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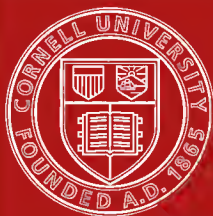
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THE DIALECT OF HACKNESS
(NORTH-EAST YORKSHIRE)

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THE DIALECT OF HACKNESS (NORTH-EAST YORKSHIRE)

WITH ORIGINAL SPECIMENS, AND A WORD-LIST

BY

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PREFACE

THE following Grammar is an attempt to investigate a modern Yorkshire dialect on a scientific plan. It has been a huge task and has presented many difficulties, all of which I do not pretend to have solved. The basis for my investigation has been the Yorkshire dialect of the fourteenth century, not Old English; for in spite of many modern dialect grammarians, no Northern English dialect is derived from Old West Saxon. I have been able to illustrate its development phonetically by Brokesby's *Letter to Ray* (pub. 1691), and by Marshall's *Provincialisms of East Yorkshire (Rural Economy, p. 303 et seq., pub. 1788)*; and diplomatically by the Yorkshire Dialogues of 1673 and 1684, George Newton Brown's *York Minster Screen* (1833), reprinted by W. W. Skeat in his *Nine Specimens of English Dialects* (1895), and by the dialect poems of John Castillo (1792-1845). The result is, I think, a clear proof of the antiquity of the bulk of the dialect, although, as in all modern English dialects, the vocabulary is blended with words borrowed both from the fashionable spoken language ("Standard English") at various periods, and from adjacent dialects.

The dialect offers many interesting instances of local sound-changes, and I believe the phonology will be of value to all who are interested in the development of the English language.

My chief difficulty in the work was to bridge the gap between Rolle's phonology and the dialect of the eighteenth century. Rolle and Marshall are fairly clear, but there is no exact guide

to the sound-values of the vowels in the seventeenth century dialogues. Harder still is it to fix the changes which the dialect underwent in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. In the absence of dialect grammarians—and it is obvious that the old-time schoolmaster lacked both the will and the need to teach the correct pronunciation of dialects—all description of vowel-development must be largely hypothetical.

When the phonology of modern English dialects has been sufficiently well worked for a comparative grammar of the various groups to be made, our knowledge of the pronunciation of early Modern English, and its dialects, will necessarily be immensely increased. But I do not think this the be-all and end-all of a philological work on an English dialect. A dialect is interesting in itself, and for its peculiar word-forms. An Englishman need not despise the “purer and more historical” dialects of his tongue, “any more than the Greeks despised their own various dialects.” I quote from an article on “Classical Education in Modern Yorkshire” by Professor Rhys Roberts (*Times Educ. Supt.*, 7 Jan. 1913). To present an interesting living English dialect, to reveal some of its philological riddles, to trace its ancestry, and, if possible, to create an interest in dialect literature, is the aim of this book.

In conclusion the author gratefully records his debt to his teacher Professor Moorman, to Professor Dibelius of the Kolonial Institut at Hamburg for his friendly inculcation of German thoroughness, and last but not least to Professor Wyld of Liverpool, who, as External Examiner to the University of Leeds, read the original MS., and has since read the proofs of Part I, and made several valuable corrections.

G. H. C.

October 1915.

TO

FREDERICK W. MOORMAN

POET, PHILOLOGIST, AND FRIEND OF YORKSHIRE
DIALECTS, THIS WORK IS THANKFULLY
DEDICATED BY HIS PUPIL

CONTENTS

	PAGE
PREFACE	v
BIBLIOGRAPHY	ix
ABBREVIATIONS	xi
PHONETIC SYMBOLS	xii
INTRODUCTION	xiii

PART I.

CHAPTER I.	THE PHONOLOGY OF THE MODERN DIALECT	1
„	II. THE PHONOLOGY OF THE DIALECT IN MIDDLE ENGLISH	11
„	III. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE M.E. VOWELS IN STRESSED SYLLABLES—THE ENGLISH ELEMENT	24
„	IV. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE M.E. VOWELS IN STRESSED SYLLABLES—THE SCANDINAVIAN ELEMENT	55
„	V. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE M.E. VOWELS IN STRESSED SYLLABLES—THE FRENCH ELEMENT	66
„	VI. THE VOWELS IN UNSTRESSED SYLLABLES	77
„	VII. THE CONSONANTS	83
„	VIII. THE HISTORIC ORIGINALS OF THE PRESENT VOWEL-SYSTEM	102
APPENDIX.	TABULAR STATEMENT OF THE VOWEL DEVELOPMENT	110

PART II.

CHAPTER I.	A GRAMMAR OF THE DIALECT	112
„	II. SPECIMENS OF THE DIALECT.	157
WORD-LIST		174
INDEX		195

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ABBREVIATIONS, ETC.

<p>adj. = adjective adv. = adverb Angl. = Anglian Dan. = Danish dial. = dialect Fr. = French gen. = genitive Germ. = German, Germanic int. = interjection It. = Italian Lat. = Latin lit. = literally lit. Eng. = literary English L.L. = Low Latin low G. = Low German M.Du. = Middle Dutch M.E. = Middle English Mod. Eng. = Modern English N.Fr. = Norman French N.M.E. = Northern Middle English O.E. = Old English</p>	<p>O.Fr. = Old French O.H.G. = Old High German O.I. = Old Icelandic O.N. = Old Norse O.North. = Old Northumbrian pl. = plural p.p. = past participle pret. = preterite s., subs. = substantive Scot. = Scotch sg., sing. = singular Span. = Spanish str. = strong verb Swed. = Swedish vb. = verb W.Germ. = West Germanic wk. = weak verb W.S. = West Saxon > = became < = derived from * denotes a theoretical form</p>
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PHONETIC SYMBOLS

The following list of phonetic symbols may be useful :—

- ◌ = the vowel heard in the following words, when in an unemphatic position in a sentence: *a, the, of, and*, or in the first syllable of *alone, aright, across*.
- ◌ = 'open' o in 'broad,' 'fall,' 'corn.'
- ◌ = 'close' o in 'road,' 'foal,' 'cone.'
- ◌ = 'open' e in 'where,' 'hair,' 'their.'
- ◌ = 'close' e in 'wain,' 'hate,' 'thane.'
- j = y in literary English 'youth,' 'young,' etc.
- ŋ = ng in 'sing,' 'ring,' etc., or n before k in 'drink,' 'sink.'
- ʃ = sh in 'shall,' 'ship,' 'wash,' 'lash,' etc.
- tʃ = ch in 'cheap,' 'choose,' or tch in 'watch,' 'match.'
- θ = th in 'thin,' 'through,' 'lath,' 'with.'
- ð = th in 'thou,' 'then,' 'this,' 'father.'
- ʒ = s in 'pleasure,' 'measure.'
- dʒ = j in 'just,' 'judge.'
- (r) indicates that r is silent before a following consonant.
- : after a vowel or consonant denotes length.
- after a vowel or consonant denotes half-length.
- ˈ indicates that the following syllable bears the chief stress.
- ː under a consonant indicates that the consonant is syllabic.

