak of it as his dialect. In the study of dialect it is only from observing individuals that we can get a correct idea of what is not individual.

It has been said above that exact delimitation of dialects considered as different local forms of speech is impossible, but that such delimitation is possible for their individual characteristics. But even for these the problem is by no means always equally easy of solution. In Europe there have been for many centuries no great migratory movements of population, the territory has long been settled, and single communities have a long history, to a great extent the history of the ancestors of the people who live in them at this day. The conditions were favorable for the development of dialects, and dialects developed with some well-marked characteristics, and developed with comparative freedom, each for itself, unhampered in the beginning by the paramount influence of a standard language, and comparatively little affected by mixture with other markedly different dialects. (I do not mean that there was no mixture of dialects; of course this always existed on the borders of adjacent dialects where there was intercommunication, and some of the adjacent dialects may have belonged to very different language types, as, for example, Hungarian and Slavic or Roumanian, to say nothing of the contacts between French and German or German and Italian.) In such cases the characteristics of, for example, phonology, which altered in the course of time and spread, each over a certain extent of territory, can be mapped, each according to its extent. Such is the case still, to a large extent, with the dialects of England, Germany, France, and Italy. But in this country the case is very different. At the time when English was brought here, the local dialects of England had already begun to be affected by the standard English, and probably no one dialect of England, as represented in any one community, was brought over here and has continued its existence as such, with even so much freedom

from outside influence as it might have had in its English home. In this country various English dialects have mixed, and over all has predominated from the first the standard English,<sup>1</sup> the influence of which on all speakers has been, and still is, much greater than is or ever was the case in England. In this connection I may quote a passage from Whitney's *Language and the Study of Language* (pp. 171-2)<sup>2</sup> from which it will appear that I am here saying nothing new, but rather have felt it important to repeat what ought to be common knowledge, but what some, even among linguistic scholars, are apt to forget, under the influence of German and other European models, when they come to the treatment of dialects in this country:—

“But it was impossible that, in the transfer of English to the continent of America, these local dialects should maintain themselves intact: that could only have been the result of a separate migration of parts of the local communities to which they belonged, and of the continued maintenance of their distinct identity in their new place of settlement. Such was not the character of the movement which filled this country with an English-speaking population. Old lines of local division were effaced; new ties of community were formed, embracing men of various province and rank. It was not more inevitable that the languages of the various nationalities which have contributed to our later population should disappear, swallowed up in the predominant English, than that the varying forms of English should disappear, being assimilated to that one among them which was better supported than the rest. Nor could it be doubtful which was the predominant element, to which the others would have to conform themselves. In any cultivated and lettered community, the cultivated speech, the language of letters, is the central point toward which all the rest gravitate, as they are broken up and lose their local hold. And our first settlers were in no small part from the instructed class, men of high character, capacity, and culture. They brought with them a written language and a rich literature; they read and wrote; they established schools of every grade, and took care that each rising generation should not fall behind its predecessor in learning. The basis, too, of equality of rights and privileges on which they founded their society added a powerful influence in favor of equality of speech. As a natural and

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. the foot-note, p. 296.

<sup>2</sup> I quote from the fifth edition, 1872.

unavoidable consequence, then, of these determining conditions, and not by reason of any virtue for which we are to take credit to ourselves, the general language of America, through all sections of the country and all orders of the population, became far more nearly homogeneous, and accordant with the correct standard of English speech, than is the average language of England."

We have many traces of English dialects in this country, and of Scotch as well, as we also have in some parts of the country traces of other European languages among those who speak English, notably of German, Spanish, and French. But the historical continuity of our dialect variations with those of England has been, to say the least, much interfered with, and, apart from certain isolated communities which may, it is quite possible, exist, it may perhaps be said that the basis of all our American English, local varieties included, is standard English, or, which is saying nearly the same thing, that English dialects which are or were at the time of the English colonization almost identical with standard English have been the main source of the popular speech. If, now, this be granted, as it perhaps will not be by all, then it is obvious that it is all but impossible to map the territory of all the dialect peculiarities we have received from England, and that it is to some extent even useless for the study of dialect variation in this country, for these isolated or occasional peculiarities have here largely lost the interest as dialect features which they had in England. It is only in so far as they are really distinctive in this country that they have considerable value for the linguistic student of dialect growth and development, and in such cases their territory can really be mapped, though the task is no easy one. Those peculiarities which are only isolated retentions and are not now distinctively local have, however, an interest for the history of our speech, and they should be recorded as parts of the material for the history of American civilization of which the linguistic history is a part. Moreover some of them may turn out to be of greater importance than the observer at first suspects.

But, some one may say, if we note only scattered and isolated peculiarities, of what use will this fragmentary work be, and how are any but such observations of unimportant details possible if in this country we all speak standard English? Are there any dialects of English at all in America? To the first of these

objections it might be answered that all truly scientific work involves the collection of a large number of single facts which only become valuable when all are co-ordinated and studied in their relations. Every science must have its toilsomely accumulated store of single facts. But it is not true that we must all confine ourselves even in this early stage of work to collecting facts, though this is certainly the most pressing need. With a small material only we can begin an intelligent study which tries to explain as well as collect, and thus add the interest of a definite purpose to the drudgery of collecting. Professor Hempl's short paper in this number of *DIALECT NOTES* on the loss of *r* in English through dissimilation is an illustration of this. Then it is not the case that in this country we all speak standard English. It does appear to be the case that our local forms of speech, or most of them, go back to some form of standard English, as their main (by no means their only) source, but there has been time already for the beginnings at least of dialect differentiation, and the standard language itself in this country already shows such differentiation clearly.<sup>1</sup> Much more is this likely to be the case with the careless popular speech which is less easily held within the bounds of any artificial standard. Then, too, we have the phenomena of dialect mixture to study here, and we can watch these as they take place, as the speakers of foreign languages (and, for that matter, of some forms of English, as Irish-English) who come as immigrants mix in varying proportions with the English speakers already here. The settlement of the largest part of our immense territory by white men

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<sup>1</sup> As possible examples of such dialect variation in phonology alone we may mention the loss or retention (to some extent probably the restoration) of *r* in many cases; the peculiar *y*-like sound substituted for *r* in some regions; the widely spread unrounding of "short *o*" so that it becomes an *a* sound (of different quality in different localities); the change of *û* in some parts of the South into *û*<sup>1</sup> (a more forward sound resembling or identical with a Scandinavian vowel), so that those who have made this change no longer possess the vowel *û* (as in *boot*) at all, as those who have unrounded the *o* no longer possess the recognized *o* (as in *hot*) of the standard English of England; the vowel *ò* (as in *bone, stone, etc.*, in New England and elsewhere); and even vowel nasality. To some extent these phenomena, except perhaps the last, are distinctly local. How far they are retentions of pronunciations in England and how far they are the result of dialect divergence in this country or of foreign influences we do not fully know as yet. Cf. the foot-note, p. 296.

is still so recent that the memories of old men yet living can furnish facts of value for the study of the language problems. We have in this country opportunities for the study of dialect differences at their very beginnings, from the very fact that even local forms of speech in general still diverge so little from the standard in England. The differentiation has apparently not yet gone very far, but it is perceptible enough, and the question comes whether fully developed dialects such as those known in Europe will ever be known here. The study of our American conditions, not only for English but also for the French of Canada and Louisiana, the German of Pennsylvania, the Spanish of the Southwest, may also make it easier for us to understand the condition of things in England after the Norman Conquest, and in Gaul after the conquest by the Romans and the later one by Germanic tribes.

There is another sense in which the word *dialect* is sometimes taken, or seems to be taken, when it implies a local form of speech with a history, as is so often the case in Europe, but excludes all the words of that local form of speech which have not the form they would have if they had shared in all its history; that is, it excludes all words of comparatively recent introduction, all loan-words, except those which are too old to be detected as such. When a person says that such and such a word does not belong to a given dialect, and gives as his reason that it does not have the form which the historical laws of development of that dialect require, and we learn that it is, however, in full local use by the speakers of the dialect, we feel that he is really stating, not what the dialect is, but what he thinks it ought to be, or, if he is correct in his opinion as to the foreign origin of the word, he is still stating, not what the dialect is, but what, without foreign intrusion, it would be. The historical study of dialects is scientific and to be recommended, but it should not be forgotten that the stage actually observed belongs to that history as the latest stage described, and to disguise or conceal the facts of the present is no more allowable than to treat past facts in the same way. In studying a dialect its history, including the history of its vocabulary, must be traced as fully as possible, but a definition of dialect which rests only on its history, or rather only on a part of its history, and is inconsistent with the dialect itself as it actually exists, is clearly objectionable. Generally, to be sure, this use occurs only as a convenient or abbreviated form of language, and

so long as the real facts are not hidden and the reader is not misled the objection is not of great practical importance. When we are speaking of past stages of dialects, where the real facts are not open to direct observation, there is perhaps more justification for the use in question.

We have now reached the point, after wandering a good deal, it may seem, for giving an answer to our question. It is clear to me that we should start with the ordinary idea of the meaning of the word *dialect*, limiting or modifying it by considerations such as those dwelt on above. We must avoid any attempt to draw too definite lines; it is not a definition like that of a mathematical term, such as *circle* or *square*, that we shall find most useful, and our definition must rest on observation of the facts as we find them. We may perhaps say:

A dialect is a form of speech actually in natural use in any community as a mode of communication, varying somewhat in the mouths of individuals, but only within comparatively narrow limits at any one time.

We may properly speak of the dialect of a trade or profession, of the dialects of different classes in the same community (if they form what may be called sub-communities), or of individuals, and may recognize different dialects of the same individual, according to the different circumstances affecting his speech at different times (Passy's *dialectes occasionnels*), and we may even speak of dialects of the standard language,<sup>1</sup> so far as the latter is naturally spoken, though not all these uses of the word will be equally acceptable to all. If in ordinary use the standard language is contrasted with dialects the distinction is one which we may express by contrasting the somewhat artificial or acquired speech with the natural speech, and there would be no risk of being misunderstood, in spite of the apparent contradiction, if we spoke of the standard language anywhere in use as an artificial dialect. The natural dialect is not artificial, though some elements of it may have been so once, before they became parts of it; the standard language is more or less artificial, but it is not entirely artificial, a large part of it, far the largest part of it indeed, may be natural too, or may become so. When I say "natural" here I do not mean given by nature, for even the natural dialect

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<sup>1</sup> For varying forms of standard English cf., for example, p. 269 ff., and *Phonetische Studien*, V, 79-96.

is of course taught and learned. I mean, when I call it natural, that it has been so far mastered as to be used readily and with practically no conscious effort; its use has become "second nature." There is nothing impossible about acquiring a similar mastery of the essentials of the standard language. Wherever the distinctly artificial element is present or at least strongly present, we find the word *dialect* less suitable, and perhaps this is the best reason for excluding slang in general, and such things as the so-called thieves' slang. But it is evidently not easy to draw a sharp line of division between slang and dialect.<sup>1</sup>

E. S. SHELDON.

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<sup>1</sup> See also the article, written from a different standpoint, of A. Horning, *Ueber Dialektgrenzen im Romanischen*, in the *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, XVII, 160c-187.

## THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SOCIETY.

THE annual meeting for 1892 was held at Columbian University, Washington, D.C., on Thursday, December 29, at 3 P.M., President Garnett in the chair. Committees were appointed to examine the Treasurer's accounts (Professors J. P. Fruit and J. W. Pearce), and to nominate a list of officers for the year 1893. Before the close of the meeting the former committee reported that the Treasurer's accounts had been found correct, and the latter reported the following list of officers for 1893, which was approved: for President, James M. Garnett, University of Virginia; for Vice-President, A. M. Elliott, Baltimore, Md.; for Secretary, Edward S. Sheldon, Cambridge, Mass.; for Treasurer, Charles H. Grandgent, Cambridge, Mass.; for the Editing Committee, the Secretary, George L. Kittredge, Cambridge, Mass., and George Hempl, Ann Arbor, Mich.; for the Executive Committee, in addition to these officers, M. D. Learned, Baltimore, Md., A. F. Chamberlain, Worcester, Mass., and H. R. Lang, New Haven, Conn.

The reports of the Secretary and the Treasurer were read as follows:—

## SECRETARY'S REPORT FOR 1892.

In the spring of the year 1892 Part IV of DIALECT NOTES was prepared, and early in May it was sent to those who had up to that time paid their dues for the year, one hundred and thirty-four in number. Further copies have been sent since as payments from old or new members have been received. The price for additional copies of this part for members of 1892 has been set at forty cents. Part V will be distributed soon to members of 1892; it is all in type, and the last corrections have been made. As was mentioned at the time of notification of this meeting, there has been sent to every member a copy of the Secretary's paper on the origin of the English names of the letters (an extract from the *Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, I), which contains some matter likely to interest

students of dialect in this country. Any who have not received it are requested to communicate with the Secretary at once. A limited number of copies are still available to supply later payers of the regular assessment for the year 1892.

Our list of paid members now (December 26) contains one hundred and sixty-eight names. The list for 1891, as printed in Part V, contains one hundred and eighty-three names, but a certain number were added after this date in 1891, and we have lost by death two members whose names appear in that list. With the omission of these names [James Russell Lowell and Professor N. P. Seymour] the list for 1891 has one hundred and eighty-one names, and compared with this our present list shows a loss of twenty-eight, partly counterbalanced by a gain of fifteen new members. Among the names now dropped — it is to be hoped only for a time — are those of two district secretaries, and two others have for a year or more failed to renew their membership. This is perhaps in part the result of discouragement from insufficient interest shown in the states concerned, the district secretaries finding no intending collectors or other workers to assist, and having no preliminary editing of papers to attend to. Failure to get responses to efforts to arouse interest in our work was spoken of at our last meeting, and the states there referred to are not the only ones to show such unsatisfactory results.

It will interest such as do not already know it, to learn that, in the spring of 1892, Professor Hempl started a local Dialect Society at Ann Arbor. Under his guidance good progress may be expected. The experiment will perhaps be followed by others elsewhere, and in that case it will be well to consider what measures shall be taken to ensure the best results in harmony with our general organization.

In regard to exchange of our publications with other organizations it has been decided to give the Secretary considerable discretion, he being authorized to make exchanges only when it seems to him likely to be for the advantage of the Society to do so. The present Secretary would in general be ready to exchange whenever the publication in question contains, or is likely to contain, matter of interest to the Society and is not already easily to be consulted at the Harvard library.

In a circular dated at Philadelphia, March, 1892, a committee of the American Oriental Society broached the subject of a com-

mon time and place for meeting, every other year, of eight societies, — philological, archæological, and ethnological, — of which ours is one. No final decision has been reached by the Executive Committee, the plan being favored, though not altogether without limitations, by several, while about an equal number thought it of doubtful expediency or undesirable. The subject will probably come before the Committee again on account of the plan for having various societies meet at Chicago during the Columbian Exposition, but as no formal communication has yet been sent to this Society by any representative of the authorities of the Exposition, no action can now be taken. The Executive Committee has authority to call a special meeting at any time, though our regular annual meeting must be held in December.

With the call for this meeting notice was sent of several subjects for discussion, and, by an oversight, one — the Creole dialect — was omitted. A short list of subjects for contributors to *DIALECT NOTES* is printed in Part V [p. 262] by way of suggestion, with, of course, no intention to limit workers to these subjects only. It would perhaps have been well to call special attention to the desirability of monographs on local forms of speech, such as Professor Emerson has already given in Part III for Ithaca. Perhaps the variation of educated pronunciation of English could be studied to advantage also by means of a long list of words prepared by one person representing one place as a temporary standard of reference, others giving their different pronunciations. Of course all pronunciations would have to be given in phonetic spelling, and the various local values of the elementary symbols used would have to be described carefully for purposes of dialect study. This would also furnish material for the future pronouncing dictionaries to ascertain the real facts of usage, instead of copying the statements of older dictionaries which are more or less antiquated, and would make it easier to describe the facts of usage instead of trying to lay down laws for usage to follow, — a practice as unscientific for the dictionary to follow in the matter of pronunciation as it is to give what the meanings of words ought according to theory to be, instead of what they are, or as it is for a grammarian to legislate for the language instead of describing it as it really is. Another useful but laborious task would be to prepare an alphabetical index with references to the places where all noteworthy words mentioned in the magazines, papers, or separate articles covered by

our Bibliography occur, of course not including the dictionaries of Americanisms, but including all the publications not already indexed or arranged alphabetically.

E. S. SHELDON, *Secretary.*

### TREASURER'S REPORT FOR 1892.

*From December 28, 1891, to December 28, 1892.*

#### RECEIPTS.

14 membership fees for 1891 . . . . .	\$14 00
157½ membership fees for 1892 . . . . .	157 50
5 membership fees for 1893 . . . . .	5 00
1 membership fee for 1894 . . . . .	1 00
Sale of DIALECT NOTES, I, II, III, IV . . . . .	65 23
Voluntary contributions . . . . .	38 50
Total . . . . .	<u>\$281 23</u>

#### EXPENDITURES.

Deficit of 1891 . . . . .	\$56 26
Stamps and stationery . . . . .	16 41
Printing 500 bills for Treasurer . . . . .	2 50
Printing DIALECT NOTES, IV . . . . .	134 25
Printing and mailing notices of meeting . . . . .	4 00
Total . . . . .	<u>\$213 42</u>
On hand, December 28, 1892 . . . . .	\$67 81

C. H. GRANDGENT, *Treasurer.*

After the acceptance of these reports the discussion of the subjects announced for this meeting was taken up. These subjects were:—

1. To what extent can the members of this Society co-operate on certain definite lines?
2. Can local working dialect societies be made to promote the purposes of this Society?
3. Can the plan of DIALECT NOTES be improved?
4. The relative merits of German and English work on dialects in relation to the method to be employed in America.
5. The financial condition of the Society.
6. What is a dialect?

Of these, the first two were taken up first to be considered together, and the discussion was opened by Professor Hempl, who said that, at the larger universities, where students gather from all parts of the country, opportunities are offered for dialect study that should not be neglected. One opportunity of which every instructor can avail himself is that of making inquiries of the members of his classes, at the opening or at the close of his recitations, with reference to their pronunciation or use of a word, or as to the regard in which a word or phrase is held in their native places. In this way reliable statistics may readily be gathered from various parts of the country. To make such statistics more representative, an instructor may send his questions to colleagues at other centres of learning. Professor Hempl has received in this way courteous assistance from others, even strangers to him.

As a means of getting at students in other departments of the University, Professor Hempl organized a local dialect society at Ann Arbor, taking as a nucleus the members of his class in Spoken English.<sup>1</sup> The society met fortnightly in one of the University buildings, and each evening was devoted to a certain part of the country. All University students registered from that section were invited by mail to be present, but comparatively few responded, usually about thirty. The result was, that after the strangers had got over their reserve, an evening was spent pleasant and profitable to those present, but the material obtained was usually insufficient for scientific uses. The chief difficulty was found to lie in the reluctance of many to come to a public meeting where their peculiarities of speech might be made the subject of criticism. Professor Hempl had found that this was largely overcome when young people were brought together in a social way, and he purposed another year to try the experiment of having some of the meetings of the society in the form of informal social gatherings at his home.

Professor H. E. Greene said that we all admit that we have some dialect peculiarities. He had done in a modest way something like what Professor Hempl suggested, asking, for example,

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<sup>1</sup> "In this course a study is made of colloquial English as distinguished from the English of books and artificial speech; and the attempt is made to settle some of the important facts as to the fortunes of English speech in our country." — *Catalogue of the University of Michigan*.

"How do you pronounce that word?" the word being one ending in written *r*, where, he said, his own pronunciation had no final *r*. One may succeed better in getting replies by implying that his own pronunciation is not better than that of the person he is speaking with.

President Garnett said, concerning the formation of local societies, that it seemed desirable to have such, and that they should work together; results could be sent to the central office to be coordinated by the Secretary, and presented at the annual meeting.

Professor Pearce said that at some places, as New Orleans and generally in Louisiana, it was doubtful if such local societies were possible, on account of the lack of competent persons not already overburdened with work, though they might be established elsewhere. Uniform lists of words were desirable, and pronunciations might be obtained from local representatives, and thus geographical limits could probably be determined. We might do this and keep up DIALECT NOTES as before.

Professor Elliott asked if school-teachers had been tried. They are the most unprejudiced class we can apply to, and they know how children pronounce. The Secretary answered that this had been attempted, chiefly by mailing circulars, with very little effect. Personal conversation would be much better. We have some school-teachers on our list and some material has been received in consequence.

Dr. Bright said many teachers had some hobby or other, as when each pupil was taught to say *at all* with a little pause between the words, so that the *t* was entirely separated from *all*. If anything in the world was un-English, that was. We might get at the fads in the schools.

Professor Hempl said that teachers untrained in phonetics were not of much use. Such teachers could only collect words and usages, not data as to pronunciation. The members of local dialect societies needed first some training in phonetics and in the application of phonetics to English. The class he had been teaching were now scattered over the United States, and reports were now coming in gradually. Some of this material would be of value.

The Secretary said this should be remembered by teachers of phonetics. We could gradually get material to be trusted. The work is not ended when our classes leave us. They may continue observation and investigation.

At this point the third subject was taken up, and it was said that *DIALECT NOTES* should be published oftener. Dr. Learned said that if other forms of speech than English were to be represented, the funds of the Society must be increased. The Treasurer thought an increase of fees hardly advisable; membership fees were hard to collect, and an increase of the fees would cause a loss of members. Personal appeals to such as might give more had been tried in the preceding year. Professor Hempl thought a quarterly publication appearing regularly would help in getting more subscribers. There should be more unity in articles, which should treat subjects as wholes, instead of giving merely fragmentary notes.

The Secretary agreed with the last speaker that more frequent and regular publication was desirable, but there were difficulties in the way. To mention one only, the editing of the contributions received for *DIALECT NOTES* was very laborious, and the work he already had to do would not permit him to add much to it, and he knew the same thing could be said of at least one other member of the Editing Committee. Moreover, his other work was increasing.

Professor Matzke had come to the conclusion that there are no such things as dialects in this country, in the sense that there are dialects in Europe. Will *DIALECT NOTES* ever be able to furnish articles not like those already given? A man from Florida mentions a peculiarity, and is followed by one from California who says that is nothing new. What we have are localisms; what we publish will always be notes. Professor Emerson's paper in Part III showed nothing peculiar to Ithaca.

At five minutes past four the meeting adjourned, to make way for the afternoon session of the Modern Language Association.

E. S. SHELDON.

MEMBERS OF THE AMERICAN DIALECT SOCIETY  
FOR THE YEAR 1892.<sup>1</sup>

- J. W. Abernethy, Johns Hopkins Univ., Baltimore, Md.  
 Frederic D. Allen, 10 Humboldt St., Cambridge, Mass.  
 Eugene H. Babbitt, Columbia College, New York, N.Y.  
 W. P. Barton, Malone's Landing, Miss.  
 A. M. Bell, 1525 35th St., Washington, D.C.  
 George Bendelari, 7 Hollis Hall, Cambridge, Mass.  
 Charles E. Bennett, 7 South Ave., Ithaca, N.Y.  
 Birmingham Free Libraries, Birmingham, England.  
 R. E. Blackwell, Ashland, Va.  
 C. P. Bowditch, 28 State St., Boston, Mass.  
 Miss Bradbury, Riversvale Hall, Ashton-under-Lyne, England.  
 H. C. G. Brandt, Hamilton College, Clinton, N.Y.  
 L. B. R. Briggs, 140 Brattle St., Cambridge, Mass.  
 James W. Bright, Johns Hopkins Univ., Baltimore, Md.  
 Calvin S. Brown, Jr., Vanderbilt Univ., Nashville, Tenn.  
 E. M. Brown, Univ. of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, O.  
 G. H. Browne, 16 Garden St., Cambridge, Mass.  
 Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa.  
 The Buffalo Library, Buffalo, N.Y.  
 Mrs. H. T. Bulkeley, Southport, Conn.  
 W. E. Byerly, Hammond St., Cambridge, Mass.  
 W. H. Carruth, Univ. of Kansas, Lawrence, Kan.  
 A. F. Chamberlain, Clark Univ., Worcester, Mass.  
 F. J. Child, 67 Kirkland St., Cambridge, Mass.  
 Miss L. K. Coggeshall, 35 Kay St., Newport, R.I.  
 W. C. Collar, Roxbury Latin School, Roxbury, Mass.  
 H. Collitz, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa.  
 A. S. Cook, Yale Univ., New Haven, Conn.  
 M. Grant Daniell, Chauncey Hall School, 259 Boylston St., Boston, Mass.  
 Horace Davis, 49 First St., San Francisco, Cal.  
 F. B. Denio, 168 Hammond St., Bangor, Me.  
 Detroit Public Library, Detroit, Mich.  
 M. J. Drennan, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N.Y.  
 A. Marshall Elliott, Johns Hopkins Univ., Baltimore, Md.  
 O. F. Emerson, Cornell Univ., Ithaca, N.Y.  
 E. Emerton, 19 Chauncy St., Cambridge, Mass.  
 W. Tracy Eustis, 19 Pearl St., Boston, Mass.  
 W. G. Farlow, 24 Quincy St., Cambridge, Mass.  
 W. P. Few, 32 Felton Hall, Cambridge, Mass.  
 Alcée Fortier, Tulane Univ., New Orleans, La.  
 A. R. Frey, 499 Vernon Ave., Long Island City, N.Y.  
 Jno. P. Fruit, Bethel College, Russellville, Ky.  
 James M. Garnett, Box 17, Charlottesville, Va.  
 James Geddes, Jr., Boston Univ., Somerset St., Boston, Mass.  
 A. Gerber, Earlham College, Richmond, Ind.

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<sup>1</sup> This list includes one or two cases like those added in previous years (see pp. 179, 259).

- N. Gordon, Exeter, N.H.  
 C. H. Grandgent, 13 Sacramento St., Cambridge, Mass.  
 Charles A. Greene, care of Messrs. Borden & Lovell, 70 & 71 West St.,  
 New York, N.Y.  
 H. E. Greene, Wells College, Aurora, N.Y.  
 J. B. Greenough, Riedesel Ave., Cambridge, Mass.  
 Nathan Guilford, 1 West 81st St., New York, N.Y.  
 W. G. Hale, Chicago Univ., Chicago, Ill.  
 E. W. Hall, Colby Univ., Waterville, Me.  
 F. Hall, Marlesford, Wickham Market, England.  
 Miss Paschal Hall, 364 Church St., Roanoke, Va.  
 Alexander Hamilton, 57 Harbord St., Toronto, Can.  
 †D. A. Hamlin, 12 Ashford St., Allston, Mass.  
 W. R. Harper, Chicago Univ., Chicago, Ill.  
 A. B. Hart, Cambridge, Mass.  
 Charles E. Hart, Rutgers College, New Brunswick, N.J.  
 James M. Hart, Cornell Univ., Ithaca, N.Y.  
 D. C. Heath, 5 Somerset St., Boston, Mass.  
 Miss Carrie Heaton, Pueblo, Col.  
 George Hempl, Univ. of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.  
 E. W. Hooper, Fayerweather St., Cambridge, Mass.  
 A. V. Williams Jackson, Highland Place, Yonkers, N.Y.  
 H. Johnson, Box 246, Brunswick, Me.  
 Kansas Historical Society, Topeka, Kan.  
 R. Henry Kellogg, Ann Arbor, Mich.  
 Charles W. Kent, Univ. of Virginia.  
 C. G. Kidder, 32 Nassau St., New York, N.Y.  
 G. L. Kittredge, 9 Hilliard St., Cambridge, Mass.  
 James Lancey, 18 Clinton St., East Orange, N.J.  
 W. C. Lane, 19 Oxford St., Cambridge, Mass.  
 H. R. Lang, Yale Univ., New Haven, Conn.  
 Charles R. Lanman, 9 Farrar St., Cambridge, Mass.  
 John M. Lea, Nashville, Tenn.  
 M. D. Learned, Johns Hopkins Univ., Baltimore, Md.  
 Francis B. Lee, Box 499, Trenton, N.J.  
 T. B. Lindsay, Boston Univ., Somerset St., Boston, Mass.  
 Miss K. P. Loring, 22 Congress St., Boston, Mass.  
 †J. R. Lowell, Elmwood Ave., Cambridge, Mass.  
 D. G. Lyon, 6 Mason St., Cambridge, Mass.  
 J. McDuffie, 182 Central St., Springfield, Mass.  
 J. M. Manly, Brown Univ., Providence, R.I.  
 F. A. March, Lafayette College, Easton, Pa.  
 P. B. Marcou, 42 Garden St., Cambridge, Mass.  
 A. Matthews, 145 Beacon St., Boston, Mass.  
 John E. Matzke, Leland Stanford Jr. Univ., Palo Alto, Cal.  
 Mercantile Library, Philadelphia, Pa.  
 R. M. Middleton, Jr., South Pittsburg, Tenn.  
 L. F. Mott, 367 West 19th St., New York, N.Y.  
 B. H. Nash, 252 Beacon St., Boston, Mass.  
 F. P. Nash, Geneva, Ontario Co., N.Y.  
 John G. Neeser, Jr., 2 West 33d St., New York, N.Y.  
 W. W. Newell, 175 Brattle St., Cambridge, Mass.  
 New York Historical Society, 170 Second Ave., New York, N.Y.  
 New York State Library, Albany, N.Y.  
 Andrew Oliver, 2d, 27 Brimmer St., Boston, Mass.  
 Francis L. Palmer, West Gardner, Mass.  
 Mrs. R. G. Patrick, Yorkville, S.C.  
 J. W. Pearce, Tulane Univ., New Orleans, La.  
 B. O. Peirce, 51 Oxford St., Cambridge, Mass.  
 Samuel W. Pennypacker, 209 South 6th St., Philadelphia, Pa.

- John W. Perkins, cor. 12th and Washington Sts., Kansas City, Mo.  
 M. L. Perrin, Boston Univ., 12 Somerset St., Boston, Mass.  
 T. S. Perry, 312 Marlborough St., Boston, Mass.  
 Philological Association of Boston Univ., 12 Somerset St., Boston, Mass.  
 Miss Maud Pierce, Rochelle, Ill.  
 S. Porter, National Deaf-Mute College, Kendall Green, D.C.  
 René de Poyen-Bellisle, Box 62, Johns Hopkins Univ., Baltimore, Md.  
 T. R. Price, 263 West 45th St., New York, N.Y.  
 Miss V. V. Price, Southwest Kansas College, Winfield, Kan.  
 Sylvester Primer, Univ. of Texas, Austin, Texas.  
 H. A. Rennert, Univ. of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.  
 Charles F. Richardson, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N.H.  
 G. M. Richardson, Univ. of California, Berkeley, Cal.  
 F. E. Rockwood, Bucknell Univ., Lewisburg, Pa.  
 St. Louis Public Library, St. Louis, Mo.  
 M. Schele DeVere, Univ. of Virginia.  
 H. Schmidt-Wartenberg, Chicago Univ., Chicago, Ill.  
 T. D. Seymour, 34 Hillhouse Ave., New Haven, Conn.  
 H. A. Shands, Georgetown, Texas.  
 F. C. Shattuck, 135 Marlborough St., Boston, Mass.  
 C. C. Sheldon, 49 North Common St., Lynn, Mass.  
 Edward S. Sheldon, 27 Hurlbut St., Cambridge, Mass.  
 W. R. Shipman, Tufts College, Medford, Mass.  
 W. E. Simonds, Knox College, Galesburg, Ill.  
 Mrs. A. T. Slosson, 38 East 23d St., New York, N. Y.  
 Charles F. Smith, Vanderbilt Univ., Nashville, Tenn.  
 Clement L. Smith, 64 Sparks St., Cambridge, Mass.  
 J. H. Smith, care of Messrs. Ginn & Co., Tremont Place, Boston, Mass.  
 Herbert W. Smyth, Bryn Mawr, Pa.  
 C. A. Snow, Ames Building, Boston, Mass.  
 E. Spanhoofd, St. Paul's School, Concord, N.H.  
 William O. Sproull, 29 Mason St., Cincinnati, O.  
 J. Squair, 61 Major St., Toronto, Can.  
 B. F. Stevens, 4 Trafalgar Sq., London, England.  
 Miss C. A. Stevens, Valparaiso, Ind.  
 (Strassburg) Kais. Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Strassburg im  
 Elsass, Germany.  
 F. C. de Sumichrast, 16 Quincy St., Cambridge, Mass.  
 Henry Sweet, Cambray, South Park, Reigate, England.  
 W. H. Sylvester, English High School, Boston, Mass.  
 H. Tallichet, 2010 University Ave., Austin, Texas.  
 J. Henry Thayer, 67 Sparks St., Cambridge, Mass.  
 Calvin Thomas, Univ. of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.  
 Reuben G. Thwaites, State Historical Rooms, Madison, Wis.  
 H. A. Todd, Columbia College, New York, N.Y.  
 Toronto Public Library, Toronto, Can.  
 C. H. Toy, 7 Lowell St., Cambridge, Mass.  
 T. C. Trueblood, 88 Hill St., Ann Arbor, Mich.  
 Gilbert M. Tucker, Box 74, Albany, N.Y.  
 J. A. Tufts, Phillips Exeter Academy, Exeter, N.H.  
 W. M. Tweedie, Mt. Allison College, Sackville, N.B.  
 William Tytler, Guelph, Ontario.  
 A. N. Van Daell, 105 Irving St., Cambridge, Mass.  
 Addison Van Name, New Haven, Conn.  
 H. C. G. von Jagemann, 29 Shepard St., Cambridge, Mass.  
 E. L. Walter, Univ. of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.  
 F. M. Warren, Adelbert College, Cleveland, O.  
 R. L. Weeks, 21 rue Valette, Paris, France.  
 G. Weinschenk, 150 Pearl St., Boston, Mass.  
 F. M. Weld, Storey Pl., Jamaica Plain, Mass.

- E. E. Wentworth, 20 Pierrepont St., Brooklyn, N.Y.  
B. I. Wheeler, Cornell Univ., Ithaca, N.Y.  
A. C. White, Cornell Univ., Ithaca, N.Y.  
W. D. Whitney, Yale Univ., New Haven, Conn.  
E. B. Willson, Salem, Mass.  
E. R. Willson, 65 Westminster St., Providence, R.I.  
R. W. Willson, 64 Brattle St., Cambridge, Mass.  
W. B. Woods, 425 North 6th St., Terre Haute, Ind.  
B. D. Woodward, Columbia College, N.Y.  
(Worcester) Free Public Library, Worcester, Mass.  
J. H. Wright, 6 Riedesel Ave., Cambridge, Mass.  
T. A. Wylie, Indiana Univ., Bloomington, Ind.

[Total, 175.]

# DIALECT NOTES.

## PART VII.

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### THE CONDITION OF THE SOCIETY.

THE Society enters upon its sixth year with very encouraging prospects. It has not only kept alive, but fully maintained its numbers, and there is no abatement, but rather an increase, of the interest shown by the members in our work. The six numbers of *DIALECT NOTES* already published have been well received by the philological world, and contain matter of decided interest for the student of the history of the English language.

It is needless to remind our old members that this success is very largely due to the active and sustained efforts of our first Secretary, who has given to the work a great deal of time which he could often ill afford to spare. His wide scholarship and practical judgment have established a model for the editorial work which, now that he is compelled by other duties to retire from the office, makes the task of his successors much lighter than it would have been without his initiative.

Public interest in the Society's doings is increasing. Libraries are subscribing for the *NOTES*, and the periodicals which deal with philological matters are watching our work. Letters of inquiry are more frequent and more intelligent than formerly, and this year (1894) there is a considerable increase in the number of members. We are getting more definite ideas of what work is to be done, and how to do it, and modifying the details of our methods accordingly.

It appears that the reports of untrained observers in matters which concern the finer distinctions of pronunciation are entirely untrustworthy. This part of the work is therefore to be left in the future to those members who are practical phoneticians. All members, however, are earnestly requested to aid in collecting vocabulary material. There are two steps in the treatment of

each word or idiom: first, to fix the fact that it occurs in dialect usage in a sense differing from standard English, and secondly, to fix the local limits of such usage. The first object is accomplished by the publication of the word in one of the local lists of the NOTES; the second has been partially accomplished so far by reprinting words in later lists, with cross references. This plan is already becoming cumbersome, and we intend now, as soon as possible, to enter each word in our collections on a large card, on which can be added all further facts which come in concerning the word. When the account of a word seems tolerably complete, it can then be published all at once. To do this work properly, we need to spend some money at once for copying. If our membership could be doubled, we should have enough from membership fees to meet this expense, as well as to continue publishing as often as heretofore. It has been found that, while no one pays much attention to general appeals made in print, almost any one can be interested in our work, and very often induced to join, by a little personal solicitation from a friend who is a member. We have therefore issued another circular of information, which is reprinted in this number. Each member receives herewith a few copies, and the Secretary will supply others to any one asking for them. They are to be used as suggested above: not distributed at random, but given to such persons as have already been sufficiently interested to be willing to read them carefully. It is well to emphasize the fact that the conditions of membership are very easy, and that members are not bound to do anything more than pay their dues unless they choose.

E. H. BABBITT, *Secretary.*

## THE AMERICAN DIALECT SOCIETY.

THERE is hardly a person of any considerable degree of education who does not take at least a languid interest in forms of speech which differ from his own; and there are very many whose interest is active enough to induce them to aid the work of this Society with great alacrity, if they know what that work is. It is for the information of such persons that this circular is issued.

It is a well-known fact (at least to those who read many of the present crop of novels) that, in the English spoken in the United States, there are variations from the literary standard, which again show differences among themselves when we compare the usage of various parts of the country. Most people, especially those possessing a certain degree of education, are prone to look upon these variations simply as the bad usage of the ignorant, and therefore as something to be avoided and done away with as soon as possible. The idea that they can have any serious value to the scientific student of language is strange to a surprisingly large number of people. The truth is, however, that these variations represent just the class of facts on which the scientific study of language rests. Many of them are survivals from older periods of the language; many new words are formed or adopted to meet a real need arising from new conditions, and so ultimately gain a place in standard English; and many variations in pronunciation illustrate phonetic changes which are constantly going on in language development, and furnish valuable data for arriving at conclusions concerning the laws which govern such changes. The philologist who has to work with such material needs to know, from a more reliable source than the ordinary novelist furnishes, the exact locality where each word or phrase is used (implying, also, a knowledge of where it is not used); just what it means to those who use it, and what local variations there are, if any, in its form and meaning; just when each new word came in or old one went out of use. There have been many attempts, more or less praiseworthy and successful, varying in scope from

a "Dictionary of Americanisms" to a newspaper paragraph, to collect and publish such information; but all of them are unsatisfactory, for the very good reason that no one person has the means at his command for giving a complete account of any one word, and the authors too often supply, from very dubious sources or their own imagination, what they cannot get at first hand.

In England and Germany, a great deal of work in this line is being done by organized dialect societies, whose members collect facts, compare notes, and finally publish their material through an editing committee. It was thought that the same thing might be done in this country, and in 1889 the American Dialect Society was organized. A preliminary circular was sent to persons likely to take interest in the matter; the idea was generally received with favor, and a reasonable number of members joined the Society, many of whom have done some active work in collecting material. The number has remained about the same until the present year, when there is a considerable increase; the quality of the membership has, however, somewhat improved; the relative number of those who take an active part in the work has increased. The plan of work, though some slight changes of detail have been made, remains in general the same as proposed in the preliminary circular, — "to collect and publish dialect material through an Executive Committee with assistants in various places."

The publication is known as DIALECT NOTES; it appears whenever there is material and money enough on hand to warrant an issue. So far, six numbers have appeared, and a seventh is in press; making towards four hundred pages in all. The contents comprise lists of words from New England, collected by F. D. Allen, L. B. R. Briggs, and others; from Kentucky, by J. P. Fruit; from Louisiana, by J. W. Pearce; from Missouri, by R. L. Weeks; from New Jersey, by F. B. Lee; and shorter collections from various sources. The late Professor Tallichet has contributed some lists of Spanish and Mexican words used in Texas; Prof. O. F. Emerson has an exhaustive study of the phonology of the Ithaca dialect; and Mr. Grandgent, Professor Sheldon, and Professor Hempl, some papers on questions of pronunciation. Some other articles of interest are: *Dialect Research in Canada* (A. F. Chamberlain), *Newspaper Jargon* (J. S. Tunison), *The Language used to Domestic Animals* (W. H. Carruth), and *What is a Dialect?* (E. S. Sheldon).

Experience has shown that observations on general questions of pronunciation have little or no value unless taken by those who have made a thorough study of phonetics. But any educated person can make valuable contributions on matters of vocabulary, including pronunciations such as *shet*, *git*, *ketch*, *sherk* (for *shark*), etc., where the dialect pronunciation is at variance with the standard spelling in such a way that it is really a question of vocabulary. While, then, the phoneticians of the Society will continue to study and publish in their line, the rank and file of the members will do the most useful work by noting, and sending to the Secretary, facts such as the following (taken from various numbers of the DIALECT NOTES):—

**heavy-handed**: said of a cook: "she's heavy-handed with salt," — uses much salt. This was reported from Portsmouth, N.H., in Part I. In Part II, it was reported from the vicinity of Boston; and a native of South Carolina, who had lived in Philadelphia, is quoted as saying of her cook, "So-and-so has a heavy hand for salt." In Part IV, another authority was given for its use in Boston, and an English use in a totally different sense was mentioned ("said of one who, in shaving carelessly, cuts away some of his beard"). In Part II, some one says that it is used "perhaps in Connecticut." The Secretary is very certain that it is not used in the western part of that state. The evidence so far, then, seems to show that this word belongs pretty strictly to eastern New England, but is fairly well known there.

**het**: for *heated*; reported from Louisiana in Part II, is given in the following numbers as used in so many different parts of the country that it may be considered practically universal.

**housen**: plural of *house*; is reported from various parts of New England, New York, and New Jersey, but so far not from any point farther south.

**tote**: to carry; might be mentioned as a word well known throughout the South, but entirely foreign to New England. **Evening**, in the sense of *afternoon*, is another well-known Southernism.

An examination of the published numbers of DIALECT NOTES will show how this part of the work of the Society is done. Lists of dialect words and usages in certain localities are published. These serve as a basis for comparison with other localities; and the occurrence or non-occurrence of the same forms, with any existing variations, is noted by members, and sent to the Secretary for record and eventual publication.

Professor Hempl is now trying the experiment of issuing a circular of questions regarding some particular usages. He has had this reprinted in *Modern Language Notes*, the *Dial*, and Part VII of DIALECT NOTES, and will send copies to any one interested. It contains such questions as: "At what time of day

do you begin to say 'Good Evening'?" "Do you use *pack* in the sense of 'carry'?" "Do you use *carry* in the sense of 'escort' (on foot)?" "Is the word *shilling* in use? If so, what is its value?" "Would you call a wooden vessel for carrying water a *pail* or a *bucket*?" "Do you say *frying-pan*, *skillet*, or *spider*? If more than one, how do you differentiate?"

If the returns from this circular warrant the course, the matter already in hand will be made the basis for similar circulars. Whatever is sent in, either in response to such circulars or independently, will be edited by the Committee, and published in due time. The present plan of following up words, with the constant cross references which it requires, is becoming unwieldy; and the Executive Committee has under consideration a plan for entering on a set of cards all facts concerning words once published, and publishing nothing further on such words until their record is fairly complete.

It will readily be seen that the success of the Society depends upon a large and widespread membership, for two reasons: the more active members there are, all over the country, the more matter will be sent in; and the larger the amount received from membership fees, the larger will be the amount of printing that can be done. All persons who take any interest in the work are invited to join, even if they contribute nothing but the membership fee; and all are invited to send in dialect matter, even if they do not join. Educated people who for any reason change their residence, have the best opportunities for observation. Such persons should note at once, before the strangeness wears off, any variation from their own usage. Country physicians and clergymen, commercial travellers, summer boarders, and many teachers, are instances of the classes of people who can help on the work.

The membership fee is one dollar (four shillings, four marks, or five francs) a year. This entitles the member to all the publications for that year. Any person or institution may become a member by sending the fee to the Treasurer. All other communications should be addressed to the Secretary. The back numbers of DIALECT NOTES can be purchased of the Secretary at one dollar a number.

E. H. BABBITT, *Secretary, Columbia College, New York City.*

LEWIS F. MOTT, *Treasurer, 367 West 19th St., New York City.*

## AMERICAN SPEECH-MAPS.

THE systematic study of American speech and customs is made difficult by the fact that no map has yet been made of the centres and currents of diversity of usage. In order that this may be done, it is necessary that as many answers as possible be obtained to a number of test questions. I have prepared such a list from questions suggested by members of the Modern Language Association of North America and shall be glad to send copies to any one desiring them. The attention of those professionally interested in English speech is particularly called to this list, because they have it in their power to interest many others in the matter, while they will also find the exercise a profitable one to their students.

It is desirable that as many replies as possible be obtained, even if it is not convenient, in certain cases, to answer all the questions. The list looks formidable, but is more quickly answered than one would expect. Other information than that asked for will be gladly received, but would better be written on a separate sheet. It may be some time before the results of the investigation can be published, but when they are, some public statement of the fact will be made. It will be impossible to reply to all those that may be so kind as to contribute material; but inquiries will always be answered, and extra copies of this list will be sent to all those that can distribute them to advantage.