INTRODUCTION

THE dialect which is here set down is that spoken by agriculturists and their labourers on the Wolds and in the Dales of North-Eastern and Eastern Yorkshire. The district where I have heard the dialect lies within the triangular strip between Whitby, Pickering and Filey. Most of my dialect comes from the neighbourhood of Hackness, a small village on the upper reaches of the Derwent, six miles from Scarborough, and agrees, as far as my ear is a judge, with that which I have heard in Staintondale, Fylingdales, Goathland, and Brompton. The fact that this dialect is widespread proves that we have a genuine dialect to consider, and not a local patois.

The growing subdivision of English dialects is to be regretted in the interests of the dialects themselves. For no local patois can survive in literary dress, without the stimulating influence of a standard dialect which is not only spoken, but read by those who speak it. In order to have a living dialect there must be standard ways of writing and speaking it, and not innumerable deviations. East Yorkshire is luckier than the West Riding in this respect, though it is not owing to dialect literature but to this, that it is a land of grass and tilth where the labouring population changes from farm to farm every Martinmas. A Sherburn lad may find himself at Ayton, a man from Hunmanby may hire himself into Harwood Dale. Nearly the whole male labouring population shifts yearly. On any farmstead the half-dozen labourers come from different heaths, and speak the dialect together. This annual out-wandering has happily tended to keep the dialect fairly uniform over large stretches of the North and East Ridings.

The tillers of the soil who speak this dialect dwell in a pleasant upland country broken by woodland and mere, dale and moorland. On such a countryside one would expect peasants as merry as the Bavarians, or as artistic as the Swiss. Far from this, they are to all outward seeming dull and uncreative. They have no music save the melodion or its modern substitute, the gramophone; and little literature beyond the newspaper. Their houses are severely plain—four square walls of avelong stone on which the old-fashioned ‘thack’ upheld by wooden ‘forks’ is now replaced by pleasant red tiles. No carved wood nor decorative colour delights the eye. Whitewash is the only ornamentation. Rough, clean and simple like their indwellers, they stand in a land where every prospect pleases, but where scarcely any manifestation of art exists except plaited horses’ manes and tails, artificial flowers and flycatchers made of ‘seaves,’ or of wheatstraws, and wooden picture-frames for texts or lithographs ornamented with ‘chats’ and acorns. Even their religion has produced no hymns nor tunes like the melodious harmonies of the Welsh Methodists, or the Manx fishermen, or like the curly Handelian imitations so dear to the chapel-choirs of the West Riding.

Their dialect is like themselves, frosty but kindly. Kindly in its music, its ‘ahs’ and ‘oos,’ its ‘eeas’ and ‘ows’; kindly in its use of ‘lass,’ ‘missus,’ and ‘bairn,’ and in such hospitality as is expressed by ‘lowance’ and ‘drinkings,’ and ‘come thy ways in!’ and ‘Tak hod and sup, lad!’ Frosty is it in its naked directness. “Why do you smoke so much? Don’t you know that tobacco is merely a deodoriser and not a disinfectant?” said a pious old maid to a labourer engaged in cleansing a cow-house. “Happen thou’s reet, missus,” was the reply, “but if thou had to grave among this cow-cazan and muckment, I lay thou wad want a bit o’ bacca to slek t’ stour, and all.” Frosty is its extreme sobriety of expression. The dialect-speaking Yorkshireman has a horror of committing himself. Perhaps some forgotten Puritan teaching lurks here, the spirit which prefers understatement to even a shade more than truth. The dialect has nothing corresponding to the French *épouvantable*, or *ravissant*, to the German *kolossal*, or to the fashionable English *dreadful*, *perfectly sweet*, and the

like. Its nay is nay, but its yea is *all being well, happen, or may be*. Nothing is 'good' or 'smart,' or even 'fair.' It is *goodish, smartish, or middling*. Swearing is rarely heard. Bon! Bonnel it on't! Deng! are the limits of profanity, but such spadelike words as *belly, bitch, stallion*, and the like, are used without a blush. Every labourer knows which is *t'arse-end* of a cart. Frosty too its hatred of diminutives. Although so like lowland Scotch in some respects, it reveals no affection such as is expressed by *lassie, mannie, bairnie, or bithe*. A lass is a *lass*, and no more. Except in familiar names such as Billie, Allie, and the like, this the only living diminutive suffix is never used.

Curious is the multiplicity of words denoting rustic qualities and actions. And each word has its own fine shade of meaning which distinguishes it from its fellows. A fool may be *sackless, or gaumless, or gawky, or fond, or soft, or daft, or dased*. He is a *naffhead, a calfhead, a fondhead, a gawvison, a gaupsimon, a lubber, or a fuzock*. Is he conceited, he is *cruse, chuff, set-up, or trimmed*; is he clumsy, he *splauders, bawters, stackers, claims, lumbers*, or merely *lolls* about. There is an immense number of verbs denoting 'to chastise.' Here are some of them—*bang, bash, bazock, baste, bat, bencil, bounce, bray, bunch, clout, crack, dab, daub, esh, fillip, hammer, hezle, jowl, nail, naup, nevil, pash, plate; plug, punch, skelp, slug, swipe, tan, thresh, trounce, twilt, welt, wallop, whack*—and doubtless others. Perhaps they owe their rise to the fyttings which usually take place before a fistic battle. "I'll plate thee" must be countered by "And I'll tan thee," and so on, till the limit of vocabulary is reached when, either the parties close, or the interest is felt to be exhausted, and the rivals hie them home in different directions. Almost equally numerous are the verbs which convey the idea of noisy shouting, though *roar, bellow*, and *blubber* are nearer tears than *beil, steven, mal, youl*, and *skriek*.

It is this power to reveal rustic character which makes dialects worth study. More than all the points of linguistic interest, fascinating as many are—the mutations and variations of vowel sound, the fossilised words of dead and gone generations—it is this illustrative strength which caused great writers like

Burns and Scott, Barnes and Hardy, Tennyson and George Eliot, to introduce dialect in order to portray the intense realism of local character. If a race is worthy of literary consideration, its characteristics are revealed in its folk-speech. Actions may speak louder than words, but speech defines character surer than action, for action is common to all men, but dialect is the property of the tribe. Hence a study of dialect becomes a study of human nature.

The scientific interest need not be overlooked. When we read old texts and compare with modern English, we find marked differences in vocabulary, pronunciation and syntax. Dialects often contain missing links in the chain of development from the old language to the new, vowels which have become diphthongs or have otherwise changed in quality and quantity, words which once were fashionable but which are now dead in the literary language. When once the development of a dialect's vowel sounds has been traced, it affords great help in estimating the pronunciation of its ancestral Middle English dialect. But after all, these are trivialities. It is the dialect, as vowel-music, as a rich vocabulary of suggestive and forceful words, which matters. And pity 'tis that it is slowly dying. The causes are obvious—school, snobbishness, the rush to the towns, the lack of dialect literature. It is idle to bewail them.

But, however it may stand with other dialects, the East Yorkshire dialect of the Wolds and Dales will not die immediately. It is too firmly rooted in the soil and its tillers. It may alter in character. It will lose some of its northern characteristics and become more like Tennyson's Lincolnshire dialect, but it will still live on, perhaps eventually merely as a broadened form of Northern English with its long vowels ending in an obscure glide. The dialect has developed beside the standard English of parson and squire; and it is evident that when a dialect word falls into oblivion, it will be replaced by one drawn from standard English. This case needs no proof. If proof were needed, one might instance such vowel developments as are seen in [mi·ən] moon; or [bri·əd] broad. These words are now felt to be either too uncouth, or to cause confusion with the similar words *mean* and *bread*; and are therefore superseded by the literary forms in

their broad provincial dress. Rolle's *wilk* (1340) has fallen and is superseded by the standard *which*; *sike* (such) will share its fate; *wewd* (Chaucer's *wode*) has gone, and *mad* has taken its place; *owther* and *nouther* are retiring in favour of *either* and *neither*. The possessive case is coming back into use, and in time *broth* and *podish* will cease to be grammatical plurals requiring the plural pronoun 'they,' instead of 'it.'

The good old Northern words are dying. The only hope for the dialect now is that it shall live beside the English of the educated, or rather that the educated will condescend to be bilingual. The English of the village school must live and let live. As separate languages the dialects are dead already. The only way to revive interest in dialect, at least so it seems to the writer, is to encourage dialect literature. Only literature, and the word is used wittingly to mean the work of men who can write with "fineness and force," can preserve the beauty and just meanings of the rich and powerful dialect words which the present age is forgetting. A knowledge of etymology and root-meaning is needful, not only to enable one to write a terse and rich dialect diction, but to keep dialect pure from the host of unwarranted colloquialisms, misnamed dialect by the uneducated. Colloquialisms are not dialect, though local glossaries and books on dialect teem with them. Vulgarity is not dialect, though this is a truth which modern writers in dialect do not appear to have grasped. Local familiarity and slang bear the same relation to dialect English as does the dialogue of two patter comedians to literary English. Vulgar idiom is not dialect, it is the debasement of dialect. Dialect exists only where speakers or writers used their native words with deliberate intention and direct meaning. If dialect is not to sink to the banality of local familiar speech, it must be raised by a literature in which dialect is used with truth, vigour, and realism in the representation of homely and domestic scenes.

And now to examine the dialect of Eastern Yorkshire more closely. After an examination of its peculiarities there can be no doubt that it is the descendant of Northumbrian Middle English. The present indicative plural of verbs always ends in -s, when the subject is a noun, as in such a sentence as

T' cloggers comes ivry back-end (autumn). The present vowel representing Old English *ā* shows that it was retained into the Middle English period as *a:*, and not lowered and rounded to the open *ɔ:* as in midland and southern English. The equivalent of Old English *ō* shows a Middle English variation characteristic of the northern dialects. Northern are *sal*, *sud*, *wad*, and *mun* for shall, should, would, and must; and the use of *at* as a relative pronoun. Northern are *k* and *g* in such words as *sike* (such), *pik* (pitch), *kist* (chest), *kaff* (chaff), *brig* (bridge), *rig* (ridge), and the like. Minor characteristics are the dialect's lack of an adjectival possessive case, except that of the possessive pronouns. Its lack of close long *ē* and *ō*, and its love of an obscure glide after long vowels, have given it that rough quality which has won for it the title of "Broad Yorkshire." The peculiarity that it has no close, or diphthongal, *ē* or *ō* causes substitution of the open sounds in borrowed words; *rotation* for instance becomes *ro:'ts·əʃn*, *commotion* becomes *kə'mo:ʃn*. Another point of interest is that when a word began with a diphthong, whose first constituent was *i* or *u*, the stress shifted from the first constituent to the second, and the first became consonantal. Thus from *iabl* came *jabl* (able); *iak* (O.E. *āc*) became *jak* (oak); *u·əts* (M.E. *ōtes*, O.E. *ātas*) became *wuts* (oats); and *iurk* (O.E. *hōc*) became *juk* (hook), with a derivative verb, meaning to hook, to pull with a jerk. Perhaps the most curious of its vowel developments is the frequency of *i·ə*. This sound represents not only M.E. open *ē* (derived from O.E. *ǣ*, *éa*, and lengthened *e*), but also M.E. *ā* (from O.E. *ā* and lengthened *a*), and M.E. close *ō* from O.E. *ō*. This coalescing of six Old English sounds must cause confusion, and is probably one of the reasons for the dialect's decay. Another Northern idiosyncrasy is that O.E. *a*, *e*, and *o* have not become long in open syllables, as in English, when a suffix containing *l*, *m*, *n*, or *r* followed. This accounts for the short accented vowel in dialect words like *water*, *ladle*, *fader*, *brazen*, *wesel*, *hesel*, *broken*, and *proven*. This independent development of vowel sound, has caused many words to differ which in English are pronounced alike. The dialect distinguishes *yard* (O.E. *geard*) from *yed* (O.E. *gerd*), three feet; *mon* (O.E. *murnan*) mourn, from *morn*; *reet* (O.E. *riht*) right,

from *reit* (O.E. *writan*) to write; *steel* from *steal*, *tail* from *tale*, *wark* (O.E. *weore*) work (subs.), from *work* (O.E. *wyrcean*), to work.