It cannot be too distinctly emphasized that what is wanted is a report of *natural speech*, without regard to what dictionaries and teachers say is "correct." If a word or usage is in vogue only among the old, mark it "O"; if only among the illiterate, "I"; if only among negroes, "N"; if rare, "R." If you are acquainted with other usage than your own, state it after yours and designate its geographical situation as definitely as you can. If you are somewhat uncertain or are reporting what others have told you, say so. Correspondents will please write only on one side of the paper, and number the answers as the questions are.

1. State your name and present address. 2. Where was your usage formed? [Give county and state, and add "S," "SW," "C," etc., according as the county is in the southern, south-western, or central part of the state. The basis of one's usage is generally what one hears between the years 8-18.] 3. Has your speech been modified by that of persons speaking differently from what is usual in your neighborhood? If so, explain. [For example, are your parents foreigners, or from another state, or have you been taught by or associated much with such persons?] In case your present usage is different from your natural usage, state the fact in each case. 4. Where did most of the settlers in your neighborhood come from?  $4\frac{1}{2}$ . If there is a large foreign population, of what nationality is it?

5. (a) Is to you the word '*stoop*' (= 'porch') familiar, strange, or unknown? (b) Do you know the word in the sense of 'story (of a building)'? (c) Of 'horse-block'? 6. Is '*bayou*' to you a familiar word or a book word?  $6\frac{1}{2}$ . (a) If familiar, what does it mean? (b) Is it used of a *particular* body of water or piece of land, or generally, of any such place? (c) In what state and near what town is the bayou or bayous that you know? 7. Does the first syllable rime with 'by' or 'bay'? 8. Does the second rime with 'go' or 'you'? 9. Are the two syllables separated by the sound of *y* in 'yet'? 10. Which syllable has the stress?  $10\frac{1}{2}$ . Do you say '*harmonica*,' '*mouth-organ*,' or '*French harp*'? 11. At what time of day do you begin to say "*Good evening*"? 12. Do you speak of the '*forenoon*'? 13. Of the '*afternoon*'? 14. Do you say "*Good forenoon*"? 15. "*Good afternoon*"? 16. Do you use '*pack*' in the sense of 'carry'?  $16\frac{1}{2}$ . (a) Do you say '*right good*' = 'rather good'? (b) Do you say '*pretty good*' = 'rather good'? (c) Do you say '*quite good*' = 'rather good'? 17. Does '*you all*' mean 'every one of you' or simply 'you'? 18. Which word has the stress? 19. If you say '*you' all*,' do you do so in speaking to one person? 20. Is '*yous*' in use for 'you'? 21. Is '*you'n's*' used for 'you'? 22. Is '*yous*' used in speaking to one person? 23. Is '*you'n's*'? 24. Do you say "*What all* did he say"? 25. "*Who all* were there"? 26. Is '*a bunch of cattle*' familiar to you? 27. Would you say "*I want up*" = 'I want to get up'? 28. Would you say "*The butter is all*" = 'It is gone, there is no more'? 29. Do you occasionally say "*I guess*" = 'I think'? 30. Do you occasionally say "*I reckon*" = 'I think'? 31. Might you

say "I wonder if I shall *get to go*" = 'shall be able to go'? 32. Would you say "I *got to go* riding yesterday" = 'I got a chance to'? 33. Do you say "I shall *wait on* you" = 'for you'? 33½. (a) Do you say '*kerosene*,' '*coal-oil*,' '*oil*,' or '*petroleum*'? If you differentiate, explain. (b) If you use '*kerosene*,' which syllable has the stress? (c) In '*kerosene oil*' would you stress *ker-* or *-sene*? 34. (a) Do you use '*carry*' in the sense of 'escort (on foot)'? (b) In carriage? 35. Is the word '*creek*' in common use? If so, what does it mean? 36. Does it usually rime with 'speak' or with 'stick'? 37. Is '*tote*' to you a common word, or a comparatively recent slang word? 38. Just what does it mean? 38½. (a) What does the word '*to squint*' first suggest to you? (b) Mention other meanings in the order of their familiarity. 39. Would you say "Just feel (smell, taste) of it"? 40. Or "Just feel it"? etc. 40½. (a) Are you familiar with the word '*conniption*'? (b) What does it mean? (c) Is it used seriously or sportively? (d) What variant forms (for example, '*nipction*,' '*catnipction*,' etc.) do you know? (e) Are you familiar with '*duck-fit*' or similar expressions?

41. Is the vowel in '*to*' like that in '*grow*' or that in '*youth*'? 42. Do you pronounce '*where*' and '*wear*,' '*whet*' and '*wet*' alike? 42½. Do you pronounce *wh* like *w* (a) in '*wharf*'? (b) in the exclamations '*Why no!*' '*Why yes!*' '*Why! Why!*' (to child)? 43. Has any one ever said he thought you pronounced *wh* like *w*? 44. In which of the following words do you have the sound of *sh* in '*shun*' and not the sound of *s* in '*vision*': *Asia*, *ambrosia*, *Persia*, *dispersion*, *immersion*, *diversion*, *aversion*, *version*, *inversion*, *conversion*, *excursion*, *convulsion*, *expulsion*, *mansion*, *pension*, *exertion*, *desertion*? 45. In which (if any) of the following does *s* have the sound of *z*: '*the grease*,' '*to grease*,' '*greasy*'? 46. Do you pronounce *th* in the following cases as in '*thick*' or as in '*the*': (a) *with' em*, (b) *with' me*, (c) *with all*? 47. Do *thought*, *taught*, *ought*, *daughter*, *author*, etc., sound like '*hot*'? 48. Does the vowel in '*hot*' resemble that in '*law*' or that in '*board*,' or neither? 49. Which of the following words usually have *a* as in '*cat*,' or nearly that? 50. Do any have a sound resembling *a* in *make*? 50½. Do any have a sound resembling *a* in *art*? 51. Do any have a sound resembling *a* in '*all*'? —

*calm*, *psalm*, *yes ma'm*, *rather*, *haunt*, *drama*, *gape* 'yawn,' *gape* 'stare,' *almond*, *salmon*, *ant*, *aunt*, *can't*, *shan't*, *plant*, *com-*

*mand, dance, answer, sample, laugh, calf, half, staff, draft, path, past, nasty, fasten, ask, basket, glass, grasp?* 52. Which is most usual: 'pa'pa,' 'papa!,' 'pap,' or 'pa'? 52½. If 'pap,' does the *a* sound as in 'art,' 'hat,' or 'all'? 53. If 'pa,' does the *a* sound as in 'art,' 'hat,' or 'all'? 54. Do you say 'down' town' or 'down town',' or both?

55. Is the word '*shilling*' in use? If so, what is its value? 56. Is '*levy*'? If so, what is its value? 57. Is '*bit*'? If so, what is its value? 58. Is '*jip*'? If so, what is its value? 58½. (a) Is '*fourpence*'? If so, what is its value? (b) Is '*ninepence*'? If so, what is its value? 59. Do you call the pipe that conducts smoke from a stove to the chimney a '*stove-pipe*' or a '*funnel*'? 60. Do you call a tin vessel of the size of a cup and with a looped (not long straight) handle a '*tin cup*,' a '*tin*,' a '*dipper*,' or a '*tin can*'? 61. Would you call an iron utensil having a large open top and used for boiling potatoes, meat, etc., a '*pot*' or a '*kettle*'? If it depends on the shape, explain. 62. If large and made of brass, what would you call it? 62½. What is a boiler (in a kitchen)? 63. Would you call a wooden vessel for carrying water, etc., a '*pail*' or a '*bucket*'? 64. What would you call a similar vessel of tin for carrying water, milk, etc.? 65. Would you call a covered tin vessel for carrying a small amount of milk or a dinner, and having a swinging bail, a '*pail*,' a '*bucket*,' a '*can*,' a '*billy*,' a '*blick*' or '*blickey*,' or a '*kettle*'? 66. Do you say '*frying pan*,' '*fry-pan*,' '*skillet*,' or '*spider*'? 67. If more than one, how do you differentiate? 67½. What term is used for the punishment inflicted on a child by striking (a) his palm, (b) his finger tips, (c) his knuckles? What calls (to come, to go, to stop, to turn to the right or left, or the like) are used to the following animals: 68. Horses, 68½. Mules, 69. Cows, 69½. Oxen, 70. Dogs, 71. Cats, 72. Pigs, 73. Sheep, 73½. Goats, 74. Chickens, 74½. Tame doves, or pigeons (which word do you usually use for the tame bird, '*dove*' or '*pigeon*'?), 75. Ducks, 76. Geese, 76½. Turkeys? 77. In calling a person do you usually prefix '*O!*'? 78. If so, is *O!* more heavily stressed or the name? 79. Do you often say '*Yes indeed*'? 70. If so, which word has most stress?

GEORGE HEMPL.

## UNACCENTED I.

THE vowel that I propose to study is found (aside from diphthongs) only in absolutely unstressed syllables, and is generally represented in standard English spelling in one of the following ways:— (1) by *i* or *y*: as in *comical, disturb, glorious, infinity, polytechnic, sorry*; (2) by *e* at the end of a syllable: as in *begin, competent, comprehend, congregate, destroy, electricity, erect, impecunious, independent, posse, prefer, relate, select*; (3) by *e, æ, or œ* before a vowel: as in *Æolian, Bœotia, meander, piteous*; (4) by initial *e* followed by a consonant in the same syllable: as in *eccentric, effect, ellipse, employ, engage, erratic, essential, estate, exact, except*; (5) by the vowel letters in final *-ace, -age, -ain, -ange, -ate, -ay, -ea, -eb, -ed, -edge, -ee, -ege, -eign, -eit, -el, -em, -en, -enge, -es, -ess, -est, -et, -ey, -iage, -ie, -ief, -ies, -uce, -uit, -ute*, and in some derivatives of the words with these endings: as in *palace, forage, mountain, mountainous, orange, senate, Monday, guinea, Caleb, crooked, crookedness, knowledge, coffee, college, foreign, foreigner, surfeit, vowel, poem, sullen, sullenly, lozenge, rushes, lawless, biggest, sonnet, pulley, carriage, Minnie, mischief, mischievous, fairies, lettuce, circuit, minute*. It ranges in sound between *i* (the *i* in *bit*) and *e* (the *e* in *bet*), but is seldom or never exactly identical with either of these vowels. For the sake of convenience I shall call it, in this article, *Ī*. To form it, the tongue takes nearly the same position as for *i*, but lies a little further back, so that the quality of the vowel is not so clear; according as the tongue is slightly higher or lower, we have the impression of *i* or of *e*. If, however, the tongue is considerably flattened, we get an *ə* (the *a* in *sofa*), which is a distinctly different sound. It should be added that our impressions of the quality of *Ī* are more or less affected by our associations with the written symbol.

Sweet, in his *Handbook*, defines our *Ī* as being sometimes a raised *e* and sometimes a retracted *i*, two sounds which, he says, "it is difficult to separate with certainty"; in his *Primer* he merely states that *Ī*, or "weak *i*," is "intermediate between *i* and *e*." Murray, too, recognizes an obscure *i* and an obscure *e*, but his distinctions seem to depend entirely on the spelling. Miss

Soames observes, in her *Introduction*, that there are "two varieties of unaccented *i*," the *i* in *rabbit*, *frolie* being practically the same as accented *i* in *bit*, *lick*; while a "more open sound, intermediate between *i* and *e*," is used in such terminations as *-es*, *-ed*, *-ness*, *-less*, and such prefixes as *en-* and *ex-*, "and wherever *i* is final or followed by a vowel"; some of her examples of "intermediate" *ɪ* are: *fishes*, *waited*, *goodness*, *restless*, *engage*, *exist*, *exceed*, *folly*, *glorious*. Lloyd's *ɪ* (*Phonetische Studien*, V., 1) is almost identical with *i* whenever it is final or followed by a vowel, and generally when it is represented by *i* (that is, in such cases as *folly*, *piteous*, *rabbit*, *frolie*); it is lower and more obscure in the endings *-ed* and *-es* and in the prefixes *be-*, *e-*, *es-*, *ex-*, *pre-*, *re-*; in the endings *-less* and *-ness* it tends toward *æ* or *ə*.

My own practice differs somewhat from those just described. In the first place, when my *ɪ* is followed by a vowel (as in *meander*, *beauteous*), I form it at least as high as *i*; if the preceding consonant is *l* or *r* (as in *Lillian*, *glorious*), I pronounce that consonant and the *ɪ* simultaneously. Let us now examine in detail the cases where *ɪ* does not stand just before a vowel; most of them are included in the following three classes, which will be considered separately: (1) initial syllables immediately before the accent; (2) next-to-last syllables of words accented on the third syllable from the end; (3) final syllables. These three categories may be represented by *begin*, *comical*, and *senate*. Words like *congregation* and *infinitely*, which are not very numerous, are left out of account; they do not differ essentially from the examples of classes 1 and 2.

1. **Before the accent.** — In very rapid conversation I tend (as I think most Americans do) to omit the *ɪ* altogether or to replace it by a short *ə*: *when does it begin* = *hwenzitbəgin*, *all except you* = *əlkseptʃu*, *what do you refer to* = *hwodəyurəfētə*, *what shall I select* = *hwotʃlaislekt*; in words like *employ*, *impose*, *engage*, *insist*, as they are usually spoken, the *m* and the *n* serve as vowels. These slurred pronunciations seem to be particularly common in Philadelphia and New York City. In more careful speech, however, the *ɪ* is heard, and here we find a difference between English and American usage. Sweet, Lloyd, and Miss Soames all agree in classing the prefixes consisting of *e* followed by a consonant (*en-*, *es-*, *ex-*, etc.) with the other initial syllables (*be-*, *de-*, *pre-*, *re-*, etc.); in America, on the other hand, the *ɪ* of *ec-*, *ef-*, *el-*, *em-*, *en-*, *er-*, *es-*, *ex-*, strongly suggests *e*, while that of *be-*, *ce-*,

*cre-, de-, dis-, e-, fe-, fre-, il-, im-, in-, ir-, ne-, phe-, phi-, pre-, re-, se-, te-, tre-, ve-, vi-,* etc., certainly gives the impression of *i*. Hence the English phoneticians' spellings, *iksept, ingeidʒ*, seem all wrong to an American; in an ordinary phonetic transcription I should write either: *ksept, ngeidʒ*, or: *eksept, engeidʒ*. In *be-, de-, pre-, re-,* etc., some Americans have a close but short *î*; this pronunciation is very common among the Irish.

2. **Penult of proparoxytones.**—Here the *Ï* suggests *i* rather than *e*: examples are *competent, plentiful, polygon, miniature*. More or less careless speakers, however, both in England and in America, are inclined to substitute *ə* for *i* in many cases. I regularly do this in the endings *-ible* and *-ity*, also in *analysis, holiday, magnanimous, policy, politics*, and probably in some other words. Some of these forms (such as *əbiləti, holədei, polətiks, posəbl*) are, it seems to me, well-nigh universal in familiar speech in the parts of America that I know. Among the Irish, and, so far as I have observed, in the pronunciation of Philadelphians and New Yorkers, *ə* prevails in all the common words.

3. **Final syllables.**—It is very hard to tell, in these cases, whether the *Ï* is nearer to *i* or to *e*; with patience, however, we can distinguish, even here, two varieties of the *Ï*, one a trifle higher than the other. Let us call the higher one *Ï<sup>1</sup>* and the lower one *Ï<sup>2</sup>*. In my own speech *Ï<sup>1</sup>* occurs regularly before voiceless consonants (as in *palace, rubbish, senate*), and *Ï<sup>2</sup>* before voiced consonants (as in *berries, courage, naked*) and at the end of a word (as in *folly, Monday*). Hence I have *Ï<sup>1</sup>* in words like *goodness* and *finest*, and *Ï<sup>2</sup>* in cases like *fountain, orange, coffee*. Spelling seems to have nothing to do with the distinction. There are two exceptions to my general rule: the ending *-es* or *-ies* after a sibilant has the sound of *Ï<sup>1</sup>* rather than *Ï<sup>2</sup>*; and final *-cky, -ggy, -ngy*, and *-ing* have a decidedly high *Ï<sup>1</sup>*. The latter exception (*sticky, foggy, stringy, running*) is easily explained: the *k, g, or ŋ*, which is formed very far forward, requires a considerable elevation of the middle of the tongue, and this has its effect on the *Ï*. In the case of *-es* or *-ies* after a sibilant (*passes, rushes, ditches, pussies*), I am inclined to think that the close quality of the sound is due, not to a high tongue-position, but to the fact that the upper and lower teeth, which are brought together for the two hisses, are not separated during the emission of the intervening vowel. I do not know whether my rule is followed by other speakers. The Irish generally substitute *ə* for *Ï* throughout the

series; this substitution is a peculiarity, also, of a very large proportion of the cultivated American inhabitants of Philadelphia, New York City, and some parts of the South and West.<sup>1</sup> It seems to be very prevalent in Maryland, southern Indiana, Wisconsin, North Dakota, and Kansas, and is said to be common in Virginia, southern Illinois, and Minnesota. It is entirely foreign to my dialect. In the South and West, words like *fountain* are not infrequently pronounced with no vowel but n in the final syllable. I give below, in the form of percentages, some results obtained by correspondence with 150 highly educated speakers in various parts of our country; seven states west of the Mississippi are represented, and all the states east of that river, except New Jersey, Georgia, Florida, and Alabama.

	Boston (and vicinity).	New England (without Boston and vicinity).	New York City (and Brooklyn).	New York State (without New York City and Brooklyn).	Pennsylvania (and Delaware).	North (Ohio, Ind., Ill., Mich., Wis.).	West (Minn., N. D., Iowa, Mo., Kas.).	South (Md., Va., N. C., S. C., Ky., Tenn., Miss., La., Texas).
	Y <sup>1</sup> Y <sup>2</sup> ø	Y <sup>1</sup> Y <sup>2</sup> ø	Y <sup>1</sup> Y <sup>2</sup> ø	Y <sup>1</sup> Y <sup>2</sup> ø	Y <sup>1</sup> Y <sup>2</sup> ø	Y <sup>1</sup> Y <sup>2</sup> ø	Y <sup>1</sup> Y <sup>2</sup> ø	Y <sup>1</sup> Y <sup>2</sup> ø
palace . . .	69 22 9	40 60 0	36 9 55	64 18 18	33 0 67	30 40 30	21 14 65	48 30 22
courage . .	50 50 0	30 66 4	36 55 9	55 45 0	33 50 17	55 45 0	72 7 21	57 43 0
fountain . .	56 44 0	40 60 0	10 45 45	55 36 9	33 50 17	37 33 30	28 28 44	57 26 17
orange . . .	54 46 0	42 49 9	36 28 36	73 18 9	50 50 0	52 38 10	51 21 28	61 30 9
senate . . .	49 47 4	35 65 0	18 73 9	36 64 0	33 67 0	30 45 25	35 51 14	39 52 9
Monday . .	56 44 0	25 65 10	55 36 9	64 36 0	50 33 17	52 48 0	35 58 7	70 30 0
naked . . .	56 44 0	45 55 0	18 73 9	36 64 0	33 50 17	35 50 15	35 51 14	39 61 0
college . . .	58 42 0	40 60 0	36 64 0	36 64 0	50 50 0	60 35 5	58 28 14	65 35 0
fishes . . .	78 22 0	65 35 0	36 36 28	73 27 0	33 50 17	60 25 15	51 28 21	61 39 0
goodness . .	48 48 4	30 70 0	36 55 9	45 55 0	10 67 17	30 55 15	28 51 21	61 39 0
finest . . .	50 50 0	40 60 0	36 55 9	36 64 0	0 83 17	30 60 10	35 51 14	53 47 0
sonnet . . .	46 54 0	15 85 0	36 36 28	18 82 0	0 83 17	40 60 0	21 58 21	47 53 0

<sup>1</sup> A familiar instance is the Western pronunciation Mizûrâ for *Missouri*.

To obtain a rough estimate of the practice in the United States, taken as a whole, I have averaged the foregoing figures, giving, however, three times as much importance to the North as to any other division.

	Y <sup>1</sup>	Y <sup>2</sup>	o		Y <sup>1</sup>	Y <sup>2</sup>	o
palace . . . .	41	27	32	naked . . . .	38	53	9
courage . . . .	51	46	3	college . . . .	55	42	3
fountain . . . .	40	37	23	fishes . . . .	58	31	11
orange . . . .	51	37	12	goodness . . . .	34	56	10
senate . . . .	34	55	11	finest . . . .	34	59	7
Monday . . . .	50	45	5	sonnet . . . .	30	63	7

C. H. GRANDGENT.

A VOCABULARY OF SPANISH AND MEXICAN WORDS  
USED IN TEXAS. — ADDITIONS AND CORREC-  
TIONS.<sup>1</sup>

**aúra** (p. 244). *Dele* "not identified. Black vulture (?)", and add: probably the true turkey buzzard (*Cathartes aura*).

**báile**: a dance, a ball. "Sunday night at the *baile*, in Santa Cruz, a woman of Matamoros attended the *baile*, and got up to dance." (*Galveston News*, Oct. 14, 1892).

**boléro**. See the Century Dict.

**canafgre**: a tall weed of Texas and Northern Mexico, belonging to the dock family (*Rumex hymenosepalus*). The root of this plant is very rich in tannic acid. From Sp. *caña* and *agre*, an old form of *agrio*.

**cáracara** (p. 245). Add: (*Polyboros cheriway*).

**chaps**: abbreviation of *chaparajos* (*q.v.*, p. 189) [as in Farmer].

**compádre**: friend, companion, not partner. From Sp. meaning god-father. This word has the same meaning in Andalusia.

**compañero**: partner; corresponds in mining slang to "pardner," "pard," etc. Sp. properly = companion.

**cóncha, -s**: silver ornaments on the Mexican spur (cf. Farmer). Sp. *concha*, a shell, anything in the form of a shell.

**coursé, courcé, corsé**: a cover of light leather to protect the saddle in wet weather. From Sp. *corsé*, a corset (?).

**enchiláda, -s**: a Mexican dish, the principal ingredient of which is *chile* (*q.v.*, p. 189).

**cuidádo**: take care! look out! mind! A common explanation of warning. Often pronounced *cuidáo*.

**enjálma**. See **jálma** (p. 248).

**estúfa**: a stove, for heating, not for cooking purposes. Also the room in which the stove is. Cf. the Century Dict.

**hómbre**: man. Often used to call Mexican *tamale* men or candy peddlers on the street.

**hondoo, hondou**: the slip-knot of a *reata* (*q.v.*, p. 194). From Sp. *honda*, a sling for throwing stones, a parbuckle used on shipboard to ship and unship casks, spars, and other heavy objects.

**huajolóte** (p. 190). Add: *Mexicana* after *Meleagris gallopavo*.

**jacána**: a tropical bird of the rail family found along the north banks of the Rio Grande, its northern limit. Cf. the Century Dict.

**jáquima**: the headstall of a halter; often pronounced somewhat like *hackamore*.

<sup>1</sup> See Part IV, pp. 185: , and Part V, pp. 243 ff.

**labór** (p. 249). Add: *Milpa* (*q.v.*, below) is also used in Texas, though not frequently.

**larígo**: a ring at each end of the *cinch* (see *cincha*, pp. 189, 246) through which the *látigos* (*q.v.*, below) are passed and wound to fasten the saddle. This word, probably of Sp. origin, is not found in any dictionary or glossary within my reach.

**látigo**: a thong; used mostly in the plural. The two ends of the *cinch* (see *cincha*, pp. 189, 246) terminate in long, narrow strips of leather—*látigos*—which connect the *cinch* with the saddle and are run through an iron ring called *larigo* (*q.v.*, above). [Cf. *latigo-strap* in the Century Dict.]

**legadéro, -s**: stirrup strap. Probably from *legadura*, Sp. for strap to bind sheep while shearing. Used almost exclusively in the plural.

**léña** (p. 249). Instead of *fine* wood read *fire* wood.

**león**: the American lion, puma. Occasionally found in Texas. Frequent in the names of places and rivers, *Leon* River, *Leona* Springs (Sp. *leona* = lioness), *Leon* County, etc.

**milpá**: a land measure of 177 acres. See **labor** (pp. 191, 249). Sanchez gives this word a Mexican etymology, — *milli*, a piece of cultivated land. He adds: *Ahora solo se aplica el nombre á los sembrados de maíz.* From Lat. *mille* and *passus* (?).

**ólla**. See the Century Dict. (sense 3). Pronounced *õ-ya*.

**pansáje**: a barbecue in which the *panza*, paunch, or body of the animal is barbecued. In addition to the *panza* and roast ribs, there may be other eatables and wines, *mezcal* (see pp. 192, 250), and coffee. As a rule, the feast is spread on rough boards and every person eats with his fingers. It is a feast for men exclusively. "Also a *pansaje* where all could refresh the inner man." (*Galveston News*, Feb. 11, 1893.)

**pitaháya, pitáya**. Add: Karwinsky, the botanist, derives *pitahaya* from Sp. *pitayo*, a long organ-pipe.

**porción** (p. 193). Add: Often pronounced *procion*.

**presídio** (p. 193). Add: Often pronounced *persidio*.

**própio** (p. 194). Add: Often pronounced *porpio*.

**quebráda**: a strip of broken country, cut up by *arroyos* (*q.v.*, p. 187) or *barrancas* (*q.v.*, p. 187). From *quebrar*, to break. See Franceson. Cf. the Century Dict., *s.v.*

**quién sabe**. See the Century Dict.

**sábe**: do you know? do you understand? do you see? Used interrogatively only. See **quién sabe**, above. [Cf. Farmer for the use of this word as a noun.]

**sáca de águá**, the water outlet from the river or creek into the *acéquia* (*q.v.*, pp. 189, 243), the taking of water. Cf. French *prise d'eau*.

**sacáte**. See **zacáte**, below.

**tecolóte** (p. 252). Add: *subarcticus* after *Bubo Virginianus*.

**tilpáh**: a parti-colored rug often used under the saddle and over the true saddle blanket. Probably of Indian (Navajo) origin. Cf. Farmer.

**vámos, vamóse**. As in B. (see *vamose, vamose* the ranch).

**vineg(a)rón** (p. 253). Add: Also *vinagrón*.

**zacáte** (p. 195). Add: Also *sacate*.

**zopilóte** (p. 195). *Dele* the whole, and substitute: a species of turkey buzzard, black vulture (*Cathartes atratus*). From Mexican *tzopilottl* (S.). Cf. the Century Dict.

H. TALLICHET.

[The death of Professor Tallichet, on the 16th of April of the current year, made it impossible to settle some doubtful points which were referred to him when this paper was prepared for the press. They are mentioned here, in the hope that some reader will furnish the desired information.

**canágre**. The etymology proposed does not explain the accented vowel (nor the *n*). But compare the pronunciation in the Century Dict.

**hondoo, hondou**. Which syllable is accented?

**jáquima**. In the indication of the pronunciation (*hackamore*) the letter before *r* was uncertain. Farmer has *hackamore*, and both *hackamore* (marked "origin obscure") and *jaquima* are in the Century Dict.

**mlpá**. Is the accent on the second syllable? Cf. under **labor**, above.

**León** (as a proper name). Is it simply from *león* = puma, or not rather the Spanish geographical name León (which is from *legionem*)?

**pita(ha)ya**. I find no Spanish *pitayo*.

The word **legaderos** Farmer suggests may be really English *leg-guards* in a Spanish dress, but he does not establish this.

E. S. S.]

## JERSEYISMS.

MR. F. B. LEE, of Trenton, assisted by various persons throughout the state, has collected the following list. He writes: "It will be understood that these are mostly to be found in Cape May and other lower counties. I have not gone far from the coast. In the preparation of the collection (which will doubtless be found incomplete), I have included words not distinctly local with those which are undoubtedly provincial. To many friends in various parts of the state I am indebted for words which appear in these pages. Those who have materially aided me are —

Benjamin F. Lee, Trenton,  
 Hannah L. Townsend, Dennisville,  
 William E. Trout, Dennisville,  
 Mary L. Townsend, Trenton,  
 Marie Bryan Eayre, Vincentown,  
 Dr. J. S. Brown, Vincentown,  
 Charles G. Garrison, Merchantville,  
 William Garrison, Camden."

Jersey is the form used by the natives, instead of the New Jersey of the geographies. We have followed the usage in editing the list; our abbreviations, N. J., C. J., and S. J., mean, therefore, North, Central, and South Jersey respectively.

**afearred**: afraid. Common in all parts of the state. [See p. 69.]

**afore**: common in all parts of the state [and elsewhere].

**ague**: pron. *eigər*.

**alluz** (ələz): common pron. of *always*. [In Connecticut generally ələs. — E. H. B.]

**anen, anend, anan, nan**: interrogative word used to a limited extent in S. J. Halliwell says it implies "How? What did you say?" In this he is correct. Cooper uses the word, and undoubtedly learned it in his old home at Burlington. Cf. De Vere.

**anxious seat, anxious bench**: the seat or bench near the altar where persons concerned for their spiritual welfare may sit during revivals. Preserved by the Methodist and Baptist communities in S. J. and C. J. Fast falling out of use. [Common in N. E. in figurative sense.]

**apple palsy**: "plain drunk" caused by too much "jack" (*q.v.*). (Burlington County.)

**aside**: used in an expression "Are you aside?" meaning, "Have you your household goods in order after moving?" (C. J.)

**asparagus**: pron. *spærəgræs*.

**ax**: old form of *ask*. Retained in N. J. as well as in the South. Cf. DeVere.

**back-load**: maximum quantity of game which a man can carry on his back; as, "a back-load of ducks." (Coast.)

**bag o' guts**: a useless individual; a "bum." (S. and C. J.) Also implies a big man with little brains.

**barnacle**: in Cape May used incorrectly for limpet found on oysters.

**bateau**: used only by oystermen. A small, flat-bottomed boat.

**be**: used for both *am* and *are*; as, "I be going," "we be going."

**beant**: negative form of above; used for both *am not* and *are not*. [Is this ever heard in N. E. ?]

**beach**: sand islands on Jersey coast. "Young" or "little beach" is new-made beach containing younger timber; "old beach," parallel ridges crowned by old timber.

**beard**: the byssus of mussels or the fringe on an oyster's mouth. (S. J.)

**belly-wax**: molasses candy. (S. J.) Often pron. *Bailey-wax*.

**belly-whistle**: a drink made of molasses, vinegar, water, and nutmeg, used by harvesters at the daily nooning. [Is there any possible etymological connection with *switchel*? See Webster, *s.v.*, and p. 343 below.]

**bender**: common in N. J. as elsewhere. [p. 75, *Tittly bender*.]

**blatherskite**: common in N. J. Cf. DeVere.

**blicky (blickie, blickey)**: a small bucket or pail. Said to be Dutch in its origin, but used extensively in S. J., where there are no Dutch.

**blister**: an oyster smaller than a quarter dollar. Used from Barnegat south to Cape May.

**blocks**: used in North Jersey for *streets* or *squares (q.v.)*. [Influence of New York City, where the "block" is the regular unit of distance—20 blocks = a mile.]

**bloomaries**: iron forges in S. J. (Law of 1779.)

**blowhard**: a noisy, demonstrative, self-important person.

**board-bank**: floor of boards, placed on the bed of a creek near the shore, on which oysters are laid to "fatten." See **floats**.

**boom-pole**: pole used to hold a load of hay on a wagon. [*Binding-pole* is used in this sense in Connecticut. — E. H. B.]

**boughten**: that which has been bought, as distinguished from what has been given. DeVere confines it to New York, but it is very common in N. J. *E.g.* "Were those melons boughten or guv to you?" [Known in N. E., but generally used in distinction from *home-made*.]

**boyzee**: boy; as, "when I was a boyzee." [p. 77.]

**brackwater**: salt water of bay or river, near shore, modified by flow of fresh water. The adjective "brackish" is more commonly used.

**braes**: burned and charred wood in a charcoal pit.

**buck**: a fop. Used contemptuously; "he's a pretty buck, now ain't he?" Also *buck-a-dandy*, with the same meaning.

**buck-darting**: a zigzag method of sailing employed on tide-water creeks.

**bull**: terrapin 3 or 4 inches across the belly. Five are required for a "count," or 60 to a dozen. (S. J.)

**bull nose**: a useless hard clam. (Cape May County.)

**bulldoze**: common in Jersey. [See Century Dict. and Murray.]

**bullrag, bullyrag**: to tease, domineer over. (S. J.) [See Murray, *s.v.*]

**butterfingered**: an adjective used to describe a person whose powers of retaining an article in his grasp are not great. (C. and S. J.) [Known elsewhere, but generally confined to base-ball.]

**by-and-by**: pron. *baim bai*. [Common in N. E.]

**calk**: pron. *kork*.

**careful**: pron. *karfl*. [Common in N. E.]

**chaw**: common pron. for *chew*. [As elsewhere.]

**chinkin**: boards, sticks, or clay used to fill spaces between logs in cabin building.

**chunker**: coal boat used on the canal. (N. J.)

**clons, scions**: pron. *science (saiens)* in S. J. Young growth of oak timber. Pines and cedars have no scions. To "science" (verb) is to cut off these sprouts.

**clink**: used of two chairs which are tilted so as partially to support each other, each having two legs on the floor.

**clucker**: frozen oysters. (S. J.) See **rattlers**.

**clutert**: for *cluttered*. *E.g.* "clutert into heaps."

**coal**: charcoal. (S. J.)

**collier**: charcoal-burner. (S. J.) A place in Ocean County is named "Collier's Mill."

**coon oyster**: small oyster attached to the sedge rather than to the usual more solid supports.

**count**: terrapin six inches across belly, fit for market. (S. J.)

**count clams**: quahaugs, 800 to the barrel. [The extent of use of the word *quahaug* is an interesting question.]

**cow**: six-inch female terrapin. (S. J.) (One "count.")

**cowcumber**: for cucumber. [p. 64.]

**crib**: horizontal sticks piled triangularly around the "fergen" (*q.v.*) in charcoal burning. (S. J.) Sticks of cord-wood placed at right angles (usually in fours) to form a column against which cord-wood may be piled in "ranks."

**crock**: earthenware vessel. (Common in S. J.) [Also known in N. E.]

**cubby**: a little hollow-square cabin. (Charcoal industry.)

**cubby-hole**: place in a garret where refuse is stored. [The word is familiar to some New Englanders in the sense of a little cosey place, behind furniture, or in a hay-mow, for instance, where one or two children might hide.]

**cull**: to assort (oysters). Poor oysters are *cullins*.

**culls**: the grade next to the poorest.

**cullinteens**: bushel oysters; like *cullings* or *cullens*.

**curricule**: two-horse chaise. (Law of March 20, 1778.)

**damnify**: to injure. Law of 1677 (referring to hogs running loose) "in damnifying meadows by rooting."

**daubin**: mud between the logs in a log house.

**dicked**: arrayed. Possible corruption of "decked." Not very common.

**dod** (**dod blasted**, **dod slammed**, etc.): for "God" in quasi-profanity. [p. 64.]

**dōminies**: common in Jersey in an adjective sense. *E.g.* "a dominie-lookin' feller."

**double up**: to marry.

**downcome**: a fall or attendant disaster. Used with reference to politics.

**down felowyers**: used in Cape May County to indicate people from the southern part of the county. (Corruption of *down belowyers*.)

**dreg**, **drudge**: pronunciations for *dredge* among the oystermen. [p. 210.]

**drugged**: pret. of *drag*. [p. 67.]

**dubersome**: doubtful. (C. J.)

**durgen**: old horse, worn out by use. (S. J.)

**Durham boat**: used on Delaware River till 1835. Washington probably used them in crossing before the battle of Trenton. They were sharp-pointed, flat-bottomed scows, built to run the rapids in the hill country. They were common in the colonial period between the "Forks" at Easton and Burlington City.

**earnest**: pron. *ærnəst*.

**errand**: pron. *erənt*. [Known also in N. E.]

**extra meetins**: certain periods devoted, in Baptist and Methodist circles, to special religious services of the nature of revivals.

**eye opener**: big drink of liquor; say, "four fingers."

**fag eend**: the end piece of anything.

**fast land**: upland near coast. (S. J.)

**faze**: to injure. As noun in "he went through and nary a faze." (S. and C. J.) [p. 70.]

**fellies**: pl. of *felloe*. (Law of 1766.)

**fergen**: centre pole in a charcoal pit, forming the central part of the "crib" (*q.v.*). (S. J.)

**field**: deserted farm overgrown with pine, scrub oak, and brambles. Some of these *fields* — the term is equivalent to *plantation* — are from a century to a century and a half old. Distinguishing names are Broomstick Ridge Field, Lawrence Field, etc. (Cape May County names).

**firing place**: spot suitable for charcoal burning.

**fist**: "to make a bad fist of it"; to make mistakes or do work incorrectly.

**flirch**: abundant. (S. J.)

**floats**: (charcoal industry) irregular sods laid on "four-foot lengths," over which sand is placed. (Oyster industry) pens of boards placed in fresh water, upon which oysters fatten during one tide. They are then marketable by the thousand.

**folks**: immediate family. [Also N. E. In Connecticut I have heard men say "my folks," meaning strictly "my wife," though there were others in the family. — E. H. B.]

**footy**: small, insignificant. [Professor Sheldon knows the word in Maine as a noun = *simpleton*. There is also a N. E. expression "footin' around" (*û*) = fussing, busying one's self uselessly.]

- funeral**: "his funeral was preached" = "his funeral sermon," etc. (S. J.)
- gad**: small whip used to drive cows to pasture. (S. J.) [Known in N. E. in sense of *whip*.]
- garvey**: a small scow. (Barnegat region.)
- glommox, glummicks**: a muss, or a conglomeration of matter. (S. and C. J.)
- go by water**: to follow the sea as a calling. (Coast.)
- golly keeser**: oath heard in S. J.
- goodies**: a fish of peculiar delicacy, much eaten on the coast. The "spot fish" of Virginia. (Atlantic and Cape May.)
- goody-goody**: contemptuously applied to an over-fastidious person. (S. J.)
- gorramity** (*gorramiti*): for *God Almighty*. (S. J.)
- goster**: to domineer.
- gosterer**: one who boasts or brags.
- grass**: spring of the year. "I'll move out o' here next grass."
- gravel**: to steal sweet potatoes (the act identified by the newly turned earth).
- green head**: a fly common in the coast district.
- ground oak**: to inflict injury on the person, or threaten to do so; a sort of *duress per minas*. (A ground oak is a small oak of little value.)
- gulf weather**: warm, moist, cloudy weather, attributed on the Jersey coast to the influence of the Gulf Stream. It is felt as far west as Trenton.
- heifers**: young cow terrapins. Two or three to "counts." (S. J.)
- hether**: equivalent to *peddy whoa, q.v.*
- hike**: of clothing, to be uneven or not to "set well." [p. 61.]
- holdfast**: a sore, eating to the bone, which may come from various causes.
- honey-fogle**: to allure by traps.
- horse coursers**: defined as *drovers* in law of 1682.
- horse-proud**: adjective used of a man who has pride in his blooded stock. Similar words are used made up with names of other animals; *e.g. hog-proud*.
- housen**: plural of *house*.
- hyper**: to hurry about; to bustle at work. (Little used.)
- Indian bread**: fungus found underground in the pine woods. The *Tuckahoe*. (S. J.)
- jack (apple)**: in Salem, Sussex, and Burlington counties, where apple whiskey is made, it is commonly called "jack." "Jersey Lightning" is hardly used by natives for this article. [How widely is the word "apple whiskey" used? "Cider brandy" is the natural word to New Englanders.]
- jag**: a small load. In S. J. a load of hay. Not used among the country people in its present slang sense. [Century Dict. See p. 216.]
- Jersey blue**: color of uniform worn by Jersey troops in the French and Indian War.
- Jimminy crickets**: common in Jersey. [p. 49.]
- kerf**: [see Webster] word not used in North Jersey. When employed in the Supreme Court it was not understood by the judges.
- ketchy**: changeable (weather).
- kettereen**: a kind of carriage. (Law of 1779.)

**killck**: small anchor. (Very common on coast.)

**kink**: used in N. J. for *kinky*. Used as noun = idiosyncrasy.

**lap**: a "hank" of thread.

**lashin(g)s**: plenty; abundance. "Lashins o' money."

**lenter**: for "lean to" = an addition to a house. Pron. *lentr*, *lintr*, and *lintr*.

**lift the collection**: take up the collection. In common use in some localities.

**lug**: bark. "The dog lugs at the waggin."

**nam, mom, mæ**: for mamma or mother.

**marsh**: pron. *mæf*. [Also in N. E.]

**meadow**: salt marshy tract used for grazing and "shingling" (*v. infra*) in S. J.

**menhaden**: called "moss bunkers," "mossy bunkers," "green tails," "Sam Days," and "bony fish," in Cape May County, and "mud shad" in Cumberland County.

**milchy**: adjective applied to oysters "in milk" — just before or during spawning.

**molasses**: pron. *merlassers*, *merlasses*, *millasses*.

**mosey**: to leave suddenly, generally under doubt or suspicion.

**mought (maut)**: for *might*. [p. 71.]

**mudwallop**: to soil one's self with mud. To play in the mud when fishing.

**my**: pron. *mi*.

**nary**: never.

**nothing**: pron. *nɔʃin*.

**nubbin**: imperfect ear of corn.

**nutmeg**: muskmelon (generic). (S. J.)

**O be joyful**: hilariously drunk. (Common.)

**ordinary**: innkeeper, in laws of Lord Proprietors. Now out of use.

**ornery**: common in use. See p. 65 of NOTES.

**overly**: used in speaking of health, etc.; *e.g.* "not overly good." Generally in negative use. [Known in Maine. — E. S. S.]

**oyster grass**: kelp found in oyster-beds. (Cape May.)

**oyster knockers**: culling tools. Double-headed hammer used to separate bunches of oysters.

**pap, pop, poppy**: for *papa* or *father*.

**patent thread**: linen thread. (S. J.)

**peddy whoa**: teamster's word = *havo*; go to the left.

**perlangier**: oyster boat. Law of 1719 (DeVere, p. 137).

**petty chapman**: itinerant vender. (Law of 1730.)

**pile, piling, pile driver**: often pron. *spile*, etc., in N. J.

**piners**: those who live in the Jersey pines, — the "ridge" sections (eastern and southern) of the state.

**pit**: wood stacked for charcoal burning.

**platform**: planked floor where oysters are freshened. (Atlantic County.)  
See **board-bank** and **floats**.

**pool holes**: holes, two to six feet deep, full of "mucky" water, found on meadows. (See Shingle Industry below.) Often *spool holes*.

**pretty**: pron. *pərti*, *puti*.

**pretty middlin' smart** (*smært*): indicates a fair state of health. Common in N. J.

**progue**: pron. *prɔg*. To search for anything imbedded in the mud, as clams, terrapins, or cedar logs, by means of a sounding rod.

**quiller**: holdback strap (see Webster). [*Side-strap* is used in Connecticut. — E. H. B.]

**quite**: not a common word in S. J. Common in C. J. in such expressions as "quite some."

**rattlers**: oysters in poorest condition. So called because they rattle in their shells. See **clucker**.

**reach**: that portion of a circuitous creek in the tide-water district between two sharp turns. Reaches are from 200 feet to a mile or more in length.

**salt holes**: pool holes of small size filled with salt water. Frequent in marshes.

**scions**. See **cions**.

**scoot, scoat, skeet**: to leave suddenly.

**scrub oak**: a low-growing species, usually the first timber growth on a burned district. As soon as the larger timber grows above it, the scrub oak dies out.

**set offs**: sugar and cream in coffee; "trimmings."

**shacklin'**: shiftless; lazy; going from one job to another.

**shell bed**: collection of oyster shells in S. J., where Indians made wampum, or dried bivalves for food.

**shellers**: those who open clams for market.

**shenanigan**: fooling or playfulness. Also expressed by "monkey business." [Known in N. E.]

**sherk**: for *shark*. [Also reported from coast of Virginia.]

**shoots**: spaces between concentric rings of oyster shells, showing years of growth.

**shuck, shock**: to open oysters. To husk corn.

**singing sand**: sand found on Long Beach, Ocean County, which emits a peculiar musical tone when the wind passes over it rapidly. It is found on a portion of beach made since 1818.

**sistern**: pl. of *sister*. Used in Baptist and Methodist churches.

**skeins**: for *skene*. A dagger (see Webster). (Law of 1686.)

**skift**: for *skiff*. A yawl used in E. J.

**sky scraper**: one who reaches high; one who is exalted in his own estimation.

**slash**: swale filled with water. (Cape May.)

**slews**: (corruption of *sluice*) a thoroughfare (*q.v.*). (Coast.)

**slug**: a big drink of whiskey.

**snag gag**: to quarrel or have an irritating controversy.

**snail bore**: a mollusk, also called "drill," "borer," etc.

**sneathe**: snath of a scythe (see Webster).

**snew**: pret. of snow. (N. J.)

**snoop**: to pry into another's affairs; to sneak.

**snub**: to "canal it" on a boat. (C. J.)

**snubbin' post**: post around which rope of boat is fastened in lock.

**soft shells**: crabs with soft shells.

**spoom**: to run before the wind. [See Webster.] (Coast.)

**spung**: piece of low ground at the head of a stream in the tide-water district.

**squares, streets**: used generally in S. and C. J. as unit of distance in cities, like *blocks* (*q.v.*) in N. J. Philadelphia influence.