The basis of the dialect is Old English with a strong blend of Scandinavian words. Romance words of more than two syllables are felt to be foreign. The labourer who imagined that felicity was "summut oot o' t' inside of a pig" may be a fiction, but Saxon simplicity and bluntness is still preferred to the polished diction of "book-learning." Like English, the dialect has lost its power of compounding words—Rolle's *wanhope* (despair) and *umlap* (envelop) are dead—partly because of a rooted objection to all prefixes whether English or foreign. The modern shortenings 'bacca, 'taty, 'lotment, 'lowance, are perhaps due to the analogy of such old forms as Rolle's *liver* (deliver), *pistel* (epistle), *pleyn* (complain). English is its love of stock comparisons, like "As breet as a bullace," "As fast as a thief in a mill," "As ram as a fox," "As sour as verjuice," "As brant as a house-side," "As croose as Kit's wife"—whoever that hussy was? English too is its love of letter-rime in such pairs "rack and ruin," "bold as brass," "thick (friendly) as thieves," "top to toe," "chopping and changing," and the innumerable rest.

The bulk of its vocabulary is English, and many words which the literary language has forgotten still live on. In literary English, the Old English word *mōd* (mind) has become 'mood'; a similar change in meaning has taken place in the dialect in the synonym *hycge*, which remains as *hig*, meaning 'sulks,' bad-temper. Contrarywise, the dialect has preserved the meaning of *rig* (O.E. *hrycg*), our 'ridge,' as back—probably because of the influence of the Scandinavian form *hryggr*. Old English verbs which survive are *remen* to remove; *steven* to shout; *chavel* to chew; *sam* to gather; *braid* to resemble; *sweal* to gutter; *threap* to contradict. English are the adjectives *dwinny* delicate; *wankle* tottering; *brant* steep; and the nouns *balk* a beam; *hollin* holly; *ivin* ivy; *lop* a flea; *neb* a beak; *trod* a path. English too is the use of the verbal infinitive with passive meaning, as *t' job's to do* for "the work is to be done," and the dialect shows the same freedom as familiar English in its weak forms for the pronouns and prepositions, and the enclitic *not*, in an unemphatic position in a sentence.

The Scandinavian element is somewhat difficult to distinguish. When the Danes settled in the -bys and -thorpes of East Yorkshire at the end of the ninth century, they found a speech in the Anglian -tons and -hams which differed but little from their own. It is certain that neither race had much difficulty in understanding the other. An enormous number of words were practically identical, and their idiom and syntax were very much alike. Words differed where Scandinavian had *ei* and *au*, corresponding to the English long \bar{a} and $\bar{e}\bar{a}$ —O.E. *stān* against *steinn* (stone); O.E. *lēas* against *lauuss* (loose)—or where Scandinavian had *th* where English had *d*, as in *swarth* for *sward*, or a stopped (hard) *g* where English had a spirant (soft) *ǰ*, as in *drag* for *draw*, *egg* for *ey*, *give* for *yive*; or *sk* against English *sc*, as in *harsk* for *harsh*, *skuttle* for *shuttle*; or a stopped (hard) *k* instead of a spirant (palatal) *ç* as in *kirk* for *church*. Practically the only certain signs of Scandinavian origin in the dialect are the *ou* (from an earlier *au*) in *loup* (leap), *lous* (loose), etc., and the *th* in words like *garth* (yard), *swarth* (sward).

But though not always apparent, Scandinavian exerted an influence in keeping alive English words; *dale* and *bairn* for example might have been ousted by the French *valley*, and *infant*, or at least by the English *child*, had not the Scandinavian cognate and similar words given new life to them in the North of England. The Scandinavian pronunciation superseded the English in word-pairs such as *snile snail*, *give yive*, *slike such*, *get yete*, *skrike shriek*, *gaum yeme*. Doubtless both forms existed side by side for generations, and who shall say what subtle choosing preferred the form now in use in the dialect? Sometimes the English word remains, but with its meaning altered by the corresponding Scandinavian word. The word *gift*, for instance, as Professor Jespersen points out¹, meant a marriage settlement, or a wedding, in Old English; its present meaning, "something given," is due to Scandinavian influence. *Plōh* in Old English meant a measure of land, as the name of an implement *pleäf* corresponds to the Old Icelandic *plōgr*. *Bread* was a fragment, *dream* was joy in Old English, their present meaning is Scandinavian.

¹ *Growth and Structure of the English Language*, p. 69.

The Norsemen appear to have practised agriculture in North East Yorkshire. A great number of nouns denoting objects connected with the farm are Scandinavian, such as the following names of implements : *hesp* (a fastening), *heck* (a hayrack), *skuttle* and *skep* (trenchers), *poke* (sack), *stang* (shaft), and perhaps *wagon* too, *stee* (a ladder); and names of outhouses such as *lathe* (a barn), and *dairy*, with its *sile* for filtering milk, and *ken* for churning its cream. Connected with sheep-breeding are *gavelock* (bar used in making folds), *gimmer* and *hog*, *rig-weltd* (lying on the back—of a sheep), and *clip* (to shear); relating to tillage are *mig* (manure), *skuffle* (to harrow); and the plant names, *awn* (of barley) and *kale*. From the Scandinavian, too, come *gilt* (a sow), *whye* (a heifer), *gelding*, and *steg* (a gander). The Danes have left their mark too on the place-names of East Yorkshire, *slack* (valley), *swang*, *ing* (meadow), *keld* (spring), *beck* (brook), *how* (hill), *foss* (waterfall), are Scandinavian words, and will last longer than the rest of the Scandinavian element, for literary English is driving unwritten provincialisms out of the field.

Of the Romance element, there is little to be said. Words like *natur*, *pictur*, *cabbish*, *manish* (manage), *pleashur* (pleasure), *'liver* (deliver), *'plean* (complain), *seār* (sure) are now genuine dialect forms, even though they may represent archaic pronunciations; but for the most part the Romance element in all dialects is borrowed from modern literary English, and needs little consideration in a work on dialects. French and Latin words in English owe their introduction to educated people, and dialect is the speech of the uneducated. Learned words and technical terms must be ruled out at once. At the same time some distinction must be made. It would be absurd, for example, to pretend that words like 'air,' or 'mountain,' or 'bacon' were foreign to the English dialects. And it would be equally absurd to pretend that 'atmosphere,' or 'volcano,' or 'caviare' were native. One general rule is obvious. The speech-feeling of the English calls for words of one or two syllables. It dislikes polysyllabic words. Hence bus, cab, lift (for elevator), wire (for telegram). It is not patriotic like the German. It does not deliberately choose English rather than foreign words. It has lost the will to make compound words of native origin for modern things and thoughts. So of our dialect