**stepmother**: a ragged nail or a roughness of the skin.

**stickup**: a long, thin oyster; so called in Cape May from the fact that it "stickups," as oystermen say, in the mud.

**stone horses**: stallions. (Law of 1709.) [Used in this sense in *Robinson Crusoe*.]

**stuffy**: close and sultry, like a "Gulf weather" day (*q.v.*).

**sun down**: sunset; very common.

**sun up**: sunrise; not common, but still in use.

**swale**: low land between sand ridges on the coast beaches.

**sward**: pron. *sôrd*.

**swing seat**: a seat used in a wood wagon, hung from the sides. Used after unloading.

**tacker**: small child. The adjective *little* generally precedes the noun.

**tar kiln**: place where tar is tried out of pine knots.

**ten fingers**: oysterman's slang for *thief*. Not very common.

**thawt**: for thwart; rower's seat. Used to a limited extent. [p. 24.]

**thill horse**: shaft horse. Not very common.

**thoroughfare, throughfare** (see also *slews*): long, narrow body of water connecting the bays which separate the sandy islands of the southern coast from the mainland. [Reported as proper name for such passages from Maine and Virginia.] In law of 1695 a "thoroughfare" was a wagon road.

**three-square**: a kind of grass found on S. J. meadows.

**thunder-heads**: cumulus clouds piled above the black mass of the storm. [In Connecticut, heavy cumulus clouds which appear before a shower. — E. H. B.]

**tickly (tickely, ticklish) bender**: running on yielding ice. [See p. 75.]

**ticky**: Rio coffee. (S. J. traders).

**tittavating** (*v = w*): repairing; *e.g.* "The housens need tittavating."

**tongs**: oyster tongs.

**toxicatious**: for *intoxicating*. (Law of 1679.)

**traipse**: final *e* pronounced. The word has a good use in Jersey; no idea of "slackness" is attached to it, as Webster would imply.

**truck**: to barter or to trade. (Law of 1688.)

**upheader**: horse that holds his head high. Applied figuratively to men. *v* is often pronounced like *w* by the older people in S. J. A Gloucester County saying is, "Weal and winegar are good wittles to take aboard a wessel."

**wain**: wagon. (S. J.) Not much used.

**wherries**: for *ferries*. (Law of 1716.)

**wind breaker**: a screen or the like used to break the force of the wind.

**winders**: an instrument used on the oyster boats for winding the dredge line.

## THE GLASS INDUSTRY.

Mr. William Marks, of Millville, and Mr. Charles Simmerman, chief of the State Bureau of Labor and Statistics, furnish the following list of words. Some of them are used only in the flint glass houses, others in the green glass works as well.

- all aboard** : used in flint glass works as order to begin and quit work.
- batch** : the mixture of soda and sand of which the glass is made.
- bench stones** : resting-place for pots inside the furnace.
- blast** : the ten months of the year when fire is in the furnaces.
- blower** : one who forms or "blows" molten glass.
- blowover** : bottle finished by grinding its mouth on a stone. Fruit jars are usually finished in this way.
- bounty jumper** : a cylindrical mould.
- breast stones** : sides of the furnace.
- bull** : glass unfit for use after the melt.
- cap** : top of the melting furnace.
- carrier in** : one who takes bottles to the annealing oven.
- cordy glass** : bottle glass containing strips resembling fine cords, caused by glass not being thoroughly melted, or being kept too long in pot.
- cullet** : waste glass.
- draw pickle** : wooden stick used in pot setting. (Flint glass manufacture.)
- fiddle** : a fulcrum for the "sheen" (*q.v.* below) in pot setting.
- fire out** : end of the ten months' blast. Factories close during July and August.
- fire over** : cessation of work for the day.
- flip flop** : bladder of thin glass used as a toy.
- flip up** : an old-fashioned style of mould.
- foot bench** : bench around the furnace, upon which the workmen stand.
- furnace** : where the glass is melted in the pots.
- gaffer** : one who finishes bottle by putting mouth upon it.
- gatherer** : one who takes the glass from the pots.
- get-up** : one day of labor; *e.g.* "Ten get-ups (ten days) before fire out."
- glory hole** : small furnace where bottles are finished.
- goat** : two-wheeled wagon used to carry the pot to the furnace from where it is first tempered.
- heel-tapped** : unevenly blown (bottle).
- Henry** : a lie (in Millville glass houses). Perhaps the name of some notorious liar.
- lamp workers** : Bohemian blowers who work glass by a lamp.
- lazybones** : iron machine used for resting iron bars when the furnace is being cleaned or repaired.
- leer** : annealing oven, where glass is tempered for 24 hours.
- mauer** : iron plate where blower rolls his glass.
- melt** : process of reducing the "batch" (*q.v.*) to molten glass.
- mill hands** : those who make the clay stone.

- monkey**: small pot used in flint factories.
- necktie**: imperfect bottle wrinkled in the neck.
- pot**: the clay jar where the batch is placed during the melt. The pot is from 32 to 54 inches in diameter, and 2½ feet high; from five to ten of them go in one furnace.
- pot shells**: pieces of broken pots which are ground up for the making of new pots.
- presser**: one who presses glass in the mould.
- presto**: an exclamation which implies "Be careful of your language, as visitors are in the works."
- puntery**: iron rod with holder used to finish bottles. [*Pontee* in Webster.]
- rack on**: term used to imply the blower's loss of ware through imperfect work.
- ring hole**: hole in furnace where blower gets his glass for bottle work.
- ring stone**: stone to close the ring hole.
- salt water**: salts in soda which rise to surface of molten glass, and after being skimmed off, harden into cakes.
- sandy glass**: glass poorly melted.
- shears**: cutting tool used in glass making.
- shear hole**: hole where fire is "set."
- shear to**: to heat up the furnace.
- shearer**: the "master shearer" has charge of the furnace during the melt. His assistant is the "shearer."
- sheen**: long iron bar used to set pots on edge of furnace.
- slocker**: refuse glass.
- slow fire**: commence work.
- snap**: iron rod used to finish bottles. See **puntery**.
- snapper up**: boy employed in glass works.
- stone**: clay. There is no stone in S. J., and clay takes its place.
- tap**: to open tone of furnace to take away refuse glass, which when it cools becomes *slocker* (*q.v.*).
- tempo**: a cry implying cessation of work.
- tone**: central space of furnace around which pots are set. The flame melting the batch circulates therein.
- tube blower**: one who makes tubes for lamp works. (Flint works only.)
- tuck stone**: stone (clay) sustaining arch over furnace grate.
- yink yank**: equivalent to *necktie*, *q.v.*

### THE SHINGLE INDUSTRY.

Carried on in the cedar swamps of South Jersey.

- bolt**: piece of cedar, 2 feet long, 5 inches wide, 2 inches thick.
- break down** and **windfall** are terms describing conditions in which cedar logs are found beneath the surface. The log is chipped and its condition is indicated by the odor of the chip.
- butting**: the process of levelling shingles.

**dug ups** : shingles made from logs fallen and covered with soil. Called also *mud, rove, and split*.

**froe** : instrument used to rive cedar into bolts. A blade 16 inches long and 3 inches wide, with a handle 6 inches long at right angles to one end.

**horse** : contrivance for holding shingles while they are being shaved.

**pool holes** (*q.v.*, p. 332) are caused by removing cedar logs.

**progueing iron** or **progue** : iron rod  $4\frac{1}{2}$  to 7 feet long used to progue (*q.v.*, p. 333) for cedar logs.

**rive** : to cut cedar bolts into pieces  $\frac{1}{2}$  inches thick.

**shave** : to prepare rived bolts for use on roof.

**shingling** : the process of taking cedar logs from the meadows or swamps and converting them into shingles.

**straight rift** and **twisted** are two conditions (as to grain of wood) in which cedar logs are found.

**tap** or **cut** : a piece sawed from the log beneath the surface.

**wind shakes** : trees which have been twisted by the wind so that the effect is shown by the twisted grain of the wood.

FRANCIS B. LEE.

TRENTON, March, 1893.

## THE DIALECT OF WESTERN CONNECTICUT.

A GROUP of towns near the New York line, half-way up the state of Connecticut, forms a "speech-island" of more than usual interest. These towns are in the hilly district at the south end of the Taconic range of mountains. It is a country of granite hills, 1000 to 1500 feet above sea level, intersected by narrow valleys, sometimes broadening out into small plains, and traversed by swift clear streams, of which the Housatonic River is the largest. About 30 miles up this river, several of the valleys converge into a plain, the largest in the region; and here, in 1704, a company organized at Milford, at the mouth of the river, acquired land from the Indians and planted a settlement which they named New Milford. The enterprise prospered, and soon New Milford became the centre of an active colonization, and in and about the above-mentioned valleys a group of towns grew up, for which New Milford was and is to-day the natural business centre. Their town and church records have been in the main carefully kept, and in most towns have been used for material in local histories, which often give very clear information as to the origin of the early settlers. From a somewhat extended study of these sources I draw the conclusion that they were of as pure English stock as is to be found anywhere in New England. They seem to have come in about equal proportions from (1) the western towns of the New Haven colony; (2) the Connecticut River settlements about Hartford and up into Massachusetts (one of our towns is named Brookfield); and (3) the original settlements in eastern Massachusetts. Hardly a Dutch or other foreign name is to be found on the records, and the names on the earliest records are the same to a remarkable extent as those met to-day. By the time of the Revolution, the region was well settled, and probably received no considerable accessions from outside till our own time. The economic conditions have been such that, while the indigenous population has been able to maintain itself in a comfortable and dignified condition, outsiders, since the first opening up of the country, have not been attracted to move in. The natural increase of the population has been sufficient to maintain its numbers, and to send very many natives of the region "out

West" (some of them very likely to Ithaca), or, in our days, to the cities. Some fifty years ago a good many Irish came in, and now of course there is a general mixture of all sorts, as elsewhere in New England. But down to the time of people who are alive now, the region has had a stable, homogeneous population of sturdy, intelligent farmer folk, whose English comes of good stock, and has been transmitted from generation to generation free from outside influences. The present generation has come greatly under the influence of the schoolmistress and the newspaper; but the generation now gray-haired has a dialect inherited in all its integrity.

I was born and "raised" in this region on a rather isolated farm, and passed a somewhat solitary childhood, having almost no playmates of my own age until I went to school. I learned to speak from my parents, my grandmother, the "help" indoors and out, and the neighbors. This dialect is therefore my mother-tongue, and I did not change to more conventional English till well along in my school years. I may be a little "rusty" in it now, but when I go down home and talk with the natives, it comes back to me well enough so that they do not feel called upon to "talk polite" to the city man, and so spoil my observations. Of course I can always say what my own usage was in any case, and it is generally fair to take this as representative, except in case of words which I did not know until my speech began to be modified by the school. Here I take the usage of some older person, but always what I have heard in actual use by some one.

The phonology is interesting, but so close to that of the Ithaca dialect that it can be most conveniently treated as an appendix to Prof. Emerson's study. After he completes his word-lists, I will publish some matter in comparison. I shall also devote a chapter in my book on American pronunciation to this dialect.

I publish here chiefly words which have not appeared before in DIALECT NOTES. Very many of those already reported from New England are heard in my dialect, but there is generally nothing to add except the fact that they do occur.

The figures in brackets refer, of course, to pages in DIALECT NOTES.

**alligator**: larva of the hellgramite [*corydalis cornutus*], an aquatic insect used as bait for bass.

**angle-worm**: earth-worm. Known by no other name, though the verb to *angle* is not used.

**balk**: strip accidentally left unploughed between two furrows [see Webster]. [This word is reported from Westchester Co., N. Y., as meaning an iron stake used to "stake out" an animal to graze].

**be**: the verb substantive has some peculiar forms. The regular forms of the present indicative are all used, but there is a secondary inflection as follows:—

I be	we be
you be	you be
he is	they be

This form *be* is never used in the third singular, nor in the negative, which is *aint* for all persons and numbers. *Be* is not used in an independent direct statement; "I be agoin'" (see *Jerseyisms*, s.v.) would be contrary to the usage. It is used in dependent sentences generally, including conditions, questions, especially indirect questions, and the second part of the favorite Yankee form of inquiring if the contrary of a stated negative is true. "You aint goin' up town, be ye?" "Them cattle aint yourn, be they?"

A restatement with emphasis of a previous remark after a contradiction would usually take *be*. "Now, Hiram, you aint agoin' t' the store to-night!" "I say I be agoin' tew!"

Perhaps it is safe to make the general statement that *be* is not used when the predicate is complete, except under emphasis in an indirect or dependent clause. The handling of this word is a very delicate matter, and the usage appears to be pretty uniform throughout New England; the "dialect" novelist often meets with shipwreck on this rock. *Is* is sometimes used as plural, especially with demonstrative pronouns, or with two personal pronouns, or one such and a noun, of different persons. "Them's the kind I want." "Him and me's good friends."

The past tense is *was* (neg. *wa'n't*—pron. *wɔnt*) in all cases. p. p. generally pron. *ben*.

**belly-gut**: manner of coasting—face downward on sled. [49, 60, 212, 214, 235.]

**bill**: to get a bill = to get a divorce.

**booger**: in the sense reported. [18, 77, 214, 235.] The pronunciation *bugr* is used for *bugger* in the sense defined in Webster, while *bvgr* is a harmless word meaning much the same as "chap" or as "tacker" in New Jersey [334], and used by schoolgirls and all sorts of people who certainly never attach any other meaning to it.

**boss cow**: the cow which can "lick" or "drive" all the rest of the herd, and so has the privilege of being first in all matters of advantage.

**brake**: fern of any kind.

**bub**: small boy. Used only in the vocative case.

**carriage**: any vehicle having a top. (The generic word for any four-wheeled vehicle is *wagon*. *Buggy* is only applied to those without tops; a top buggy would be called a *carriage*.)

**cast**: hue; tinge. Good flour has a "yellow cast."

**caterin'**: diagonally.

**cheese** is sometimes used as plural = *cheeses*.

**chipmunk**: the only form of the word heard in the region [73].

**coot**: (like *cuss*) a person (contemptuously). "A poor drunken coot."

**conniption fit**: an overwrought state of mind, or nervous excitement (over a particular circumstance).

**critter**: a neat animal; sing. of *cattle*. "Is that a horse out in the road?" "No, it's a critter." (Creeter [*kritr*] is used in the general sense of the noun *being*. Cf. Widow Bedott: "We're all poor creeters.") This use of *critter* is so well fixed that the natives, when they are trying to "talk polite" with strangers, use *creature* with the same meaning.

**donnock** (*donək*): a large stone or boulder imbedded in the ground, but not a "tight stone" or ledge.

**Dutchman**: any foreigner who speaks English brokenly or not at all. (Going out of use.) [In carpentry] a piece of wood inserted to fill a space left or made by mistake from careless work.

**ea**: the word *yes* (pron. *yis*) is used, but much oftener is heard *ea*, *eə*, *êə*, (dissyllabic and barytone) very rarely with a final *p*.

**emptins**: yeast. *To run emptins* is to show signs of not holding out well, as for instance a speech or an enterprise of any kind. Probably from analogy of a beer-barrel.

**fall**: the word *autumn* is only known from books.

**farse**: eager. "He's dretful farse to go fishin'." [Is, this merely *fierce*, or is it an older Germanic word? Cf. O.N. *fúss*.]

**gad**: sometimes *whip* in general, but oftener a whipstock without lash, made of a young shoot of ironwood or hardbeam (*Carpinus Americana*).

**gob**: a small quantity of any matter in a plastic state; *e.g.* a gob of mud.

**gullopp**: to belch.

**haily over** (*hêli-ovr*): a game among the schoolboys, in which they choose sides and the parties get on opposite sides of a building. A ball is thrown over; if one of the opposite side makes a fair catch when it comes over, he is entitled to run round and throw it at any one of the other party, who if hit must change sides.

**hard-pan**: mixture of clay and subsoil ("yellow dirt") underlying the upper soil in certain situations throughout the region. When this is reached in ditching the work is much harder.

**hist** (*haist*) for *hoist*: used to a cow, as an order to take her hind leg out of the way of the milker.

**holler**: to shout [239]. *Hollow* (as verb) is substituted by some when talking "afore folks."

**housens** as plural of *house* is heard, though rare.

**hunk**: chunk, piece (of anything solid).

**jag**: exactly as in New Jersey; see Mr. Lee's collection [331].

**jigger**: gig; sulky.

**koboodle** [63, 64, 74]: *the hull koboodle* is commonest; *kit and boodle* is also heard.

**letter in the post-office**: expression current among boys, denoting that the seat of the trousers is so out of repair that the shirt-tail is visible.

**lot**: field. In all compounds; pasture-lot, corn-lot, meadow-lot, etc.

**lot-rows**: when several men are hoeing in a "lot" where the rows are of unequal length, the farm etiquette requires the outside man to take the

next row to his own in returning, and the others to follow in order, so that each shall do the same amount of work in the "bout."

**mallis**: probably for *mallows*; a plant whose seed-vessels resemble cheeses in shape, and are called *mallis-cheeses* by children.

**meadow**: strictly confined in meaning to land devoted to the hay crop. [Discussion of the meanings of this word will be found interesting. Where does it mean *grass land in general*, and where does it mean *low, wet land* ?]

**meat-victuals**: the meat course at dinner. "If you're through with meat-victuals, they's some pie comin'."

**mooley-cow**: cow without horns.

**nigger-head**: clump of fern-roots in swamps. When the land is reclaimed they remain for years undecayed, showing as black lumps in the ploughed field.

**nubbin**: defective ear of corn (as in N. J.).

**on** is used often for *of* with a pronoun object: *on't* for *of it*, as in Shakspeare, is common. Often used redundantly with verbs and present participles; e.g. "What ye duin' on? Hayin' on't?" Also with reflexive verbs (which, by the way, take the simple personal pronouns and not the forms with *self*); e.g. (Mrs. — excuses her husband to a caller.) "Mr. — can't come jes' now; he's a-shavin' on him."

**overhauls** is the universal word. I heard a dispute as to this word settled summarily in a country store as follows: "Of course they're overhauls; you haul 'em on over your pants, don't you?"

**pair of bars**: set of bars, five or six generally. Pair (= flight) of stairs is the only word in use.

**pint o' cider**: proverbial in comparisons to denote something very small. "'Taint so big as a pint o' cider."

**poose-back**: manner of carrying a child on the back; = *pig-a-back*. From *pappoose* undoubtedly.

**popple**: for *poplar*.

**pussey** (*pusi*): fat, corpulent, pot-bellied. [240.]

**stale**: handle of a tool (Ger. *stiel*; see Webster, *s.v.*). In regular use in *rake-stale*, less common in *fork-stale*. *Pipe-stale* is rare.

**round snow**: hard, hail-like snow which falls when a snow-storm is just turning to rain.

**runt**: the smallest pig in a litter. Not used of other animals, but applied humorously to an undersized man or boy.

**sass** (*sæs*): stewed or preserved fruit. (Also in sense of *impertinence*, as elsewhere.)

**scoot**: to move quickly a considerable distance; to dart or glide. (No idea of running away, and by no means limited to persons. A piece of ice propelled across the surface of a frozen pond "scoots.")

**shack**: a tramp.

**sight unseen**: "blind swap"; without seeing articles beforehand.

**shillin**: a "long" or "Yankee shillin" = 16 $\frac{2}{3}$  cents; a "York shillin" = 12 $\frac{1}{2}$  cents.

**short rows**: in a field not quite rectangular, planted in rows, there will be a few rapidly shortening rows at the end which hoe off with surprising

rapidity after the rest are done. Hence the proverbial expression "gittin' into the short rows" = nearly finished.

**skunk**: a mean, contemptible fellow. Much more opprobrious than *bugger*, *coot*, *cuss*, etc.

**skunk blackbird**: the bobolink.

**sojer**: [19, 79, 218.] Does not this use of the word come from the old militia "training days," when "soldiering" was the occasion for more or less fun, and no great amount of serious work?

**spunk**: only in sense of *pluck*. *Punk* as name of fungus. [232.]

**spunky**: angry, irritated.

**square**: used in "three-square" = *triangular*, "eight-square" = *octagonal*, etc.

**stub**: used like *stag* (which also occurs in same sense [70]).

**stoop**: porch or small veranda (with roof) [exact definitions from all sections of *stoop*, *porch*, *veranda*, *gallery*, *piazza*, and *balcony* would be interesting].

**stout**: strong (of muscle). Never used = corpulent. In that sense the word is *pussy* [342], or *fat*.

**swat** (swot): to strike or slap.

**switchel**: drink made of molasses, water, and ginger (with or without vinegar). [See Webster, and **belly-whistle** in *Jerseyisms*.]

**teeter**: to see-saw, oscillate up and down. Used of the children's sport with plank and fulcrum, and in composition in a popular name for the sand-piper.

**throw up**: vomit. "Throw up one's boots" [cf. 233]. The word *vomit* is or was little used. *Puke* was in perfectly good standing till comparatively recent times; I never heard my grandmother (1795-1869) use any other word. When this began to be considered vulgar, a euphemism was sought rather than another plain word substituted.

**tother**: the other. A good old form, still in common use.

**wench**: a negro woman. (Often "nigger-wench.")

**winkum**: cider brandy.

E. H. BABBITT.

[Mr. Grandgent reports the following words of the list as current in the same sense in Massachusetts: *bub*, *coot*, *connip-tion fit*, *ea*, *fall*, *gob*, *gullop* (with pron. *goləp*), *hard-pan*, *hist*, *holler*, *hunk*, *on* (for *of*), *pussy*, *sass*, *skunk*, *spunk*, *teeter*, *throw up*, *tother*.]

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## THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SOCIETY.

THE annual meeting for 1893 was held at Columbian University, Washington, D. C., on Friday, December 29, at 2 P.M. The President of the Society, Professor Garnett, being unable to attend the meeting, the Vice-President, Professor Elliott, presided. Committees were appointed to examine the Treasurer's accounts (Mr. E. H. Babbitt and Dr. M. D. Learned), and to nominate a list of officers for the year 1894 (Professors J. W. Bright, H. A. Todd, H. C. G. von Jagemann). The former committee later reported that the accounts had been examined and found correct, and the latter reported the following list of officers for 1894, which was approved: for President, Edward S. Sheldon, Cambridge, Mass.; for Vice-President, Charles H. Grandgent, Cambridge, Mass.; for Secretary, E. H. Babbitt, New York, N. Y.; for Treasurer, L. F. Mott, New York, N. Y.; for the Editing Committee, the Secretary, George Hempl, Ann Arbor, Mich., and O. F. Emerson, Ithaca, N. Y.; for the Executive Committee, in addition to these officers, M. D. Learned, Baltimore, Md., J. M. Manly, Providence, R. I., and H. R. Lang, New Haven, Conn.

The reports of the Secretary and the Treasurer were read as follows:—

## SECRETARY'S REPORT FOR 1893.

In January of this year Part V of *DIALECT NOTES*, concluding the publications for 1892, was ready for distribution and was sent to all members of that year. The price of additional copies of this part for members of 1892 has been set at forty cents. The list of such members printed in Part VI, the only regular publication of the Society for 1893, shows a loss of eight in our numbers, as compared with the list for 1891 published in Part V, and the number now on the list for 1893 shows a still further decrease, the total now being one hundred and forty-eight.

In January also the invitation to the Dialect Society to take part in the Congress of Philologists at Chicago by holding a meeting there, under the auspices of the World's Congress

Auxiliary of the Columbian Exposition, was accepted by the Executive Committee, and in February notice was accordingly sent to members of the Society that it was intended to hold a special meeting in Chicago at some time in the week ending July 15, 1893, at which papers should be read and discussed. In June it was further announced that this Chicago meeting would be held in the Art Institute, Adams Street and Michigan Avenue, on Friday, July 14, at 3 P.M., and papers by Professor Carruth (*The Language used to Domestic Animals*), Mr. Grandgent (*Haf and Hæf*), Professor Hempl (*Loss of R in English through Dissimilation; Squint and Squinny*), and Professor Geddes (*Specimens of an Acadian Dialect spoken on the North Shore of Chaleurs Bay*) were announced. All these papers except the last, the substance of which will probably appear elsewhere, are printed in Part VI of DIALECT NOTES. The Secretary was not present at the Chicago meeting, but is informed that the programme was gone through in regular order and that the meeting was an interesting one.

Part VI of the NOTES also contains a *List of Verbs from Western Connecticut* by Mr. E. H. Babbitt, of Columbia College, and a short paper by the Secretary, entitled *What is a Dialect?* Besides this part, members also receive a small amount of additional printed matter, Mr. Grandgent giving copies of *Off and On*, published by the Phonetic Section of the Modern Language Association, and the Secretary distributing copies of his article, *Further Notes on the Names of the Letters*, published in the *Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, II.

E. S. SHELDON, *Secretary.*

### TREASURER'S REPORT FOR 1893.

*From December 28, 1892, to December 29, 1893.*

#### RECEIPTS.

4 membership fees for 1892 . . . . .	\$4 00
141 membership fees for 1893 . . . . .	141 00
4 membership fees for 1894 . . . . .	4 00
Sale of publications . . . . .	28 50
Left over from 1892 . . . . .	67 81
Total . . . . .	<u>\$245 31</u>

## EXPENDITURES.

Printing and mailing three notices of meetings . . . . .	\$10 00
Stamps and stationery . . . . .	11 00
Printing DIALECT NOTES, V (1892) . . . . .	115 90
Total . . . . .	\$136 90
On hand, December 29, 1893 . . . . .	\$108 41

C. H. GRANDGENT, *Treasurer.*

After the adoption of these reports the Secretary's paper (*What is a Dialect?*), published in Part VI of DIALECT NOTES, was proposed as a subject for discussion, and Mr. Babbitt opened the discussion by asking the Secretary to repeat the main points of the paper, as the copies of Part VI had not been as yet received by all members. The Secretary did so, and Mr. Babbitt then said there were two distinctions to be made in speaking of dialects in this country. In the older parts of the United States there was something more closely corresponding to dialects in Europe, in those parts of the East and South where modern means of communication were not much used,—not, for example, in the cities,—in what had been called speech-islands. If we use the word *dialect* in speaking of these places, then what shall we call the differences between educated people in New England, the South, etc.? We have, in the East and South, in the parts settled before modern means of communication came into use, the descendants of the dialects of those who settled these districts; yet there is seldom such continuity as in Europe, for the settlers came in general, though not always, from different parts of England. In New England these older dialects have contributed to the formation of a fairly uniform variety of English, which differs distinctly from that of the New York region, as this again differs from the English used farther west or farther south. In the hill districts these older dialects are still to a great extent preserved, though the distinctions are constantly diminishing. So too in New York, less so in the South. In the West have met people from all over the country and their descendants, though the movement has in general been on east and west lines. In the Mississippi valley there is a pretty uniform speech. In the settling of the remoter West

there was a still further mixture. There is now an almost absolute uniformity north and west of the Ohio River, which is the most marked line of division, the territory northwest of the Ohio containing a population of about thirty million, or about forty-seven per cent of the population of the United States. Here individual differences are greater than any local differences. Thus for America the question is somewhat simplified. There are no horizontal dialect distinctions, no differences according to strata of society, no dialects of the lower classes, which, so far as they exist, are made up of foreigners and are of a shifting character. Only in the older large cities, as New York, are there traces of what may be called vulgar dialects.

Dr. Learned said that in the matter of definitions we are allowed to disagree, and he was not in agreement with the Secretary. He thought there was properly no dialect of a guild or trade; it was the same language, though there are of course differences of vocabulary. English had thus far been mostly spoken of, but there are other languages spoken in this country. There are distinctive German dialects here. In Berks County, Pennsylvania, was a dialect differing in phonology, vocabulary of common life, and idiom from the German spoken in Lancaster and York counties. We can trace the immigrants to their former homes on German soil, and see one trend of speech traditions transported to this country, not much altered in phonology, though altered in vocabulary, and essentially the same as in the German home. There are varieties of dialect, and a process of levelling of sharp provincialisms has gone on. A dialect might be called a phonologically and morphologically definite form of speech proceeding in its direct line of historical growth. It is proper to speak of the New England dialect, of the Virginia dialect, and of the Swabian dialect, if districts where such a dialect is spoken exist, as they do. He disagreed with Mr. Babbitt as to the existence of a population of thirty million with the same dialect. From this number must be subtracted the millions of Germans, the many Norwegians, and Danes in the region referred to. Those who did not bring with them English speech must be excluded.

Mr. Babbitt replied that he did not mean that all the thirty million spoke the same dialect; those who do not speak English should not be counted. But the children of these learn English from their playmates, no matter what their parentage is. We

must also eliminate the negro population of the South in making a comparative estimate, and the percentage would then probably be about what he had already indicated.

At 3 P.M. the meeting adjourned.

E. S. SHELDON.

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- J. A. Tufts, Phillips Exeter Academy, Exeter, N. H.  
W. M. Tweedie, Mt. Allison College, Sackville, N. B.  
W. Tytler, Collegiate Institute, Guelph, Ontario, Canada.  
Miss May Van Horn, Ann Arbor, Mich.  
A. Van Name, New Haven, Conn.  
E. L. Walter, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.  
F. M. Warren, Adelbert College, Cleveland, Ohio.  
R. L. Weeks.  
E. E. Wentworth, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.  
B. I. Wheeler, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.  
A. C. White, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.  
† W. D. Whitney, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.  
Howe A. Williams, Ann Arbor, Mich.  
Rev. E. B. Willson, Salem, Mass.  
R. W. Willson, 64 Brattle St., Cambridge, Mass.  
B. D. Woodward, Columbia College, New York.  
Worcester Public Library, Worcester, Mass.  
J. H. Wright, 6 Riedesel Ave., Cambridge, Mass.  
Miss Elizabeth Young, Ann Arbor, Mich.

[Total, 182.]



# DIALECT NOTES.

## PART VIII.



### IN GENERAL.

THE increase of public interest which followed the 1894 circular and the newspaper work, as stated in the Secretary's report for 1894 (p. 402), has been fully maintained. Our membership is now 258. Much material has been sent in, and the latest received has generally been better selected and better arranged than earlier contributions. The Secretary has spent on an average something like an hour a day in answering various communications. Many have asked for more definite instructions for collecting and sending material, and the Executive Committee have decided to issue a circular to meet this demand, which is reprinted herewith, and will be sent to all members, in the same way as the 1894 circular, for distribution. It is particularly desired that any members who can bring the matter to the notice of the press shall make efforts to have the circular, or parts of it, widely reprinted and circulated in that way. Our work has a good deal of interest for the newspaper reader, and the editors of almost any paper will give us space if the matter is properly presented to them. For instance, we received through a clipping bureau more than fifty notices or articles in consequence of the meeting in New York mentioned below. We are just now at a point where a large increase in membership is possible, if our members will bear the matter in mind and proselyte vigorously. Such an increase would place money enough at our disposal to pay for the clerical work necessary to keep our material in good shape, and to branch out somewhat, for instance, in the way of sending circulars like Professor Hempl's. There is a great deal of work in sending circulars, tabulating results, etc., which any intelligent typewriter or library hand can do, under proper supervision, just as well as a college professor whose time is much more valuable. The money spent

in this way, in pursuance of the vote of the Society at the last meeting, has enabled us to have all our material, printed and unprinted, entered as described in the circular (p. 362), at an expense of about \$75, which includes the cost of the plate for the outline map. We can furnish sheets from this plate, such as we use, to any local circle or individual who needs them.

Just after the last meeting we received communications from the English Dialect Society regarding their proposed dictionary, asking us to take charge of the collection of whatever American material they use. After some correspondence with their secretary and with our active members, the Secretary felt authorized to promise them the use of whatever material we have on hand, to be sent them from our records for each volume at the last moment before they go to press, and to promise whatever coöperation our members should feel able and willing to give in the way of reading and excerpting printed matter for their dictionary. A letter on the subject was printed in the *Nation*, part of which was as follows:—

“Besides the collection of material now going on, an important new line of work is the reading and excerpting of all the dialect matter already printed in this country, and editing it for dictionary use. Besides the books written wholly or partly in dialect, many newspapers, legal documents, old letters, etc., show occasional interesting local usages, and are worth watching. The more active members of the society have been in consultation for some time regarding this work, and ask the coöperation of the public in doing it. So far as it is perfected, the plan may be outlined as follows: A committee of the society will have supervision of the whole work, and decide what books shall be excerpted, and who shall do each one. This is absolutely essential to avoid duplication of work and other waste of energy. All persons who know of any books or other printed matter which they think may be useful, are requested to send full titles, with date and publisher as far as possible, to the secretary, who will take charge of the matter for the present. A list will be made up from these and others already known to the committee, and their value will be examined by competent persons. Those decided upon as important for the work will be assigned to the readers who volunteer. A list of such persons will be kept, and full directions for doing the work will be given with the assignment of the books.

It is desired that each book shall be read, so far as possible, by persons native to the region where the dialect used in the book is current. Preferences expressed as to the choice of work will be regarded so far as possible. The work is likely to be better done if the readers who are within reach of each other are organized into local clubs, working under the supervision of some one who is better informed than the average on the relations of the subject; such a club could be formed, for instance, at almost any town

where there is a college or other educational institution, to work under the supervision of the instructor in English. Such clubs can be made headquarters also for the old work of collecting material from the spoken language, and can be kept up after the reading work is done."

It seemed safe to announce that a committee would be put in charge of the matter, and it is proposed to bring up at the next meeting the question of appointing a special committee for this work, and issuing a circular giving definite instructions for doing it.

This meeting will be an important one, for beside this matter, action is to be taken on the amendment to the constitution providing for life memberships, and the question of issuing circulars of questions is to be discussed, and a committee appointed to take charge of it if the matter is brought so far along.

The matter of local circles has made encouraging progress. There were already such at Ithaca and Ann Arbor; one has been formed at Minneapolis, and one at New York, and others are in contemplation or already organized. The New York circle was organized through a public meeting duly announced in the newspapers, at which addresses were made by active members, and a committee was appointed to arrange for a second meeting for definite organization. The same plan could be followed in any large city, and the attention called to it through the press is likely to bring, as it did in this case, members and contributions of material from outside the limits of the local organization.

A matter which we are about ready to take up now is the foundation of a library for the Society. A few books have been sent us already by their authors or publishers, and the English society offer us a large number of their own publications and duplicates. It would be a great convenience to the editors if all the special dictionaries and monographs bearing on our work were at their elbows. If any of the members can contribute anything in the way of books or otherwise toward this end, it will be gladly received. The matter will probably come up at the December meeting.

E. H. BABBITT, *Secretary.*

## THE AMERICAN DIALECT SOCIETY.

THE Society, in November, 1894, issued a circular calling attention to its work and asking for public coöperation. Efforts were also made to bring the Society to the notice of the public through the press. Results have shown that the field in which the Society works is of almost universal public interest, and the very genuine and hearty coöperation called forth leads to the issue of this circular, giving more specific directions for the work.

The plan of work has from the outset been based on the idea of a *large membership*. This essential condition has so far not been realized, but seems now to be a probability in the near future. The wish was expressed last November that the membership might be doubled. This has now (July, 1895) very nearly been done, and the accessions still continue. There is no reason why the members should not be numbered by the thousand, for it has become very evident that almost every educated person takes an interest in the work and is willing to help it along. For instance, a single article in the *New York Sun* brought over a hundred communications, some of them containing valuable material. Every writer of one of those might well be a member. A member has two distinct functions: to contribute material for the Society's work, and to contribute the nominal annual fee to cover the expenses of the work. If a member fulfils only the latter function he is nevertheless valuable, and any person who wishes the Society well to the extent of a dollar a year is cordially welcome. But of course very many persons will desire to take a more or less active part in the collection of material, and such persons, if they become members, are kept informed, by the receipt of all our printed matter, of what the Society is doing, and at the same time reminded of their share in the work and told how to do it.

The ideal result, to which we could get a fair approximation with a membership large and active enough, would be a *complete record of American speech-forms in our day*, say in 1900. This would form when published an authoritative dictionary of American usage, which would supersede all other work in that line, and

remain the standard reference book till usage changes so far as to require a revision. If only the material can be got together and put away for future use, the editing and publishing could wait until means are found to accomplish it.

As was said last year, the study of pronunciation is too difficult a matter for the average person, and must be left to the specialists. Very many of these are members of our society, and this side of the work is by no means being neglected, but is in good hands, and solid results may be expected after the reasonable time which must always be given for any thorough scientific work. Reports of varying pronunciations are, however, often of great use, and will be thankfully received and recorded if they are found valuable. The principal work, however, for most of the members is in lexicography. Some specific directions as to gathering material have been asked for by many persons. The steps necessary to get at a complete account of a word or usage for our purpose are somewhat as follows:—

- (1) To ascertain and make public the fact that the word is used, or supposed to be used, in a special or local way.
- (2) To get reports from a sufficient number of reliable observers in different places to determine the extent of such usage.
- (3) To collate and publish the results.

The first of these steps is perhaps the most difficult, for the amateur observer at least. Most people use words as they have always heard them used, without ever considering whether their usage is local or peculiar, and are disposed to be resentful if any one else says it is. It is only when they meet people from other localities that they notice differences of usage, and then they incline to be simply amused at what they consider the mistakes of the others, without taking further interest in the matter, often without knowing that there can be any scientific interest in it. Now the chances are that if two persons of ordinary education have different expressions for the same idea, one at least of the expressions is worth noting for our society. A glance at one of the large dictionaries will often tell which one, if either. But just here arises another difficulty. A large dictionary is an *inclusive* work; it aims to give all current usages under each word, and often does so without specifying minutely as to the locality or authority of each usage. A person therefore who has

made a large collection of words and usages which are new and interesting to him, generally finds on going over the list with the dictionary that nine-tenths of it is apparently already commonplace to the dictionary-makers. The Century Dictionary is especially full on American usage. Moreover, there are special works on Americanisms (Bartlett, De Vere, and Farmer are the most extensive), and if these are consulted the list dwindles most astonishingly. Accordingly, our enthusiastic collector finds his ardor dampened to such a degree that he concludes that the one or two, or half-dozen, really unrecorded things that he has are not worth sending. Now this is a great mistake. The chances are much greater that the whole original list would have been welcome. A really new word is not a common occurrence in language; unless a word is the most unmitigated slang, it is pretty sure to have a place in some general or special dictionary. It is therefore special uses of already known words which are chiefly to be observed. These may be words which are obsolete or no longer generally used in the literary language, or there may be special developments of meaning for words familiar in their usual sense. The former will be given in the dictionary, often without comment or simply marked "Obs." The latter are sometimes so near the border-line of slang that they are not given in the large dictionaries, though many of them are to be found in the special works. It is seldom, however, that a very thorough account of them is given anywhere. The large dictionaries define the usage and label it "U. S.," or at most "Local U. S." The special works say "New England," "Southern," or "Western," and rarely go any farther. The Dialect Society aims at a much more definite account than this. It would be possible, with a sufficient number of reports, to indicate on an outline map of the United States the exact area where each word or usage which we investigate is current. We have actually begun on such a plan. The scheme mentioned in last year's circular for entering our material has been perfected and put into operation. We have a set of cards, on each of which is an outline map of the country. When a word is reported it is entered with its definition and locality and the initials of the contributor, whose letter is put on file. At the same time a mark is made on the map to indicate the locality. If it is reported from any locality that a word mentioned as used elsewhere is not used there, another kind of mark is made. When anything on the cards is

printed in DIALECT NOTES, the page number is entered on the card. We have thus a complete index of everything that we have printed, as well as a storehouse of material for future printing, in such accessible form that, if the plan is fully carried out, it is really the manuscript of the future great American dictionary, so far as it contains usages which are not in the standard dictionaries. Of course a complete investigation of the subject would require treatment of all the words in Bartlett and the other special works, and of all words given as American in the large dictionaries. The Society cannot undertake so extensive a task at present; but many of the words we have published are found in the dictionaries (especially as the dictionaries that have come out since we began to publish have used our material), and if we have a thorough working organization for handling the new material, it will be a relatively easy matter to go over the rest when we are ready to take it up. Meanwhile nothing that comes to us is lost. A report as to the occurrence or non-occurrence in any locality of any word marked "Local U. S.," in the Century, or "Southern," "Western," etc., in Bartlett, or of any word not found in the dictionaries, is welcome. To be sure, the latter class is likely to contain much that is mere ephemeral slang, but we have had cases where a correspondent sent with much hesitation a word which he was not sure was current outside of his own family, which proved to be in some of the dictionaries, and quite worthy of our attention. Just where we shall draw the line in the matter of slang is a troublesome question. In publishing we try to be somewhat conservative on this point; but, on the other hand, we do not want anything to escape us which may turn out to be worthy of record, and therefore are glad to receive notice of any expression that seems to be current among any considerable number of persons, and to stand for a pretty definite idea, for which it is, under the circumstances, an adequate expression. We do not expect to publish all the matter of this kind which we receive; but it will go on record with the rest, and if any such expression is reported from different quarters, we will call attention to it and see how far it is known.

A few examples will illustrate some of the above points.

People often see for the first time on some occasion of moving into a new region a small, shallow tub called a *keeler*. This looks like dialect material, and it is often sent in by our correspondents; but the word is in all the dictionaries, and means the same thing

wherever English is spoken; it is only the thing itself which is not used everywhere. The words *piggin* and *noggin*, on the other hand, designating other small wooden domestic utensils, have some local variations in meaning; and a person's use of the words *pail*, *bucket*, and *kettle* is often almost sufficient to determine what part of the country he comes from. *Blickey* is another interesting word in this group. It was strictly a New York word, from a Dutch word meaning sheet-metal, and meant a tin pail; but the word has spread and its meaning has extended, and a *wooden blickey* is now common enough in New Jersey.

When plain-woven cloth is caught on some sharp point, a right-angled rent, following the weaving, is often made. There is no good literary English word for this pretty definite idea. There is a good Dutch word, which in the form *winklehawk* has been current for generations about New York; it has been reported once in the form *nicklehawk*. From New England we have *trappatch* (probably *trap-hatch*) and *barn-door* used to express the idea; and very likely we shall have others now that we have begun.

Bartlett says that *bucket* is used instead of *pail* "in the South and West." He gives *winklehawk*, and the *Century* has taken the word on his authority; but he has not *trappatch* nor *barn-door*. He also gives *blickey* as a tin pail only. Now Bartlett is better authority for New York than for any other region; it is easy to see how much we can add to his material even there, and elsewhere we can find things that none of the special dictionaries have touched.

There is a good old verb *beal*, corresponding to the noun *boil*, and meaning to suppurate. Murray says this is "obsolete except in Scotland"; but we have it reported from Western Pennsylvania.

If we had been working twenty years ago, we should probably have had on our lists a word of probable Indian origin, current to a limited extent in parts of New England, used humorously to mean an important man (at least in his own estimation). This word happened to express an idea which came forward in the presidential campaign of 1884, and is now an integral part of the language, and appears in the *International* and the *Century*, from the latter of which this history of *mugwump* is taken.

Having brought forward a word for investigation, we need for the second stage of the process a large number of persons who are intimately acquainted with the current usage of certain local-

ities. Here the best results come from a sort of people somewhat different from those who are quickest to report new uses. The ideal man for the "checking" of reports is one who was brought up in the locality whose dialect is to be studied, and knows thoroughly what is, and especially what is not, current there. If he has later lived elsewhere and made a study of language in any way, so much the better; but any intelligent person who has really spoken and thought in the dialect of a region can answer with yes or no the question whether such and such a usage is current there, with much more certainty than any outsider. (Whoever has studied the dialect novel has ample evidence of this.) The best way to get results is to put such direct questions to the right people. Professor Hempl has tried this in the form of a circular, and the returns justify the belief that if the Society could issue such circulars freely, covering not only the newer words, which we are now most carefully studying, but also the words in Bartlett and elsewhere which are not thoroughly treated, the results would give as authoritative a statement of the actual condition of American speech as could possibly be obtained. Some work in this direction is now under consideration, and will be carried as far as circumstances justify it; but this need make no difference to any one who has anything to contribute.

Finally, the preparation of the material for publication belongs chiefly to the Editing Committee, but a good deal can be done before it reaches them to make their task lighter. There is a large amount of mere clerical work which can be minimized by sending communications in convenient form. Every word must be looked up in the dictionaries by somebody, and the correspondents can often do this as well as the editors. It was in our original plan to have local branch circles at places where the reference books are accessible, and where the matter could be somewhat sifted and put in order before being sent to headquarters. These were slow in getting started, but there are several doing active work now, and we hope that many others will be formed. A few persons almost anywhere who are accustomed to doing intellectual work together can take up this matter, if they are interested in it, with pleasure and profit. It can be made a topic for many of the countless literary societies which already exist among us. Such a group could take a membership in the name of one of the party, and thus receive the publications, and could meet occasion-

ally and compare notes, put their material in order, and send it to the secretary of the nearest local branch, or of the Society, for final record and publication. Our ideal organization would be to have a large number of such small groups and individuals working in communication with a sufficient number of local centres, where the material would be put in shape and sent to the Editing Committee.

From our experience so far, we can give the following suggestions for the guidance of our contributors: —

(1) Keep a note-book for dialect words and phrases, and note everything *the first time you hear it*. What seems strange at first soon becomes familiar, and you may not think of it again. If it turns out to be already on record, there is no harm done.

(2) If you can get at the Century or the International Dictionary, or any other as complete, or at Bartlett or any other special work on Americanisms, go through your list and see if your observation has been anticipated. If you seem to have nothing to add, suppress your item, but remember that often a report as to locality is useful, even if the usage seems to be well known. If you have not the reference books, send on whatever seems noteworthy to you, and the elimination can be done later.

(3) It often saves much copying if each separate item is on a separate slip of paper. The form and size are of no great consequence, and we would rather have any kind of slips used than no slips at all. But it is a convenience to have all of the same size, and we recommend that used by the English Dialect Society, chiefly because some of our work goes to them, and they have already this size in use. They chose the size of the ordinary (English) note-paper —  $4\frac{1}{2} \times 7$  inches. The work for which they use these slips is, to be sure, mostly the entering of material from printed sources; but we also do that, and the slips are equally useful for both purposes. Blank slips with printed headings for the points to be noted are a help to the beginner and a convenience to the experienced worker. They are very inexpensive, and some of the members have had them printed for their own convenience. It would perhaps be well if each local circle should print some and furnish them to workers in their vicinity. The Secretary is prepared to furnish a few to any one who desires them. The form of some which have been printed is as follows (of course spread over  $4\frac{1}{2} \times 7$  inches): —

Word	Pronunciation
Meaning	Exact Locality
Date of Book	Author
Title	Volume, Chapter, and Page
Quotation, or use the word in a sentence	

Of course the headings referring to books will not be used for colloquial material. It is well to give the pronunciation in every case—in the Society's phonetic alphabet, if you are sure of it, otherwise by Webster's or other diacritical marks, explaining your use if there can be any doubt. Be exact as to locality; the actual town where the usage is heard is best, and a number of such actual towns is better than the general territory where they are. Any particulars as to the person or class of persons using the word are desirable. A quotation illustrating the use of the word should be sent in every case. A sentence actually heard is best; after that one made by the sender to show how he understands the use. Finally, *legibility* is all-important. Here is what the English Dialect Society says, after twenty years' experience:—

“Too much importance cannot be attached to *handwriting*, as affecting the value of the results. In transcripts of ordinary book-English the context will generally determine what word is intended if its appearance is ambiguous, but with the arbitrary and outlandish spelling, in which some strange vocable is often presented, there is little or nothing to show what the word meant really is, if it is carelessly written. Many slips sent in will prove worthless for this reason. We would, therefore, earnestly commend **EXTREME LEGIBILITY**, combined with accuracy, as the cardinal virtue of a dictionary worker.”

The present style of American handwriting is even less legible than the English, and we suffer still more than they accordingly. The only safe way is to write each letter by itself, as in print, for every unusual word. Send in your slips in alphabetical order.

A very large contribution may quite possibly take the final form of a few dots on our maps, but these dots will convey valuable information, and there is no way to make such information complete but the patient coöperation of all the workers who are willing to contribute. We therefore appeal to the American public to make this essentially national task a thorough success.

COLUMBIA COLLEGE,  
New York, August, 1895.

E. H. BABBITT, *Secretary.*

## WORD-LISTS.

It is possible that the local lists in this number are the last that it is worth while to publish. Our contributors have now "tapped" most of the localities where extensive peculiarities are to be looked for, and localisms which are at all widespread, such as those which are pretty common all over New England or the South, are likely to have been published already; so that long lists, while they are very useful as additional evidence, and are always welcome, must contain less and less of absolutely new material. A good number of such lists, each long enough to have furnished a separate article in the early days of the Society, have been incorporated in the general list in this number. Everything in those contributions has however been entered on our cards, and is thus on record for future use. Worthy of mention among them are lists from

Miss E. M. Hussey, New Bedford, Mass.

Mrs. H. W. Myrick, Springdale, Pa.

George W. Nash, Ottawa, Kan.

W. J. Lampton, Winchester, Ky.

Kimball Morrison, Chumuckla, Fla.

Miss Helen Mansfield, Gloucester, Mass.

Mrs. C. P. Scott, Worcester County, Md.

In editing the lists, we have in general endeavored to give only words that have not appeared before in DIALECT NOTES, and that seem worthy of note in some way or other. Much of the matter sent in is suggested by Professor Hempl's circular (Part VII, p. 315). All such is kept back until his material can be edited; whatever was in direct response to his questions was sent to him when received. All matter on animal calls is also reserved for use in a special article, as well as all matter on college slang, which is being carefully worked up by some of our members. We have also left out most of the matter which can be classified as mere slang, though some of this is interesting and may in the future turn out to be valuable. A few words of this sort (see *fluken*, *jucket*, *niassy*) are given, with the *verbatim* account of the contributor, as samples of the way in which words may be

caught in the very act of originating. Such words may or may not turn out to be a permanent addition to the language; but it will certainly be worth while for the Society to have such facts on record. Furthermore, all reports which deal with questions of pronunciation simply, have been kept back until the whole matter has been dealt with more scientifically, so that there may be a basis for more intelligent work in this line. Finally, and of course chiefly, all words sent in which are found in the standard dictionaries in the sense reported have been omitted, unless it seemed desirable to call attention to them on account of special meanings or locations, or in order to get fuller reports on them.

After all these eliminations, there remain about six hundred words which seem worthy of note. These are printed for the main purpose of calling attention to them and setting members and others to looking out for further information concerning them. We intend that some of them shall later form the basis of more circulars on the plan of Professor Hempl's; but meanwhile we hope that every member will consider these lists in the light of such a circular addressed to himself, and send to the Secretary of the Society, or of his local circle if he belongs to one, any further information, positive or negative, which he can contribute regarding any words in the lists. There is nothing in any of them which has not been sent in by some intelligent contributor because he thought it worth sending, and it is fair to suppose that others will take a similar interest in the matter. The whole list has been carefully compared with five dictionaries, — the International, the Century, Murray, Bartlett, and De Vere, — and contains nothing which appears in them, unless it seemed advisable to bring forward some word for more accurate information. For instance, the word *prong* in the Tennessee list is given in Bartlett as "Southern" in the sense used. But no other correspondent in the South has reported it, though it is a word that would naturally occur to any one as worthy of notice. We should therefore like to know in just what parts of the South the word is in use in that sense. Other examples in abundance will be found in the lists.

Matter on our cards which is in addition to what we have printed on words which have already appeared, is withheld until the record seems to be complete. We can probably begin before long to publish some of this, but the matter in this number is strictly confined to the initiative step of our investigation.

## TENNESSEE MOUNTAINS.

This collection contains words and usages from the mountains of Tennessee and the adjoining regions of Kentucky and North Carolina. Nearly all of it comes from Rev. H. A. Edson, who spent a year on Roan Mountain, near the line between North Carolina and Tennessee. A considerable collection by Miss Edith M. Fairchild, of Berea, Ky., has been incorporated with his, and a few scraps have been added from other sources. The two principal collections, made independently, agree almost without exception on each word which appears in both.

Professor Fruit's collection in Part II shows much similarity of usage to this neighboring dialect, and in fact some things sent by Mr. Edson had already appeared in that collection. Others are at work in this region, and no doubt we shall have much more interesting material from them.

**aim**: intend. "She *aims* to go to-morrer."

**ambuscades**: disagreements. "Him an' me had several little *ambuscades*."

**anent**: opposite. "It was *anent* two houses."

**antic**. clown, joker. "Ab Deel's a *natchul* (natural) *antic*."

**apast**: beyond. "I don't put that shootin' any *apast* him." [Cf. "apass," vb. Cent. Dict.]

**appearanced** (part. adj. from *appearance*). "She is very good *appearanced*."

**battle**: to beat.

**battling-stick**: with which clothes are beaten by the washwoman. [Cent. Dict., Murray.]

**beatenest**: for *strange* or *remarkable*. (229.) "Well, I wish I may *never*, ef you ain't the *beatenest* boy ever I *see* (saw)."

**blinky**: sour. "The vinegar is *blinky*." [Elsewhere apparently used only of things spoiled by souring, as milk. (p. 384.)]

**a body**: commonly used for *one, a person*; as "*a body* can't git along here." [Common elsewhere; cf. the Scotch song "Comin' thro' the Rye."]

**bold**: freely, plentifully. "The spring don't flow as *bold* as it did."

**brought on**: not home-made. "The clothes you have on I see are *brought on*."

**bussy**: sweetheart. "Ef you'd a ben thar you mout (might) a got a *bussy*."

**cappin'**: hulling. "Hit's mighty slow, pickin' an' *cappin'* berries."

**chaw**: hold, attachment. Of a flirt: "She's tryin' to git a *chaw* on a feller."

**clamber** (verb trans.). "*Clambering* the mountains." Cf. Shak. *Cor.* II, 1; Rasselas. [See Murray for other citations.]

**clatterments**: belongings, accoutrements. "Sam, what did you do with all the *clatterments* that belong to the mowin' scythes and the harness?"

**clinkers**: insects. "The *clinkers* are mighty thick in this yere cabin."

**coast**: region. By a mountaineer: "I live on you *coast*."

**come by**: visit. "*Come by* and stay to supper." [See p. 385 s.v. *by*.]

**come on**: for *do*. (Most common salutation.) "How do you *come on*?"

**come through**: to be converted. "Here's a mourner just *come through*, an' wants to give his experience before the church."

**confidential** (adj.): trusty. "Oh, that mule won't hurt you. He's a *confidential* mule." — (adv.) = honestly, well. "They will do your work *confidential* and right."

**corn-shucking**: corn-husking. (The latter I did not hear once among the mountains. — H. A. E.)

**crave the benediction**: *pronounce* the benediction. "Brother Johnson, will you *crave* the benediction."

**cuckold**: "She *cuckold* 'em" — of an unscrupulous but pretty woman, who made fools of neighbors' husbands.

**devilng**: bothering. "Johnny, quit *devilng* the cat."

**disremember**: do not remember. (58.) "I *disremember* to have heard any one call."

**don't guess**: do not think. "*Don't guess* I will go out to-day."

**dreggy**: turbid. "The water's *dreggy*."

**drugs**: *sequelae*, dregs. "The old woman has the rheumatiz; I reckon hit's the *drugs* of the fever."

**eats**: tastes. Of woodchuck: "It *eats* like bar (bear)."

**expose**: suppose. "I *expose* it's about a mile."

**favorites**: friends. "Me an' Abernathy is great *favorites*."

**favors**: resembles. "It *favors* awfully a wild-cat hide" (of the drum of a banjo).

**fist**: a small dog.

**fisty**: low, mean. "I'm not so *fisty* as that." (H. A. E.) = cross. "That cow is *fisty*." (E. M. F.) (64.) [See etymology in Cent. Dict., s.v. *fise-dog*, etc. Also De Vere.]

**fitified**: subject to fits. "He's very *fitified*."

**folkses**: folks, people.

**forrard**: early. "I've got some *forrard* peaches." [N. E. in sense of *ahead of season*.]

**frazzled out**: tired out.

**frog-stools**: toad-stools.

**funeralizing**: conducting a funeral service for. "The bereaved parents whom we are *funeralizing* to-day." [Bartlett and De Vere give the impression that only the deceased is "funeralized."]

**furriners**: persons not living in the vicinity.

**gawmed up**: covered with litter. "They're gitting the floor *gawmed up*." [In the dictionaries generally with somewhat different meaning.]

**givey**: unsteady. "That table's *givey*."

**glut**: wedge. (In common use.)

**a good few**: many.

**gum**: bee-hive. "Folks is goin' into church to-day like bees into a *gum*." [See Bartlett, *bee-gum*.]

**hang up**: quit work. A mower, when rain was coming on: "I reckon we'll have to *hang up* for all day."

**hänt**: ghost. (65.) "There is a *hant* in the mill."

**hardness**: ill feeling. "There's a right smart of *hardness* between them two boys."

**head** (adj.): best, chief. "That's the *head* trick I ever see."

**heap sight**: good deal or much. "I'd a *heap sight* rather stay than go."

**hit**: set fruit. "The peach trees didn't *hit* this year" — a late frost destroying the fruit.

**holler**: hollow, inside cavity. "I 'low it struck the *holler*." (Of a deep cut.)

**house**: room. This grew up from the custom of having houses of one room, or two connected by a porch, each of which rooms was called a *house*.

**Howdy!** The universal substitute for "How do you do?"

**humans**: people. (Note the very frequent use.) "*Humans* aint got no business up this yere creek." ["American." — Bartlett. "Frequent in Chapman's Homer." — Cent. Dict.]

**ill**: cross. "It's an *ill* creature" (of the woodchuck). "Them's *ill* bees." "The cow is *ill* when she is pestered." [Cf. the proverb "It's an ill wind blows nobody any good."]

**júberous**: timid. "He was *juberous* about crossing the stream." [A boy in Georgia dialect, *Major Jones' Courtship* (1843), has the form *jubous*. — C. H. G. (382, 390.)]

**knack**: familiarity, habit of staying near. "Ef them pigs gits a *kn* 'round the house, we'll hev to git shet of 'em."

**lasty**: enduring. "They's the *lastiest* blossoms in the gyarden."

**layin'**: lying in ambush. "He's a *layin'* to kill him."

**let go**: say. "The road is back yander, *let go* about a mile."

**the lēver** is the common expression at Roan Mountain for *hand-car*.

**little bit**: at all. "I don't care a *little bit*."

**long sweetning**: molasses. (In distinction from *sweetning*, q. v. below.) "Will you have some *long sweetning* from this jug?"

**love**: like. "I *love* it splendid." "Would you *love* to buy some eggs?"

**'low**: for *presume*. (68, 71, 234.) "I '*low* the crops won't be good this year."

A **lumpin' bargain**: including the whole business.

**main**: very. "I seen a *main* big rabbit to-day." "Hit's the *main* biggest rabbit ever I see."

**make a beginning**: ask the blessing. "Brother Morin, will you *make a beginning*?"

**make-do**: make-shift. "These 'ere *make-dos* are no 'count."

**manful**: vigorous(ly). "The engineer'd whistle *manful* ef he'd see us on the track."

**meet up with**: meet. "I *met up with* him a while back." "I never *met up with* a kinder hearted man."

**misery**: pain. [Common elsewhere in South and West. De Vere and Bartlett.] "I've got a *misery* in my back." Of a man suffering with scrofula: "It takes a heap o' *misery* to git the bones out of your laig (leg)."

**molasses** is usually treated as plural. "They's all gone" — the molasses. "We've only got a few" — molasses. [De Vere gives this as "Western."]

**name**: mention. "If you see him, *name* it to him."

**ninfidel**: infidel. "A *ninfidel* is worse than a hoss thief."

**nōrāte**: advertise. "We will *norate* the preaching" (i.e. announce the services to be held).

**old Christmas**: January 6th. (The day is remembered by those who never heard of Twelfth Night or Epiphany.)

**old-man**: invariably and respectfully used for *husband*. "My *old man* is plowing."

**old woman**: wife, in same way as **old man** above.

**on**: for *of* or *from*. "I won't take it *on* him." "To-morrow's *on* a Saturday."

**one** seems to be superfluous or else 'or the other' is omitted. "I will see you or send word, *one*."

**outen**: (1) out. "I can't get the sliver *outen*." (2) without. "I can't go *outen* my sunbunnit."

**owing**: lacking (in reckoning time). "Hit's *owin'* fifteen minutes to five."

**pack**: to carry. "I have to *pack* the corn to mill. ["Western," Bartlett.]

**patien'** (v.): content. "I never could *patien'* myself to keep pets."

**piedy**: spotted. "A sort of *piedy* cow."

**pigginn**: a wooden tub with a stave projecting above the rest. [Usual meaning given in the dictionaries; but some variations are reported from elsewhere, and comparisons are wanted.] "The *pigginn* is full of water."

**plum**: (1) very, (2) excellent, (3) wholly. (1) "He ought to be here *plum* soon," (2) "Ef I hed your gun, I'd hev *plum* fun," (3) "I'm *plum* done out."

**poke**: bag. "He had a *poke* of peanuts."

**pone**: hard swelling. "He's got a *pone* in his side. I reckon ef it busts inside, he'll die right now."

**popular**: stylish. "It is too bad your clothes are spoiled, for you are going among right *popular* people."

**post-an-railin'**: a kind of fence. "Won't you light an' hitch to the *post-an-railin'?*" ["A kind of open wooden fence for the protection of young quickset hedges, consisting mainly of posts and rails." — Cent. Dict.]

**pukes**: nausea, attack of vomiting. "The baby has the *pukes*."

**put yourself level on a chair**: a hospitable invitation to be seated. "Right glad to see you, come in and *put yourself level on a chair*."

**powdering**: powder. "She has got *powdering* on her face."

**prong**: branch. "I come down the other *prong* of the creek."

**protracts**: protracted meetings. "Are you going to the *protract* to-night?"

**proud**: for *happy*. "She will be *proud* to have her tooth stop aching."

**quench the spirit**: resist the Holy Ghost. "They ain't got no religion where they don't shout—they *quench the spirit* till he don't come no more."

**rest your hat**: take off your hat. "Won't you come in and *rest your hat*?"

**right smart little bit**: considerable. "I got a *right smart little bit* of roughness in for the beastis."

**rock**: stone. "I got a *rock* in my eye." (**Grind-rock** = grind-stone.)

**roughness**: coarse fodder, hay, shucks, and the like, in contrast with grain. "The horses kin stay, but we've nothin' but *roughness* fur 'em."

**scope of land**: tract of land. "My brother has a big *scope* o' land."

**scoot**: slide.

**scribing**: writing.

**scrouge**: crowd. "Oh, we *scrouge* 'em up."

**set to**: to court. "Jim is going to *set to* his girl."

**shaller**: shallow. "She's started it too *shaller*" — of a tune pitched too high.

**shattered corn**: broken corn.

**get shet on**: get rid of. "I can't *get shet on* that dog."

**shore nuff**: certainly, without fail. "Are you going, *shore nuff*?"

**skillet**, defined as follows: "Is that a skillet?" "We call it a *fry-pan*." "What is a skillet, then?" "Why, a skillet is a *fry-pan with legs*."

**smoke wagon**: train. "Next time you come, perhaps the *smoke wagon* will bring you."

**smouch**: kiss.

**snack**: *bite* or *bit*. "Will you give me a *snack* of something to eat?"

**snack houses**: restaurants. "There's a right chance o' *snack houses* down to Bakervul (Bakerville)."

**some several**. "Are there many squirrels this season?" "Yes, there's *some several*."

**soon** (adj.): early. "We'll have a *soon* supper."

**sop**: gravy. "We like bread and *sop*."

**spraddle out**: sprawl. To a baby: "Crawl along and *spraddle out*."

**squander** (v. intrans.). "They jes *squandered* and lit out." (Cf. Introduction, *Rob Roy*, p. 11.)

**stepped back**: retreated. Of a soldier: "He never *stepped back* once, 'less the officers ordered it."

**study**: talk, discuss, consider. [Also reported from Md.] "I *studied* about her hair to my man when I got home."

**sunrise water**: water flowing from the east.

**sweetening**: sugar. "Will you have *sweetening* in your tea?"

**sweltersome**: sweltering.

**talkenest**: most talkative. "She is the *talkenest* woman I ever saw."

**talkin' to**: courting. "Judge Jackson's son has been *talkin'* to my daughter nigh on a year."

**this he(r)-way and that-a-way**: for *this way* and *that way*. [Familiar to the editors. Evidently from *this here* and *that there*.] "Ef the world's as big every way as she is *that-a-way*, she's a whopper."

**tolerable** (pron. always *toləbl*): rather. "It is a *tolerable* hot dáy."

**tooth-brush**: snuff-stick (used in "dipping").

**uses**: lives, makes his home. "That's whar the bar *uses*." "These chickens *uses* round the place."

**varmint**s: wild animals. "He lay out among the *varmint*s" — of one hiding from recruiting officers during the war.

**way yander**: very much, exceedingly. "Do you 'low ef we know'd all we know now, an' hed all the book-larnin' o' them folks on the hill, thet we'd be up with 'em?" "Yes, I do. I reckon if we know'd all we know now, an' hed all the book-larnin' them folks has, we'd be ahead of 'em *way yander*."

**weddiners**: the bride and groom, with the wedding party.

"**what fer of country** is it?" — a question to one returning from the Far West. (70.) [*Of* here may be simply *a*. The pronunciation is likely to be *hwot fərə* in both cases; and in trying to pronounce carefully *hwot fərəv* might be used through a misconception.]

**wreck** (v. intrans.). "The bed *wrecked*" — fell down in a heap. (Of a mishap in a mountaineer's cabin.) [Cf. Milton, *P. R.* II, 228.]

**you all**s: for *you*. "*You alls* come by and see us."

### Pronunciation.

Several general features of the pronunciation are indicated by the examples above. Present participles are in *n*, instead of *ŋ*, as in other dialects. The front variety of *g* and *k* are used as in other parts of the South, giving the pronunciation represented by *kyah*, *gya(r)den*, etc. From some of the examples it would appear that *r* after vowels is, at least sometimes, pronounced. Short *e* is lengthened in many words like *leg*, *fresh*, etc. The most interesting thing (reported by both collectors as a special feature) is the use of a vowel in plurals and the third singular of verbs, giving such forms as *costes*, *vestes*, *postes*, *nestes*, etc. No examples were sent of this usage except after *t*.

Some other words reported individually are the following: —

**Afeard** (not strictly a case of pronunciation), **Babtist**, **Bakerv**<sup>1</sup> (= Baker-ville; so **Knoxv**l), **banjer** (banjo), **bed-kivers**, **chimley**, **contráry**, **cur-rantses** (currants), **difficulty**, **ef** (if), **epitap**, **frail** (flail), **gíneral**, **git**, **hev**, **hótel**, **jes** (just), **Kerlín**y, **mounting** (mountain), **onct**, **twíct**, **píaner**, **pore** (poor), **purty**, **quile** (coil), **settlemént**, **summons** (for *summonsed*), **summoned** (to court), **sunthin**, **thar**, **turcles** (turtles), **Ténnessee**, **whelts** (welts).

<sup>1</sup> **l** = syllabic *l*.

*Grammatical Forms, etc.*

Most of these are known elsewhere, but are given to show what is in this dialect, and to call out comparisons.

**ary** and **nary** = *any* and *none* (*e'er a* and *ne'er a*, according to Cent. Dict.). *Ary other* shows how completely the old sense has been lost.

**as**: for *than*. "I would rather see you *as* him."

**chee**, singular; **cheese**, plural.

**come**: for *came*, pret.

**fotch**: for *fetch*ed.

**growed**: for *grew*.

**haint** is used for *am not*, and *is not*, as well as for *have not*.

**heap o'** = many.

**hit** = *it*. Sometimes used with almost the force of a demonstrative; e.g. a native, on seeing a trolley car, points first to the car and then to the trolley, and asks, "Does *hit* run *hit*, or *hit* run *hit*?"

**holp** (pron., generally *hōp*) = helped (68, 71, 234).

**must** = shall. (Invariably used for questions.)

**prize** = *pry*. (Very general.) [An interesting word. See the dictionaries.]

**scringe** = cringe.

**seed** = saw.

**slep** = slept.

**squez** = squeezed.

**swinge** = singe.

**swole** = swollen.

**taken** = took (pret. and p.p.; invariable use. — E. M. F.).

**them** = those.

**throwed** = thrown.

**went** = gone.

A few specimens of exclamations and the like, quoted by Mr. Edson, are added as specimens of the dialect.

"Law sakes! I wish I may never."

"I never seen nary 'thout that wasn't one."

"Where's that boy? He went off and never said dog."

"I'll be dad gummed if I tech that!"

"Gee buck! See all them bees drowned in the honey!"

"Daoust them oxen."

"Drat their hides!"

"Well, if it ain't the purtiest critter ever I seen!"

"You measure your miles with a coon's hide, the tail throwed in every time."

"Sickness is mighty interruptin'."

- “O! that did tickle me so good.”  
 “I’m the-fellow-that-got-cut’s brother.”  
 “We’ve ben havin’ a gosh wet spell.”  
 “Hit’s too-my-goodness cold!”  
 “Nealy’s ben cryin’ the tales to me” (telling tales).

## NEW BRUNSWICK, NOVA SCOTIA, AND NEWFOUNDLAND.

This list contains words collected by Prof. W. M. Tweedie, of Sackville, N. B. He sent in a very long list, some of it very interesting as reports of usages which are attributed to other regions; but in pursuance of our plan to publish only new matter in this number, we have left the rest to be entered on our cards and published later along with other reports on the same words.

After Professor Tweedie’s list was in type, he sent us a copy of a casual publication issued at St. Johns, containing a collection of Newfoundland words made by Rev. William Pilot, a clergyman resident there. There is much good material in the collection, though in a rather chaotic condition, and we have taken the liberty to incorporate about 50 words from this list. Mr. W. A. Hervey has been kind enough to sift the matter in the article, and put it through the dictionaries.

**Abito, bito, aboideau** (abidô): A word used in connection with the dikes of the Tantramar marshes in N. B. and of the Grand Pré in N. S. It means a sluice through a dike so arranged that the water can run out of the creek at low tide, but a valve automatically closes the passage when the tide is coming in. Of obscure origin. (See a letter by S. E. Dawson in *Montreal Star*, Aug. 9, 1889.) [Def. in *Cent. Dict.* is too general.]

**admiral**: applied to the oldest man of a settlement. [“The recognized chief commander of a mercantile fleet, as one of fishing vessels off Nfld.”—*Cent. Dict.*]

**auntsary**: a kind of catamaran turned up at both ends. [Variant of “Aunt Sarah.” Cf. “Aunt Sally,” the name given to an athletic game in vogue among the English country folk.]

**barber**: the vapor rising from the water on a frosty day.

**belly flounder**: *belly bumper*, etc., in coasting. (49, 60, 212, 214, 235, 340.)

**bet**: pret. of *beat*. (Sir Walter Scott used this form. See Lockhart’s *Life of Scott*, chap. 82.)

**billet**: wood cut up for burning. (Collective.) (Nfld.) [“Obs.” in Murray.]

**blindlers**: used for the whole bridle.

**Bluenose**: a person born in N. S.; used also with reference to New Brunswick, but not so common. [Cent. Dict. and Bartlett, "N. S. only."]

**breast plate, breast strap, breast collar**: names used in different localities for the part of a harness to which the traces are attached when collar and hames are not used.

**breastner**: a stick of wood for fuel. Cf. **burn, turn, billet**.

**brow**: logs piled on the steep bank of a stream ready to be rolled in when the spring freshet comes.

**buck** (v. trans.): to saw (wood for fuel).

**bully**: a sail-boat with two masts, used for fishing and carrying small cargoes. (Nfld.)

**burn**: a stick of wood for fuel. Cf. **turn, breastner, billet**.

**cagged**: of a man who has taken the pledge and has sworn against the *cag* (Nfld. pron. of *keg*).

**callibogus**: a beverage.

**car**: to carry. ["Prov. Eng. Kent." — Cent. Dict.]

**chastise**: to speak seriously to, to remonstrate with. Cf. Lat. *castigare*. ["To reprove, rebuke, censure. *Obs.*" — Murray.]

**chessy cat**: in phrase, "to grin like a *chessy cat*." [In Bartlett, but no locality given. Certainly not widely known.]

**clotten house**. See **tilt**, p. 381.

**clout**: a blow. [Cf. p. 396.]

**colcannon night**: almost universal in St. Johns, Nfld., for Hallowe'en. [The name is used by those who eat colcannon on that night. Others speak of it as "snap-apple night." The term Hallowe'en is not generally used.]

**conkerbill**: icicle, hanging from the eaves of a house or from a horse's nose. ["Conkabell" (*dial.*). — Murray.]

**copying**: jumping from piece to piece (Nfld. *pan* to *pan*) of floating ice that is not large enough to bear, until you reach one that is. (Nfld.)

**covel**: "Obs. form of *cowl*, a tub." — Murray.

**cracky**: a small hybrid dog.

**crunnocks**: dry wood; *e.g.*: "To spell [gather] a yafful [armful] of crunnocks [kindlings]."

**daigon**: a single ox yoked to a cart. Common in negro settlements along the south shore of N. S. Sometimes used metaphorically; "my old woman is a faithful old *daigon*."

**dancing-pumps**: light shoes, not necessarily to dance in. (O.)

**dirt**: snowy, stormy weather.

**doty, doted**: of wood, partly decayed and brittle; especially of fire-wood.

**dribble**: in marbles, to roll the marble along the ground from "taw line"; opposed to "plumping" *i.e.* hitting the marble on the top by knocking the taw.

**drug**: pret. of *drag*.

**drung**: a narrow lane leading to a pasture. (Nfld.)

**duckish**: dark, gloomy. ["A dial. transposition of *dusk*. Prov. Eng." — Cent. Dict.]

**dunch**: bread not properly baked. (Nfld.)

**dwy**: a sudden squall of wind, with rain or snow. (Nfld.)

**fairity**: fairness. [Analogy of *rarity*(?).]

**flacket**: a girl whose clothes hang loosely about her. ["Prov. Eng." — Cent. Dict.]

**floption**: in "To catch one all of a *floption*"; = to take one unawares.

**fog, fog-grass**: last year's grass standing in the fields in the spring. ["English" Cent. Dict.]

**frore**: froze. (Nfld.) (Cf. Milton's use.)

**gaffer**: a small boy: also a "boss" in a machine shop. (In latter sense common in North of England.)

**gly**: a squint or sidelong glance. [Prov. Eng. "= Scotch *gley*." — Cent. Dict.]

**gulch**: to fall heavily. ["Prov. Eng." — Cent. Dict.]

**hackle**: = haggle. [Cent. Dict. Cf. *cross-hackle* in Murray.]

**handsignment**: signature.

**head-stall**: halter, sometimes even *bridle*.

**heft** (n. and v.): weight; to estimate weight by lifting (as elsewhere).

**hefty** (adj.): weighty, important; *e.g.*: "It was not a very *hefty* speech."

**hubbles**: rough places on a road, especially when a road is frozen after being cut into ruts. ["U. S. Commoner form *hubs*, adj. *hubby*." — Cent. Dict.]

**huggerum buff**: mixture of fish and potatoes ready to fry into fish-cakes.

**hunkersliding**: acting unfairly (especially with negative, "no hunker-sliding here").

**jig, play jig**: to play truant from school.

**jigger marandy**: like *thingumbob*, etc.; name for something when the correct word is forgotten.

**juniper**: the hackmatack tree.

**Labrador tea**: a shrub, the leaves of which are used by the country people instead of tea.

**larrigan**: a kind of moccasin made of prepared oiled leather; used chiefly by lumbermen in the woods.

**leaf**: brim of a hat. (Nfld.)

**leary**: faint, weak. (Nfld.) "It was such a long way that I got *leary*."

**Linder**: an undershirt. [Cf. Icelandic *lindi*, a girdle.]

**lifted**: stolen. [See the dictionaries.] Also in slang use, ejected, put out.

**Hivier**: merchant, trader.

**lolly**: ice and snow in the water along the shore. (Nfld. and N. B.) Often heard in connection with the crossing of the ice boats to P. E. I. It is the hardest kind of thing to get the boat through. [Cf. Cent. Dict. s. v.]

**longer**: a stout picket, above the average length.

**madeira**: second best class of fish.

**mourn**: want, need. "The land is mourning for manure."

**naked, starknaked**: of tea without milk or sugar, — pure, undiluted.

**nip and frizzle**: like *nip and tuck*, an even chance, a narrow escape, etc.

**nippent**: flighty, merry. (Cape Breton.)

**nor**: for *than* in comparison. "He is taller *nor* me."

**nunche**: lunch. ["Nunch. Prov. Eng." — Cent. Dict.]

**nunny bag**: lunch bag; usually made of a piece of sealskin, and used by sealers when they go off for a day.

**orts**: fodder left in crib. [Cf. etymology of *odds* in *odds and ends*.]

**pelt**: an animal's skin and fat together.

**pernickity**: "cantankerous," whimsical. [See p. 62, where *pernickely* is a misprint for -ty (see p. 217)].

**piddle**: to carry on a small business. Variant of *peddle*. [Cent. Dict. records metaphorical use.]

**plantation**: ground with buildings and improvements for fishing purposes. [Cf. Del. use: "a cultivated area of oyster-bottom." — Cent. Dict.]

**planter**: a man who settled in Newfoundland contrary to law. ["In Nfld., a person engaged in the fishery." — Bartlett.]

**practice**: in the phrase, "to pay one's practice," — to pay the customary fee to the parson or the doctor.

**press-pile**: compass. ["A pile or kench of fish. Canada." — Cent. Dict.]

**prôg, prog**: food.

**puck**: a blow.

**püt**: term of contempt; e.g. "a hard old *put*." (Used by Addison in the De Coverley Papers.) ["Old Put" was the familiar name given to the Revolutionary hero Israel Putnam of Connecticut. I always supposed that the use of the term, which is familiar enough to me as a *sobriquet*, was a localism connected with this character, but it looks as if the term were older than the character, and had been punningly applied to him. — E. H. B.]

**rampole, rampike, ranpike**: trunk of a dead tree standing after the top has fallen.

**ramshorn**: a square box for washing fish in. ["Prov. Eng." — Cent. Dict.]

**randy** (v.): to coast, slide down hill; (n.) to raise *randy*: to create a disturbance.

**raw**: to establish a *raw*, to gain a foothold, make a beginning.

**rote**: noise of waves on the shore. [See the Dictionaries.]

**savannah**: stretch of bog or moorland. (South coast of N. S.) [See etymology in International.]

**scoff** (v.): to eat hastily, devour. ["Naut. slang." — Cent. Dict.] (n.) slang word for food, formerly used here among students.

**scrammed** (with the cold): e.g. "Are you very cold?" "Yes, I am just *scrammed*." (Nfld.)

**scran**: in phrase "bad scran to you" = bad luck to you, "bad cess to you."

**scuff** (of the neck): back of the neck. [Worcester gives this as "North of England." I have heard it in Mass.; my own word is *scruff*. — C. H. G.]

**scunner against**: an aversion towards. [Known elsewhere; De Vere suggests a "corruption of *scorner*" (?) as a possible etymology. Perhaps a northern or Scandinavian word akin to *shun*. — E. S. S.]

**sheave** (v.): to hold water with the oar to stop the boat or turn more quickly. (Nfld.)

**shive, sheave, sheaf**: a thin large slice, especially of bread. "R."

**silver thaw**: a sleet storm leaving trees coated with ice.

**skiver**: used for *skewer*.

**slip one's gallows**: to break off a suspender button.

**slob**: soft snow or ice. (Nfld.)

**sloven**: a low truck wagon.

**slunk school**: to play truant.

**snake out logs**: to draw them out of the brush with a team, by a chain.

**spancel**: to fasten an animal's legs with a spancel, or fetter. ["Prov. Eng."—Cent. Dict.]

**spell**: to gather.

**starigan**: a small green fir or spruce tree, cut for firewood; common in the phrase "a load of starigans."

**strouter**: strutter. ["Obs. or prov. var."—Cent. Dict.]

**swoils, soils**: seals. Also, "to go swoiling."

**old sojer**: quid of tobacco.

**spuds**: potatoes.

**stud**: a stallion.

**swatch** (n.): hole in the ice through which seals come up; (v.) to watch for seals at the holes in order to shoot them. (Nfld.)

**taifils**: little pieces of thread scattered about where things are otherwise in order. "R."

**tilt**: a poor one-story house, built of small hewn sticks, set vertically. Also called a *clotten house*. (Nfld.)

**talqual** (of fish when sold): without sorting, just as they come; (as noun, with variant, *all qualls*) fish bought without culling. (Nfld.)

**tote up**: to add figures.

**trader**: a stranger who comes to barter.

**turn**: a stick of wood for fuel. Cf. **burn, breastner, billet**.

**twinly**: tender, delicate.

**up-a-day, up-a-daisy**: said to a child when lifting it.

**vexed**: sorry, disappointed. "I'm terribly vexed about the boy."

**water-horse**: in Nfld., after the fish has been salted long enough it is washed to remove superfluous salt and dirt. This is the *water-horse*, and fish so washed and spread on the flakes to dry is called *water-horse fish*. [Cent. Dict. **horse-pile**.]

**wax**: a game of hand-ball. (From verb *wax*, colloq. for *beat* (in a game).)

**yafful (yaffle)**: armful. ["Prov. Eng."—Cent. Dict.]

**yap**: to scold.

**yarry**: smart, quick. "He'll have to be pretty *yarry* to catch up with him." (Nfld.)

**youngster**: novice; of a new hand, old or young. [Cf. Cent. Dict: "a junior officer in a company. Fam. and col."]

## JERSEYISMS. — ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

This list contains a few more items from Mr. Lee, which have been sent since his list (Part VII, p. 327) went to press, some words collected by Rev. W. J. Skillman of Philadelphia, who is a native of New Jersey, and a few from miscellaneous sources.

**age**: to take one's age = to come to a birthday.

**anxious seat** (327): *dele* "Methodist and." (The Methodists use the term "mourner's bench.")

**bay truck**: used "along shore" for food from the bays which indent the coast; in distinction from "garden truck."

**blickey** (328): the variety is distinguished by an adjective, as "wooden" or "tin" blickey. In Vincentown and vicinity this word is used for a coat or "jumper," such as workmen wear with overalls — a Garibaldi jacket of jean.

**bounder**: to scrub or wash thoroughly (the person).

**braes** (328): the definition given should have stood, "imperfectly burned," etc., and applies to the word *brands*, which was omitted. *Braes* is to be defined as "bark partially charred that slips from the wood in a charcoal pit."

**cooster**: to "potter around," fuss. "What you been coosterin' at all day?" Also to caress, coddle.

**dike** (cf. *dicked*, 330): "on a dike" = showing one's finery in public. [See p. 387.]

**dip**: pudding-sauce.

**do-ups**: preserves.

**down country**: New York City and vicinity (Sussex Co.).

**dubersome** (330): also in form *jubersome*. (372, 390.)

**Dutch cuss**: term of contempt. Metuchen.

**footlin'**: an adjective with meaning similar to *footy* (330).

**gooseberry fool**: an old-time dish of gooseberries and eggs; eaten with cream.

**gravel** (331): also *grabble*: definition should read, "to steal potatoes without disturbing the hill."

**Halifax**. Mr. Skillman thinks that the common enough expression, "Go to Halifax!" is a survival from Revolutionary times, and meant originally "You are a Tory; go where you belong!" This, because he has heard "Go to Nova Scotia!" in the same way (and also, "Go to Haverty-grass (Havre-de-grace), which he cannot explain historically. Can any one account for this, or for "go to grass," which suggests a connection?)

**hetchel**: to tease, to call to account. Metaphor from the days of the domestic flax industry.

**homebringen**: first coming of newly married to the house of the groom's parents, where a feast was prepared and guests were invited. "Volun-

teers" (uninvited but not always unwelcome guests) often came. There was music and dancing and rather free hospitality, but no drunkenness. (See *infare*, below.)

**hull**: to gad about, wander, roam. "He went a-*hullen* all over the country." [v. Cent. Dict. *hull*<sup>2</sup>, II.]

**infare**: bridegroom's party (see *homebringen*, above). A somewhat later word than *homebringen* for the same festivity.

**jagger-wagon**: light, open farm-wagon used on the roads for light work, such as carting small truck and going for the mails. Central Burlington Co.

**kink** (332): also in sense of *pain*, "a kink in the back" = lumbago.

**kip**: young chicken. (Used also as call — "kip, kip.")

**lay-overs for meddlers**: answer to prying, curious children. "What's that, ma? Do tell, won't you?" "Why, didn't I say it's lay-overs for meddlers?" [v. Cent. Dict. *layer-over*.]

**Iobscouse**: an awkward, hulking fellow.

**loper**: a worthless, intrusive fellow.

**noggin**: a wooden dipper.

**noodeljees** (*nûdltfîz*): "noodles," — thin strips of dough like macaroni, used in soup. [Bartlett.]

**passel** (for parcel): number, quantity in general. "They acted like a passel o' hogs."

**perfect love**: an old-fashioned intoxicating drink.

**periangier** (332): should read "periauger" (pirogue).

**pick** (pique?): a spite, grudge "He's had a pick at him for months."

**pinxter**: Whitsuntide.

**pinxter-blossoms**: azalea (Albany Co.)

**riz bread**: yeast bread (not raised with soda).

**rollejees** (*rolitfîz*): chopped meat, stuffed in "sausage-skins" to be sliced and cooked. [See De Vere, p. 64.]

**side up**: to clean up, put in order (a room). (Cf. *aside*, 328.) [Also N. B. — W. M. T.]

**slank**: low place at side of river, bay, or cove, filled with water at freshet.

**slummock**: a dirty, untidy woman.

**souse**: slangy for *ears*. "Boulder your souse well" = wash your ears well.

**spack**: pork.

**springers**: cows about to calve. (C. J.)

**stirrup** (n. and v.), **stirrup oil** (n.): shoemaker's term for a whipping, or punishment administered with the stirrup, or knee-strap.

**strull**: female tramp. *Strulling* is used of women, not in the worst, but generally in no favorable sense. "She's gone *strulling* to town to-day." Sometimes used of children, without regard to sex.

**winklehawk**: triangular tear in cloth. [Cent. Dict. and Bartlett.] *Barn-door* is reported from Massachusetts in the same sense. [Cf. *trappatch*, 20, 211.]

## GENERAL LIST A.

This is the result of the work of entering our miscellaneous material as provided for by vote of the Society at the last annual meeting (see Report of Meeting). It has been subjected to a pretty rigid process of elimination (see introduction) and the line in the matter of slang has been drawn higher up, perhaps, than is always advisable (the Cornell society's list, for instance, contains words which are on our cards, but were not printed this time).

The abbreviations used in the list (as also in the others in this number) are those of Professor Hempl's circular: the usual abbreviations for states with n. = northern, c. = central, s. w. = southwestern, etc., and "O," "I," "N," "R," meaning "Old," "Illiterate," "Negro," and "Rare," as indicated in the circular.

**addition**: part of village or city laid out in addition to original plot; *e.g.* Knox's *addition* to the city of —. Used in legal papers, etc. North Mississippi Valley. [Used in N. E. generally to denote new part of house added to original building.]

**afflicted**: mentally deficient, or deformed. Worcester Co., Md.

**alamagoozlum**: maple syrup made by melting down the sugar. Sullivan and Orange Cos., N. Y.

**apple-peru**: garden rhubarb, or pie-plant. Cumberland Co., Me.

**back**: to address (a letter). West Fla. [Bartlett gives this as "Western." I have heard it in Maine, from a servant girl who came, I think, from the Provinces. — E. S. S.]

**Bad Lands**: alkali lands with bare mud buttes. West.

**bake pancakes**: to prepare the well-known American article of food on a griddle. (See discussion under *pancake*, below.)

**balm of Gilead**: slangy for money. Tenn., "N" and "I".

**barn ball**: a schoolboy's game. Otsego Co., N. Y.

**base**: (with pron. generally *bêst*) in schoolboy game "prisoner's base." Cincinnati, O.

**baum** (*bəm*): failure. "He made a baum of it." Patchogue, L. I.

**beal**: to suppurate (vb. to noun *boil*), Springdale, Pa.

**begretch**: for *begrudge*. Otsego Co., N. Y. [*begrutch* is known in W. Conn. — E. H. B.]

**biggity**: proud. S. C. [In "Uncle Remus." — C. H. G.]

**blink**: sour milk. So *blinky*, adj. (of milk), sour. Montgomery Co., Va. [See p. 370.]

**blue pony**: mouse-colored pony. West.

**bonas** (*bônəs*): in phrase "I bonas it" = "I claim it," or "I take possession of it." Mass. e.

**Boston**: a game at marbles. Mo.

**brash**: sickly, in poor health. O. e.

**breaker**: ridge of earth in hilly part of country road, to throw surface water into side ditches. Springdale, Pa. (Other names for same thing: "thank-you-ma'am," *cradle (in-the-road)*.) [In Conn. "water-butt" is the usual word; "thank-you-ma'am" is known. — E. H. B. Other names are known; reports are solicited.]

**breed**: half or quarter breed Indian. (Not used of any other race.) West.

**bridgetty**: smart and forward. Winchester, Ky.

**buckskin pony**: cream-colored pony. West.

**Bud, Buddy** (*i.e.* brother): title given to the eldest son of a family. Terre Haute, Ind. [Information wanted on the exact use of the word throughout the South. It is reported from West Fla. in the exact use given above.]

**burn**: a sarcastic remark. Student phrase in Mo. Military Academy.

**burying**: funeral. Terre Haute, Ind.; West Fla.

**butter**: fruit preserved by stewing down to a butter-like consistency. (Used in compounds such as apple-, peach-, tomato-, pumpkin-, quince-, and plum-butter.) Springdale, Pa.

**butternuts**: popular name for overalls of the common "butternut brown" denims. Kansas City, Mo.

**by** (of a house): *into* or *to*. "Come *by* my house and stay all night" = not pass by, but stop at the house. West Fla. ["Go *by*," De Vere.]

**cache**: to "make a *cache*" = to hide. West.

**cack** (cf. **tacker**, 334): like *shaver*, etc., used playfully of a child. Conn. [Cent. Dict. gives the word as a shoemaker's term for an infant's shoe. Perhaps the use reported is a metaphorical use of the shoemaker's word; or is it *vice versa*, and is the N. J. "little tacker" a little *cacker*, and the shoemaker's word from that? Fuller reports may settle this question.]

**calico pony**: piebald or spotted pony. West.

**candlelightin'**: nightfall. "Evenin' meetin' took up at early *candlelightin'*." Terre Haute, Ind.; Otsego Co., N. Y.

**canker lettuce**: the plant *Pyrola rotundifolia*; said to be a cure for "canker." Mass. w.

**can't see 'em**: Indian name for midges. Me.

**cascade** (v.): to vomit. Lexington, Va. [See De Vere, s.v. *dog*.]

**catabiassed**: out of line, irregularly arranged. Ky. w.

**cat fit**: = *conniption fit*. (341.) Albany, N. Y.

**cautch**: underdone (food). Marblehead, Mass.

**chank**: to chew noisily. Conn.

**chankings**: parings of apples and other fruits, or the core and other rejected parts of an apple. Me., Vt., Mass., Conn.