we can say that it has readily assimilated French words of one or two syllables, when the literary or 'standard' language has made them popular. It still prefers *back-end* to autumn, *dale* to valley, *sweat* to perspiration; but it has perpetuated no Germanisms like *meal* for flour, *swine-flesh* for pork, or *kinsman* for relative; and, because it lost its power of forming verbs with adverbial prefixes such as *for-*, *to-*, *or-*, *um-*, *with-*, etc., it has accepted without question the numerous French verbs which superseded English compound verbs in the 'standard' language. To give a complete list would be too long a task. My meaning will be clear from such pairs as escape (O.E. *æt-windan*, to 'atwind'), destroy (O.E. *for-dōn*, to 'fordo'), conquer (O.E. *ge-winnan*, to 'ywin'), pervert (O.E. *mis-wendan*, to 'miswend'), obey (O.E. *gehiersumian*, to be 'hearsome'). We must rule out of the dialect all technical and scientific terms, legal and political jargon, and philosophical abstractions. What remain are divisions of time, such as *season*, *hour*, *minute*; names of plants and their properties, such as *salery* (celery), *carrot*, *cabbish*, *pansy*, *lily*, *violet*, *orange*, *fruit*, *flower*, *branch*, *juice*; names of birds and fishes (*beast* = animal, must be included here), such as *heronsew*, *cock*, *pigeon*, *salmon*, *trout*; food, like *vittles*, *flour*, *pork*, *beef*, *bacon*, *pie*, *pastry*; names of parts of the house, such as *table*, *chair*, *carpet*, *chamber*; of dress, such as *pocket*, *cap*, *beät* (boot), *trousers*, *front*; of kinship, like *niece*, *cousin*, *parents*, *uncle*, *aunt*, *family*; of trade, like *'prentice*, *clerk*, *mason*, *joiner*, *labourer*, *partner*, *hostler*; simple medical terms, such as *stumak*. (vice belly), *vein*, *nerve*, *digest*; many theological terms, such as *sanctify*, *sperit*, *save*, *redeem*, *salvation*; and names of qualities, the introduction of which is perhaps partly due to the pulpit, such as *passion*, *temper*, *power*, *conscience*, *remorse*, etc. To these must be added a number of verbs of French origin denoting common actions which superseded more cumbersome English verbs in the Middle English period, e.g. *bate*, *beat*, *catch*, *chass* (chace), *claim*, *close*, *cover*, *create*, *count*, *deny*, *depend*, *fend*, *form*, *grant*, *join*, *measure*, *move*, *nourish*, *offer*, *proffer*, *pay*, *part*, *pass*, *paint*, *please*, *press*, *purge*, *rule*, *strain*, *tend*, *trace*, *vex*, etc. Such words as these are felt to be English. They come to the lips as naturally as the most commonplace Teutonic word. They are natural to all modern

English dialects. But the literary English language is exceedingly rich. It possesses a large number of dictionary words, only used in writing. The speech-feeling of our dialect, as I believe of all regional English dialects, is to bar out learned words in favour of the simplest term. It is difficult to set limits. Acquaintance with the living dialect is the only true guide. It is better to undervalue the Romance element in the dialect than to overvalue it. We must not be lured into the Serbonian bog of the development of the Romance element in literary English. Simple colloquial talk must be our guide, and will provide enough examples to reveal the phonology of the dialect.

PART I

CHAPTER I

THE PHONOLOGY OF THE MODERN DIALECT

The Vowels.

1. The Hackness dialect uses the following vowel sounds :

Short **a e i o u ə**,

Long **a: i: ɔ: u:**,

Half-Long **ɛ· i· u·**,

These half-long vowels only occur in combination with an obscure glide as diphthongs: **ɛ·ə, i·ə, u·ə**.

Diphthongs **ai, ei, oi, ɔu, iu**,

Triphthongs **ɛiə, iuə, oiə, ɔuə**.

All diphthongs and triphthongs, with the exception of **iu [ju·]**, are 'falling,' that is to say the main stress falls on the first component.

2. The customary tone of the dialect is monotonous and dull. The speed of conversation is drawling, but with strong stress on emphatic words, as in standard English. The 'colour' of dialect-speakers' voices is usually harsh and rough. Intonation follows the Midland rather than the Northern fashion. There is no trace of the characteristic final 'lift' of the Lowlands of Scotland, or the sing-song of Tyneside. The pitch of intonation does not rise and fall so much as in standard English. Long vowels are very long, and are not so tense as the long vowels of standard English. **a:** and **ɔ:** are followed by a very short obscure glide, which is not sufficiently marked to call for representation in phonetic spelling. The short vowels are pure and have relatively the same length as their cognates in standard English. Both long and short vowels are longer before voiced than before voiceless consonants. The

diphthongs **ɛ·ə**, **i·ə**, and **u·ə** are peculiar. Their first constituents are half long and tense. They represent older and presumably 'pure' long vowels **ɑ:**, **ɛ:**, and **ɔ:**, which have been partly shortened owing to the development of a following glide.

Short.

3. **ɑ** mid back lax, like the **ɑ** in German *Mann*. Some speakers front this sound to a low front lax retracted, but this is probably due to the influence of standard English. Even in educated speakers the sound is very far from the low front lax **æ** of standard English, e.g. **kæb** cab, which sound a Northern Englishman always finds difficult to produce satisfactorily.

bras money; **las** girl; **nasti** nasty; **jam** home; **jat** gate; **tʃap** chap; **tʃas** chase; **vari** very; **wad** would.

4. **e** mid front lax, like the **e** in German *Fett*.

elp to help; **eftə(r)** after; **ket** carrion; **mebi** perhaps; **skelp** to flog; **θref** to thrash; **wef** to wash.

5. **i** high front lax, like the **i** in English *bit*. The two vowels in **piti** pity are alike, except that the former is stressed.

britʃiz breeches; **find** to find; **fligd** fledged; **iŋ** to hang; **kitlin** kitten; **stidi** steady; **wik** alive.

6. **o** mid back lax rounded, like the **o** in Scotch *top*, *hot*, *nod*, etc. The lips are only slightly rounded. The tongue position is slightly lower than for the **o** in standard English **kout** coat, but higher than for the **ɔ** in **hot** hot. The muscles are lax.

bon to burn; **fotniθ** fortnight; **frozn** frozen; **moni** many; **nobet** only; **sori** sorry; **wold** world; **work** to work.