**cheesit** (n.): slang for *policeman*. Boston, Mass.

**chinaman**: cup of tea. Kansas City, Mo.

**chinees**: white clay marbles, covered with geometrical figures in colors. Boston, Mass.

**choose**: in phrase "Thank you, I would not *choose* any" — to decline a dish at table. Ind.

**chouse**: to put forcibly into. Ohio.

**Christmas**: (*a*) a Christmas gift, (*b*) anything used in celebrating Christmas; *e.g.* fireworks or potables. West Fla.

**chuck**: (*a*) food. Western. (*b*) money. Boston, Mass.

**church** (*v.*): to try or investigate before the church on the charge of some offence unbecoming a church member. Terre Haute, Ind.

**church house**: church, "meetin'-house," building used for religious services. West Fla.

**claggy**: heavy (of bread, etc). South.

**clied** (*i.e.* cloyed): surfeited, unwilling to eat more. Appears to have become an adjective in some localities, the verb having become obsolete, and then to have been taken up in this form and used as a verb. (77.) So reported from Goodwin's Mills, Me. [In W. Conn. the use of the verb and of the participle as adjective presents nothing remarkable; even the current pron. *klai* is quite in line with other words in the dialect. — E. H. B.]

**coarsen** (*v. intrans.*): to become coarse. Gardner, Mass.

**coker-sack**: a sack of heavy stuff for corn, bran, etc. West Fla.

**colly over** = *haily over* (341); "**colly up**," same or similar game in which the ball is thrown against the side of the building, or on the sloping roof, and caught on return. Needham, Mass.

**come-by-chance**: illegitimate child. Cape Cod.

**come in** (of cows): to calve. Conn.

**comeny**: = *haw*; turn to the left (in driving oxen). Winchester, Ky.

**comprompo**: a Frenchman. (Suggested derivation from "(ne) comprends pas.") Moosehead Lake, Me. [Derivation pretty certainly correct. — E. S. S.]

**contra'ry**: stubborn. Eastern O.

**coof**: local term for all "off-islanders." Nantucket, Mass. [Cf. *kûf*, p. 8.]

**cooter**: land turtle. Warren Co., Miss.

**cotton tail**: rabbit. Ottawa, Kan. (Cf. 65.)

**coulee**: ravine. West. [See Bartlett's definition.]

**cradle-in-the-road**: see *breaker*. [Cf. also *cradle-hole* in Cent. Dict.] Springdale, Pa.

**crang**: a scrawny animal. Otsego Co., N. Y.

**crapping it on the sheers**: farming on rented land. Terre Haute, Ind.

**crimmy**: chilly; out of sorts, "under the weather." Marblehead, Mass.

**crump** (for dandelions): to dig. New Bedford, Mass. "O." and "R."

**cuckle-button** (*kuklbvtn*): burr of the burdock, from which children make baskets. Salem, Mass.

**cuppin'**: milking yard. Winchester Co., Ky.

**dander**: euphemism for *devil*. "What the *dander* are you doing?" Locality?

**daur**: a small village. Brunswick, Me.

**day-down**: sunset. Va. coast.

**dead wood**: in phrase "to have the *dead wood* on anything" = to have control, or a firm hold, of it. West.

**deed and double**: an affirmation heard among children and illiterate women in Ky. and O.

**diked out** : dressed up. [Cf. **dicked**, 330.] S. C.

**dike** : to prepare oneself to go out. Tex. [See *De Vere*, s.v.]

**ding-bat**. Mr. Philip Hale, of the *Boston Journal*, has been collecting information through that paper concerning this word. The following definitions appear : —

(1) Balls of dung on buttocks of sheep or cattle. Vt.

(2) Blow or slap on the buttocks. Me., N. H., Vt., Conn. (Also in form *dingbatlers*.)

(3) Flying missile. Penobscot river (noted as common among boys and river drivers).

(4) Squabble of words or pushing. Me.

(5) Money. Me. (Saco, 1855), Philadelphia, Ill.

(6) In some of the N. E. schools, the word is student slang for various kinds of muffins or biscuit. Perhaps from (1) or (3). Phillips Academy (Mass.), Wilbraham Academy (Mass.), Suffield Literary Institute (Conn.).

(7) Affectionate embrace of mothers hugging and kissing their children. Ga. "Ma just can't help it, she has got to put the ding-bats right on."

(8) Term of admiration. "They are regular *ding-bats*" (speaking of girls).

**dingle** : a storm-door, built by standing spruce or fir poles close together in front of the camp-door. Me. lumbermen. [Cf. *Cent. Dict.*, s.v.]

**do-dunk** : a stupid, simple person. Vt.

**doggies** : the commonest kind of marbles, generally colored brown.

**dog-fall** : a fall in wrestling in which neither party has the advantage.

**doney** : indisposed, "under the weather."

**do one proud** : to honor one. Pa. w., O., Mich., Kan.

**doughnut** : general name for various kinds of cake fried in a deep vessel of hot fat. There are several varieties.

(1) Raised with yeast, sweetened and spiced; generally cut in cubes and forming a roundish lump after puffing out in frying.

(2) Raised with yeast, unseasoned; merely dough from the regular batch of bread, fried instead of baked; eaten hot, with molasses.

(3) Raised with baking soda or saleratus; sweetened; cut in rings or twisted.

These have various names in different localities: (1) is the only thing known as *doughnuts* to the secretary in W. Conn.; (2) was called simply *fried bread*; (3) was *biled-cakes* if in twisted form, and *jumbles* if in rings. (*Jumbles* also sometimes meant a sort of sweet cookies, baked in the same form.) On Cape Cod, and generally in Eastern Mass. (3) (in rings) are *doughnuts*, and (2) are known as "*seventy-fours*" — for what reason is unknown, unless, as a young friend once suggested, it is "because you have to eat seventy-four of them to get a breakfast." In the Dutch-settled districts the word *olykoeks*, which Washington Irving has made classic, is used for some of the varieties. *Crullers* is also common for (3). A full account of the naming of the various kinds in various sections would be interesting.

**draw** (n.) : a broad ravine. Mo., Neb.

**drug** : pret. of *draw*. N. Y. watermen.

**druthers**: choice, preference. "To have one's *druthers*" = to have what one "had rather" have. "Bein's I caint have my *druthers* an' set still, I cal'late I'd better pearten up an' go 'long." South.

**ducks**: marbles in the ring. Ky.

**fair off**: clear off (weather). Gardner, Mass. [Bartlett gives it as "Southwestern."]

**fantail**: stern paddle-wheel. Western rivers.

**far**: in the phrase "That's all the *far* I got" = As far as I got. Mass., Pa., O., Ind.

**farth, furth**: positive from analogy to *farther, farthest*. N. E.

**fartherest, furtherest**: for *farthest*. N. E.

**fardest, furdest**: for *farthest*. O.

**favor**: to resemble (especially referring to family resemblance). Springdale, Pa. [Common elsewhere in this sense. See Tennessee collection, s.v. for example of other use.]

**feller** (for *fellow*): a young woman's *feller* is the particular one who is "sparkin'" her — paying her attention with possible matrimonial intention. Her "siddy company" has the same meaning in some places and among some classes. New Bedford, Mass.; Otsego Co., N. Y. [Is not this pretty general?]

**first along**: at first. New Bedford, Mass.

**flannen**: for flannel. Common in N. C. and Ky. [and elsewhere in the South]. *Flannen cakes*; see under **pancake**.

**fleet**: shallow (of dishes). Deerfield, Mass. "O."

**flugins**: in phrase "cold as blue flugins." [Etymology?] Winchester, Ky.

**fluken**: "A new slang word that has been spreading in certain portions of Western N. C. since the fall of 1884. It is used in this sense: To put the *fluken* on one = to 'do him up'; to get the advantage of him, etc. It originated, as a phrase, in this manner:—A very dramatic murder trial was held in Lenoir, Caldwell County, in 1884, of two men who blockaded a half-dozen mica miners in a mine shaft and killed three of them. Several of the witnesses described the bodies as having had 'the fluken put on them.' *Fluken* is the local name for the scaly, whitish soil dug from mica mines. Since then the phrase, meaning what I above state, has been in common use in the region." (W. W. Scott.)

**fobble**: a game at marbles. Windsor, Ont.

**foller** (n.): a fallow field. Otsego Co., N. Y.

**foolish**: weak-minded, idiotic. Mass., Conn. w., N. Y. w.

**foot-loose**: free, not tied to business. Ga.

**fresh** (n.): butcher's meat, in distinction from salted or other meat. N. Y. w., Conn. w.

**fried-cake**: kind of cake fried in lard. Hingham, Mass. [Cf. *biled-cake*, etc., s.v. *doughnut*, above.]

**frog's hair**: the plant *Eleocharis acicularis*, and other allied species. Mass. w.

**frouch**: botch. Marblehead, Mass.

**fyke, fuyk**: a fish-net. S. Yarmouth, Mass.; Catskill, N. Y.

- gaggle** : flock (*e.g.* of geese).
- galleyied** : confused. New Bedford, Mass.
- galloptious** : splendid, excellent. Staten Island, N. Y.
- geerus** : policeman. Boston, Mass.
- gees (gîs)** : for *Portuguese*. New Bedford, Mass.
- gig** : to spear, generally fish or frogs, though anything run through with a sharp instrument is said to be *gigged*. The instrument used in spearing fish is called a *gig*. West Fla.
- glass** (abbreviation for *isinglass*) : mica. N. C. w.
- go like** : imitate. "He can *go like* a pig" = imitate the grunt of a pig. Me., Ind.
- goober** : peanut. So *goober grubber* = peanut digger. Tenn.
- grass** (abbreviations for *sparrowgrass*) : Asparagus. Common among grocers in N. Y. City. Also heard in Philadelphia, and Cambridge, Mass.
- grabble** : in digging potatoes, to remove the large ones without disturbing the small. South. Little Rock, Ark.
- great hand for** : fond of. Me., Mass., Conn., Pa., O.
- grouty** : surly or sulky. Marblehead, Mass. [Can we make more definite Bartlett's "Northern" for this word?]
- grummet** : crumb, bit of food. Marblehead, Mass.
- hark back** : recur to some prior words. Essex Co., N. Y.
- hate** : in phrase "didn't get a *hate*" = didn't get a thing (meaning *anything*). Johnstown, Pa.; Winchester, Ky.; Eastern O. [See Bartlett.]
- head** : "A man has six or eight head of children." Worcester Co., Md.
- heady** : persistent. Va. s. w.
- hear to** : give heed to. Mass., Conn.
- high-horse**, to be on a : to be prosperous. Va. s. w.
- hips** : in phrase "to have the *hips*" = to be restless at night and unable to sleep. Otsego Co., N. Y. [See Cent. Dict. for etymology and allied meaning.]
- hitch up** : to harness. New Bedford, Mass. [Me.—E. S. S. Conn.—E. H. B.]
- hobo** : tramp. Western (but well-nigh universal now).
- hogas** : = *bonas* q.v.
- hogo** (*i.e. haut gout* ?) : a strong scent of any kind. N. H. [But cf. *fogo* (21,215).]
- hop-up** : poison for rats. Otsego Co., N. Y.
- huckster** : (v.) to peddle. Philadelphia, Pa.
- hurt** : in phrase "I don't *hurt* for it," or "I ain't a-*hurtin'* for it" = "I don't care much for it." Winona, Miss.
- hussif (housewife)** : a flannel book for needles. N. Y. City.
- Indian-giver** : one who rues his bargain. O. e.
- Jake** : a rough, uncouth country fellow. N. C., Tenn., Mo., Kan.
- jiggery, jiggered, jigger-head** : not sound minded; having a "screw loose." Cape Cod.
- Jim-dandy** : term of approbation. West.
- Jim-slinger** : a hard blow. (Parts of) South.
- Jim-swing** : long-tailed coat, especially a "Prince Albert." O.

**Joe-darter** : = jim-slinger, q.v.

**Johnny-jump-ups** : violets. Springdale, Pa.

**juberous** : dubious, doubtful. O. (372, 382.)

**jucket** : "In East Freetown, Mass., there have been for years a class of inhabitants who have intermarried indefinitely; they think little of education; the land is poor, the people poorer. The typical name there was and is Jacques (pron. *dʒɛkwiz*), and this half a century ago and more was about the only name there. Everybody in the olden time derided and despised them, and so anything inferior became a *jucket*, as the word has come to be pronounced. The people there use the word unconsciously, as a term of opprobrium or derogation, applied chiefly to persons." [Appears in the *N. Y. World*, Aug. 25, 1895, with a similar explanation of origin, and the interesting compound *jucket-house*, used for a small, "poor-white" house of one room, without the possibilities of decency. The compound may survive after the original word is lost. The form of the original French name given by the *World* reporter is *Jacquet*.]

**jump the blind** : to steal a ride on platform of baggage-car. West.

**kennebunker** : valise in which clothes are put by lumbermen when they go into camp for a "winter operation." Me. woods.

**kerbase** : in phrase "off his *kerbase*" = slightly crazy. West.

**killfliggin** : lazy. Ky. mountains.

**ky-pee** : a game at marbles. Chatham, Ont.

**laddie buck** : a fop. Albany, N. Y.

**lag** : (in marbles) "*lag* for goes" = to roll up from taw to see who could come nearest to the middleman, and so win the first play. Winchester, Ky.

**large** : much. "He has *large* money." Cincinnati, O.

**larrup** : molasses. West.

**laverick** : slightly contemptuous term for a man, usually a stranger. West.

**lift**, to be on the : to be too weak to rise from bed. (Suggestion: needing to be lifted about.) Terre Haute, Ind.

**light bread** : wheat bread, in distinction from "*bread*," which means corn bread. West Fla. [Bartlett "South and West."]

**like** : in phrases "I don't like much being through" = am not likely to finish soon (N. C.); and "I don't like it for anything," to express strong disapproval (Snow Hill, Md.).

**limpsy** : in weak condition. O. [Bartlett "New England."]

**linger** (n. and adj.); **lingen**, **lingen** (adj.) pron. *liŋ(r)*, *liŋin* : used to denote unusual size or quality. "Jim caught a *lingen* big pickerel yesterday." "Was it a big one?" "O yes, 'twas a *linger*." Mass. e., Me., Vt., Conn. e.

**logy** : slow-moving, "dead and alive." Term used by fishermen. *Moger* in same sense. Steuben, Me. (Form *loggy*) Boston, Mass.

**lorry** (*lori*) : public lorry = a dray. Toronto, Ont.

**lumper** : common unskilled laborer. Boston, Mass.

**macademy** : for *academy*. "N." near Augusta, Ga.

**manavellins** : small scraps of choice portions of meat accidentally detached in carving; and hence, more generally, toothsome bits of any dish at table. Staten Island. [See Cent. Dict. s.v.]

**matrosses**: sailors. Gloucester, Mass. (1777.)

**mean**: disreputable, low (no sense of stingy, penurious). Ky.

**meat**: bacon. West Fla.

**meecking**: guilty appearance of one caught pilfering. Otsego Co., N. Y. [Cf. *meech*, *meechin* (19, 78, 217).]

**mind**: "Near Asheville, N. C., I heard a mountaineer say, 'I didn't *mind* it a bit,' meaning he was terrified at looking over a precipice. The same phrase in Ohio would mean that he was wholly indifferent to it."

**minges**: for *midges*. Me.

**metheglin** (pron. *mæpiglin*): drink made from honey (see Webster). It is an incidental product in preparing beeswax from the comb after the old wasteful process of "taking up" bees. Conn., N. Y., O. and elsewhere. [How widely is it known?]

**mommixed**: mixed up, in confusion. Winchester, Ky. *Muxed up* in same sense. Otsego Co., N. Y. [Cent. Dict. *manmock*, *momnick*.]

**nappy**: round, shallow crockery dish used for baking pies. Gloucester, Mass. [A square vegetable dish was billed as a "nappie" from R. H. Macy & Co., New York, in July, 1895.]

**niassy**: "A *niassy* person is one who is eccentric and is continually doing and saying the oddest and most unexpected things. I believe that every one born and bred in this section knows the meaning of 'niassy.' I wish to particularly call your attention to this word, because it is possible that, in time, it may have a wide range." (While shopping in Tacoma, Washington, the correspondent heard it used without comment.) "The word originated in this way: In a branch of the numerous Smith family hereabout, it was the custom, for at least two generations back, to name some male member Ananias, which fact is in itself 'niassy,' because it is not every fond parent who would be willing to have his offspring so named. This particular family, including all the 'Niasies in it, were in many matters quite different from other people; and so marked was this in the 'Nias Smiths, so it is said, that it became characteristic — and if other persons developed what in this day we would call 'crankisms,' they were at once dubbed 'niassy' — and are to-day. The family of Smiths referred to live here, and are prosperous, quiet people. It is not my intention in thus exploiting them to cause them any annoyance or notoriety, and I trust this contribution will not do so." [In view of our correspondent's expressed wish, we will leave the locality unprinted for the present, and Smith may be taken in the generic sense of "John Doe"; but the item is too good to remain in the archives.]

**nicklehawk**: triangular tear in cloth. (Milliners.) Staten Island. [Of course a variant of *winklehawk*, p. 383.]

**noink**: pron. for *nothing*. Patchogue, L. I.

**nose broke**. The youngest child of a family is said to have its *nose broke* if another is born and it is therefore no longer "the baby." Cape Cod.

**notice**: in phrase "They *notice it on* me that I am not a Pennsylvanian." Springdale, Pa.

**office**: small house of one or two rooms, built to accommodate overflow of large family. N. C. (and South generally?).

**old**: in phrase "How's your *old*," meaning *old woman*, i. e. wife. Negro.

**oodlins**: abundance, a large quantity; "dead oodlins" = a very great quantity. Winchester, Ky. [Cf. Cent. Dict., s.v.]

**outlandishers**: foreigners. New Bedford, Mass.

**ox vomit**: popular etymology for *nux vomica*. West Fla.

**pail** (v.): to milk. "Pail the cow." Ottawa, Kan.

**pancake**: perhaps the commonest and most inclusive name for the various kinds of hot cakes prepared on a griddle. They may be made of almost any kind of flour, raised over night with yeast, or on the spot with soda. There are names varying with the locality for all the varieties: *buckwheat cakes*, *griddle cakes*, *flannen cakes*, *flap-jacks*, etc. The manner of preparation is also differently designated as *baking*, *frying*, or simply *cooking*. Exact reports are solicited.

**pawky**: in poor health. O.

**peckish**: easily offended. Va. s. w.

**pen-point**: pen (v. *penstaff*, below).

**pen-staff**: penholder. "I have a *pen-point* and now I must have a *pen-staff* to go with it." West Fla.

**pick eggs**: to rap one egg against another till one cracks. The owner of the egg cracked loses it. (Boys.) Georgetown, D. C.

**pixxter**: Easter. Negroes in N. Y.

**pixilated**: dazed, bewildered in the dark. Marblehead, Mass.

**planchment**: ceiling. Marblehead, Mass.

**pluck**: the heart, liver, lungs, etc., of a slaughtered animal. [See Cent. Dict.] The "head and pluck" are sometimes the perquisite of the butcher. Conn.

**plug**: (1) an old worthless horse. Mass., Conn., N. Y. (2) a local accommodation train. Kan., Ia.

**plug hat**: tall hat. Boston, Mass.

**plumming**: to go *plumming* = to go huckleberrying. Essex Co., Mass.

**pokerish**: somewhat dangerous, alarming. N. E.

**poke**: a slow person. O. [Cf. 210.]

**preachin'**: church service. Ky.

**preachin' meetln'**: same. Terre Haute, Ind.

**pretty** (n.): a picture or similar article; a toy. West Fla. ["Western" Bartlett.]

**proper**: handsome. N. C.

**pucker**: "All in a *pucker*" = in a hurry. "O." New Bedford, Mass.

**puddin' an' tame**: schoolboy expression in answer to question, "What's your name?" Winchester, Ky. [Boys in W. Conn. used to have it, "What's your name?" "Pudd'n tame." "What's your nater?" "Pudd'n tater." "What's your will?" "Pudd'n swill." — E. H. B.]

**pullen**: hens. Washington Co., Me. [v. Cent. Dict.]

**putehiky**: sullen. Terre Haute, Ind.

**pykle**: small enclosed field or yard. Patchogue, L. I.

**rambunctious**: impudent, forward. Otsego Co., N. Y.

**rattled**: (of horses) sick from eating *rattleweed*. Cal.

**rein**: "carry on," play tricks. Goodwin's Mills, Me.

**red brush**: the part of Kentucky between the mountains and the Ohio river; an inhabitant of this region.

**red, rid**: to arrange, prepare, put in order. "Red the ground (for planting)," Springdale, Pa., looks like *rid* (of stumps, etc.), as does perhaps still more "to rid guts," *i.e.* to remove the "gut lard," but in other examples received the meaning given is prominent; *e.g.* to red up a room," "to red out one's hair" (reddin' comb, from Ohio, as a coarse comb; if the word were *rid*, it would probably be a fine comb). [See De Vere.]

**roast'n ear**: green corn, whether on the cob or not; may be in tin cans. West Fla.

**rock** (v. t.): to throw stones at. Ottawa, Kan.

**roundabout**: boy's jacket reaching only to the waist. Terre Haute, Ind.

**roundhead**: a Swede. Northwest.

**round up**: to collect, bring together (ranchmen's term). Used of children in an Indian agency school.

**rubber neck**: word of teasing repeated several times by one child to another whom he has duped (as on April Fool's Day). Windsor, Ont.

**rue**: throw. (Locality not given.) "Rue me that ball."

**runagate**: woman who neglects her household affairs to go gossiping about the neighborhood. Terre Haute, Ind.

**rusticrat**: summer visitor of the richer class. Mt. Desert, Me.; Del.

**rustle** (a): to be active = *hustle*; (b) to steal. *Rustler*, (n.) to both meanings. West.

**sammy**: soft. Leather soaked till soft enough to make into soles is *sammy*. Essex Co., N. Y. [v. Cent. Dict.]

**scads**: a large quantity. "He has *scads* of money." Mo.

**scaly**: shabby. "A scaly trick." West.

**scandalous**: for terrible, awful. Quoted as remark of some one at sight of a large building destroyed by the wind. Southport, N. C.

**scoom**: pret. of *skim*. S. Yarmouth, Mass.

**scrope**: pret. of *scrape*. N. Y. City.

**seep**: to soak, trickle through, percolate. Locality?

**sense** (v.): to understand. Patchogue, L. I.

**session**: a great quantity. "A session o' fish in that river." "N." Ga. coast.

**shack** (n.): house occupied by a number of negro laborers, each of whom cooks for himself; a negro "bachelor's hall"; (v.) to live in a *shack* or keep bachelor's hall in general. "They sent away their wives and *shacked* for a time." West Fla.

**shats**: dry pine leaves or needles. Worcester Co., Md.

**shim**: small, flat, wedge-shaped stones used in levelling up a sill on a wall. Petersham, Mass.

**shimmy** (*i.e.* chemise). How widely is this N. E. word known?

**shoetickle**: in phrase "I don't care a *shoetickle*" = I don't care at all. Ky.

**sight**: amount; large amount. "Done him a *sight* o' good." Me., Mass., Conn., N. Y.

**sightly**: a place is *sightly* which affords a fine view (from the place, not of the place from elsewhere). Mass., Conn.

**simball**: one of the varieties of doughnut (q.v. above). Mass. s. e.

**shakes**: (a) split timbers for roofing. West. (b) chills and fever. Ottawa, Kan.

**slack-twisted**: mentally weak, shiftless. Ky.; W. Va., Ind.

**slarty**: very sticky. Conn.

**slicker**: mackintosh, waterproof overcoat. Col.

**slippin'**: sleighing. "The *slippin's* pretty good." Gardner, Mass.

**smit**: to crock, rub off (of dye-stuff). N. E.

**smitch**: very small quantity. Otsego Co., N. Y.

**sniptious**: smart, "perky," forward (cf. G. *schnippisch*). N. Y. w. ["Western" De Vere.]

**so it is**: phrase employed for emphasis. "It is good weather for corn, so it is." Springdale, Pa.

**sot upon himself**: conceited. West.

**souse**: the following meanings are reported: (1) Pigs' feet pickled or *soused* in brine [Cent. Dict.]. (2) Pigs' ears and other parts as well as feet (in Conn. it includes feet, ears, snout, and tail) either pickled or eaten fresh. Hence, (3) slang for *ears* in general (p. 383). (4) The parts of the pig included in (2) and perhaps others, chopped or ground and potted; otherwise known as "head cheese." [Full reports solicited.]

**spignet**: for *spikenard*. Otsego Co., N. Y.

**sposh**: slush; soft snow mixed with water in thawing weather. Mo.

**squail** (v. t.) to throw stones at. Marblehead, Mass. [v. Cent. Dict., s.v.]

**squaw-man**: white man married to a squaw. West.

**steps**: in phrase "to go up *steps*" = up stairs. Worcester Co., Md.

**stepping**: stair carpeting. Worcester Co., Md.

**stiff**: proud. Springdale, Pa.

**stodge**: to muss or mix up. Ind.

**stock-male**: a bull. S. C.

**strand** (of thread): needleful. Worcester Co., Md.

**sty-baked**: having the habit of staying at home. Monmouth Co., N. J.

**suink**: pron. for *something*. Patchogue, L. I.

**swag**: depression in the ground. Mo.

**tabby-cat**: (a) female cat. (b) cat of yellow or yellow-striped color. (c) general word like *pussy-cat*, with no special significance. All heard in Conn. and N. Y. [v. Cent. Dict.]

**tacky**: sticky (e.g. glue or paste). N. Y.

**taddy**: tip-cat (game). Georgetown, D. C.

**tantoaster**: severe storm. N. H.

**tarve**: to turn (trans. and intrans.) to the right or left. "My road *tarves* off to the eastward." Staten Island.

**thank-you-ma'am**: see under **breaker** (p. 385).

**the year**: for *this year*. Springdale, Pa.

**tomato**: plur. *tomattusses*. Springdale, Pa.; *martisses*, Winchester, Ky.

**tote**: (in arithmetic) "tote one to the next column." Ottawa, Kan.

**tote-team**: team used in hauling. Me. woods. [There seems to be a

general use of the word *tote* among the Maine lumbermen, in the sense of *haul* (with team). This was unknown to the editing committee when the 1894 circular was printed (313), but has been sent in since by several correspondents.]

**town ball**. boys' game. Terre Haute, Ind.

**tow-tail** (*tô têt*): a coarse kind of cloth. Chicopee, Mass.

**trash-basket**: waste-paper basket. N. Y. City.

**trick**: a small object or chattel. "Give me a sack to tote my *tricks* in." West Fla. [Cent. Dict., *trick*, 9.]

**trummel**. round tin box used for cake or bread. (From the Dutch.) Staten Island.

**tuckered out**: very tired. Mass., Conn., Ind.

**turkle**: for *turtle*. Conn. w., N. Y. w., Tenn. ["N. Y. and N. E." Bartlett.]

**turn in**: in phrase "*turn in* to do a thing" = set about doing it. Terre Haute, Ind.

**tyke**: a term of reproach applied to an ugly or noisy child. Me.

**unhitch**: unharness. New Bedford, Mass.

**unthoughtedly**: thoughtlessly. South.

**wear out**. to chastise. A father says of his son, "If he doesn't come home soon I'll *wear him out* with a strap when he does come." West Fla.

**weeny**: of boards or timbers, not of full width throughout because the saw in cutting ran out into the bark. Conn.

**weewary**: "When calico is torn, the torn edge is called *weewary*." New Bedford, Mass.

**woods colt**: foundling. Winchester, Ky.

**work**: knead (in making bread). Worcester Co., Md.

**wudge, wudget**: a little bunch. New Bedford, Mass.

**wung out**: for *wing-and-wing*, of a schooner before the wind. N. Y. watermen. [*Winged out* in same sense in Me. — E. S. S.]

**yearling**: the young of a cow. Applied indiscriminately whether the animal be two days old or three years. "His cow gave birth to a fine *yearling* last week." West Fla.

#### GENERAL LIST B.

This list is the result of the work of the branch circle at Cornell University, under the supervision of Professor Emerson, who writes: "The copy was prepared under my direction by Mr. B. S. Monroe, after the model of similar lists in previous issues of the NOTES. All these words are additions to any previous list in the NOTES. The New England usages are given on the authority of Prof. B. I. Wheeler."

**adopt**: for *adapt*.

**anty-over** (*ænti*): sometimes *anty-anty-over*, and *antny-over*: the game described as "haily-over" (341). Cf. *anthony-over* in Eggleston, *Hoosier*

*School Boy*, pp. 41, 49. Ill. n., n. w.; Ia.; Mich.; Ottawa, Kan.; Minn. s. e.; N. Y. c., s. w.; N. J. [In De Vere.]

**bach** (*baetf*): a bachelor. "He's an old *bach*." Also as verb, to *bach* it = to live as a bachelor. N. Y. c., Ia.

**bachelor-girl**: a maiden lady. N. Y. c., Ia.

**back** (v.): to address; used of an envelope. Ill. n. e., Ia. ["Western," Bartlett; but reported from West Fla. [See p. 384.]

**ballyhack** (*bælihæk*): to knock anything to *ballyhack* is utterly to ruin it. "He knocked the plate all to *ballyhack*." [See Bartlett, s.v.] N. Y. c.

**banter**: to haggle at a price. [Locality?]

**barsdown**: the same as *sic-a-nine-ten*, q.v.

**bell weather**: leader. A recent advertisement in a Seneca Co., N. Y., paper reads: "Each department is A No. 1 in size and quality, and a bell weather in price."

**belly-flop, belly-flopper**: an attempt at diving which results in striking the water on the stomach. Ill. n. w., N. Y. c., s.

**best bib and tucker**: one's very best; used of clothing. "She was dressed in her best *bib and tucker*." Ill. n., n. w., Ia., Minn. s. e., N. E., N. Y. c., s. w.

**bift**: to hit, strike; evidently the same as **bif**, pp. 72, 214. N. Y. s. e.

**bulb**: a boy; corresponding masc. of "sis"; not restricted to vocative case as reported (340). [I know it only as a vocative in Me. — E. S. S. In Conn. it is sometimes used as a sort of title for the boy of the family, sometimes clinging to an only son after he is grown up; in this sense it may appear in other cases, but never as a mere common noun. — E. H. B.] Ill. n., n. w., Mich. s. e., Minn. s. e., N. E., N. Y. c., s. w.

**bull plow**: large wooden plough used with oxen. N. Y. c.

**bull rake**: very heavy hand rake. N. Y. c. [*Buck rake*, Mass. e.]

**bush** (*buf*): commonly in participial form *bushed* = whipped, tired out, said of one who gives up work from fatigue. "She was completely *bushed*." N. Y. c., Ia.

**catchy** (*ketfi*): impatient, irritable. N. Y. c.

**change off**: to move household goods. N. Y. c.

**chip in**: to stand one's share of expense when several have united to buy something. "We *chipped in* and bought some grapes." N. Y. c., Ia. [Me., Mass., Conn.]

**clout** (*klaut*): to strike. N. Y. c. [Cf. p. 378.]

**coal hod, coal scuttle**. In the stove and hardware trade *coal hod* is universal, and this form is more common in cities; in the usage of country families in central N. Y. *coal scuttle* seems to predominate.

**conjure up** (*kɔndʒər*): to contrive. N. Y. c.

**count out**: to determine before commencing a game, with the aid of a counting-out rhyme, who is to be "it." Me., N. Y. c., Ia.

**crawly root**: folk-etymology for coral root. N. Y. c.

**dingswizzled** (*dɪŋswɪzəld*): expression of surprise, consternation, etc. A person who is at a loss how to act says, "I'll be *dingswizzled*." N. Y. s. e.

**fifth calf**: same as *fifth wheel*. N. E.

**first off**: adverbial expression = at first. "I was there *first off*." N. Y. s. e.

**flowerlist**: for *florist* by folk-etymology. N. Y. c.

**fore-handed**: energetic. N. Y. c. [Common in N. E., but in different sense = *having money laid by*. See Bartlett s.v.]

**gin**: for *gave*. "He *gin* me four dollars." Mass., Conn., N. Y. c.

**go large**: to live extravagantly. N. Y. c.

**grand daddy long legs**: the "daddy long legs" of Webster; more common than this shorter form. Ill. n., n. w., Ia., Minn. s. e., N. Y. c. [Cf. Cent. Dict.]

**granary**: often pron. *grênəri*; esp. common among farmers. Mass., Conn., N. Y. c., Ia.

**granther** (*grænþər*): frequently used by old people for *grandfather*. N. Y. c.

**gulf**: a small gorge or ravine, usually narrow and having steep sides. N. Y. c., e., n.

**half acre**: when the score of one side in a game is half that of the other, a common remark of encouragement is "a *half acre* raises good corn if it's hoed well"; often merely the phrase *half acre* is used alone. N. Y. c.

**hard tack**: silver money, especially dollars. N. Y. c.

**hike** (*haik*): (v.) 1. of balls, to chase. [Cf. **shag**, below.]

2. of balls, to throw up in the air. "*Hike* it up."

3. to hitch; as reported (61, 331).

4. to hasten. Pa.

**hinny** (*hini*): the game of leap-frog. N. Y. c.

**hoax**: often pron. hō-æks. N. Y. c.

**home free**: in hi-spy and similar games a player is said to be *home free* when he "touches the goal" before it is touched by the person who is "it"; if the one who is "it" finds a player and calls him by another player's name, both those players are *home free*. N. Y. c., s. e.

**horn swaggled** (*swagəld*) or **swuggled** (*swvgəld*): equivalent to *ding-swizzled*, q.v.

**huffy** (*hʌfi*): angry. "Don't get *huffy*." Also as a noun. "He was all in a *huffy*."

**in free**: same as *home free*, q.v.

**I swan** (*swân*): exclamation of surprise. N. Y. c., n., s. w. "I'll be *swanned*." Ill., Ia., Ind. [Cf. *I swanny* in Ernest Ingersoll, "Ice Queen," p. 245.]

**I tebár** (prob. *debar*, though the *t* sound is unmistakable): in children's games when one wishes to withdraw temporarily, in order to avoid being caught, he says, "*I tebar*." N. Y. c. [Cf. King's ex. (65, 236).]

**jell**: jelly; not familiar as a verb. Ill. n. w., Minn. s. e., N. Y. c., s. w. [Cf. pp. 22, 59, 78, 236.] As verb also, Ia.

**Jeswax**: (*dʒizwæks*): an oath. "*Jeswax*," "By *Jeswax*," "Holy *Jeswax*," etc. Sometimes "*Jeswax* Christmas." N. Y. c.

**jour-work** (*dʒɜr-*): work done by a journeyman. N. Y. c.

**kabang** (*kæbæŋ*), **kachunk** (*-tʃɒnk*), **kaflap** (*-flæp*), **kaflop** (*-flāp*), **kaslam** (*æ*), **kaslap** (*æ*), **kasmash** (*æ*), **kawhack** (*hwæk*); first syllable

very short, almost = *kə*; first syllable sometimes *kër*: severely, violently, vehemently. "He shut the door *kabang*." "He was struck *kawhack* in the face." "The glass was broken *kasmash*." N. Y. c., s. e., Ia.

**king**. A common game among boys is known variously as *king* and *king calico* (N. Y. c.), *pom-pom-pealaway* (Ill., N. Y.), *pom-pom-pull-away* (Iowa, Minn., N. Y.), *dixie* (N. Y. e.), *blackman* (Ill., Iowa, Penn.), *dare bast* (*dêr bêst*) (N. Y. s. e.), *king kangalo* (*kæŋgelo*) (N. Y. n. e.).

**kitron-ways** (*kitrən*): kitty-cornered. Cayuga Co., N. Y.

**lickity-switch**: very rapidly, at full speed; same as *lickity-split*, p. 236. N. Y. c.

**lock-eye**: the game of hide-and-seek. N. Y. c.

**lop-lolly** (*lapali*): careless, slouchy; used of one's gait and dress. "Mrs. W. is a *lop-lolly* creature." N. Y. c. [Cf. Cent. Dict. *lob-lolly*.]

**louse-cage**: common among schoolboys for *hat*. Ill. n. w., Ia., N. E., N. Y. c.

**lumber-heels**; a lout, a lazy, ungainly fellow. N. Y. c., s. e.

**mad**: persons when very angry are said to be "*madder* than hops." N. Y. c., s. e. Also "*madder'n* a rope." N. Y. c. [*Hoppin' mad*, N. E.]

**mib**: a marble; the game is called "playing *mibs*," or more often simply *mibs*; no other term is used in Ithaca. Mich. s. e., N. Y. c.

**migs**: marbles. King's Co., N. Y.

**mog** (*mag*): to walk. "We *mogged* along slowly." N. Y. c., s. e. [Cf. Cent. Dict.]

**mourners to the front**: this phrase is used when one who has been defeated in a game of any kind is given the first play or chance in the next game.

**mumblety peg** (*mumbli*) and **mummelty peg** (*mumli*): a game played with knives. [Cf. *mumble the peg* in Bartlett.] Ill. n., n. w., Ia., Minn. s. e., N. Y. c., s. w. [*mubblety-peg*, Conn.]

**mummick** (*mumik*): to soil, as one's clothing. Pa.

**mummock** (*mumok*): a lummo. N. Y. c.

**nigger**: for *niggard*. By folk-etymology. Ithaca.

**no fair**: an expression used of an act committed by a player contrary to the rules of a game. [Cf. *King*, p. 61.] Mass., N. Y. c., Ia.

**our beauties**: folk-etymology for *arbutus*. Tompkins Co., N. Y.

**oust**: pron. *oust*, is reported from Clinton Co., N. Y.

**over the bay**: drunk. "He was a little *over the bay* last night." Minn. s. e., N. Y. c.

**peth** (*peþ*): for *pith*. N. Y. c. Romulus, in the centre of Seneca Co., is sometimes called by schoolboys the "city of *peth*."

**polly-boo** (*palibû*): when small boys in the streets attach their hand-sleds to cutters or other sleighs drawn by horses, it is called *polly-boo*. N. Y. n.

**pooster about** (*pûstar*): one who gets up in the night and walks around the house is said to *pooster about*.

**prison goal, prison gool, prison base, prisoner's base**: all these names of the game are more or less common in central N. Y. Warren's "Class-word Speller," p. 66, has *prison base*.

**Putnam**: pron. *putnəm* and *pʊtnəm*.

**raise Cain**: to "carry on" to have a "high old time." Ill. n., n. w., Ia., Minn. s. e., N. Y. c., s. e., s. w. Also in same sense *raise Ned*. Ill. n., n. w., Minn. s. e., N. E., N. Y. c., s. e., s. w. *Raise the Old Harry*. Minn. s. e., N. E., N. Y. c., s. w. *Raise the Old Nick*. Ill. n., n. w., Minn. s. e., N. E., N. Y. c., s. w. [Cf. *sand*, p. 231.] [See **randy**, p. 380.]

**red caps, black caps**: red raspberries, black. N. Y. c. [*Raspberries* means in Mass. only the red; the black are *thimbleberries*.]

**riffs**: people of the slums, the *riff-raff*. N. Y. c.

**rip tail snorter**: one who attracts much attention, who creates a sensation. "He's an old *rip tail snorter*." N. Y. c., Ia.

**road-beat**: part of the highway under the control of a single path-master. N. Y. e., s. e., Canada.

**rumble** (*rumbəl*): to count out. N. Y. e.

**scamuljugated** (*skam: vldʒyŋ · ētəd*): said of two persons who are very fond of each other, who are "struck on" each other; not used of a single person. "John and Jane seem quite *scamuljugated*." N. Y. n. w.

**scythe stick**: for *scythe snath*. N. Y. c.

**seein' as** (*sīn əz*), also "seein' as how." "Seein' as how it's you, I'll do so-and-so." Ill. n. w., Minn. s. e., N. Y. c.

**shag** (*ʃæg*): of balls, to chase. Ithaca. [Cf. **hike** above.] Also in the general sense of carry. "He *shagged* a gun during drill." N. Y. c., w. [In form *shack* common in N. E. and N. Y. City. Students at Harvard going out to play tennis used to be followed by the street Arabs ("muckers" in the Harvard slang) crying "Want a *shack*, mister?" Also used humorously in other ways, as of hunting up a person.]

**shake**: to jilt. "She *shook* him." Also in phrase "She gave him the *shake*." Mass., N. Y. c., s. e.

**sheep pen, sheep yard**: same as **sic-a-nine-ten**, q. v.

**she quoit** (*ʃi kvēt*): a quoit that is pitched with the concave side up, the object being to lift or remove the opponent's quoit from its position at or near the "hub"; used especially to remove an opponent's "ringer." N. Y. c.

**shillalah** (*ʃilələ*): a whip of any kind, a "gad"; in Century. N. Y. c.

**shilling**: still frequently heard in central N. Y. for twelve and one-half cents; a quarter eagle is almost invariably spoken of as a "twenty *shilling* gold piece." (342.)

**shock** (*ʃak*): one's hat and coat, one's wraps or "things." "I hung my *shock* here." Ithaca.

**sic-a-nine-ten**: an outdoor game very similar to hi-spy, but somewhat more complicated. A stick is used as a "gool"; if a player not previously "caught" throws the stick, all who have been "caught" are said to be "home free" and may hide again. The one who is "it" then returns the stick to its place and proceeds again to "catch" those hiding. The game is also known as *sheep pen*, *sheep yard*, and *bars down*. N. Y. c.

**slap-dab** (*slæp dəb*): violently or awkwardly. "He rushed in *slap-dab* and broke things." N. Y. c., s. w.

**slip**: in phrase "to give one the *slip*," i. e. to jilt one. N. Y. c., s. e.

**snag** (*snæg*): to steal. N. Y. c.

**snag** (*snæg*): a great quantity, common in sing. and plur. "A *snag* of hooks," "*snags* of fun." N. Y. c.

**snips**: shears; tanners and hardware dealers generally say "tin *snips*." Ill. n. w., N. Y. c.

**snot-rag**; a handkerchief; common among schoolboys. Ill. n. w., Ia., N. E., N. Y. c., s. w.

**snucks** (*snuks*); for the *snacks* of Webster. "They went *snucks* and bought candy." N. E., N. Y. c.

**souse** (*sauz*): noun and verb; a bath, to bathe. "I'll go and *souse*," or, "take a *souse*." Ill. n. w., Minn. s. e., N. Y. c.

**stunt** (*stunt*): one of those convenient words which may be used in almost any connection and the exact meaning of which must be determined largely by the context; in general it is synonymous with "thing" and may be used as variously. "It would be a great *stunt* to go to a dance without a girl" (*i. e.* an unpleasant thing to do). "He performed various *stunts* for the prof." (*i. e.* did things that would win him the professor's favor, give him a "pull"). "To do a *stunt*" (= to do something) is very common. The word properly belongs with student slang. Ithaca. [Doing *stunts* is used in N. Y. City by boys in the sense of performing some feat in rivalry, — a long jump for instance, — one boy "stumping" or challenging another.]

**sweat**: in phrase "to be in a great *sweat*" = to be in a hurry. N. Y. c., s. e., Ia.

**toad stabber**: boy's term for jack-knife. [Cf. **frog sticker**, p. 230.] Ill. n., n. w., Ia., N. E., N. Y. c., s. w.

**train**: to be a little wild. "He *trains* in a fast set." N. E., N. Y. c., s. w.

**trun** (*trun*): to pass anything at table. "*Trun* over the butter." [This is a new word, but becoming very common apparently in N. E. s. and N. Y. City. It seems to be a mongrel formation from *trudge* and *run*; is heard generally as intrans. ("Trun along"), but also trans. ("trun out the baby"), etc. There are certainly reports enough to warrant a more general definition than the above.]

**vengeance**: "to do a thing with a *vengeance*" is to leave it entirely undone. Ia., Ill. n., Minn. s. e., N. E., N. Y. c. [Known to both of us in N. E. in the sense of "with a will," or "with a vim." The sense reported is evidently an ironical use, which we have also heard. — E. S. S., E. H. B.]

**walk turkey**: same as *walk Spanish* in N. E. [Cf. p. 63 s.v. **wheelbarrow**.] N. Y. c., s. w., Ia.

**yang** (*yæŋ*): in phrase "to be in a great *yang*" = to be in a hurry. N. Y. s. e.

## THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SOCIETY.

THE annual meeting for 1894 was held at the University of Pennsylvania, December 29, at 9 A.M. Owing to the early hour, there was a very small attendance, and the proceedings were confined to the routine business of the Society. The usual committees were appointed: to audit the Treasurer's accounts, Prof. O. F. Emerson, Mr. C. H. Grandgent; to nominate officers for 1895, Professors A. M. Elliott, J. W. Bright, H. A. Todd.

The Secretary, after reading the report printed below, which was approved, reported that the large amount of manuscript material on hand could be made available for publication by entering it on some system of cards, and that there was money enough in the treasury to pay for some clerical work for the purpose. After some discussion, it was moved by Professor Bright that the Secretary and Treasurer be authorized to act as a committee with power to spend for clerical work any money in the treasury above the regular publication expenses. The motion was carried.

A proposed amendment to the constitution, providing for life memberships, was discussed, and the following notice to the Secretary (in pursuance of Article VII. of the constitution) was drawn up by the President, and signed by the members present:—

“The undersigned propose an amendment to the following effect, to be added to the constitution of the American Dialect Society: ‘Any person may become a life member by paying to the Treasurer at one time the sum of twenty-five dollars. Such members shall have during life the same privileges as annual members.’”