7. **u** high back lax rounded, like **u** in German *und*; but without lip protrusion as in standard English *put*, *butcher*. This sound is a pure *u*. It is never unrounded to **ə** or **ʌ**.

bud but; **muθə(r)** mother; **mun** must; **nut** not; **sud** should; **sum** some; **θruf** through; **uni** honey; **wud** wood.

8. **ə** mid mixed lax unrounded, as in standard English **bətə** butter; or **ə'wei** away. It occurs in unaccented syllables, or as a glide vowel in stressed syllables.

jistəde yesterday; **ə'li·ən** alone; **ə'we·ə** away; **sakləs** silly; **ɑmə(r)** hammer.

Long.

9. **ɑ:** mid back tense unrounded, like the **ɑ** in German *Vater*, or in standard English *father*, but somewhat longer. After this vowel there is a short glide **ɑ:°** which need not be represented in spelling.

ɑ:dn to embolden; **bɑ:d** to endure; **bɑ:li** barley; **gɑ:θ** yard; **mɑ:l** mile; **wɑ:d** wide; **wɑ:k** (subst.) work.

10. **i:** high front tense, as in standard English *meet* or *meat*. It is usually a diphthong beginning with lax **ɪ** and ending in tense **j**, e.g. **mɪjt** meet, might. The representation **i:** is faithful enough for philological purposes.

di: to die; **fi:ld** field; **i:d** to heed; **ni:t** night; **ri:t** right; **sti:pl** steeple; **wi:l** (adv.) well.

11. **ɔ:** low back tense, slightly rounded, like the long 'open' **ɔ:** in standard English *law*, *sore*. It is followed by a short glide **ɔ:°**, which is not sufficiently prominent to require representation in spelling. In emphatic syllables the tongue-position is somewhat higher, but the vowel is always 'open'; never the 'close' sound of German *Not*.

bɪ'ɔ: to own; **fɔ:t** fault; **fɔ:d** fold; **lɔ:** low; **nɔ:** to know; **ɔ:ləs** always; **ɔ:d** old; **ɔ:l** all; **sɔ:t** salt.

12. **u:** high back tense rounded, as in standard English *brood*. It is usually a diphthong beginning with lax **ʊ** and ending in tense **w**, e.g. **dʊwt** doubt. For philological purposes it is better to write this sound as **u:**.

bru: hill; **bu:ns** conceit; **nu:** now; **fʊ:t** to shout; **tu:n** town; **θu:** thou; **u:t** out.

Diphthongs.

13. **ɛ·ə = ɛ**, low front half-tense, followed by a mixed lax glide. In emphatic syllables, the tongue is often raised, but never so high as to produce the **e** in standard English **eim** aim. This **ɛ** is always an 'open' sound.

drɛ·ən drain; **ɛ·əm** aim; **ɛ·ət** to hate; **fɛ·əθ** faith; **grɛ·əz** to graze; **mɛ·əstə(r)** master; **rɛ·ən** rain; **slɛ·əstə(r)** to dawdle.

14. **i·ə** = half-tense **i** followed by a mixed lax glide. The **i** is almost as tense as the **i** in Scotch *feet*.

di·ə to do; **ə'gi·ən** again; **kli·əz** clothes; **mi·ə(r)** mare; **mi·əl** meal; **ni·əbodi** nobody; **pi·ə(r)** pear; **si·ən** soon; **ti·əl** tale.

15. **u·ə** = half-tense **u** followed by a mixed lax glide.

bru·ətʃ brooch; **fu·əl** foal; **ku·ən** corn; **nu·ətɪʃ** notice; **pu·ə(r)** poor; **pu·ətʃ** poach; **θru·ət** throat; **u·əl** hole.

16. **ai** = **a** + **i**. This diphthong only occurs finally.

ɔrai dry; **kai** cows; **skai** sky; **wai** to weigh.

17. **ei** = short **ɛ** + **i**. The first element is lower than the **e** in standard English **dei** day, and fronted further than the **a** in **tai** tie. For practical purposes it may be identified with the **ɛ** in Northern English or Scotch *pen, bed, pet*, etc.

kɛi key; **neɪbə(r)** neighbour; **neɪs** particular; **seɪp** to ooze; **swɛɪp** to strike; **reɪt** to write.

18. **oi** = **o** + **i**. The first element is produced with a higher tongue position than the **o** in standard English **oi**, as in **point** point.

boɪl to boil; **dʒoɪnt** joint; **koɪt** quoit; **oil** oil; **point** point.

19. **ɔu** = short **ɔ** + **u**. Here the first element is an 'open' back **ɔ**, as in standard English **not** not. The lips are slightly rounded. The diphthong differs from the standard English **au** in **haus** house in that the initial sound is produced lower and further back than that **a**, and is in addition slightly rounded.

dɔuʔə(r) daughter; **ju** ewe; **lu** loose; **nɔu** nought; **pɔu** pole.

20. **iu** = **i** + half-tense **u**, a 'rising' diphthong, **ju**.

biuk book; **biuti** beauty; **kliu** a ball of wool; **niu** new; **riu** to regret; **tiuk** took.

Initially, it is here written **ju**.

ju:s (subst.) use; **ju:θ** youth; **ju:z** to use.

Triphthongs.

21. **ɛiə** = **ɛi** + **ə**. This sound only occurs before **r**.
ɛiə(r) hire; **fsiə(r)** fire; **siərən** iron; **wsɛiə(r)** wire.

22. **iuə** = **iu** + **ə**. It occurs only before **r**.
kiuə(r) cure; **piuə(r)** pure.

23. **oiə** = **oi** + **ə**¹.

loiəl loyal ; **roiəl** royal.

24. **ouə** = **ou** + **ə**. The sound only occurs before **r**.
fouə(r) four.

The Consonants.

25. The Hackness dialect employs the following consonants :

b, d, ɖ, f, g, j, k, l, m, n, ŋ, p, r, s, ʃ, t, ʈ, θ, ʦ, v, w, z, ʒ.

The following scheme may be found useful. From side to side the rows contain sounds produced by the same method of articulation. From top to bottom, the columns contain sounds produced by the same organs of speech.

	Bi-Labial	Labio-Dental	Dental-Lingual	Palatal-Lingual	Velar-Lingual
Stopped	pb		td, ʈd		kg
Nasal	m		n		ŋ
Lateral			l		
Spirant	w	fv	θʃ, sz ʃʒ, r	j	

26. **p** (breathed bi-labial stop) like English **p**. It occurs initially, medially, and finally : slight aspiration usually occurs (**p^h**) before accented vowels and finally.

poul pole ; **plɛːət** to strike ; **prod** spike ; **stapl** staple ; **lopf** flea.

27. **b** (voiced bi-labial stop) like English **b**. It occurs initially, medially, and finally. After an end **b**, a slight plosive glide **b^o** is heard.

bɔ:k beam ; **blɛːək** yellow ; **brig** bridge ; **riubub** rhubarb ; **stub** to uproot.

28. **t** (breathed alveolar stop) like English **t**. It occurs in all positions, except before **r**. Slight aspiration usually is heard before accented vowels, and finally.

tan to beat ; **tiu** to tire ; **mitin** meeting ; **botl** bottle ; **lat** lath.

¹ Strictly speaking this is not a true triphthong but the combination of **oi** with the vowel in a following unstressed syllable ; but since **foier** and **fouer**, although originally one-syllabled, are now as disyllabic as **loiəl** and **roiəl**, **oiə** is here classed as a triphthong.

Before **r** and **-ər**, **t** is articulated against the upper teeth, not against the gums as in standard English; and sounds almost like **θ**¹.

This sound may be described as a short double consonant. The first element, applosive, closing the breath, is **t**, but the final sound heard on releasing the breath is **θ**. I have thought it best to write it **t̥**.

t̥rust trust; **t̥riu** true; **wa:tə(r)** water; **Setədə** Saturday.

But 'truth' is always pronounced **triuθ**².

t is long, and tense, when it represents the definite article before **t**, also where in a like capacity it represents a final **t** or **d** by assimilation. This long tense **t** is here written **tt**.

ttun the town; **A senttlad** I sent the boy; **A si:ttidi-ə wə snekt** I saw that the door was fastened. Also in **θotti** thirty; **θottin** thirteen; **fotti** forty.

29. **d** (voiced alveolar stop) like English **d**. It occurs in all positions, except before **r**. A final **d** is followed by a slight plosive glide.

di: to die; **douli** poorly; **bodm** bottom; **bud** but; **puɔɪn** pudding.

Before **r** and **ər**, **d** is articulated against the upper teeth, not against the gums, and a short double consonant is produced, namely the voiced sound corresponding to **t̥**, which is here written **d̥**.

d̥rʌŋk drunk; **d̥ru:p** to droop; **fo:də(r)** fodder; **so:də(r)** solder.

30. **k** (breathed velar stop) occurs in all positions, and is like English **k**. Usually there is slight aspiration before accented vowels, and finally.

ku: cow; **kei** key; **kla:g** to stick; **krop** crop; **aks** to ask; **akl** to mar in carving; **seik** such; **wik** living, lively; **pankin** pipkin.

¹ Jespersen, *Mod. Eng. Grammar*, Vol. I. 'Phonology,' p. 208, § 7. 2.

² There is a distinct difference between the initial sounds of **θrust** to thrust, and **t̥rust** trust. Yet the partial similarity is a stumbling-block to many dialect-speaking people when they cast aside the dialect in favour of the standard spoken English of the North. If they acquire the normal pronunciation of **t**, frequently they pronounce standard **θ** as **t**; e.g. **tri** for three, **tred** for thread.

31. **g** (voiced velar stop) like *g, gu* in lit. English *gay, guest*. It occurs in all positions. After a final **g**, a slight plosive glide is apparent.

gud good; **glad** glad; **flagstŋ** flagstone; **lig** to lie; **ug** to carry.

32. **m** (voiced bi-labial nasal) like English **m**. It occurs in all positions, and is syllabic in unaccented syllables after a consonant.

man man; **ma:ld** mild; **gimə(r)** a young ewe; **frs·əm** to apply oneself; **gam** game; **bodm** bottom; **bizm** besom.

33. **n** (voiced alveolar nasal) like English **n**. It occurs in all positions, and is syllabic in unaccented syllables after a consonant.

nirt night; **snig** to drag wood; **oni** any; **gen** to grin; **ten** ten; **frozn** frozen; **setn** (pp.) set; **ʃakn** (pp.) shaken.

34. **ŋ** (voiced velar nasal) like *ng, n* in lit. English *sing, think*. It occurs medially, and finally, but only in accented syllables.

teŋ to sting; **laŋ** long; **sʌraŋ** strong; **ə'maŋ** among; **fiŋə(r)** finger; **aŋkə(r)** anchor; **oŋkotʃə(r)** handkerchief.

35. **l** (voiced dental lateral) never a 'clear' *l*, usually (^ʔ**l**) before *i*, otherwise (^u**l**). It occurs in all positions, and is syllabic after a consonant.

laf laugh; **lɛ·ək** to play; **li:t** light; **'olin**, holly; **wil** will; **botl** bottle; **kitl** to tickle.

36. **w** (voiced bi-labial spirant) like English **w** in *wing*. It only occurs at the beginning of a syllable, or medially preceded by a consonant, and represents the vowel *u* in the function of a consonant. The corresponding breathed sound, Scotch and Northern English *wh* in *what*, is never used in the Hackness dialect, **w** takes its place.

wa:m warm; **wik** living, lively; **twilt** to beat; **kwilt** quilt; **swi·ət** sweat; **wen** when; **wat** what; **wip** whip.

37. **f** (breathed labio-dental spirant) like English **f**. It occurs in all positions.

fan (pret.) found; **fi·əl** fool; **ofnz** often; **fift** fifth; **kaf** chaff; **ti·əf** tough; **leif** life.

38. **v** (voiced labio-dental spirant) like English **v** in *very*. It occurs in all positions.

vari very; **v**an van; **nevi** nephew; **tʃavɪ** to champ; **ni·əf** fist; **ov** of; **ɪv** in; **tiv** to; **ra:v** to tear; **twelv** twelve.

39. **θ** (breathed dental spirant) like *th* in English *thin*. It occurs initially and finally, and rarely in a medial position.

θin thin; **θruf** through; **Eθil** Ethel; **broθ** broth; **munθ** month; **swaθ** grass.

40. **ð** (voiced dental spirant) like *th* in English *then*, is the voiced form of **θ**. It occurs in all positions.

ðis this; **ðen** then; **foðə(r)** further; **bri·əð** to breathe; **lɛ·əð** barn.

41. **s** (breathed dental spirant) like *c* or *s* in English *cease*. It occurs in all positions.

sɛ·əm lard; **sin** sin; **siugə(r)** sugar; **stevn** to shout; **slak** a dell; **spil** a pipe-lighter; **sti:** a ladder; **swi·əl** to gutter; **kesn** to christen; **kist** chest; **brusn** (pp.) burst; **θrosɪ** a thrush; **pos** purse; **as** ashes; **aks** to ask; **gi·əs** goose; **os** horse.