The committee to audit the Treasurer's accounts reported the accounts correct, and on motion the report was accepted. The committee to nominate officers reported the following list of officers for 1895, and, after their election, the meeting adjourned:—

President, Edward S. Sheldon, Cambridge, Mass.; Vice-President, Charles H. Grandgent, Cambridge, Mass.; Secretary, Eugene H. Babbitt, New York City; Treasurer, Lewis F. Mott, New York City; Editing Committee, the Secretary, George Hempl, Ann

Arbor, Mich., and Oliver F. Emerson, Ithaca, N. Y.; Executive Committee, the above officers and M. D. Learned, Baltimore, Md., J. P. Fruit, Russellville, Ky., and Charles W. Kent, Charlottesville Va.

#### SECRETARY'S REPORT FOR 1894.

THE active work of the Society for this year began with the publication of Part VII. of DIALECT NOTES. It was intended to have this out early in the summer, but on account of delay in the receipt of some of the manuscript, it did not appear till October. The members have received this number, and are familiar with its contents, and with the idea of the circular of information issued, and the method proposed for distributing it. It is hoped that the Society is now entering upon a second period of its work, in which emphasis must be laid upon the collection of material from as many and as diverse sources as possible. To this end every effort seems desirable to increase our membership and bring our work to the notice of those who can and will coöperate. We have accordingly made various efforts to get into print; we have sent Part VII. for review to periodicals, and taken every opportunity to use the newspapers. The results have been very satisfactory. The Secretary has answered over 200 communications arising from newspaper notices. The membership, which was 148 last year (the number printed includes a large class of Professor Hempl's students, who joined for one year to get the publications, and did not continue) has been increased to 197 by accessions since November 1. Some of the new members are taking a very active interest in the work, contributing valuable material, and inducing others to join. Material has also been sent in to the Secretary by non-members, and the newspapers have often published collections sent in to them in consequence of their articles relating to the Society. From the matter in hand it would be easy to select 200 new titles, not published so far in the NOTES, which would be of interest and value at once for further investigation.

One result of our newspaper work has been to bring an increased call for copies of the NOTES. Attention is called to the large item from that source in the Treasurer's receipts. It has seemed best to set the uniform price of one dollar a number to non-members, and forty cents to members, for all issues so far, including Part VII.

E. H. BABBITT, *Secretary.*

## TREASURER'S REPORT FOR 1894.

*From December 29, 1893, to December 29, 1894.*

## RECEIPTS.

Cash on hand, Dec. 29, 1893 . . . . .	\$108 41
Dues for 1893 . . . . .	44 00
Dues for 1894 . . . . .	171 00
Dues for 1895 . . . . .	6 00
Dues for 1896-98 . . . . .	3 00
Voluntary contribution . . . . .	50
Sale of publications . . . . .	52 20
Total . . . . .	<u>\$385 11</u>

## EXPENDITURES.

Printing DIALECT NOTES, Part VI (1893) . . . . .	\$132 75
Printing bills and notices . . . . .	6 00
Postage . . . . .	18 17
Expressage . . . . .	3 75
Printing DIALECT NOTES, Part VII (1894). . . . .	135 40
Cash on hand, Dec. 29, 1894 . . . . .	89 04
Total . . . . .	<u>\$385 11</u>

LEWIS F. MOTT, *Treasurer.*

## MEMBERS, OCTOBER, 1895.

- E. V. Abbot, 22 West 34th St., New York City.  
 F. D. Allen, 45 Brewster St., Cambridge, Mass.  
 Robert Arrowsmith, 806 Broadway, New York City.  
 Astor Library, New York City.  
 Lawrence Atterbury, 141 West 86th St., New York City.  
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 O. M. Baker, 499 Main St., Springfield, Mass.  
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 University of Missouri Library, Columbia, Mo.  
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 Addison Van Name, Library of Yale University, New Haven, Conn.  
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 Joseph Wright, 6 Norham Road, Oxford, England.  
 G. H. Yeamans, 44 Wall St., New York City.

[Total, 258.]

# DIALECT NOTES.

## PART IX.

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### IN GENERAL.

OUR hoped-for increase in numbers is apparently waiting for the end of the "hard times." We are gaining, but very slowly. This is disappointing, for the three hundred dollars or so which we have each year on the present basis will not pay for all the printing and clerical work which we need in order to make the most of our present advantages. If we had a thousand members, the work could go on much more swimmingly. It ought to be an ever-present fact to every one of our active members that it is part of his duty to influence others to join whenever he has opportunity. Our life memberships offer also an excellent opportunity for any one who can be convinced that our work is worthy of support to contribute a reasonable amount to that end.

We close Vol. I. with this part. The first part of Vol. II. we intend to devote to the collection of college slang which is now being made. There is some hope that this will be complete enough to warrant publication as a dictionary, and sell largely enough to bring us some of the money which we need. If we can publish such a dictionary, it will do much to bring and keep us before the public, and especially before the educated public, who must give us our active members and intelligent support.

We are "twixt hay and grass" this year in the matter of collections. In Part VIII. we published everything which it seemed advisable to publish then, and also gave directions for more thorough revision of collections before they are sent to us. In consequence, many of our best collectors are waiting to complete and revise their material before sending it in. We are satisfied that much more and better work is being done, for three reasons: we hear of members and others who have never tried to collect at all before, who have now started note-books; others

send lists "checked" as to usage in their district (several now return regularly their copies of DIALECT NOTES with remarks on each word. The Secretary will gladly supply duplicates to any who are willing to do this); and the few collections which have come in since the issue of Part VIII. are on an average in much better form than previous ones.

Some of our members who find opportunity to examine old documents or records from early times in the East are getting some valuable material from them. We would emphasize the advantage of noting at once, with full details, any instances of the kind. They may give the explanation of some later usage which would otherwise be inexplicable. The changes in form of proper names on the old records are extremely valuable material from the point of view of the phonetician as well as the historian.

The local circles are doing good work. All of them so far established are at universities, and their members go out to teach or otherwise take part in the intellectual life of the community, and so impart their enthusiasm to others. This is really the healthiest and most desirable line of growth possible. It gives us members with some experience in real scientific observation, who can help others in collecting and arranging their facts. It would be well if we had more local organizations, not only at the colleges, but wherever there is a small number of interested persons, with one or two who can take the lead in the work. It is in this direction that we advise effort for the next few years.

E. H. BABBITT, *Secretary.*

## WORD-LIST.

THE majority of the words in this list were collected by the branch at Cornell University. Their material was prepared, under the supervision of Professor Emerson, by Mr. C. S. Northrup. With their list, which was revised by the Secretary with the aid of Bartlett, De Vere, and Farmer, as well as the larger dictionaries, was incorporated the new material from other sources which seemed worth publishing this time. Several good collections have been received which appear in part in the list; among others from

Prof. C. L. Crow, Weatherford, Texas, and  
Rev. H. E. Zimmerman, Tannersville, Pa.

The same reservations have been made as last year (p. 368) in the selection of material for publication, except that a little more latitude has been given to the admission of words which must be regarded as slang pure and simple. This is an experiment, and it is hoped that the members will express their opinions freely as to its advisability.

**Adirondack:** often pron. *êdri-ondak*. Lewis Co., Broome Co., Ontario Co., N. Y.

**Aleck:** "A smart *Aleck*," one who thinks a great deal of himself. N. Y. c.

**all:** "You *all*" often means one person in N. C., Del., Ill. "What you *all* doin'?"

**all evening:** for all the evening. N. Y. s. e., O. n. Likewise, *all morn-ing*, for all the morning.

**ally-ally:** a term in marbles, equivalent to *agate-agate*. N. Y. c.

**ally waiter:** pop. etym. for *elevator*. Myersville, Md.

**angler-worm** (*ænglæwœrm*): for *angle-worm* [DIALECT NOTES, p. 339]. N. Y. c.

**apple-cabbage** (= apple-peru, 384): rhubarb, pie-plant. Me.

**apple-grunt:** a kind of apple dumpling. N. Y., c., n., Possibly of German origin.

**arbutus** (*arb'iutus*) (v.): "To go *arbutusing*." Rochester, N. Y.

**at:** In "Where *at* you goin'?" N. Y. c.

**baby-buggy:** same as British *perambulator*. Wash. (state).

**baby-carriage:** same as British *perambulator*. N. Y.

**baby-coach:** same as *baby-carriage*. N. J.

**baby-in-the-hole:** the game of roly-poly, *q.v.* Tompkins Co., N. Y.

**baft:** number, quantity. "There was a great *baft* of people." Parker Co., Tex.

**baggages**: plu. common in Orange, S. C.

**bail-strap**: in a working harness, the strap which attaches the collar to the neck-yoke. It is permanently fastened on one side of the collar, and being passed through a ring in the neck-yoke, is then snapped into a ring on the other side. A folk-etymology from Otsego Co., N. Y., connected it with the bail of a pail, supposing that wire was originally used. N. Y. c.

**bait**: specifically, the grass eaten by a horse when he is "baited." [Cf. Cent. Dict.] N. Y. n.

**bakery**: a travelling baker's cart. Elmira, N. Y.

**bake-wagon**: a travelling baker's cart. N. Y. c.

**ball off**: to treat. "He *balled off* his customers." N. Y. s. e.

**band-wagon**: a large wagon for transporting a musical band. N. Y., O.

**band-wagon**: "Come off the *band-wagon*," stop being fresh. N. Y. c., w. Also, "Get off the *band-wagon*." N. Y. n. e. "Don't monkey with the *band-wagon*," don't be too inquisitive (may have other meanings). N. Y. c., s. e., w.

**barker**: "Poor Barkers," poor whites. Southern.

**barvel**: large leather apron worn by fishermen. ["Prov. Eng." Cent. Dict.] Marblehead, Mass.

**beat done**: to finish before (another person). "He *beat me done*." Parker Co., Tex.

**beatin's** (*bitinz*) plu.: the advantage. "I got the *beatin's* of him then."

**beaut** (*byât*): for beauty. "He's a *beaut*." Sometimes ironical. Mass. e., N. Y., O. n., Mich. s. e.

**befuddled**: confused. "I get so *befuddled* I can't do a thing." Myersville, Md.

**bellng**: a serenade, chivaree. N. Y. n., O. n.

**belly-bunk** (a.): used by boys for coasting on sleds face downwards. N. Y. c., s. w. **belly-whack**, Ontario Co., N. Y. **belly-flop**, Ill. [Cf. DIALECT NOTES, pp. 60, 235, 340, 377.]

**belt-line**: a street car line which passes round a city. N. Y. w., s. e. [Century Magazine, Dec., 1894, p. 290.]

**bend-a-bow**: thin ice that bends when skated upon. N. H. **bendy**, Conn. [Cf. *rubber-ice*, below.]

**ben nuggins** (*nvdzinz*): a term in marbles. Ontario Co., N. Y.

**binnaele**: the flume of a mill stream, a mill race. N. Y. c.

**bird's-egging**: "That's none of my *bird's-egging*," that's none of my affair. "Go on with your *bird's-egging*," go on with your story. N. Y. c., s. e.

**bird's-nest**: a fruit pudding, in which any kind of pudding fruit may be used. Also called *apfel-kuchen*. [Cf. *crow's-nest*, below.] N. Y. s. e., O. n.

**biscuit**: "That takes the *biscuit*," that's very good. N. Y. c., O. n.

**bislings** (= beestings): first milk after a cow has calved. Me. s.

**black long-berries**: blackberries (to distinguish them from black raspberries). N. Y. c. In N. Y. n. *long blackberries* is heard.

**blasks**: for *blasts*. Orangeburg, S. C.

**Bloomfield**, Ontario Co., N. Y., locally pron. *brâm*.

**blow** (v. i.): "To *blow oneself*," to spend money freely. N. Y. c., w., O. n.

- boat-ride** (v.): for *row*. "Let's go *boat-ridin'*." N. Y. c., n., s. e., s. w., O. n.
- bobs**: large double sleds with a box for the transportation of anything. N. Y. c., n., w., s. w., O. n. [Cf. Cent. Dict. s.v. *bob-sled*.]
- bob-sled**: a *short*, heavy sled for hauling logs. N. Y. c., n., w. In N. Y. w. also *bob-sleigh*. [Cf. Cent. Dict. and DIALECT NOTES, pp. 72, 214.]
- bodaciously**: *bodily*. "Picked her up *bodaciously*, and carried her off." N. C. s. w., Ky. e.
- boke**: the shape or curve of the breast of a coat (tailors). Ohio.
- bone**: "He *boned* me for a V." [Cp. Cent. Dict.] N. Y. s. e.
- bone in**: for *bone*, Otsego Co., N. Y.
- bones**: "Cold *bones*," dollars. N. Y. s. e.
- boof** (*bûf*): scare, fright. "He got a *boof*." Parker Co., Tex. [*boof* is given in Cent. Dict. as a Penn. German word for peach-brandy.]
- booger** (v. i.): to shy, be frightened. "That horse *boogers* a little at pigs." [See etymologies of *bug*, *bogy*, etc., in dictionaries.] N. C. s. w.
- books**: school, school-time. "Is it *books*?" "Has *books* taken up?" = "Has school taken up (*i.e.* begun)?" Parker Co., Tex.
- borrow**: to lend. "I'll *borrow* the book to you." Batavia, N. Y.
- box**: "Christmas *box*," any Christmas gift. Can., and occasionally in N. Y. w. [Cf. Cent. Dict. s.v. *box* 5.]
- break**: a rough, irregular piece of ground. Neb.
- breechman** (*britsmæn*): breech-band of harness. Frederick Co., Md.
- broke**: terminated. "Church is *broke*" = service is over. N. C. s. w.
- buckboard**: Place—Monroe Co., Pa. This word means a light, four-wheeled vehicle that has, in place of a body, a number of narrow elastic wooden slats on which a seat is placed with or without springs under it. If it has a top it is called a "covered buckboard." In Frederick Co., Md., this word means the front running part of a vehicle with a broad, stout, elastic board fastened into it in such a way that the rear end of the board is somewhat elevated. On this the driver sits and rests his feet on the axle, enabling him easily to mount or dismount. It is used almost entirely for breaking horses. The description of "buckboard" given above applies to a vehicle in Frederick Co., Md., called a "buck-wagon," and is used largely by butchers in hauling meat, calves, sheep, etc., around the country.
- buckies** (*bukiz*): buckboard herring. R. I.
- buddy**: intimate companion. "We were always great *buddies* together." Tannersville, Pa.
- buffaloo**: to confuse, "rattle." Parker Co., Tex.
- bug out** (v. t. and i.): "His eyes *bugged out*, he *bugged out* his eyes," showing astonishment. N. Y. c., O. n.
- build up to**: court. Parker Co., Tex.
- bull's foot**: "He don't know a *bull's foot* from a broomstick," he doesn't know anything. N. Y. c. "He don't know a bee from a *bull's foot*." N. Y. w.
- bumberell** (*bæmbær·el*): for *umbrella*. N. Y. c., w.
- bumbershoot** (*bæmbærshût*): for *umbrella*. "Put up your *bumbershoot*." N. Y. c., n., s. e., w., O. n.

**bun**: "That takes the *bun*," that's very good. N. Y. c. Also *yanks the bun*. [Of course a variant of "takes the cake" (Farmer).]

**bung out**: same as *bug out*, above. N. Y. c., n., w.

**burn**: to strike with a ball so as to put out, "patch." N. Y. c.

**butler**: "Poor *butlers*," poor whites. Southern.

**buzz**: to flatter. Mass. e., N. Y. c., w., s. e.

**calico**: woman, lady. "Look at the *calico* comin!" Parker Co., Tex. (At Washington and Lee University, Lexington, Va., the students use *calic*. "Are you going to take calic?" = "Are you going with a young lady?")

**call over the coals**: for *haul over the coals*. N. Y. c., s. e.

**can** (v. i.): to become candied, as of honey. Conn. w., N. Y. s. w.

**carriage**: for *buggy*. N. Y. c., w.

**carriage-harness**: a light harness for a roadster. N. Y. c., s. w.

**cart wheel**: "to turn a *cart wheel*," to turn a handspring on one hand, sidewise. Mass. e., N. Y. c., w., O. n.

**cart wheel**: silver dollar. Ill. n. w., N. Y. c., w.

**Castana nuts**: for *Brazil nuts*. N. H., Mass. Cf. Latin name for chestnut, *castanea vesca*.

**caster**: a sled which has cast-iron shoes. Ithaca, N. Y.

**cat**: same as *pussy*, q. v. N. Y. s. e.

**cat-a-cornered**: for *cater-cornered*. N. Y. c. [Cf. pp. 6, 8, 78, 217, 236.]

**catch**: *caught*, pret., sometimes pron. *kat*. N. Y. c., s. e.

**catch up with**: discover, find guilty. "They *caught up with* him for burning the house." Fla. w.

**chase**: to frighten. "I happened to *chase* a rabbit from the brush heap as I came along." Pa. e., N. Y. s. w.

**checker-berries**: little red pepper candies. N. Y. c.

**cheese**: "That don't cut any *cheese*," that has no weight. Ithaca, N. Y.

**chippy**: a young woman who is somewhat free or of questionable character. Mass. e., Ithaca, New York City, N. Y., Hanover, N. H.

**chiselly**: unpleasant, disagreeable. N. Y. c., w., O. n., Mich. s. e.

**chunk** (v. t.): to throw, as a stone. "I *chunked* a rock at him." N. C. Cf. *chuck*, v.

**chunks**: "To feed one *chunks*," to flatter, guy. N. Y. c., Mich. s. e.

**clarty** (a.): sticky: said of soil that sticks to the plough. Otsego Co., N. Y. In Cent. Dict. marked Scotch.

**clove**: a narrow gap or valley, = *notch* in N. E. This word is used in the Catskills. De Vere is mistaken in giving the form *cove* for the Catskills. *Cove* is used in some varieties of English (given in the Standard Dict. without comment), but is not the same as the Catskill word, which is clearly the Dutch *kloof*.

**coal oil**: for kerosene. Ill., O.

**coda(k)** (*kvd-êk*): for "Come, Dick"? A call for cattle or sheep. Common in Cayuga Co., St. Lawrence Co., N. Y. For sheep only, Otsego Co., N. Y. Also, **conan** (*kvn-æn*), for "Come, Nan"?

**come again**: for *call again*. N. Y. c., w., O. n.

- come back again, right soon**: for *call again*. Neb.
- come down, come down on**: to applaud with the feet. "They *came down* on him." Ithaca, N. Y.
- connip** (*kvn'ip*): to laugh violently. N. Y. c.
- conniption**: also *conniption fit*: a violent fit of laughter. N. Y. n., O. n. [Cf. DIALECT NOTES, p. 341. See Farmer, s.v.]
- copse**: a small wood, not shrubbery. Pa. e.
- cough up**: to produce, as of money. "I *coughed up* a V." N. Y. c., s. e., Mich. s. e.
- crackajack**: 1. A person of remarkable ability. Mich. s. e. In Ithaca, N. Y., applied especially to bicyclists. 2. Pressed pop-corn. N. Y. s. e.
- cracky-wagon**: a democrat wagon.
- crawl**: to take back a declaration. "I made him *crawl*." Mass. e., N. Y. c., s. e., w., Mich. s. e.
- crow's-nest**: apple pudding. N. Y. c., n.
- crummy** (*krovmi*): same as *tacky*, q.v. N. Y. c.
- cushion**: usually pron, *kwifən*. Conn., N. Y. c. [Cf. pp. 17, 58, 77.]
- cut up**: to act mischievously, play antics. Mass. e., N. Y. c., n., s. e., w., s. w., O. n. Also as n., "He's a great *cut up*." O. n.
- deader**: an exhausted person. Ithaca, N. Y., O. n., Mich. s. e.
- dead-head**: a log so soaked with water that it will not float. (Opposite term, "live log.") "He raised seven *dead-heads* and held them up with live logs." Fla. w.
- dingy**: a negro.
- dinkiness**: the quality possessed by dinky magazines, q.v.
- dinky**: 1. "*Dinky* magazines," certain modern publications characterized (satirically) by "smallness of size, fewness of pages, breadth of margin, and an occasional use of red ink"; also by "a fondness for the strange, the old-world, the esoteric, and the fanciful" (Cornell Era, April 18, 1896). 2. "A *dinky* time," a nice time, N. Y. s. e.
- dippy**: fried meat grease or gravy, Myersville, Md.
- ditch**: specifically, an irrigating ditch. Neb.
- do, does**, pron. *dūz*, heard in Mass. w., Conn. w., Brooklyn, N. Y., N. J.
- doby**: sticky (of mud). "The Ft. Worth streets are *doby*." Parker Co., Tex.
- dog-running**: the chasing of deer by dogs in the Adirondacks, N. Y.
- dogy**: a motherless calf, a poor worthless one. "A *dogy* is a sorry yearling." Texas n. w.
- double-seater**: a road cart seating two on the one seat. N. Y. c. In N. Y. s. w., same as *two-seater* below.
- dough**: money. N. Y. c., w., Mich. s. e.
- down the country**: to give down the country = to upbraid, call to account, "rake over the coals." N. C., Eufaula, Ala., Parker Co., Tex.
- doxy**: awkward, slatternly woman. Portsmouth, N. H.
- dry so**: in S. C. in answer to a question. "Why did you do that?" "Oh, I don't know; *dry so*."
- duck-fit** = *cat-fit* (385) and *conniption-fit* (341). New Orleans, La.
- dull**: to make a mistake. "That's where you *dulled*." Probably

extended from a mower's use of the word, meaning to blunt the edge of a scythe. N. Y. c.

**Dutch cuss**: the following letter seems worth printing in full:—

45 LAKE PLACE, NEW HAVEN, CONN., DEC. 30, 1895.

MR. E. H. BABBITT:

My Dear Sir, — In DIALECT NOTES, VIII. p. 382, I find: "Dutch cuss: a term of contempt. Metuchen."

I have a long acquaintance with the part of New Jersey which lies between Elizabeth and Bound Brook, and I fancy your correspondent has been tempted to make a hasty report concerning this curious expression. I have always heard it used, among farming people, as the specific name of the common, or ox-eyed, daisy; and I think it would only by a rare metaphor be transferred to general use as a "term of contempt." I do not remember ever to have heard it so myself.

Some years ago Mrs. Gideon Ross, an aged and cultivated lady, who is now dead, gave me an account of the origin of this use.

She had lived from her girlhood in what is now the town of Westfield, and remembered the coming one spring of many Dutch Reformed ministers to attend some general convention held there. Many had travelled long distances. Their teams were hitched to the fences along the land at the lower end of the old Ross estate, and there remained for a number of days. In this place, later in the season, sprang up the daisies, which were before unknown, and which were soon recognized as the worst foe the farmers had to fight. The daisies thrive so surprisingly in the hard, red clay, that fields they have once pre-empted can only with much labor be reclaimed.

If Mrs. Ross's account may be depended upon, as I have every reason to think it may, "Dutch cuss" was certainly definite in its early application. I shall be interested to learn if the report of its metaphoric use about Metuchen can indeed be verified.

Yours very truly,

M. ANSTICE HARRIS.

**easy**: easily hoodwinked or defeated. "You are *easy*." Also *easy fruit*, *dead easy*. N. Y. c., O. n., Mich. s. e.

**eat**: ppl. *et-n* sometimes heard. N. Y. c.

**eel-worm**: for *angle-worm*. Conn.

**ees-worm** (*is-wërm*): for *angle-worm*. R. I.

**Ellenyard**: Orion.

**face hurt**: his face hurt him = he blushed. Hagerstown, Md.

**factory**: muslin. "Bleached *factory*." N. Y. c., w., s. e., Ill. n.

**fair play**: for *king's excuse*. N. Y. c., s. e.

**fan out**: to strike out, in baseball.

**father**: in Ontario Co., N. Y., sometimes pron. *fäðer*.

**fault** (v.): blame. "I didn't *fault* him for that." N. C. s. w.

**fiddle**: "To be drunk as a *fiddle*," to be very drunk. O. n.

**fiddle** (v.): "You be *fiddled*," you be hanged. N. Y. s. e.

**fiend**: 1. One who gets high marks. 2. One who rides a hobby, e.g., a camera *fiend*. Mass. e., Ithaca, N. Y., O. n.

**file** (v.): to scrub with a file (hand-mop). Cf. Bartlett. Albany Co., St. Lawrence Co., N. Y., Tannersville, Pa.

**fire**: a child's apron. R. I., Can.

**fishing-worm**: for *angle-worm*. Hamilton Co., Ind.

**fit** (n.): a fight. Also v. pret. of *fight*. N. Y. c.

**footless**: fruitless, unavailing. Mass., Ithaca, N. Y.

**fore-day** (*fôrdê*): the period of time immediately before sunrise.

**frail** (v.): to whip, as a child. [Cf. *frail* as pron. for *flail*, 375.] New Orleans, La.

**fralling**: beating with one or two small sticks or straws that part of the fiddle between where the fingering is done and the bridge, while the fiddler is playing. Ga. s., Fla.

**franzy**: delirious. "The medicine made her *franzy*." N. C. s. w. ["Prov. Eng.," Cent. Dict.]

**freak**: 1. A very odd person. N. Y. c., s. e., w. 2. A student who gets high marks. N. Y. City, Mich. s. e.

**freaky**: queer, improper. "He does *freaky* things." N. Y. c., w.

**front seat**: "To get on the *front seat*," to have a very good time. O. n.

**frying size**: half grown (of girls). "A young lady, *fryin' size*." Parker Co., Tex. [Cf. Ger. *Backfisch*.]

**fudges**: chocolate bonbons, home-made. Poughkeepsie, Ithaca, N. Y., Ann Arbor, Mich.

**fudgin's** (*fvdzinz*): "No *fudgin's*," a term in marbles. Ontario Co., N. Y. [Cf. *hunchin's*.]

**Gallagher**: "Let her go, *Gallagher*," all ready. N. Y., O. n., Mich., Mo. Said to have originated in St. Louis.

**gallopin, gallopin-fence**: fence made of rails stuck in the ground criss-cross. N. C. s. w.

**gallows** (v.): "He *gallowsed* (*gælost*) up his breeches." N. Y. c., w.

**get in behind**: follow up closely; question closely; punish. "The judge *got in behind* him and he acknowledged stealing." "If he does that again, I'll *get in behind* him." Fla. w.

**glad**: "To welcome with the *glad* hand." Kan., Mich. s. e., O. n. [Cf. Cent. Dict., glad 5.]

**globe**: the glass fixture of a lamp, generally known as a *chimney*. Fla. w. [The *globe* means to the editors the additional, larger, and more nearly globular glass outside the chimney. Reports are desired as to the meaning of *globe*, *chimney*, *cylinder*, and *glass* as lamp fixtures.]

**go**: ppl. *gone* sometimes pron. *gan*. N. Y. c., w. [Irish in N. Y. City.]

**go dead**: "*Gone dead* lately," recently deceased.

**go much on** (only with neg.). "I don't *go much on* that," I don't care much for that. N. Y. c.

**go out**: to be washed away. "The bridges *went out*." N. Y. c., s. w., N. H.

**go out on the carpet**: to call on ladies in the evening (used only of the male sex). Gettysburg, Pa.

**gonesome**: hungry. "A *gonesome* feeling." Ithaca, N. Y., Mich. s. e.

**goober**: a person who can enchant. Southern.

**gool**: for *goal*. Otsego Co., Seneca Co., Chautauqua Co., N. Y.

**gooney**: foolish fellow, simpleton. "Don't be such a *gooney*." Me.

**gravy**: pudding sauce. N. H.

**Groton, N. Y.**: locally pron. *graut-n*.

**grouch**: "To go on a *grouch*," to become a little out of sorts. Also, "To get on (or have) a *grouch*." N. Y. c., Mich. s. e. [Cf. *grouchy*, 61.]

**grout house**: a house built of coarse plaster containing small stones. Ill., Ia.

**guard the sheep**: the game of *sic-a-nine-ten* (DIALECT NOTES, p. 399).

**Guinea**: an Italian. N. Y. c., s. e.

**gust**: storm, shower. "It's so hot I believe we'll get a *gust*." Myersville, Md.

**haily**: wild, reckless. "A *haily* crowd." Ky., N. H. [Cf. *hail* ?]

**hair apple**: haw. ("R.") Parker Co., Tex.

**hair tobacco**: fine-cut tobacco. Brazos Co., Tex.

**half the bay over**: half seas over. Westchester Co., N. Y.

**half-way strainer**: one who tries to live above one's true station. Southern (thought to be from N. C.).

**hand-out**: clothes such as a tramp asks for. N. Y. w., O. n.

**harp**: mouth organ. Fla. w.

**harricane**: thicket where trees have been blown down. Ky. s.

**Harry Dick**: pop. etym. for *heretic*. Everglades, Fla.

**hash**: for *harsh*. [Given in Cent. Dict. as Eng. dial.] Conn., N. Y.

**hat**: "To talk through one's *hat*," to talk nonsense. Mass. e., N. Y. c., n., s. e., Mich. s. e.

**hawbuck** (n.): a tomboy. (v.) To act boisterously. ("O," 1865.) N. J.

**head halter**: a halter which fastens over the head. N. Y. c.

**helghth** (*haitþ*): still used for *height*. Mass. e., Conn., Otsego Co., Seneca Co., N. Y. [Cf. Cent. Dict.]

**heller**: a remarkable person. "He's a *heller* to win." N. Y. c., Mich. s. e.

**herding**: taking care of children. N. Y. c.

**high-bred**: pop. etym. for *hybrid*. N. Y. w.

**highway**: a country road. Q. "How far was the house from the street?" A. "There wa'n't no street there. It's a highway." N. Y. w.

**hit**: to ask for, borrow. "Can I *hit* you for a V?" N. Y. c., s. e.

**hitch-rope**: a halter. N. Y. c.

**hock**: "In *hock*," in pawn. Mass. e., N. Y. c., s. e.

**hockey**: for *polo*. Heard in Ithaca, N. Y.

**hockies**: boiled pigs' feet and legs. N. Y. n.

**hogmouths**: toad-flax, butter and eggs (*linaria vulgaris*). Palenville, N. Y.

**hommy**: a calf. Myersville, Md. (The word *homily* (!) is used about Tannersville, Pa.) [Cf. p. 74.]

**honey**: pudding sauce. Conn.

**horse**: "That's a *horse* on him," the laugh is on him. N. Y. c., w.

**hucks**: for *huckleberries*. N. Y. c.

**human** (saddle): without "horns" (*humane*? The words *human* and

*humane* are pronounced alike, and the "human" saddle is much lighter than the "cowboy" or "Mexican" saddle). Tex. n. w.

**hunchin's**: "No hunchin's," same as *no fudgins*, q.v. Ithaca, N. Y.

**hunkers**: calves of the legs. "I had to sit on my *hunkers*." [Cent. Dict. gives it as Scotch and meaning the hams.] Myersville, Md., and Tannersville, Pa.

**ice**: "That don't cut any *ice*," that has no weight. Ithaca, N. Y.

**ice-house**: "Come off the *ice-house*," stop being "fresh." O. n.

**ice-wagon**: "To be an *ice-wagon*," to be very slow. N. Y. c., Mich. s. e.

**Ike** (*aik*): an uncouth fellow. "He's an awful *Ike*." Ithaca, N. Y.

**in under**: for *under*. Conn. w., N. Y. c., n., s. e., w., O. n.

**iron-glass**: mica. N. C. s. w.

**it**: a worthless fellow. "An awful *it*." Ithaca, N. Y., O. n.

**it**: occasionally for possessive *its*. Otsego Co., N. Y. A curious Elizabethan survival.

**Italian**: variously pron. *it-æliən*, *ait-æliən*, *ait-aliən*, *rait-æliən*, *ræt-æliən*.

**jack lantern**: for *jack-o'-lantern*. N. Y. c., w., O. n.

**jack lantern**: 1. A large lantern used in hunting deer in the Adirondacks, N. Y. 2. A dull, stupid fellow. N. Y. w.

**jack light**: same as *jack lantern* above, used in hunting. N. Y. e.

**Job's Coffin**: for *Pleiades*. O. n.

**jockey**: to barter without idea of deception. N. Y. c.

**jocks**: "By *jocks!*" N. Y. c.

**jolly**: "By *jolly!*" Cf. "By *jocks!*" above. N. Y. c., w. Also "Jolly!" O. n.

**jolly**: 1. To tease, poke fun at. N. Y. c., s. e. 2. To flatter. N. Y. s. e., O. n. 3. To do a favor with the idea of a possible return, or in order to get on good terms; e.g. a wholesale dealer who entertains his country customers, or a theatre manager who gives dead-head tickets. N. Y. City.

**josh**: 1. To surprise. Ithaca, N. Y., Mich. s. e. 2. Same as *jolly* (v.) 1 and 2 above. N. Y. c., s. e., O. n., Mich. s. e.

**journey cake**: for *johnny cake*. N. Y.

**juke**: 1 (v. i.). To hide quickly. O. n. 2 (v. t.). To dodge, as in tag. Can. In Cent. Dict. marked Scotch. [Cf. *jook*, 74.]

**jump on (over)**: to rebuke. "I *jumped all over* him." Mass. e., N. Y. c., n., s. e., O. n., Mich. s. e.

**killick (killock, kellock)**: a stone enclosed in a wooden crate or frame, used as an anchor. Gloucester, Mass. [The Essex Institute Historical Collections, Vol. VII., p. 35, says: "Worcester's definition is very unsatisfactory, and though he marks it 'rare,' it is of very ancient and common use on our N. E. sea-board."]

**killin** (a.): 1. Wonderful, fascinating, interesting. "That child is just too *killin* for anything." 2. Ridiculous. "Her dress was perfectly *killin*." Mass. e., Conn., N. Y. c., n., s. e., w., O. n., Mich. s. e.

**king come out**: same as *king* (DIALECT NOTES, p. 398).

**kitter-, kittern-cornered**: for *cater-cornered*. N. Y. c.

**kitterin'**: for *caterin'* (DIALECT NOTES, p. 340). Essex Co., Otsego Co., N. Y.

**kitty-kitty-corner**: same as *puss-in-the-corner*. N. Y. c., n. [Cf. Cent. Dict.]

**knock the socks (or spots) off**: to whip thoroughly. Ill., N. Y. c., s. e.

**land**: when a field is ploughed in strips or sections to avoid "dead furrows," each strip is called a *land*. Such strips at the end of the field, on which the team is turned in ploughing the other sections, are called *headlands*. Somerset Co., N. J. [Quotations in Cent. Dict. are very poor illustrations of the definition given.]

**large**: "A *large* evening," a fine evening. N. Y. c., s. e., O. n.

**lay out**: "cut" recitation. "He laid out of Latin." (School boys.) Parker Co., Tex.

**learn Hebrew**: "I sent my watch to *learn Hebrew*," I pawned my watch. N. Y. c.

**ledge**: a stone quarry. Otsego Co., N. Y.

**lessen**: unless. "I'll send, *lessen* you want to go yourself." N. C. s. w.

**licking** (adv.): very. "*Licking* good," of pie, candy, etc. N. Y. c., n.

**liekity blinder, liekity brindle**: same as *lickity split*. N. Y. c., w., s. w.

**lief**: sometimes pron. *liv*. N. Y. s. e.

**lief**: have as lives (*livz*) for have as *lief*. "I'd just as *lives* go as not." N. Y. c., n., w.

**linkister** (n): interpreter; (v.) to interpret. "He's going to preach to the Injuns to-day, but who's going to *linkister* for him?" N. C. s. w. [See Cent. Dict. and Farmer, s. v. In Bartlett as a seaman's term; De Vere gives it as a *talker*, without mentioning the above meaning.]

**livery**: a turn-out from a livery stable. Tompkins Co., Ontario Co., N. Y.

**loaded for bear**: 1. Used of shot-shells which are so heavily loaded that the gun kicks when fired. 2. Very drunk. 3. Said of one who has a big supply of anything. N. Y. c., w. 4. Full of indignation which is likely to be vented upon its object. Mass., N. Y.

**look**: "*Look lively!*" be quick. N. Y. c.

**lottest**: "The *lottest* of people," a large number. Ithaca, N. Y.

**lounge**: pron. *lvndʒ*, sometimes heard. N. Y. c.

**lulu** (*lûlû*): an agreeable or remarkable person. N. Y. c., n., s. e., Mich. s. e. In O. n. and Mich. s. e. a term of disrespect.

**Maltese**: often pron. *molt'î*. Conn. w., N. Y. c., n.

**mash**: iron slightly. "Why don't you *mash* the clothes?" Parker Co., Tex.

**masterest**: most powerful. "He was makin' the *masterest* noise ever I hearn." N. C. s. w.

**mayflower** (v.): "To go *mayflowering*." N. H., and occasionally in N. Y. w.

**me**: an old ethical dative, probably survives in such expressions as "My head aches *me*," "My eyes hurt *me*." N. Y. City, Pa. w., N. C.

**mealng**: in "They're all gone *a-mealng*," = gone to dinner. Nantucket. [*Mealer* for *table boarder*, like *roomer* for *lodger*, is familiar to the boarding-house language in Boston. So *mealery* in Boston for a cheap boarding-house where meals are provided at a fixed price, generally with a reduction on a ticket for a week's meals.]

**measure** : specifically, a four-quart measure. Otsego Co., Dutchess Co., N. Y.

**Mick** : an Irishman. N. Y. c.

**middle-of-the-roader** : a straight out-and-out Populist (1896).

**Miss** : "The *Miss* Smiths," two of different families; "The *Misses* Smith," two of the same family. N. H.

**mochalie** : a Chinaman.

**mogue** : to deceive, get the laugh on (tailors' slang).

**moke** : a negro. N. Y. c.

**money-catcher** : a dandelion blossom gone to seed. N. Y.

**morphodite** (*mɔrfədait*) : for *hermaphrodite*. Conn. w., s., N. Y. c., w.

**mosey** : same as *pom-pom-pull-away* (DIALECT NOTES, p. 398). Brooklyn, N. Y.

**mother-wants** (n. plu.) : same as *money-catchers*. N. Y.

**muggins** : a term in marbles, used to disconcert one's opponent. N. Y. s. e.

**mumblejy peg** (*mɔm-ldʒi*) : same as *mummelty peg*. Otsego Co., St. Lawrence Co., N. Y. In O. n. *mumble* (*mɔmbəl*) *peg*. [Cf. DIALECT NOTES, p. 398.]

**nan! nan!** : a call for sheep. Cayuga Co., Otsego Co., N. Y.

**neighbor** (v. t.) : to be on friendly terms with. "I don't *neighbor* her, she's too proud." Va.

**nibs** : for *mibs*. N. Y. w., Ont. w.

**nice** : "To be *nice* to a girl," to pay her especial attentions. N. Y. c., n., w., O. n.

**nickey-toed** : pigeon-toed, having the toes turned inward. Tannersville, Pa.

**nigger-head** : a kind of heavy navy-blue cloth. N. Y. s. e.

**nigger-heads** : 1. Nuts resembling small chestnuts, found in S. C. 2. Sunflowers. N. Y.

**nigger toes** : for *Brazil nuts*. N. Y. c., n., w., O. n., Pa. s. e.

**nit** : a decided negative, much stronger than *no*. Also added to positive assertions to give a negative meaning (equivalent to "I don't think"). Mass., N. Y., Mich. In O. n. also *aber nit*.

**Norwich** : pron. *nɔrwɪtʃ* in N. Y.; *nɔridʒ* in Vt.; *nɔritʃ* in Conn.

**of** : for *with*. "What's the matter *of* him?" N. Y. c., n., s. e.

**on** : "Wait *on* me," for "Wait *for* me." Montreal, Can.

**once** : to oncet (*təw-ɔnst*). For *at once*. N. Y. c., n., w.

**over** : for *towards*. "He lives *over* Meriden way." Conn., N. Y. w.

**packing** : "It's good *packing*," said of snow that can be easily made into snowballs. Conn., Ithaca, N. Y., Detroit, Mich.

**patch** : to strike with a ball so as to put out. [Cf. *burn*.] N. Y. c.

**peculiar ointment** : pop. etym. for *mercurial ointment*. ("N.") New Orleans, La.

**perch** : "Come off your *perch*," stop being fresh. N. Y. c., n., w., O. n.

**perdure** : endure, continue. "May you *perdure* faithful to the end." (Methodist ministers.) Parker Co., Tex.

**pick** : "To *pick* stone," to gather them from the field. Conn. w., N. Y. w.

**pick a crow**: have a controversy, "pick a bone." N. C., Eufaula, Ala.  
**pin** (v.): a coaster *pins* another when he passes, overlaps, or touches his sled at the end of the coast. (Boys.) Mass. w.

**plank in the rock**: a special kind of stone wall. N. Y.

**plug ugly**: a term of reproach for a nag. N. Y. c.

**plunk**: a dollar. N. Y. c., Mich.

**polly**: for *polly boo* (DIALECT NOTES, p. 398). N. Y. n.

**pom-pom-pull-away**: pron. *pvm*. Ia. See DIALECT NOTES, p. 398, under *king*.

**pon-hoss**: the word is in De Vere, but we print our correspondent's note in full as an interesting sample of good observation: Place, Myersville, Md., and Gettysburg, Pa.; means *scrapple* (see dictionary). Never saw this word in print, and hence am not sure the above is the correct spelling. It seems to be of German origin, and if I mistake not, is Pa. Dutch. Used to hear college students jocosely call it "pan rabbit,"—why, I do not know; though the German for "pan" is "pfanne," and for "hare" "hase." The pronunciation of these two words together would sound much like "Pon-hoss." Strange to say that in this community (Tannersville, Pa.) where Pa. Dutch abounds, "scrapple" is the word used; while in the two places above, where Pa. Dutch is unknown, "pon-hoss" is the word used.

**pops**: Populists. Kan.

**popocrat**: in the campaign of 1896, an adherent of the Chicago, or free silver, wing of the Democratic party.

**pretty** (n.): "Well, my *pretty*, how are you?" N. Y.

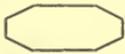
**pretty day**: a nice day. Ill., Va.

**primed**: "To be *primed*," to be ready. Ithaca, N. Y., O. n., Mich. s. e. "Cocked and *primed*." N. Y. w.

**punish**: hurt or annoy. "My corns *punished* me all day." Also used in the sense of suffering for lack of something; e.g. "I couldn't get any water, and my! how I did *punish*." Tannersville and Scott Run, Pa. [See p. 231.]

**push**: the best society. "He's in de *push*." Ithaca, N. Y.

**pushincy**: emergency. Parker Co., Tex.

**pussy**: a game played with a small bat (usually part of a broomstick) and a small block 1" by 4" , which is also termed a *pussy*. Ithaca, N. Y. [Known as a "cat" in N. E.]

**pussy cat**: same as *pussy* above. N. Y. s. e.

**pussy-wants-a-corner**: same as *puss-in-the-corner*. [Cf. Cent. Dict.] N. Y. w., O. n.

**put back**: "How much did it *put* you *back*," how much did it cost? Pa.

**putty**: "He don't know *putty*," he doesn't know anything. N. Y. c., n., w., O. n.

**quarter**: specifically, a quarter of a mile. "I walked a *quarter*."

**quarter-horse**: a horse that runs the first quarter better than the rest of the race; hence, a person that begins well, but has little staying power. Parker Co., Tex.

**quite some**: a considerable amount, "quite a good deal;" or adverbially = to a considerable extent. "You'll have *quite some* potatoes on that

patch." "He was sick *quite some*." Westchester Co., N. Y., and occasionally in N. Y. City.

**rag**: dance, ball. "We can go to *rags*." (From an English exercise handed in by a freshman in Weatherford College.) General in n. w. Tex.

**raggy**: same as *crumby*, q.v. Ithaca, N. Y. [Cf. Cent. Dict.]

**rantum scoot**: pleasure drive. [random?] Nantucket, Mass.

**realer**: for *real agate*. A term in marbles. N. Y. s. e.

**reap**: pret. *rep* common in N. Y. c. <ME. *rep*.

**red-heater**: pop. etym. for *radiator*. Ithaca, N. Y.

**reduct**: subtract. "*Reduct* my time from what I owe." Fla. w.

**registrar** (v. t.): to make a voter. Conn.

**reservoir**: specifically, a water-tank attached to a stove. Pron. *rezər-voi(r)*, N. H., Westchester Co., Ontario Co., N. Y. Sometimes *rezər-vər* is heard.

**riffle**: an attempt. "I will at least make a *riffle* at it." South.

**right-hand-running**: for *hand-running* (continuously: DIALECT NOTES, p. 65). Ill., Ia.

**rinctum**: a wrinkle, contrivance, design. Mass., Otsego Co., N. Y.

**ring off**: stop talking. Probably from the telephone office.

**robin**: a flannel undershirt. R. I. s.

**Rochester**: often pron. *ratfəst-r* (almost dissyllabic) and even *ratft-r*. N. Y. c., w.

**rock fence**: a stone wall. N. Y. c.

**rode, rood** (*rôd*), a light line attached to a killick. Marblehead, Mass. ["Bay of Fundy," Cent. Dict.]

**rogue** (n.): a horse that has the habit of getting out of his pasture, and cannot be restrained by ordinary fences. Conn. w. (v.) To thieve. "The cat is *roguing* it some." N. C. s. w.

**roly-poly**: a game played with a rubber ball and small holes dug in the ground. Tompkins Co., N. Y., Ia. [Cf. Cent. Dict., where apparently a different game is referred to.]

**Roman**: an inhabitant of Rome, N. Y.

**round**: of fish not split or cleaned. Marblehead, Mass.

**round square**: to send a boy after a *round square* is to send him on a fruitless errand (as a joke). N. Y. w., Ia.

**rubber ice**: thin ice that bends when skated upon. N. Y. c., n., w., Detroit, Mich.

**rubber neck**: a person looking in vain for some one or something may be saluted, humorously, with "*Rubber neck!*" N. Y. c., O. n. [See p. 393.]

**runt**: worthless fellow. (Cowboys.) Parker Co., Tex.

**sap**: gravy.

**sass**: small talk, empty talk. N. Y. c., Mich. s. e.

**scaly**: tricky, dishonest. N. Y. c.

**scaly ice**: ice through which the skate cuts. N. Y. c., w.

**scenery**: picturesque spot. "This here's quite a *scenery*." N. C. s. w.

**scoot-horn**: a leather cup with a long handle, for throwing water from the sea to the mast-head. Marblehead, Mass. ("O.")

**scope**: <telescope, for *grip*. "Look at our *scopes*." Ithaca, N. Y.

- scorch** : in bicycle parlance, to ride very rapidly.
- scorcher** : a bicyclist who rides very rapidly.
- scrappy** : quarrelsome. Ithaca, N. Y., O. n.
- scrub** : a game of baseball among schoolboys, in which the players rotate positions. Mass. e., Conn. s., N. Y. c., w. [Cf. p. 214.]
- scullions** : small onions. N. Y. c., w., s. w. [Cf. p. 59].
- set (v.)** : to court. "He's settin' her." Palo Pinto Co., Tex.
- set open** : open and leave open (of a door). Westchester Co., N. Y.
- shack** : a slow trot. Also v., to go at a slow trot. "The old horse *shacked* along." N. Y. c., w.
- shad-belly coat** : dress coat, swallowtail. Myersville, Md. [See Farmer s.v. for some fanciful derivations. Cent. Dict. and Bartlett give this as a cutaway.]
- shelly ice** : same as *scaly ice*, q.v. Ithaca, N. Y.
- shinny over** : to climb over. N. Y. c.
- shool** : to saunter. Nantucket, Mass. ["Prov. Eng.," Cent. Dict.]
- shooting-match** : any kind of meeting, from a church service to a dance. N. Y. c., w., O. n.
- shop** : a manufacturing establishment of any size. Conn., N. Y. s. e.
- shore** : "The *shore*," specifically, the coast of Long Island Sound. Conn.
- shovin's (švɪnz)** : "No *shovin's*," a term in marbles. N. Y. w., s. e.
- siebegodlin** : deformed, crooked, one-sided. N. C. s. w.
- sit up with** : to receive courtship from. "Sarah Ann is *sitting up with* a young man." Mass. w.
- skads** : money. "They kept the *skads*." Ithaca, N. Y.
- skate** : "To go on a *skate*," to go skating. Sometimes heard. Ithaca, N. Y.
- skew-gee** : correct. "Not quite *skew-gee*," not quite right. N. Y. c. In Ontario Co., N. Y., equivalent to *askew* (cf. following words).
- skew-geed (skʲudʒ'ɪd)**, **skwee-geed (skwɪdʒ'ɪd)**, for *askew*. [Cf. Cent. Dict.] N. Y. c.
- skewing** : for *askew*. N. Y. c.
- skew-raw** : for *askew*. O. n.
- skin the cat** : a feat performed on the horizontal bar. N. Y. c., w., O. n.
- skirrup (skɪrəp)** : a good time. Also as v. *skirrup*, *skirrup around*, to frisk, frolic. N. Y. c., n. Also *skiūrəp*, N. Y. w.
- skite** : "*Skite* out!" get out, run away quickly. [Cf. Scotch use of the word noted in the Cent. Dict.] N. Y. c.
- slam** : an uncomplimentary remark. Va., Ia., N. Y. c.
- slethery (a.)** : used of short, fine hay that will not pitch easily. Otsego Co., N. Y. [In Cent. Dict. marked Scotch.]
- slight** : knack. "She had a good *slight* at hoein'." N. C. s. w.
- smidgen** : bit. "Not a *smidgen* of an umbrella." Eufaula, Ala. [Cf. *smitch*, p. 394. In Cent. Dict. as "East Tenn.," on authority of Am. Phil. Assn.]
- snap the whip** : a boys' game in which a line of boys with hands joined run sharply and one end of the line suddenly stops, the other going round it in a circle. Mass., Conn. w., N. Y. c., s. e., w., s. w., O. n.

- snucks**: pron. *snuks* sometimes heard. N. Y. n.  
**snucks**: "To go in *snucks*" is common in Otsego Co., N. Y. [Cf. DIALECT NOTES, p. 400.]
- soak**: used like *sock*. "*Soak* it to him." N. Y. c., s. e., w., O. n.  
**soak** (v. t. and i.). To roast. "Let it *soak*." [Cf. *soak*, to bake.]  
**socket**: something of great size. "That fish was an old *socket*." Conn. w., N. Y. c., w.  
**socketing** (a.): very. "That was a *socketing* big fish." N. Y. w.  
**some place**: somewhere. "Let's go *some place*." N. Y. e., c., w., O. n.  
**song-valet**: words of a song. N. C. s. w.  
**son of a gun**: now commonly a playful epithet. Mass., N. Y. c., w.  
**soot**: pron. *sot*, common in Ontario, Seneca, Chenango, Otsego, and Albany Cos., N. Y. [Cf. pp. 6, 17, 67.]  
**soppy** (n.): specifically of bread and milk (tea), etc. N. Y. s.  
**spin one's dumpling**: to act so as to give one's opponent the advantage; e.g. near the end of a game of cards, if one leads so that the opposite party is sure of the trick, he is said to have "*spun his dumpling*." N. Y. c.  
**spoon**: pron. *spun*, common in N. E. and N. Y. c., s. w. [Cf. pp. 6, 17.]  
**spud**: a spade in cards. Sometimes heard. Ithaca, N. Y.  
**squogling**: askew, oblique. Nantucket, Mass.  
**squirrel**: "Hunt the gray *squirrel*." Same as *hunt the gray wolf*, q.v. N. Y. n.  
**stab**: 1. A try. "I made a *stab* at the exam." N. Y. c., O. n. 2. A stake. Ithaca, N. Y.  
**stair-steps**: for stairs. N. Y. c.  
**steak-dish**: a platter, N. Y.  
**step-child**: used by pop. etym. for a child found on the door-*step*.  
**straight up**: "Eggs *straight up* or turned down," eggs fried on one or both sides. Ind. Ter.  
**strand**: a pile of fixed dimensions of *strand wood*.  
**strand wood**: pine wood cut into lengths of about 32 inches for burning in locomotives. Fla.  
**strap railroad**: a railroad in which the tracks are made by fastening a *strap* of iron to a board; e.g. the old Ithaca and Oswego Railroad, N. Y.  
**street**: a country road. [Cf. OE. use of the word.] Wyoming Co., N. Y.  
**string**: specifically, a shoe string. O.  
**string cord**: a loose string. O.  
**stroobly** (*strubli*): dishevelled. "You got your hair all *stroobly* now." Myersville, Md.  
**suck it out of one's own claws**: to make up out of whole cloth. N. Y. c.  
**sweeting**: "Long *sweeting*, short *sweeting*," molasses. N. C.  
**swing**: pret. *swang* (*swæy*), heard in Buffalo, N. Y.  
**swingle** (*swindzəl*): the swinging part of a poke. N. Y. c.  
**tacky**: in Ind. Kan. used of a girl who is inclined to be coarse. [Cf. Cent. Dict. and DIALECT NOTES, p. 66.]  
**ta ta**: good bye. N. Y., Mich.

**tank**: pond. "Drive your horse into the *tank*." ["Prov. Eng. and U. S." Cent. Dict.]

**team**: a single horse attached to a carriage. Conn.

**tease**: to flatter. Ill.

**teem**: "It *teems*," it rains hard. Conn.

**tell on**: 1. To give away, reveal a secret which concerns some one. "He *told on* me." N. Y. c., s. e., w. 2. For *tell (of)*. "They're *tellin'* on that John's cow's dead." N. Y. c.

**tem** (v.): to pour. "*Tem* your tea," pour your tea. Otsego Co., N. Y.

**tempest**: specifically, a thunder storm. Plymouth, Mass. [Cf. p. 211.]

**tester** (a canopy): pron. *tistər*. St. Louis, Mo.

**time**: a good time. "We're going to have a *time* to-night." O. n.

**time when** (*taim'hven*): "Left over from the *time when*," left over for an indefinite period. N. Y. c.

**tomatoes**: plu. *tomatoeses* (*təm·ētəsiz*) sometimes heard. N. Y. c.

**tomediately**: by contamination for *immediately*. N. Y. c.

**toro**: a bull. St. Lawrence Co., N. Y.

**trade-last, -lassie, -me-lass**: a complimentary remark reported by one person to another. "I've got a *trade-last* for you" (the speaker then reports the complimentary remark made by a third person). Sometimes also a somewhat uncomplimentary remark. Ithaca, N. Y., Mich. s. e. In O. n. also simply *trade*.

**trapesy** (*trêpsi*): same as *trapes*. N. Y. c. [Cf. *traipse*, 334.]

**Trojan**: an inhabitant of Troy, N. Y.

**trolley**: an electric street car. Conn., N. Y. c., s. w., N. J. s., O. n.

**trun**, also **trun down, give one the trun**: to get a person out of one's way. Often equivalent to "sit down upon." "She *trun* him," said of a girl who threw a fellow over; *trun down* also means "squelched." Ithaca, N. Y. [Cf. DIALECT NOTES, p. 400. This *trun* appears to be of different origin, being simply a vulgar pron. of *thrown*.]

**trunks**: for (dancing) *pumps*. Mayville, Wis.

**tub-sugar**: coarse-grained sugar. N. Y. c.

**tumble**: to comprehend. N. Y. c., w., s. w., O. n., Mich. s. e.

**turned down**: see *straight up*. Ind. Ter.

**turned down**: 1. Snubbed. 2. Ousted from office. N. Y. c., w.

**two-seater**: a two-seated carriage. N. Y. c., s. w.

**uppin'-block**: horse-block. N. C. s. w.

**vamoose**: for *vamose*. Mass. e., N. Y. c.

**veil**: "He was born with a *veil* over his head," said of one who was a fortune teller. O. n.

**violin** (v.): to play the violin. Ithaca, N. Y.

**want**: "What's *wanting*" for "What do you want?" Conn. w., N. Y. s. w.

**wapple-jawed**: same as *wapper-jawed* (DIALECT NOTES, p. 63). Otsego Co., N. Y.

**wapsed up**: tangled, tumbled, in disorder. Me.

**watch-coat**: overcoat. O., Staten Island.

**watch out**: for *watch*. Ithaca, N. Y. [Cf. p. 65.]

**water hook** : the hook on the saddle of a harness which holds the check-rein. N. Y.

**wave** (pret.) : *wove* sometimes heard. "He *wove* the flag." N. Y. c.

**weather** (n.) : inclement, stormy weather. Va., Tex; (v.) to rain. Tex.

**weed** (pret.) : *wed*. "He *wed* the garden." N. Y. c., w., s. w.

**wheels** : "To have *wheels* in one's head," said of one who is peculiar or even slightly insane. N. Y. c., s. e., w., O. n. In N. Y. s. w., it may mean, to be confused. In Mich. s. e., also, to have a *wheel* in one's head.

**whiskers** : "To talk through one's *whiskers*," to talk nonsense. N. Y. c., s. e.

**wife's** : pron. *waivz* common. [Cf. p. 76.]

**willies** : "To have the *willies*," to be nervous. Ithaca, N. Y.

**Willie boy** : an effeminate young man. Ill., N. Y., N. H., O. n.

**wipe the floor with** : to defeat. Mass. e., N. Y. s. e.

**wipe up the earth with** : to defeat. Kan. *wipe the earth with*. N. Y. c., s. w.

**with** : "Mad *with* one," mad (angry) at one. N. Y. c., w.

**woddy** (*wadi*) : queer. Perhaps < ME. *wōd*. Elmira, N. Y.

**wolf, hunt the gray wolf** : a game resembling *I-spy*, but played over a larger extent of ground. O. n.

**work-harness** : a heavy harness for draft horses. N. Y. c., s. w.

**wuzzy** (*wvzi*) : 1. Confused. 2. Mean, contrary. N. Y. c.

**yammer** : to whine, complain. Otsego Co., N. Y. [In Cent. Dict. marked Prov. Eng. and Scotch.]

**yap** : 1. A low or ill-bred person. 2. A person unworthy of his position. N. Y. c., O. n., Mich. s. e.

**yawp** : foolish talk. [Cf. Cent. Dict.] Otsego Co., N. Y.

**yellow** : the game of *hunt the gray wolf*. O. n.

BRITISH *vs.* AMERICAN ENGLISH.

THE present paper may perhaps be regarded as somewhat overstepping the proper province of DIALECT NOTES, except on the assumption that the languages spoken by the inhabitants of England and America respectively, which I propose to compare as a whole, are but the two principal dialects of our common tongue. And at the outset I would say that the first thing which strikes any one who seriously sets himself to examine the differences in these two main branches of the most important language in the world is less the diversity than the similarity, not merely of its literary form, but of the colloquial and vulgar speech of the unlettered population. It certainly is a most remarkable circumstance, after the so complete severance of the American and British peoples for one or two centuries, and the diversity of the various influences by which they have been affected, that the farmer on your western plains, and even the very negroes on southern plantations, should so largely perpetuate the same old-fashioned or perhaps otherwise obsolete words, the identical idioms and quaint turns of expression used by smock-frocked Hodge in his quaint Devonshire village, or by the grimy collier amid the smoke and jangle of a Yorkshire manufacturing district.

As for the "Americanisms," of which so much is made by superficial critics, and which it is the fashion to ridicule not only in British drawing-rooms, but also, unhappily, by the Anglo-maniac snobs of New York and Boston, it has long been recognized by careful observers that a very large proportion of these are but perpetuations of ancient idioms in use before the separation, and in many cases still current in one or another district of Britain; while others are happy expressions devised by an eminently practical and ingenious people for giving their meaning in the most concise and appropriate form. Thus the word *guess* may be found, used in precisely the American sense, in nearly every page of Chaucer, and is not quite obsolete in England even now, but may occasionally be heard, in remote rural districts, employed in the Chaucerian sense. Moreover, it is certainly more correct than the usual British substitutes, *fancy*,

*imagine, suspect*, to say nothing of the commonest of all, *expect*, which is positively ungrammatical unless referring to future events. Yet I notice that American speakers, rightly reluctant to employ, for instance, such a word as *suspect* where there is no question of crime, or *suppose* when they have no grounds for their *hypothesis*, will say *I judge, I presume, or I surmise*, anything, rather than incur the derision of Englishmen and their imitators by using the good old Saxon *guess*. Thus, also, *wrath, heft, lief*, etc., are in common use in the United States, though extinct in "polite," or rather, cockney, language in the old country.

In perusing the dialect quips and stories which form such a favorite item in American literature, one cannot but be impressed also with the wonderful similarity between their *pronunciation* and that of one or other English province. Even the diction of a French-Canadian, in its misplacing of the aspirate, strongly reminds one of the brogue of our south-eastern counties; and, if English dialect stories were as common or as well written, this similarity would be evident to Americans also. Unfortunately, our dialects are usually so badly rendered that it is difficult even for a reader familiar with them to make sure what sounds are intended; otherwise, owing to the much greater variety and local or historical peculiarity of the words, they would be naturally far more interesting than American literature of the kind. Indeed, in many cases the writer simply concocts a ridiculous jargon by mixing the spelling of *Biglow Papers* with a sprinkling of vulgar words he may happen to have himself heard; so that it is next to impossible for an American to get an idea of what genuine English dialect really is, unless he personally visits the locality where it is spoken.

Another surprising fact is that dialect is dying out in England much faster than in America. The small extent and compactness of the country, its honeycombing with railways, running cheap excursions at less than a farthing a mile in every direction, the constant intermixture and presence of fashionable people,—all affecting as well as they can the London simper,—and the universal school board, are making the English people more homogeneous than ever, in speech as in every other respect; whereas in America, where large sections of the population live and die on farms remote from any town, and even separated by thousands of miles from the crowded centres, differences of dialect are rather extended than lessened.

Yet the same levelling influences are at work in America also. Thus, in both countries it is becoming the fashion to sound the *t* in *often*, *pestle*, and the word *lieutenant* as spelled; to say *clerk*, *stern*, instead of *clark*, *starn*; to pronounce *envelope*, *restaurant*, *bas-relief*, *promenade*, *baccarat*, *naive*, *tomato*, *vase*, as if they were French words, regardless of spelling and analogy; to cause needless confusion in the simple rule of the article, by saying *an one*, *an union*; and even to introduce new complications into the use of the aspirate (as if we had not trouble enough with it already), saying, for instance, 'umble, 'erb, 'otel, 'eroic, 'istoric, 'abitual, 'umorous, 'armonious, etc. Yet there is absolutely no reason why the *h* should not be sounded in every word in the language except *hour*, *heir*, *honor*, *honest*, and their derivatives (where at present it might seem somewhat ridiculous); but even in these cases consistency would suggest that the aspirate should be restored, and it would be a welcome reform if this were done. French words should also never be used where the sense can be given in English; thus, there is no necessity to adopt such unpronounceable barbarisms as *employé*, *renaissance*; and I am glad to think that the vigorous vitality of American speech is gradually leading to the substitution for them of the good English *employee*, *fiancee*, *attachee*, *habituée*, *renascence*, *plebiscite*, *seance*, *prestige*, *mirage*, *massage*, *espionage*, *accouchment*, *invalid*, etc. Of course, in the case of words like *dépôt*, *pièce de résistance*, *par excellence*, *en route*, *au revoir*, where no native expression gives the exact meaning, the use of foreign ones is excusable, though not in a perverted sense. The proper meaning of *dépôt* is *depository*, and it is, therefore, far more correctly applied to the freight sheds of a railroad company than to the passenger offices. Fortunately, the confusion caused by its numerous pronunciations (and spellings) in the States is leading to its gradual disuse, and it would be a good thing to rid the language altogether of such a troublesome exotic. The same may be said of *bouquet*, for which we have the two good words *nosegay* and *posy*, of *papier mâché* for *paper mash*, *toilette* for *toilet*, *salon* for *saloon*, *pyritès* for *pyrites*, *distingué* and *recherché* (which I believe is sometimes pronounced *rekerky*); while *route* and *blouse*, if they must be retained at all, may just as well be pronounced correctly, and not *rowt* and *blowse*. *Beau idéal* seems universally to be sounded half English and half French; indeed, the mistakes folks fall into when using a language they do not understand are most ludicrous. Thus we often see

in American novels such misspellings as *naivette*, *décollette*; and in both countries it has lately become the fashion to write "It goes without saying" for "It needs no saying," and "On the carpet" for "On the (table) cloth" (the same word, *tapis*, in French, standing for both). Even as highly educated a writer as Auberon Herbert fell into the error of writing *in petto* in the same sense as the French *en petit*, the real meaning being *secretly*; lit. "in the breast," from Latin *pectus*, "the breast." Then some of the Spanish words now so common near your Mexican border seem quite uncalled for. Why say *burro* when we already have in English the words *donkey* and *ass*; or *cañon*, when so many words such as *gully*, *gulch*, *gorge*, *ravine*, *dale*, give the meaning? It passes comprehension why, at Philadelphia and Chicago, the proper word *Exhibition* was made to give place to the bastard *Exposition*. That this word is not and cannot be, in such a sense, correct, needs no further proof than the fact that we never speak of *exposits*, but *exhibits*. *Exposition* has its own legitimate meaning, the substantive of *expound*, and to wantonly introduce such confusions as this, *elect* for *choose* (as "he *elected* to go"), and *assurance* for *insurance*, is to deliberately mar the richness and harmony of the language.

It is somewhat difficult to say what expressions are used exclusively either in England or America, if we except mere local peculiarities. Most newly coined words from your side quickly get taken up here. Many of your most concise and handy expressions, however, the English obstinately refuse to adopt, such as *freight train*, which in England men call *goods* and women *luggage train*; *east-* or *westbound*, instead of the English ambiguous *up* and *down train*; *track*, *sidewalk*, the meanings of which can only be expressed in England by a circumlocution; though in this respect we are no more stupid than Americans, who in spite of the efforts of John Stephenson & Co. and others to introduce it, persist in rejecting the excellent word *tramway*, and adhering to the awkward *street railway*, although the former has been transferred bodily into the language of nearly every European country. It is surprising that, when such a simple and telling expression is at hand, by which a distinction may at once be made between the two kinds of railway, Americans should be unwilling to use it. If this distinction were made by calling the one *railway* and the other *railroad*, it would be better than the present jumble, but as the real railroads are beginning to be called railways, such a dif-

ferentiation is out of the question. Even that appears to be a concession to Anglomania, and yet, though it is true that in England *railway* is the word generally (though not always) used, this is neither the more correct nor the more complete expression. For a main line of rail connecting two cities is more than a mere *way*. It is a *road*, the road *par excellence*, and by far the most important road between them; consequently, railroad is obviously the proper term. Each of the sidings in a freight-yard, or a branch track into a warehouse, is a railway, but not a railroad, which word can only be properly applied to that which takes the functions of a road. When great corporations like the Union Pacific go out of their way formally to change their designations from *railroad* to *railway* companies, it is therefore a wilful belittling of themselves, precisely analogous to the action of, say, the "Cunard Steamship Company," if they were to alter their title to "Cunard Steamboat Company." Indeed, the climax of absurdity has been attained by one corporation which, seemingly to avoid offending either party, now styles itself the "Southern Pacific Company," as if their business was that of whaling in the South Seas! On all accounts, then, the best words to use are *railroad* for the line carrying trains, and *tramway* for that on which single cars at slower speeds are run.

Similarly, our word *goloshes* is preferable to your *rubber overshoes* (or *rubbers!*), *treacle* to *molasses syrup*, *perry* to *pear cider*, and *lift* to *elevator*, since, whereas a person may be lifted down, he cannot be elevated down. In America both *trousers* and *pants* are used indiscriminately with the same meaning, whereas with us the former is exclusively employed in that particular sense, thus liberating the latter to be substituted for the barbaric word *drawers*, which however still continues to be used for the female garment, instead of the pretty Americanism *pantallets*. *Cab* is superior to *hack*, which should properly signify, as in England, a road horse, and is in its present sense an evident abbreviation of our *Hackney coach*, now obsolete in England except in formal language; as is also *buggy*, though current as late as 1829. Our *mercier* again is much more concise than your *dry-goods merchant*, and, indeed, *dry goods* should more properly be styled *soft goods*, the former term being rather applicable to dried fruits, etc., and *ironmonger* is shorter than *hardware salesman*. *Shunt* is also a good word, meaning the actual shifting of the train onto another track, to *switch* signifying in strictness the

mere manipulation of the "switch" or lever which causes the diversion. *Stoker* is preferable to *fireman*, which is the proper designation for the attendant of a fire-engine; *pail* is properly a utensil with one handle at the side, and is erroneous if used as synonymous with *bucket*; and *casket* should not be substituted for *coffin*, since this leaves no word to supply its true meaning. The same may be said of *strap* for *strop*, *billion* for *milliard*, *biscuit* for *hot roll*, *cracker* for *biscuit*, *alarm* for *alarum*. On the other hand, your words *mush*, *stoop*, *lope*, *pesky*, *spook*, *shanty*, *boss*, *boom*, are exceedingly useful in their respective senses, the last four at least being largely adopted in England — *boss* having almost totally supplanted our *gaffer* — though of course words like *ranch*, *corral*, *wigwam*, *hominny*, *chowder*, etc., can only be used in reference to these American institutions. *Masher* and *dude* have become common speech in England, though *toff* is the more usual word, among the lower classes, for the latter. Although Dickens has satirized the American fastidiousness, which changes *titbits* and *petty larceny* into *tidbits* and *petit larceny*, and insists on the use of such words as *rooster* (though hens also go to roost) and *slut* (which with us means an untidy woman), the English are just as absurd in excluding from genteel language the useful word *belly*, substituting for it the misnomer *stomach*, as also *bug* and *dad*, saying for instance *lady* "bird" and "Harry" *Longlegs*, although *dad* is one of the very few original British words still surviving in our language, and therefore worthy of special honor among patriotic Britons.

Such archaisms, corruptions, or peculiar pronunciations as *I seen*, *I seed*, *I done*, *it war*, *he drawed*, *he catched*, *he don't*, *I'll learn you*, *sartin*, *darter*, *dooty*, *gownd*, *drowned*, *ain't*, *knowed*, *off of*, *like I do*, *equally as good as*, *don't know as*, *to lay in bed*, *yawn*, *housen*, *Roossian*, *artisses*, *wunst*, *gal*, *greatest of pleasure*, seem pretty common in both countries, although it must be remarked that they are spoken by men of a much higher position and education in America than England. *Cute*, *cunning* (in the sense of *natty*), *glimpsed*, *bunglesome*, *gotten*, *splitten*, *illy*, *creek* (*small river*, in England the word means *inlet*), *yard* (for *garden*), *skeer*, *pshaw*, *faucet*, *to hum* (*at home*), *hull* (*whole*), *barber shop*, *rarely ever*, *anywheres*, *a long ways*,<sup>1</sup> *state's prison*, *get a holt*, *freak* (for *freak*

<sup>1</sup> Since writing the above, I find *a long ways*, *a quarter of three*, are still current in Devonshire.

of nature), *fall* (for *fall of the year*), 'most (almost), *wound* (Eng. *woond*), *maybe*, a *quarter of three* (o'clock), *mad* (for *angry*), *wrathy*, *bath-tub* (for *bath*), *misses* (for *young ladies*), *any* (as adverb), *rare* (*underdone*), *out-doors*, *evenings*, though many of them are excellent and idiomatic, are, I believe, peculiar to America, or nearly so, while *yow* (*you*), *thou* (colloquial), *nout*, *fut*, *took*, *singging*, *wairk*, *feither*, *buzzum*, *womenful*, *genelman*, *doom* (*dome*), *cupolo* (*cupola*), *marjarine* (for *margarine*), *bowl* (to rhyme with "owl"), *you<sub>2</sub> one on 'em*, *arter*, *ahl* (*all*), *colume*, *telegraft*, *sparrer-grass*, *summat*, *theer*, *cheer* (*chair*), *heverythink*, *idear of*, *drorin'*, *coom on*, *be 'er bout*, *bloke*, *noke* (*donkey*), could hardly be heard out of England, any more than such a phrase as "'er ain't a-callin' we, us don't belong to she." And I will just say here that the aspirate is never wrongly sounded in England in an unaccented syllable, so it is utterly erroneous to represent an Englishman as talking of *Hamerica*, though he may say *I ham*. Such words as *tune*, *duty*, are always pronounced by English people of even fair education as *tewn*, *dewty*; in the eastern counties, indeed, even the vulgar pronunciation of *rule*, *true*, is *rewl*, *trew*. The broad *a* is much more common in England than America, many people saying *cahsl*, *grahsp*, *disahster*, even *stahmp* and *ahnt* (*ant*), although the usage greatly varies in different parts of the country. Thus while the Warwickshire people say *bahdhs*, *scarves*, in Derbyshire adjoining it is *bäth's*, *scarfs*. In Australia, strangely enough, the universal pronunciation of *ant* is *ahnt*, while *lolly* is the comprehensive title for sweetmeats of all kinds, in America erroneously styled *candy*, and *tomahawk* is often corrupted to *tommy-ax*.

It is curious to note that many expressions tabooed in polite circles are really more correct than those that are admitted. Thus if we may say *a great many* why not *a many*, if *into* why not *onto*? The American usage is decidedly the more correct in *around* for *round* (adverb), *can't* for *cahnt*, *editorial* for *leader*, *ride* (in a carriage) for *drive*, unless spoken of the driver, *quotation marks* for *inverted commas*, *beet* and *marrow* for *beet* "root" and "vegetable" *marrow*, *reëligible* for *eligible* for *reëlection*, *postal card* for *post card*, *schedule*, pron. as *scheme* (not *shedule*), also in the distinction between *by* and *bye*, as preposition and substantive respectively, and the accentuation of words like *address*, *áccord*, *cóntent*, *cóntrol*, *álly*, *récess*, *réport*. There is also no more need to mention the forename after the title *Sir* or *Rev.* than after *Mr.* and *Lord*. Why always say "Sir Charles Dilke"?

In America complaints are often heard as to the self-consciousness apparent in your speech as compared with the naturalness and abandon of English people. This must inevitably be the effect of high schooling, and I do not see that it is any more apparent there than with us, where mannerisms and affectations abound. Thus many will say *e-vil*, *inspy-ration*, *fore-head*, *ex-haust*, *aġ-ain*, *seuperior*, *figeure*, *forteune*, *ex-change*, *brand-new*, *circumstann-ces*, *prog-ress*, *pro-duce*, *right-eeous*, *Christeean*, *mediataw*, *vendaw*, *registrah*, *medi-cine*, *regi-ment* (though we do not like you say *testi-mó-ny*, *terri-tó-ry*), not to mention such nauseating pedantries as *charwoman* for *charewoman*, *tart* (pron. *taht*) for *pie*, *awfully* and *tremendously* for *exceedingly*, *nigh-ther* for *neither*, *trai* for *trait*, *wrawth* for *wrath*. Both peoples are in error in speaking of *dinner* as *lunch*, and *supper* as *dinner*, in calling young women *girls* and even *young girls*, and saying *camel leopard* for *camelpard*, *demean* for *bemean*, *than whom* for *than who*, *to a degree* for *to a high degree*, *quite so* for *just so*, *intents and purposes* for *ends*, or *aims*, and *purposes*, *he ignored the question*, which is only correct if he could not answer it, *the italics are mine* for *the emphasis is mine*, and *I should have liked to have been there*, which in strictness means *should have liked (then) to have (previously) been there (but am now glad I was not)*, instead of *should like to have been there*, or *should have liked to be there*. *Homely* should mean *comfortable*, *domesticated*, not as in America *ugly*. To call a young lady *homely* should rather be a compliment than the reverse. Two or three o'clock at night should not be called *morning* any more than nine or ten o'clock be spoken of as *evening*. Morning begins with dawn. Noon is correctly spoken of as 12 M., and midnight as 12 N. It is unnecessary to add *of one* in *one half (of one) per cent*. *Hanged* should be used rather than *hung*, when spoken of an execution. The latter would suggest that the process was so common in England as to have given rise to a strong verb. *Waked* is the transitive, *woke* the intransitive, form.

As regards orthography the Americans are much more consistent than the English (and consistency is the great desiderandum); thus, there is no more reason for writing *favour*, *saviour*, than *terroure*, *gouvernour*; *travelled* than *happened*; *meagre* than *eagre*; though *combatted* is right if the verb is accented, as is the more correct, on the second syllable. The Latin and French digraphs should be abolished in *esthetic*, *maneuver*, *medieval*, as much as in *era*, *economy*, though *heterism* may be retained to avoid confusion

with *hetërisism*, if there is such a word; *ærated* for *aerated* being, of course, a gross error. *Chiromancy*, *cenozoic*, are the regular forms of the barbarous spellings, *cheiromancy*, *kainozoic*, affected by British writers. *Naught* is properly spelled to correspond with *aught*, *mama* with *papa*, and *skeptic*, though in strictness it ought to be spelled and pronounced after the analogy of *sceptre*; yet, so long as the pronunciation is, like that of *skeleton*, irregular, the spelling may also be irregular, to correspond.

But Americans, with all their acuteness and good sense, seem just as much afraid as the English to correct such time-honored but inexcusable errors as *volcanic* for *vulcanic*, *egotism* for *egoism*, *glucose* for *glycose*, *diocese* for *diecese*, *harpy* for *harpyy*, *kaleidoscope* for *calidoscope*, *acoustic* for *acustic*, *eureka* for *heureca*, *kinetic* and *kleptomania* for *cinetic* and *cleptomania*, *hectogram* for *hecatogram*, *kilogram* for *chiliogram*, *curaçoa* for *curaçã*, *Antillës* for *Antillas*, *Havannah* for *Habana*, *polygamy* for *polygyny* (when used as correlative to *polyandry*), *dodecahedron* for *dodecaedron*, *pleasaunce* or *plaisance* for *pleasance*, *one's self* for *oneself*, *mamma* for *mama*, to correspond with *papa*, *fakir* for *faker* (*fakîr* is a Hindûstânî word meaning, simply, *beggar*), *Sistine* for *Sixtine* (Chapel), *Athenian* for *Athenean* (which is as bad as the American mispronunciation, *Eurōpean* for *European*), and to pronounce *cathólic*, *herétic*, etc., as *fanatic*, *schism* as *scheme*, and *infinitesimal* as spelled, instead of as rhyming with *decimal*. *Egoism* is the only legitimate form, not *egotism*.

If speakers and writers would take the trouble to consider a little, in the light of common sense, whether or not the words or phrases they use are correct, instead of merely following vulgar usage, regardless of whether it is right or wrong, the most flagrant inconsistencies and solecisms in our language would soon disappear.

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#### NOTES.

It is very welcome to us to have an article which can be regarded as authoritative as to English usage. Mr. Phipson's ideas of American usage are in the main in accordance with mine; but in some few cases there is an apparent difference, which I have noted below. I have referred all the cases to several educated Americans, all of whom agree with me. It is

impossible for any man who has not lived in a country to be an authority on usage there. (See Farmer *s.v.* *Bourbon* (2), *buck-board*, *cunner*, *hard wood*, *jag* (very amusing), *jay*, *knife*, *maybe*, *nick*, *peanut politics*, *Pennsylvania Dutch*, *pine needles*, *rag carpet*, *red adder*, *Republicans*, *scup*, *shoo fly*, and various other words.) I have therefore taken the liberty of noting the following words:—

P. 430, l. 10. I have never heard in America 'otel, 'eroic, 'abitual, 'armounious. Have heard *yumorous*.

P. 430, l. 21. I question the growth of Anglicized pron. in the French words given except *invalid*, which I have never heard pronounced except as an English word.

P. 430, l. 34. *Posy* means a single flower in all American usage familiar to me.

P. 430, l. 35. *Saloon* in the States is never used to mean anything but a place where alcoholic drinks are sold.

P. 431, l. 10. A *burro* is a "critter" with a distinct individuality, which neither *donkey* nor *ass* will quite cover; likewise the *cañons* (often thoroughly Anglicized in spelling into *canyons*) of our South-west are something quite special, beyond the meaning of any of Mr. Phipson's words.

P. 431, l. 20. *Insurance* is the universal American word.

P. 432, l. 24. *Molasses*, not *molasses syrup*, is the word in use.

P. 432, l. 31. *Pantalets* is or was the word for a special variety, now obsolete, of the garment in question. *Drawers* is the general word in America, so far as I know.

P. 433, l. 22. *Belly* is no more used in polite society in America than in England.

P. 433, l. 31. *artisses* is unknown to me.

P. 434, l. 8. *cupolo* is regular in my dialect; so is *one on 'em*, *sparrer-grass*, and *colume*; while I have heard in America *buzzum*, *doom*, *yon*, *arter*, *cheer*, *idear of*, *droring*, and *bloke*.

P. 434, l. 18. I say myself "tewn, dewty" (tiun, diuti).

P. 434, l. 35. I don't know what *marrow* means in the sense implied.

P. 434, l. 39. I never heard *áccord*, *cóntrol*, or *réport*, and *áddress* and *récess* are much less common than *addréss* and *recéss*.

P. 435, l. 10. We do not say *testimóny*, *territóry*, with primary accent on the penult, though we do put a very evident secondary accent there.

E. H. B.

## GREASE AND GREASY.

IN this my first report on the distribution of American dialects I would from the start emphasize two things: First, the report is in part based upon insufficient data, and is therefore tentative. Where the number of replies is very small, the percents based upon them will be given in fainter type. Secondly, the attempt to define the limits of diversity of usage in this country is a larger and more difficult task than I thought when I began it. And this means that my personal effort at collecting answers to the test questions is quite insufficient; I must have all the assistance that those interested in such things can give me.

I now have some 1600 sets of answers to my list of questions, but these are quite unevenly distributed, there being a much larger proportion from the North than from other parts, for example, as many from Michigan as from the whole South. A preliminary examination of the replies to several of the questions makes it certain that the following *general* division of the country into four sections can be but little out of the way.

**NORTH:** New England, New York State, and the country west that was settled from them (Mich., Wis., Minn., the settled portions of the Dakotas; together with the adjoining northern part of Iowa, Ill., Ind., Ohio, and Penn.).

**SOUTH:** the states below the Mason and Dixon line (except Del.) and the country settled from them (including southern Ind., southern Ill., most of Mo., Texas, and all the country to the south-east).

**MIDLAND:** a belt separating the North from the South and extending from the Atlantic to the Mississippi (including Long Island, New York City and the adjoining counties, New Jersey, Del., all but the northern strip of Penn., the upper prong of West Virginia, southern Ohio, middle Ind., middle Ill., and St. Louis county, Mo.).

**WEST:** the territory west of the North, the Midland, and the South. It begins with southern Iowa and northern Missouri as an extension of the Midland, but soon flanges to the north-west and the south-west.

The District of Columbia is peculiarly national; for this report I have taken the liberty of incorporating it, like Delaware, with the Midland.

In some matters Canada (especially Lower Canada) goes with the North, in others with the Midland and the South. It will probably turn out that in the majority of original differences it affiliates with the Midland and the South, but with the North in more recent matters—due to mutual contact and to similarity of climate and social conditions; this theory, however, presents some difficulties. In parts of Canada the influence of Irish English, in others of London English, is marked.

In this report the attempt is made to apply this division of the country (as determined by the replies to several other questions) to the answers so far received as to the pronunciation of 'to grease' and 'greasy.' It will be seen from the accompanying table that the general justice of the division is abundantly verified. The numbers indicate the percent favoring voiceless *s* (as in 'sin'); the first number in each case is the percent for the verb 'to grease,' the second for the adjective 'greasy.'

The dictionaries until recently recognized the voiceless *s* in the noun only, and prescribed the sound of *z* in the verb and the adjective. But in the seventies *s* began to gain recognition in the two latter also. In 1874 Donald's edition of Chamber's Dictionary gave the adjective as having *z* or *s*, and of the verb said, "sometimes *z*." The Imperial (I have access only to the edition of 1883) assigns the adjective *z*, and the verb *z* or *s*. The Webster of 1884 admitted *s* by the side of *z* for the verb and adjective. The Century even prefers *s* to *z* for both verb and adjective, as does also the so-called Standard in the case of the verb, while for the adjective and for 'greaser,' it gives only *s*. None of the dictionaries suggest the use of *z* in the noun.

We have numerous singular nouns that end in a voiceless fricative like *s* or *ʃ*, while the plural, a related verb, or a derivative, has the corresponding voiced fricative: 'the house,' but 'houzez,' and 'to houze'; 'louse,' but 'louzy,' etc. As is well known, this is due to the fact that in the singular of the noun the fricative was from the start a final consonant; while in the plural, in the verb, and in the derivative, it is or once was followed by a vowel or other voiced sound, and hence was itself voiced. It may be that the word *grease* (ME. *gres(s)e*, riming with the infinitive *encrese* in 'The Phisiciens Tale,' OF. *gresse*, *graisse*) at an early



day quite conformed to this category; that is, it is possible that at one time all English-speaking persons gave the noun *s* and the verb and adjective *z*. If so, the present frequent use of *s* in the verb and adjective would be due to later influence of the noun. It is much more likely, however, that in the larger part of the English-speaking territory the group never thoroughly conformed to the category: "*s* in noun; *z* in verb and adjective," and that the use of *s* in the verb and adjective is original, arising out of the older *ss*, and being retained just as it has in other such words: 'release' (ME. *relas(s)en*, OF. *relessor*, *relaisser*), lease, 'increase,' 'cease,' etc.<sup>1</sup> But Walker, probably guided by local usage, regarded 'grease' as belonging to the category, in fact, gave it as the first word in the list. In this he was slavishly followed by his successors and their various worshippers, who taught, or still teach, that *s* in the verb and adjective is "wrong." This is of importance, for it introduces a disturbing element in the natural development of usage. For example, while Massachusetts, like New England and the North generally, strongly favors *s* in the adjective and the verb, the influence of the school-teacher and the dictionary in and about Boston has materially reduced the percentage of the *s*-sound. Outside of Suffolk County, 94 % of Massachusetts people favor *s* in the verb, and 81 % of them favor it in the adjective; but in Suffolk County the figures are respectively 80 and 74. Similarly, in England, exclusive of London, it would seem that 84 % and 74 %, respectively, favor the *s*-sound in 'to grease' and 'greasy'; while in London, only 25 % and 33 % do so, if the reports received are fairly representative. But this great difference between London usage and that of England generally is doubtless in part due to other causes than teaching.

Aside from this, the diversity of usage will be found to be largely geographical. In this country the North and the South present the two extremes: 88 %<sup>2</sup> and 83 % on the one hand, and 12 % and 12 % on the other. In the Midland Belt the figures are 42 % and 34 %; in the West, 56 % and 45 %. In each district the usage is fairly uniform. Of course, that part of the North that was most exposed to immigration from the Midland shows a somewhat lower percent than the states north of it;

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<sup>1</sup> Words like 'ease,' 'please,' 'tease,' go back to single *s*.

<sup>2</sup> These percents are obtained directly from the replies, not by averaging the percents of the states.

this is most pronounced in northern Indiana, where the two currents of migration got badly mixed. While the percents from the South are often based upon insufficient material, little inconsistency is betrayed except in the cases of Tennessee and North Carolina; in the case of the latter, I believe an element of inaccuracy was introduced by the fact that several of the reports were by Northerners who reside there, and kindly offered to observe and report the local usage, but may possibly have been misguided in a case like this.

In the West the usage is naturally not so uniform. Utah stands out as remarkably Northern. The West is a compromise between the North and the South, and so in many things resembles the Midland, which, too, has contributed largely toward it. But there is a difference that I shall be able to make plain in my reports on other questions: the earlier usage of the West was largely that of the South and the Midland; to a very large extent this later yielded to, or compromised with, that of the North, *but to a different extent in different parts of the language complex*. Of course, in time, the West will break up into sections, and it may be that more replies would reveal such a state of things now; at present I can only speak of certain counties and towns as more Northern or Southern.

From the following table, it will be seen that in the matter of the pronunciation of 'grease' and its kin there is practically no difference between New England and the North as a whole, and that Connecticut is the average New England as well as Northern State. For the Middle North (that is excluding New England and the British Possessions), northern Iowa occupies a similar position, as does southern Iowa for the West, and middle Illinois for the Midland belt. The territory covered by Arkansas and most of Missouri is in a similar way representative of the South.

North . . . . .	88-82.	} Conn. . . . .	88-82.
New England . . . . .	89-82.		
Middle North . . . . .	87-84.	N. Iowa . . . . .	88-85.
West . . . . .	56-47.	S. Iowa . . . . .	57-51.
Midland . . . . .	42-34.	M. Ill. . . . .	37-37.
South . . . . .	12-12.	Ark. and S. Mo. . . . .	11-11.

Although my replies for the Old Country are all too meagre, they are so interesting that they must not be omitted. If their inaccuracy should lead our friends across the water to send me more reports, they will serve a good purpose.

England, exclusive of London . . . . .	84-74.
Ireland . . . . .	75-75.
London . . . . .	25-33.
Scotland . . . . .	14-14.

This, like many of the other questions, shows the interesting fact that our North harmonizes fairly with the larger part of England, while our Midland and even more our South show distinct traces of the Scotch and Scotch-Irish ancestry of a large part of their population.

Aside from the geographical question, the replies have brought to light various interesting matters. In those parts where *z* prevails, it occasionally appears in the noun, too, and this in the Old Country as well as over here. There are various reasons why we might expect the *z*-sound to be favored in the adjective more than in the verb. In the first place, most adjectives in *-sy* have the *z*-sound, while many verbs end in the *s*-sound. Where the analogy of 'the grease' is felt as affecting the verb and the adjective, it is evident that the verb 'grease' would be more likely to accord in pronunciation with the noun than the adjective 'greasy' would. Verb and noun are both monosyllables, and the verb as well as the noun is now often followed by voiceless sounds beginning the next word, whereas the *s* of 'greasy' is always in voiced neighborhood. This is substantiated by the fact that some speakers give the verb the *s*-sound, except in the form 'greasing,' in which they use *z*. Moreover, where natural usage is influenced by the school and the dictionary (until recently advocating *z* in verb and adjective), this influence is the more apt to prevail the oftener the word occurs in general conversation where it may be "corrected." Now, 'greasy' may be heard often enough at school and in general intercourse, but 'to grease' is rarely heard except in the barnyard — of greasing wagon wheels — and in the kitchen — of greasing pans. These things naturally reduce the percent of *s* in 'greasy,' cf. the table of states. On the other hand, where the tendency is to yield to the category: "noun *s*, verb and adjective *z*," this will prevail the more in the case of the verb, because there are more verbs with *z* corresponding to nouns with *s* (for example, 'advise,' 'use,' 'house,' 'mouse,' 'espouse,' etc.) than there are adjectives with *z* corresponding to such nouns (I know of none but 'lousy'); and thus in a few districts the percent of *s* in the adjective is higher. An interesting psychological problem is presented by the fact that some

people who normally say 'greasy' with *s*, pronounce the word with *z* when speaking of a disagreeable greasiness.

I shall close this report as I began it by saying that I am well aware of its imperfectness, and that I appeal to all who have the matter at heart to aid me in securing sufficient material to make future reports better. Strange to say, I have thus far received very little assistance from my colleagues in the various philological societies. I should have at least one set of replies from every county; in States with large counties even this would be far too few. I shall always send copies of the questions<sup>1</sup> to those who ask for them; but I would especially urge teachers of English in colleges, normal schools, and young ladies' seminaries to use the questions as an exercise in English, requiring each student in the class to write out answers to the dictated questions and to hand in the paper in lieu of an impromptu essay. Wherever the experiment has been tried it has not only been found very profitable to the students as well as to "the cause," but it has also in a healthy way aroused an unusual interest in English work.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. also DIALECT NOTES, p. 316.

THE PRONUNCIATION OF ENGLISH IN THE STATE  
OF NEW YORK.

THE following article is an abridgment of a thesis on 'The Pronunciation of English in the State of New York,' presented at Cornell University for the degree of Bachelor of Arts in June, 1896. Only the more essential portions, those which deal with the results and the method used in obtaining them, are here presented.

METHOD.

The study here made is one of the actual pronunciation used in *reading* by students at Cornell University. This method of obtaining data could not secure such strict accuracy as to the actual living usage as would a study of unconscious conversational pronunciation; but it was of necessity resorted to, since it was manifestly impossible, in the limited time that could be given to each individual, to bring any conversation to include such widely dissociated words as those used for tests. In testing vowel sounds, the words made use of are those similarly employed by the Cornell Dialect Society. To these was added a number of others for the determination of certain consonant sounds. All the words are of native origin, and most of them in very common use.

These test-words, once chosen, were brought together as well as possible into a piece of connected prose in order that reading, rather than mere pronunciation, might form the basis of the investigation. This same method, or one very similar to it, was used by A. J. Ellis in his study of the dialects of England. See the specimens themselves and his own remarks on their use and value in Ellis, *Early English Pronunciation*, Part V, pp. 7\* seq., 1 seqq. Of the reading test employed in the present work, a copy is here given. The words whose pronunciation was sought are indicated by numbers in parentheses placed before, these numbers corresponding to those used in the tables below.

This all happened on the southern (1) tier. In the (2) rear of many farms (3) there are marshy places, and farmers often have their pig-stys arranged on (4) rafts kept at the edges of these

(5) swamps. One (6) afternoon the (7) door of a certain sty was left open, and the wanton swine, disgusted with the (8) idea of squandering a life shut up in a pen, wandered off and wallowed in a (9) swath of (10) grass on dry land and among the (11) squashes in the gardens. There was a (12) fog at the time, so that the (13) hog's escape was (14) long unnoticed. As (15) soon as it was found out, however, a (16) dog was put on the scent, but seemed utterly unable to follow it. (17) Undaunted by his failure to keep to the (18) path, he yet did not give up the hunt. Darting through a (19) pass between two large (20) roots, with a wag of his tail and a bark full of (21) wrath, he ran swiftly over the (22) clean (10) grass into the marsh, and there, leaping from (23) bog to bog, from (24) land to land, he (15) soon sighted the (13) hog he was pursuing. Now this (5) swamp was believed by the country (25) folk to be (26) haunted by a hog streaked with (27) soot and (28) yolk of egg and carrying a (29) spoon in its mouth, and a man might have hesitated before setting (30) foot on the place until sure that what he saw was real. But the (16) dog, quickly leaping over a (31) log, (32) passed in the direction of the supposed animal, and with a noise like a (33) laugh of triumph sprang at the swine's (34) hoof. His (35) terrible jaws came together with a snap; (36) clearly he had bitten at the (34) hoof of the haunting (13) hog. The poor (16) dog sat down (37) ingloriously on the turf, (38) burying his head in his paws.

At the (39) border of the marsh stood the Gay (40) Coffin, a sort of (41) coffee-house, (42) where, among other (43) boarders, were a (44) butcher's son named (45) Clark and his (46) aunt. These two had seen (47) half of the chase from the (48) roof of the (49) office, and when the dog dropped rather suddenly, the boy (50) very quickly ran to him, carried him into the (51) room, and placed him near an iron (52) urn in which was (53) burning a (54) fern-wood fire. (15) Soon the owner of the (16) dog came to the (51) room and threatened to have the (55) law on the boy unless the animal were instantly given up. Having no (8) idea of keeping it, the boy gave up the dog, (56) stamped his feet as the man left, and turned to (57) quaff his beer. After some (58) grog, the farmer (59) jogged home, and at four (60) o'clock found the lost pig in the sty. He then turned to the house, humming

"Ye that in your hearts to-day  
Feel the (61) gladness of the May."

His wife (62) asked about the dog, and the dog returning, after a swim in the (63) creek, ever after fought shy of swine.

. . . The (64) dancing girl (65) whom the doctor with (66) fostering care had just cured of the (67) whooping-cough came in with a (68) lamp in her hand and sang (69) "Ba ba Black Sheep" for the children. Then being (70) hot and dirty from rolling her (71) hoop she hung her (72) hood upon a (73) hook and went to (74) wash her hands, humming a (75) gospel hymn. A (76) wasp flew into the (51) room, which she struck with her wand and knocked into a (63) creek, where it perished in the swash of the waves. The children meanwhile played leap- (77) frog and were rather tired when the girl returned, but would (78) not admit it.

This selection was read by the different persons interviewed, and as the reading proceeded, the pronunciation in each case was indicated phonetically in tables arranged for the purpose. From summaries of the material thus gathered, the results given below have been derived. Before the reading commenced a brief explanation was made of the object in view and assurance was given that no criticism of the reader's own vernacular was intended. In no case was a refusal to read met with, and the fear which seemed sometimes to lurk in the reader's mind that he was to be made a living example of provincialisms speedily vanished when the subject had been properly explained.

Whatever importance may be attached to the fact in itself, it is at least interesting to note that the majority of persons furnished in the first part of their reading some excellent specimens of "dictionary English," in the belief, doubtless, that so-called 'correctness' would be regarded as a chief merit in their contributions to this thesis. Such affectation of 'correct' speech could not of course escape observation. Usually, however, it was not continued after the first half-dozen sentences. As soon as it was noticed, the reader was intentionally interrupted for the purpose of getting his mind as far from the reading as possible, even for a moment, with the result that, when he resumed, the affected articulation had vanished, giving way to a more easy and natural one. On the other hand, many students who entered more into the spirit of the work and who had been more or less close observers of the language of their own localities were especially careful to give the pronunciation prevalent there, mentioning incidentally that this pronunciation was not 'correct.'

The total number of persons consulted was 141, of whom 125 were natives of the State of New York. Of the sixteen born elsewhere, five moved into the State before reaching the fifth year, some before the second, and the remainder at ages varying from seven to sixteen. In this number is included at least one person from every county in the State, with the exception of Fulton, Hamilton, Lewis, Putnam, Richmond, Rockland, and Sullivan.

#### RESULTS.

Before taking up the results in detail, a word should be said on the variations noticed in the pronunciation of the same person. The test in this respect was merely incidental and was limited to those words which occur more than once in the selection given above. Even here, however, individual uniformity and consistency have generally been found. But thirteen cases of variation (and those in only nine words) have been noticed, all of them comparatively unimportant and of such a character that no definite inferences can be drawn. Thus, for example, variation between a long vowel and its corresponding short ( $\bar{u}$ ,  $u$ ;  $\bar{i}$ ,  $i$ ) is probably due to sentence stress; cf. *e.g.*, 'soon' ( $\bar{u}/u$ ) lines 9, 16 in the selection above; 'creek' ( $\bar{i}/i$ ) lines 46, 54; 'room' ( $\bar{u}/u$ ) lines 33, 53. In 'hog' ( $a/\sigma$ ) and 'dog' ( $\sigma/a$ ) the case is different, and here we have an instance of the struggle, perhaps unconscious, of an acquired form against a gradually yielding natural usage. This is true likewise of 'grass' ( $\bar{x}/\bar{a}$ ), 'haunt' ( $\sigma/\bar{a}$ ).

In the tables below the words are given in their simplest form, the nominative singular of nouns and adjectives, and the infinitive of verbs. The numbers correspond to those preceding the words in the text above, thus furnishing easy means of reference to the form actually used in the test. As a matter of convenience the pronunciation followed by the International Webster is given in parenthesis after each word. The system of phonetic spelling in which pronunciations are indicated is a slight modification of that recommended by the American Dialect Society. In the scheme of Sweet it may be shown thus:—

VOWELS.

Narrow.

Wide.

		Narrow.			Wide.				
		back	mixed	front	back	mixed	front		
high							i, bit i, see	high	
	mid		ē, her		ɛ, but	ə, better	e, men		mid
low					a, not ā, father	[ā <sup>1</sup> ]	æ, man āē, fast	low	
	Rounded				u, full ū, fool				Rounded
				o, obey ō, note					
				o, law					

CONSONANTS.

		back	gum	teeth	blade	point
open				þ, thin ð, then	z, zone	
	side					l, long
stop		k, king g, go	t, to d, do			

TABLE A

			āē	ā	à	o			āē	ā	à	o	
4	raft	(à)	134	1	6	-	46	aunt	(ā)	117	8	16	-
10	grass	(à)	135	-	6	-	47	half	(ā)	132	1	8	-
18	path	(à)	133	1	7	-	56	stamp	(āē)	136	4	-	1
19	pass, noun	(à)	133	2	6	-	57	quaff	(à)	77	58	6	-
21	wrath	(ā)	132	1	7	1	62	ask	(à)	138	-	3	-
24	land	(āē)	138	1	2	-	64	dance	(à)	137	-	4	-
32	pass, verb	(à)	137	1	3	-	68	lamp	(āē)	137	1	3	-
33	laugh	(ā)	127	2	12	-							

<sup>1</sup> Between low-front and low-back wide; the so-called 'open-throat wide' (à) of Webster.

This first table, perhaps the most important one of all, is a test of *a* in closed syllables before voiceless *f*, *th*, *s*, and before *n*, or *m* + consonant. The majorities in favor of  $\bar{a}$  as opposed to either  $\bar{a}$  or  $\grave{a}$  clearly prove that, for the State of New York, at least, the pronunciation authorized by the dictionaries has an extremely slight basis in actual usage. This, of course, does not apply to 'land,' 'stamp,' 'lamp,' in which the results agree with the lexicons. 'Quaff' forms an apparent exception, but the figures for this word alone would indicate nothing definite, since it was admittedly a book-word to many who read. Attention may be called to the slight difference in the results for 'pass' as a noun and as a verb, but the variation points to nothing important. There can be little doubt that in 'stamp,' when pronounced unconsciously,  $\bar{a}$  is more common than these figures imply; but the question is whether or not such sentences as 'He stamped his feet' (*hī stāmp̄t iz fīt*) are much used by educated people. 'Ask' was used in the preterit tense, and requires, therefore, to be further noticed as follows:—

$\bar{a}$ skt	$\bar{a}$ st	$\grave{a}$ skt	$\grave{a}$ st
71	67	1	2

Sweet (*Primer of Spoken English*, 1890, p. 22) gives  $\bar{a}$ st as the standard form in London, showing the suppression of *k* as in the second and fourth forms given here.

TABLE B

		a	o			a	o
12	fog (a)	137	4	31	log (a)	28	113
13	hog (a)	137	4	58	grog (a)	132	9
16	dog (a)	7	134	59	jog (a)	138	3
23	bog (a)	135	6	77	frog (a)	136	5

A test of words having so-called short *o*. Although the analogy of the other words in the list favors *a*, and although the schools consistently teach this sound in all, 'log,' and more especially 'dog,' persistently maintain *o*. Many of the persons consulted, familiar though they were with *dag* as a learned pronunciation, declared that they seldom or never heard it outside of the school-room.

TABLE C.

			ā	ɔ	ā̄				ā	ɔ	ā̄
5	swamp	(ā)	127	14	-	49	office	(ā)	16	125	-
9	swath	(ɔ)	105	35	1	66	foster	(ā)	13	128	-
17	daunt	(ā)	12	129	-	74	wash	(ā)	113	28	-
26	haunt	(ā)	13	128	-	75	gospel	(ā)	93	48	-
40	coffin	(ā)	9	132	-	76	wasp	(ā)	120	21	-
41	coffee	(ā)	8	133	-						

'Swath' is to be further noted as follows:—

āɔ	ā̄ɔ̄	ɔɔ	ɔ̄ɔ̄	ā̄ɔ̄
89	16	29	6	1

The words here were placed together, not because of any common characteristics in the written form, as in the tables already shown, but because the vowels varied in each case between ā and ɔ. The figures for 'swath' are unreliable, since to many it was a mere book-word: a fact which probably accounts for the wide variations shown in the supplementary table.

TABLE D.

			ɔ	ō			ɔ	ō	
39	border	(ɔ)	118	23	43	boarder	(ō)	17	124

These first figures give merely general results. The fact to be especially noted in connection with these words is the distinction, sometimes lost, but generally preserved, between the vowels in the first syllables. A more detailed summary shows that, of 141 persons, 100 make a distinction, using ɔ in 'border,' ō in boarder: and of the 41 who pronounce both alike, 25 use ō, and 16 ɔ.

TABLE E.

			e	ě			e	ě	
35	terrible	(e)	114	27	50	very	(e)	66	75
38	bury	(e)	119	22					

Comment is hardly called for here. The two pronunciations of 'very' are doubtless due to different syllable-division.

TABLE F.

			ū	u	e				ū	u	e
6	noon	(ū)	133	8	-	48	roof	(ū)	50	91	-
15	soon	(ū)	95	46	-	51	room	(ū)	96	45	-
20	root	(ū)	66	75	-	65	whom	(ū)	137	4	-
27	soot	(u, ū)	27	107	7	67	whoop	(ū)	51	90	-
29	spoon	(ū)	124	17	-	71	hoop	(u, ū)	34	107	-
30	foot	(u)	-	141	-	72	hood	(u)	1	140	-
34	hoof	(ū)	22	119	-	73	hook	(u)	1	140	-

Passing over 'noon,' 'spoon,' 'whom,' 'hood,' 'hook,' as requiring no comment, the results clearly show that for the remaining words two forms side by side, and equally correct, must be set up as standard in the pronunciation of New York. This has already been done by the dictionaries in the case of 'soot' and 'hoop,' and if justifiable here it certainly is in the other words. A comparison of 'whoop' and 'hoop' shows that 110 persons make no distinction in the pronunciation of the two words, 83 saying *hup* for both, and 27 saying *hūp*. Of those who distinguish, 24 give *u* in 'hoop,' and *ū* in 'whoop,' and 7 *ū* in 'hoop,' and *u* in 'whoop.'

TABLE G.

		fōk	folk	yōk	yolk	yɔlk	yelk	yalk
25	folk (fōk)	109	32	-	-	-	-	-
28	yolk (yolk, yōk)	-	-	41	50	10	29	5

The singular 'folk' is largely a book-word, and the 32 people who sound the *l* here, would probably never think of sounding it in the plural. The variations of 'yolk' are interesting, but scarcely call for comment.

TABLE H.

		kl	tl			gl	dl
22	clean	24	107	37	inglorious	35	97
36	clear	33	98	61	gladness	93	38
45	Clark	3	130				
60	clock	1	131				

[The totals here fall below 141 because these words were added after the work was commenced, and it was impossible to see a second time some who had already been consulted. This is true also of the words in Table J.]

The pronunciation of initial *gl-* as *dl-*, and more especially of initial *cl-* as *tl-* is much more widespread, even among educated people, than is generally supposed. The prevalence of the latter sounds seems to have been properly recognized at an earlier stage in the history of American English, and the 1828 edition of Webster lays it down as an absolute rule that *cl* when equivalent to *kl* is pronounced *tl*, as 'tlean,' 'tlear,' and *gl* is pronounced *dl*, as in 'dlory' (Webster, ed. 1828, 'Directions for the pronunciation of words,' § xxij). Written *tl* and *dl* do not occur initially in English. Cf. in this connection an article in *Modern Language Notes*, Vol. II, p. 222.

TABLE I.

		ɪər	ɪə	ɪr	eər	er	eə	ōər	ōə	əə
1	tier	128	12	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
2	rear	128	12	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
3	there	-	-	-	2	128	11	-	-	-
42	where	-	-	-	1	128	12	-	-	-
7	door	-	-	-	-	-	-	129	5	7

This is a table for the test of *r*, and here locality is of special importance. It has, accordingly, been ascertained that the twelve persons who in these five words consistently drop their *r*'s are

residents, and with one exception natives, of the counties of New York, Kings, Queens, Suffolk, Westchester, and Rensselaer. The single exception is a person born in Connecticut who lost (or rather never had) the *r* before coming into this State. Although further detailed statistics are wanting, such pronunciations as *bɔdə* ('border'), *ræðə* ('rather'), *tlak* ('Clark'), *puə* ('poor'), noted several times and confined to the counties already mentioned, go to confirm the results given in the table. Loss of *r* has not been met with in any other part of the State. The sound of the letter has, however, been retained by many of those consulted who live in these counties. Thus of five from New York, two retain; of nine from Kings, five retain; of two from Queens, one retains; of four from Westchester, two retain; of six from Rensselaer, five retain. It has been impossible to trace in all cases the influences which may have led to this retention, but in some it is due to the fact that those who still have the *r* were born in other parts of the State and had their pronunciation fixed before becoming residents of these counties.

It is here that the insufficiency of data and the limited extent of this study are most felt. Whatever may be one's private beliefs, these results must be taken as merely showing tendencies; and while no definite general statement as to the loss and retention of *r* should be attempted until it is justified by further investigation, a provisional *r*-line may, nevertheless, be drawn, which will remain fixed or shift according as the additional evidence does or does not corroborate these figures — very probably the latter. Within this line, then, would be included New York, Long Island, Westchester County, and Rensselaer County. The isolation of the last from territory otherwise contiguous is to be explained by the fact that this county, through its chief city Troy, is in close commercial and social contact with New York and Brooklyn on the one hand, and with New England on the other, and is, therefore, linguistically subject to the united influence of these localities.

The use of *r* as hiatus-stop was tested in the two expressions 8) *idea of* and 55) *law on*, and was found to prevail in these same counties with the addition of Schenectady. In greater detail there were 16 cases of *aidiərɒv* occurring in New York, Kings, Queens, Suffolk, Westchester, Rensselaer, and Schenectady; and 11 cases of *lɒrən* occurring in New York, Kings, Queens, Suffolk, and Westchester.

TABLE J.

	sing. $\beta$	sing. $\beta$	sing. $\eth$		sing. $\beta$	sing. $\beta$	sing. $\eth$
	plur. $\beta$	plur. $\eth$	plur. $\eth$		plur. $\beta$	plur. $\eth$	plur. $\eth$
path	14	113	1	oath	30	98	-
wreath	16	111	1	booth	36	85	7
swath <sup>1</sup>	21	91	15	mouth	32	96	-
moth	31	97	-	truth	48	80	-
lath	64	64	-	youth	65	63	-

These ten words in *-th*, plurals in *-ths*, were not embodied as were the others in the selections that were read, but were pronounced singly and without context. This method is undoubtedly faulty, and the results are correspondingly unsatisfactory; but while they are not wholly to be relied upon, neither are they entirely useless. With the exception of 'swath,' and possibly also of 'lath,' the words are common enough in both numbers, a fact which makes the varying use of  $\beta$  and  $\eth$  in the plurals especially curious. Does this variation actually exist in the generality of educated speech in the Empire State, or do these results merely reflect a vague uncertainty in those who pronounced the words? According to the dictionaries 'booth' should have  $\eth$  in both numbers and 'truth' and 'youth'  $\beta$  in both, while the rest should have  $\beta$  in the singular and  $\eth$  in the plural. Assuming that our figures substantially represent what people really say, the only way apparently of accounting for these divergences is this: that it is vowel rather than consonant to which the schools have given their attention, thus leaving the pronunciation of the latter to natural tendencies or individual caprice.

TABLE K.

We have here to deal with a few single words which do not fit in any of the categories previously considered. Scarcely any comment will be required.

		a	o
14	long (a)	2	139

Cf. 'log,' 'dog,' Table B above, p. 450.

<sup>1</sup> One pronunciation *swa $\beta$* , plur *swaz*. On this word, see also above Table C, p. 451.

44	butcher	(u)	ū	u
			9	132
63	creek	(i)	ī	i
			46	95
69	Ba ba	(ā)	ā	ā
			24	117

The prevalence of *ā* here is doubtless due to the writing, as no sheep with its vocal organs in a normal state ever cried *bā bā*. Perhaps had the spelling 'baa baa' been used, the result would have been different.

Words for which data were taken, but in which no variations whatever were found, have not been tabulated, nor does it seem necessary to mention them all here. One or two, however, deserve notice. 11) squash was always pronounced with *ā* and never with *ɔ*. The test on 70) hot and 78) not failed to reveal any genuine rounded *o*. This accords with the accepted fact that the vowel here is always *a*. The close juxtaposition of 52) urn, 53) burn, 54) fern, gave good opportunity for observing the vowel sounds, and in every case they were found to be exactly identical, thus proving the distinction set up by Webster to be wholly arbitrary and without basis in actual usage. This is a good instance of what really is and what orthoepists say ought to be. Cf. Webster, *Guide to Pronunciation*, § 87.

This is the end of the investigation proper. The remainder of the original thesis attempts to compare the English of America with the English of England (the so-called standard dialect of London) as far as such a comparison is justified by the results given above and as far as published phonetic texts of English speech render it possible. For this purpose Sweet's *Primer of Spoken English* (1890) was used. To be of any material value and importance, however, such a comparison must be based on far more extensive investigations than those here made,—more extensive both in the words or classes of words studied, and in the territory covered,—and above all the conversational language must be made the groundwork of research. It seems, therefore, hardly worth the while to include the remaining part of the thesis in this abstract, and in view of the amount of space already taken up, it is as well to end here.

B. S. MONROE.

## THE ENGLISH OF THE LOWER CLASSES IN NEW YORK CITY AND VICINITY.

ABOUT half of the six million inhabitants of New York State are massed within the limits of the "Greater New York" — on Manhattan Island, and in the "commutation district" close by. Only a historical accident connects this region politically with the rest of the State, and separates it from the part of New Jersey across the river which looks to Manhattan Island for its business interests. New York "up the State" is an integral part of the American commonwealth; it shared in the general westward movement of population, and is in race, institutions, and language, with some exceptions (chiefly on the great water-ways), just what it is geographically, — the middle ground between New England and Ohio. Its traditions have been rural all through its history down to the present age of rapid transit. All language traditions are, therefore, likely to have been conservative, and Mr. Monroe's article shows that in the matter of pronunciation they have been so. He has, as he says, very little material from the metropolitan district, and that little shows great variance from the usage of the rest of the State. The fact is that New York City and vicinity is, and always has been, something distinct, not only from the rest of the State, but from the whole current of Anglo-Saxon traditions which has dominated the foundation and continuance of the American commonwealth. Theodore Roosevelt, in his book on Gouverneur Morris, gives the relative numbers of the different elements of the population at Morris's time as follows: 1. Dutch; 2. French; 3. Irish and Scotch; 4. English; 5. German and Scandinavian (nearly equal in numbers to the English). A state of things quite similar has prevailed down to the present day. The current saying is that New York was settled by the Dutch, is owned by the Jews, and governed by the Irish. By the census of 1890, forty percent of the inhabitants are of non-American birth, and as many more of non-American parentage. A few years ago New York contained more Irish-born persons than any other city in the world, and more German-born than any other except Berlin and Vienna. A

New Yorker who has four American-born grandparents is a rarity, and, as the above figures show, a great majority have not one. The whole atmosphere and traditions of the region are, and have been from the first, commercial. The almighty dollar is by far the foremost object of all activity; whatever will bring the dollar, by fair means or foul, is regarded as legitimate enterprise. There are some very rich people who are spared from sordid cares, but the vast majority (and this extends to people whose income in dollars would make them care-free anywhere else in the world) are engaged in a fierce daily struggle to make both ends meet and keep up appearances. As in all such trade-centres, the Jew is very much in evidence; and all the conditions conspire to the end that he and the Yankee and the Dutchman turn toward one another and the community the worst sides of their commercial morality.

The average New Yorker is the outcome of all these conditions. People of wealth and culture form a class by themselves, which is relatively smaller than in most cities. People of culture without wealth do not live in New York if they can help it; people of wealth without culture, though very disagreeably in evidence at times, are, after all, not very numerous, and get culture in a generation or two. The vast majority who have neither, look up to wealth with a curious admiration and to culture with a superstitious reverence, acknowledging frankly their want of both as compared with the recognized upper class, but very self-assertive as regards the sufficiency of what they have. New York is such a colossus that its inhabitants find full occupation for their observing powers without looking at the rest of the world, and it is rare to find one who has any but the most general ideas of what life is elsewhere in America. In spite of diverse origins, the population of New York is singularly homogeneous socially and intellectually, as soon as you get below the distinct upper classes. The New Yorker meets his fellow-men more in a day than the farmer up the State does in a month; he reads little but the newspapers, has little time for reflection, and takes his opinions wherever he can get them ready-made. Every family which does not own a house moves, on an average, oftener than once in two years.

The large foreign accessions come prepared to fall in with life as they find it, and they find it in many ways more like European life than anything else on this continent. They therefore fall in

very easily, and after a generation, or even sooner, are fully amalgamated, without exerting any sensible influence to change in their direction the general current.

I have pictured the social conditions at such length in order to treat clearly the language conditions which correspond. The upper classes live a life of their own, travel a great deal, and educate their children in private schools, in which most of the teachers are not New Yorkers. Their language is therefore independent of the environment to a large extent, though there are individuals who have all the local peculiarities, and very few escape some of them. The foreigners who learn English here, of course learn the kind of English current here. The Americans and Britishers who come here with other kinds are relatively not numerous, and soon modify their pronunciation to conform to the current usage. (The Irish form one important exception, and their influence is to be traced in a few cases.) If they come as children they conform completely very soon. I think that no child under ten retains any trace of any other pronunciation after two years in the New York school and street life. The influence of the parents is almost infinitesimal,—quite otherwise than in rural districts. The children in most cases see very little of their fathers, and often hardly more of their mothers. The teachers in the New York public schools are generally natives, or, in a few cases, Irish. From these and the older children the local speech goes down to the younger ones. Adults or youths in the teens are slower to change their habits, yet I have met plenty of cases in which there was practically complete and surprisingly rapid adoption of the New York pronunciation by such persons.

On the whole, then, there is a distinct New York variety of English pronunciation, used by a large majority of the inhabitants, and extending over a considerable district. It is most marked in the lower classes, who do not travel nor come under outside influences; but it is rare to find any person who learned to speak in New York who cannot be recognized before he has spoken two sentences. The extent of the majority can be only roughly determined, but my estimate is as follows: Ten percent is a liberal allowance for the upper classes who are educated out of great local peculiarities. Perhaps ten percent more is liberal for foreigners who from home influences speak a different variety of English (fifteen percent is the total, and surely a third of these must be young enough to have conformed). Other foreign-

ers either speak no English at all, or, so far as they do not speak "broken," speak the New York variety. Probably, therefore, three-fourths of the whole population of New York and the immediate vicinity is a fair estimate. As to local limits, the pronunciation (which I shall indicate as VNY) is pretty closely confined to the territory spoken of at the beginning of this article. It shades off very rapidly in New Jersey and up the Hudson as the "commutation district" is passed, but to the eastward some of the peculiarities are heard beyond that district; the New Haven pronunciation, for instance, has almost all the features of the VNY.

I have been quietly taking notes on this pronunciation during the six years of my residence in New York. The guards on the elevated roads, the tradespeople, some of my students, the servants in my kitchen and those of my friends, the newsboys, hawkers, and "barkers," the school-children in school and out, have all contributed material. Last summer I endeavored to make final observations and put the matter in shape. I am conscious that it is incomplete, but I hope that others will give their criticism and aid in some future publication to establish the facts on a surer basis.

The general peculiarity of the VNY pronunciation which covers most of the special cases, is a change from the usual tongue-habit of the English language in the direction of a less vigorous use of the front part of the tongue, especially in the pronunciation of vowels. We know that in English the tip of the tongue is used with great vigor and accuracy in consonant pronunciation, giving the much-remarked sharp *s*, the interdentals *ʃ* and *ʒ*, and the tendency to substitute *dl* and *tl* for *gl* and *kl*; while the back of the tongue and the soft palate are comparatively untrained and remain passive, so that we have no guttural spirants, cannot pronounce the uvular *r*, and are liable to nasality. Our vowels are all indefinite enough, but the back vowels are very much so, and the higher back vowels all tend to progress forwards, while the front ones are relatively much better. The VNY makes the front vowels worse than the back ones, without any special gain in the latter over the usage of the rest of the country; the interdentals are beginning to go, and I observed no case of *dl* and *tl* for *gl* and *kl*. In vociferous pronunciation, such as that of the street Arabs shouting at play, or crying wares, this tendency to retract the tongue is very noticeable. I give the sounds in detail.

## Front Vowels.

*i* is generally pronounced better than some of the other front vowels. It is not very high, though generally much clearer than the *i*. It does not glide as in Sweet's LE (*ij*), but sometimes glides from a high- or mid-mixed vowel to the *i* position.

*i* is in the typical speech a high-mixed or mid-mixed vowel, — pretty nearly the *ē* of our alphabet, as heard in the New England (and English) pronunciation of *her*, *bird*, etc., though generally a little higher. When unaccented, the vowel, however written, is always pronounced *ə* rather than *i* where there is a choice. This is especially noticeable in pronouns and such common words: *wətəm* or *wədəm* with him, *fərəm* for him, *gɪvənəm* giving him (there is no distinction between *him* and *them*; both are *əm*), *tʃɪkən* chicken, *kɛɪt-n* curtain, *sɛkstəsɛkst* sixty-sixth (but *sɛksti* sixty), *ləs* -less, *nəs* -ness, *əz* -es (plurals and 3d sing. of verbs).

A noteworthy exception is -tion, which is often pronounced *fɪn*.

*ê* when full long (final, under strong accent, or in monosyllables) is a glide, beginning rather low in most cases (even written *oi* by the newspaper humorists, e.g. *loidy* for *lady*) and ending in about the usual place (*e* to *i*). When half long there is no glide, and the vowel is near the short *e* (for *æ*) as to quality, but tends strongly toward a mixed vowel when in weak syllables.

*e* is a mid-mixed vowel, nearly identical with that used for *i*, though a little lower in most cases. This is specially noticeable in the calls of the newsboys, conductors in the public conveyances, etc. (*ɛkstrə* or -*tri* extra, *s.evəntəs.ɛknd* seventy-second, *lɛsn* lesson).

In *twelve* and *twenty* the preceding *w* appears as a somewhat closer rounding, giving almost exactly the (close) *ö* of the German (*tölv*, *tünti*). If then, as often happens, the *n* of *twenty* is carelessly pronounced, and appears as a nasalization of the vowel, and the *t* is strongly aspirated, a Bostonian will understand *thirty* when the New York conductor calls what he means for *twenty*; and this often really happens.

*æ* is very high, pretty close to *e* of the normal scale, and never mixed, — being thereby clearly distinguished from the New York *e* (*> ə*). Among the older New Yorkers this very high vowel is used in all the set of words pronounced in New England with the broad vowel (*ask*, *half*, *pass*, etc.), and is really higher in these words than in *man*, *cab*, etc. But this distinction is now lost and the general vowel has quite overtaken the special one (*hend* hand, *keb* cab, *dens* dance, *hef pest* (half past). In *can* the weak form is *kin*, which is often kept even under accent, — a striking fact in view of what was said under *i*.

## Back Vowels.

These present no special features. *û* is less rounded than in New England, but more than in the West and South. The Western and Southern sound (for which we sadly need an added character in our alphabet), viz. a high-mixed, unrounded vowel, with a glide toward the normal *û*, is not common; a variation in that direction from the normal is often heard.

**u** is absolutely normal.

**ô** is about the usual American variety; some glide, though less than in England, when full long and under accent; no glide when half long.

**o** is really *a*, — the exact short of *â* in *father*, — as almost everywhere else in the States.

**â** and **o** are about the standard sounds heard elsewhere in America.

### Diphthongs.

**ai** ("long *i*") is subject to the usual variations in the first component, from *a* to *v* or *ë*. There is no tendency to omit the glide, as in the South and in the Cockney English.

**iu** ("long *u*") is the usual American *iu* (not *ju*), with stress on the first component. It tends to be replaced by *û* after dentals: *tûzdi* Tuesday, never *tûzdi*; *nû* new, *rûl* rule, etc. In *ni·ok* New York, the *w* falls out between the two front vowels, which then shorten to one.

**oi** tends somewhat towards *ai* in many cases (possibly Irish influence).

**au** has much variation in the first component, but in no case shows "fronting" of the vowel (to *æ* or a mixed vowel near *æ*) as in the South. What is heard is generally a regular *a* or something approaching *v*.

### Vowels with *r*.

The treatment of the various vowels when followed by *r* is undoubtedly the most important matter in local variations of pronunciation in the United States, if not elsewhere where English is spoken. New York presents some very striking peculiarities in this field. In general, *r* after vowels is completely silent, or represented by a glide (*ə*), as in the LE of Sweet's studies. It is silent after *â*, *o* (however written), and *ə*. It becomes *ə* after *î*, *ê*, *æ*, and *û*. Special cases are *e* and *v* (*ë*). When a vowel follows, the *r* reappears or replaces *ə*, as in LE. The insertion of *r* as hiatus-stop (*idea(r)* of *it*, *vanilla(r)* ice-cream, *India(r)* ink, etc.) is not unusual, but less frequent than in New England. It is specially common after *o* (*raw(r)* oysters, *I saw(r)* it, etc.)

**ar.** father = farther (*fâðə*), *ât* art, *â* r (letter of alphabet), *aðə* are there.

Where the stress is not great, so that there is tendency to shorten, the sounds written *ar* and *o* (short) are the same. hominy = harmony (*haməni*), lodge = large, God damn = guard them (*gaddem*), etc.

**or** and **ôr** are identical, both being pronounced *ə*. The quality of the vowel tends, however, to be higher in many individuals than the *o* when not followed by *r*. When final the *r* often entirely disappears, so that *war* or *four* rhymes with *law*.

**ër.** This combination, however written (*er*, *ir*, *ur*, or (*word*), *ear*, etc.), has the same pronunciation. (I do not believe that any difference is made in any variety of English pronunciation, whatever the dictionaries may say.) The sound given to this combination is the one distinctive peculiarity of the New York pronunciation. It is, according to my observations, only sporadic, and very rare at that, outside the region now under consideration. Professor

Grandgent maintains that it is also common in Philadelphia. I can only say that I spent some time in Philadelphia in phonetic investigation; I examined carefully about a hundred students of the University of Pennsylvania, who I made sure were born and brought up in the city or suburbs, and not one of them had this pronunciation. I have heard it only a single time during several visits to Philadelphia, and that was from a street-car conductor who may have been a New Yorker. The only person, among several hundred from other parts of the country whom I have examined, who had this pronunciation, was a lady from Lexington, Ky., whose sister, born and brought up under the same conditions, had the usual pronunciation (*ɛr*) of her region. Contrast with this these facts: In a school-room in Brooklyn, with thirty-seven pupils, thirty-five had this pronunciation without doubt, and of the other two, one proved to have been born in Scotland and the other in Bristol, Conn. Out of a hundred cases of guards on the elevated road at Eighty-first Street, eighty-one announced "*êtifɔist*," and in seven of the other cases the guard was clearly an Irishman or a German. The sound is difficult to imitate consciously, and outsiders, unless they come to New York very young, rarely adopt it; but the genuine born-and-bred New Yorker rarely escapes it. Its territorial limits to the north and west do not extend beyond "commutation" distance. I hear it sometimes in the Hudson River towns, but the natives of Tarrytown, for instance, use *ɛ(r)* or *ɛr*. To the east and north-east, however, it extends farther, over the whole of Long Island, and through all the Sound cities of Connecticut, and up the valley as far as Hartford.

In this combination, the *r* has become a vowel, and forms with the preceding vowel a diphthong which is very close to the French sounds heard in *feuille*. (I used to get some New York boy to pronounce *fir* to illustrate the French sound in my classes.)

The quality of the first vowel varies a good deal. In the pronunciation of the better classes it is a real high-mixed vowel, higher than the usual unaccented *a*. It runs the gamut down through *ə* and *ɒ* until it reaches the point which leads the comic papers to print "goil," "woild," etc., in attempting to give the "Bowery dialect." Of course the sound of the diphthong, in some cases, comes very close to the "long *i*" (*ai*), as is shown by such incidents as the sending in of Stein for Stern on a list of students' names at Columbia College, and the appearance of *incontrovitable* for *incontrovertible* in the usually faultlessly proof-read columns of the *Evening Post*.

It may be worth noting here that the use of *i* for *r* does not occur after any other vowel, whatever Mr. Howells may say. The solitary instance of anything of the kind that I have heard was an order for a "poik tenderloin" in a restaurant from a person who, as I afterwards noticed, could not pronounce *r* at all. He might possibly have adopted some other substitute if he were not familiar with the *i* after *ɛ*.

**er.** The pronunciation of this combination as *ɛr*, in such words as *very*, *terrible*, *American*, is well-nigh universal. It is, of course, quite in keeping with the general tendency; moreover, it is not liable to confusion with the sound heard elsewhere for *ɛr*, and is out of the way of confusion with *ær* in words like *barrel*, in which the vowel is pronounced very high (*e*) as usual.

## Consonants.

Only a few consonants need discussion ; most of them are perfectly regular.

The surd stops (*p*, *k*, *t*) are strongly aspirated. In the case of *t* the aspiration sometimes suggests an *s*. I have had this *s* appear appended to the final *t* of my name on the address of goods delivered from stores, when I had written the address myself in giving the order.

A substitution of the glottal catch (', Sweet) for *t* in words like *letter*, *butter*, *written*, etc., is common, though by no means regular, among the school-children. I heard it much more frequently than in schools in other regions. *ma'i'n* mountain, with the *n*-position held throughout after the vowel, is another pronunciation which I heard several times.

The most striking and important peculiarity in consonants is the substitution of *t* and *d* for *þ* and *ð*. This does not take place in all words, nor in the speech of all persons, even of the lower classes ; but the tendency exists beyond doubt. It may perhaps fairly be ascribed to the influence of the large number of foreigners who have not the interdental in their own languages, and cannot pronounce it. I observed very few cases of natives who could not, and did not in some words, pronounce the interdentals correctly ; and the substitution of *d* and *t* for them, unlike some of the other peculiarities of the VNY, is not heard in the speech of the better classes. (More than half of my Columbia College students pronounce *æi* for *ÿr*, but none of them *t* and *d* for *þ* and *ð*.)

I can establish no rule as to phonetic combinations in which this tendency prevails. I am rather inclined to believe that it is merely a question of frequency of usage. The definite article, the pronouns *this* and *that*, the ordinal numerals in *th*, and such every-day words, are almost uniformly pronounced with the *d* or *t*, while anything in the nature of a "book-word" keeps the orthodox interdental. *dî·ê(i)t*, always printed in the newspapers "De Ate," *i.e.* The Eighth (Assembly district), *nɔtəm·ərəkə* North America, *saut fɔt* South Fourth, *trɔn* thrown, *rət·mətik* arithmetic ; but *mɛ·pəð* method and *pər·en·þəsəs* parenthesis by the same boy.

**wh** is not infrequently voiced, though the rule is for the voiceless sound, as in most parts of America. I have been told that voicing is nearly universal in Richmond County (Staten Island), though I have not been able to verify this by observation.

NOTE.—The phenomena above described represent tendencies, most but not all of which have become facts in the pronunciation of most but not all New Yorkers. It therefore must not be supposed that every New Yorker, still less every American, exhibits all of them, even as tendencies.

E. H. BABBITT.

## REPORT OF 1895 MEETING.

THE annual meeting of the Society for 1895 was held at Yale University, New Haven, Conn., December 28, at 9 A.M. President Sheldon was in the chair. Committees were appointed as follows: to audit the Treasurer's accounts, Mr. Grandgent: to nominate officers for 1896, Professor Hempl, Professor Geddes, Professor Rambeau.

The Secretary read the report printed below, and continued with a more detailed verbal report of some of the work in hand, and recommended the appointment of two committees, one to supervise the work of readers for the English Dialect Dictionary, and the other to issue question circulars regarding American usage. The report was accepted, and motions for the appointment of such committees were made and carried, and the following appointments were made by the chair: to supervise the work of readers for the English society, Prof. O. F. Emerson, Prof. B. I. Wheeler, Mr. E. H. Babbitt; to issue circulars with questions regarding individual and local usage, with power to spend for printing and clerical work any money in the treasury which in the judgment of the Executive Committee is not needed for regular expenses, Prof. George Hempl, Prof. R. L. Weeks, Prof. G. W. Kent.

The amendment to the constitution providing for life memberships, as printed on page 401, was adopted. There was some discussion as to action on the Secretary's recommendation to reserve life-membership fees for a publishing fund, but the matter was finally left with the Executive Committee.

On motion of the Treasurer, the following additions to the by-laws were adopted:—

“Instead of the DIALECT NOTES, the Secretary shall send to all members of the American Dialect Society whose dues remain unpaid, a statement that, upon receipt of such dues, a copy of the DIALECT NOTES will be forwarded.

“All members of the American Dialect Society whose dues have not been paid for three successive years shall be dropped from the rolls, after receiving due notice from the Treasurer.”

The committee to audit the Treasurer's accounts reported them correct, and the report was accepted. The committee to nominate officers reported the following list of officers for 1896, and after their election, the meeting adjourned:—

President, Charles H. Grandgent, Cambridge, Mass.; Vice-President, George L. Kittredge, Cambridge, Mass.; Secretary, Eugene H. Babbitt, Columbia College, New York City; Treasurer, Lewis F. Mott, 17 Lexington Ave., New York City; Editing Committee, the Secretary, *ex officio*, Oliver F. Emerson, Cleveland, Ohio, George Hench, Ann Arbor, Mich.; Executive Committee, the officers named above, and M. D. Learned, Philadelphia, Pa., Alcée Fortier, New Orleans, La., J. B. Henneman, Knoxville, Tenn.

#### SECRETARY'S REPORT FOR 1895.

The general report in Part VIII is presumably familiar to all the members.

The first matter of note for the year is that our plan for entering new material is in thorough working order. The form for this was adopted after a good deal of thought and discussion. We use sheets of such a size that they will fold into the standard library size. On the back of each is an outline map of the United States as far west as the Rocky Mountains, and most of Canada. What is west of our map contains fewer inhabitants than the State of New York, and is not to be compared with Canada as a field for investigation. A dot is made on this map for every report of the word entered with definition on the other side. Some of our maps begin to show the *habitat* of words with great distinctness. So far there are few negative reports; but when we get more local branches in working order, these can be supplied very readily. A plan suggested for publication is as follows: When the Editors have reason to think that sufficiently full reports for any word are in, let a list of such words be sent to all the local branch circles, and everything sent to the central committee, who will put it in shape for DIALECT NOTES. The exact form for this will depend on the organization of the work of sending out question circulars.

The work of getting out Part VIII was very slow. It was begun early in the summer, but owing to the fact that the Secretary was the only member of the editing committee who was able

to give any time to it, it was November before the copies could be finally sent out. As no two of the officers of the Society were within reach of each other during the summer, the plan had to be adopted of keeping the whole matter on the galleys till the proof could be read thoroughly and additions and corrections made. As there were a large number of these, the work was made more expensive than was expected; but the expense is, in the opinion of the Secretary, justifiable in view of the more satisfactory results obtained. Notwithstanding the larger amount of the entire bill, the edition, on account of the larger number printed, cost a fraction less per copy than usual, and the price to members for the year remains at 40 cents. Enough material was promised to make another Part, and it is hoped that Part IX will be out earlier in the year than Part VIII. It is proposed in Part IX to publish a complete index and close the first volume. Among the material promised is a complete record of college phraseology, as a result of a thorough investigation by means of a circular letter sent to all the colleges and large schools in the country, an article on railroad English, some comparative notes by an Englishman, a phonetic study of the New York vulgar speech, a further treatment of animal calls, and an article on Quaker English.

The question of readers for the English Dialect Society is treated in Part VIII, so far as it can be without action by the Society. It is hoped that some definite action can be taken at this meeting. The Secretary suggests that if the constitutional amendment concerning life members is adopted, the principal of the fees paid in by them be set aside as a permanent publication fund, to be used when our material is completely in shape and ready to appear in a dictionary or other final form. This will enable us to treat with publishers on a much more independent basis than the English society, which has now a troublesome financial question to meet in publishing its dictionary.

E. H. BABBITT, *Secretary.*

## TREASURER'S REPORT FOR 1895.

*From December 29, 1894, to December 27, 1895.*

## RECEIPTS.

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Dues for 1893 . . . . .	1 00
Dues for 1894 . . . . .	12 00
Dues for 1895 . . . . .	188 00
Dues for 1896 . . . . .	8 00
Dues for 1897 . . . . .	3 00
Dues for 1898 . . . . .	2 00
Dues for 1899 . . . . .	1 00
Sale of publications . . . . .	81 90
	<hr/>
Total . . . . .	\$385 94

## EXPENDITURES.

Printing Bills and Notices . . . . .	\$6 75
Printing Circulars . . . . .	31 72
Printing NOTES, Part VIII (1895) . . . . .	200 45
Postage . . . . .	18 20
Envelopes for NOTES . . . . .	2 00
Expressage . . . . .	2 10
Advertising . . . . .	1 25
Typewriting . . . . .	1 25
Electrotype . . . . .	11 50
Clerical work, entering matter on cards . . . . .	104 65
Cash on hand, December 27, 1895 . . . . .	6 07
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