42. **z** (voiced dental spirant) like *z* and *s* in English *zone*, *his*, is the voiced form of **s**. It occurs medially and finally.

iz his; **əz** as; **muzɪ** muzzle; **ri·əzn** reason; **fuzbɔ:l** fungus; **fuzi** soft; **frozn** frozen; **wizn** windpipe.

43. **ʃ** (breathed alveolar spirant) like *sh* in English *ship*. It occurs in all positions.

ʃap shape; **ʃak** to shake; **ʃɛ·əd** shed; **nɛ·əʃn** nation; **eʃ** ash-tree; **kabɪʃ** cabbage; **manɪʃment** manure.

Preceded by **t**, this sound forms a consonantal diphthong **tʃ**, like *ch* in English *cheese*.

tʃɛ·əmɛ(r) bedroom; **tʃukɪ** to chuckle; **ri·ətʃ** to reach; **watʃ** watch.

44. **ʒ** (voiced alveolar spirant) like *s* in English *vision*, is the voiced form of **ʃ**. It occurs medially, and finally after **d** and **n**.

plɪʒə(r) pleasure; **mɪʒə(r)** measure; **ke·əʒn** occasion; **mɔ:nʒ** mange; **ke·ədʒ** cage; **enʒ** hinge; **krɪnʒ** to cringe; **ɪnʒn** engine.

Preceded by **d**, this sound forms a consonantal diphthong **dʒ**, like *j* in English *jam*.

dʒeɪs joist; **dʒɪn** gin; **ɪn'dʒoɪ** to enjoy; **edʒ** edge, hedge; **ɛ·ədʒ** age.

45. **r** (voiced alveolar spirant) like **r** in English *try*, *Henry*. It is not trilled. Initially and medially it is fricative, produced by a single push of the point of the tongue against the upper gums. Finally, **r** occurs only before a word beginning with a vowel, or if the final **r** ends a period. Hence I have thought it best to write r-final as (**r**). Before consonants, **r** is fricative, produced by rolling back the tip of the tongue slightly towards the hard palate. This gives the effect of a 'burr.'

rɑm stinking; **ri·ət** root; **brokn** (pp.) broken; **pra:d** pride; **ʔriu** true; **marə** marrow; **arə** harrow; **pi·ə(r)** pear; **waʔə(r)** water; **war** worse; **pork** pork; **work** to work; **bork** birch; **fork** fork; **forə** furrow; **borli** burly.

46. **j** (voiced palatal spirant) like English *y* in *young*. It only occurs at the beginning of a syllable, or medially preceded by a consonant, and represents the vowel *i* in the function of a consonant.

juŋ young; **juk** to pull with a jerk; **ju:z** to use; **ju:s** use; **bi'jɪnt** behind; **bi'jɒnt** beyond; **jon** that (dem.).

bju·k book; **tju·k** took; **sju·gə(r)** sugar, and like forms are here written **biuk**, **tiuk**, **siugə(r)**.

47. **h** (glottal breathing) has disappeared from the dialect of Hackness.

Under the influence of elementary education, dialect-speaking people sometimes use it, but in the dialect proper it is never used.

48. The relative length of consonants differs little from the English usage. Initial and end-consonants are longer than medial consonants. End consonants are longer after short vowels than after long vowels or diphthongs. The liquid consonants are longer before voiced sounds than before voiceless consonants, e.g. **l** is longer in **sld** (held) than in **slp** (help). But all these length-differences are so slight that they are only apparent to the trained ear, and the production of them comes naturally to every Englishman. Normally the voiced stops **b**, **d**, and **g** are fully voiced both initially

and finally, but after the prefixed definite article **t**, as in such combinations as **tbed** the bed; **tdog** the dog; and **tgun** the gun, they are partly devocalised, owing to the influence of the preceding voiceless consonant. In this case there is no 'explosion' of the **t**, only the stop is heard. Double consonants are rare, except **tt**, which represents the definite article **t** before a word beginning with **t**, or after a word ending in **t** or **d**. Any end-consonant may become long by assimilation with a similar onsound, e.g. **a:wuddi·əl** Harwood Dale, but the resulting long consonant is shortened, if it occurs in a compound word which is frequently used, e.g. **kubəd** cupboard; **stagaθ** stackyard; **weskit** waistcoat.

CHAPTER II

THE PHONOLOGY OF THE DIALECT IN MIDDLE ENGLISH

49. THE following description is based on an examination of Yorkshire Middle English, including *The Pricke of Conscience*, Rolle's *Prose Tracts*, Rolle's *Psalter*, and the older *Metrical Psalter*. These works are all remarkably alike in phonology, spelling, and grammatical forms; though Rolle's prose is almost modern in style, and the *Metrical Psalter* curiously archaic in word and phrase. The authorship of *The Pricke of Conscience* is a question which does not lie within the field of this research. My task in this section of the work was not to fix the canon of Rolle's works, but to investigate his dialect; and the use of 'Rolle' to indicate words from *The Pricke of Conscience* in the chapters dealing with the phonology of the modern dialect in no wise pledges my belief either for or against his authorship. Following the late Rev. R. Morris, I had used the key-word *Rolle* to denote the language of this poem before I heard of Miss Hope Allen's monograph *The Authorship of the Pricke of Conscience*. I was content to use the poem as the Middle English text which, excepting the *Metrical Psalter*, approaches most nearly the modern dialect here under consideration.

Yorkshire Middle English was a variety of the Northumbrian dialect. Its phonology is remarkably like that of Middle Scots, but the system of spelling used by the Yorkshire scribes was quite different. It remains to indicate some of the peculiarities of Middle Yorkshire spelling, as exemplified in the *Metrical Psalter* and *The Pricke of Conscience*. Characteristic are:

- (1) Absence of the symbol ȝ (yogh). Initially, where Modern

English has *y*, *yh* was used. Medially, the spirant *ʒ* was written *gh*, as in literary English; and *e* and *o* were written 'pure' before it, that is to say, *ogh* is never *ough*, and very rarely is *egh* written *eigh*. The spellings *eighth*, *hey*, and *height* occur in *The Pricke of Conscience* beside the usual *eight* (eight), *hegh* (high), and *heght* (height), but these spellings are exceptional, and are due to the influence of the Midland dialect.

(2) The northern *qu*- (O.E. *hw*) is always spelled *wh*-.

(3) The northern *sc-* *sch-* (O.E. *sc*) is always spelled *sh*-.

(4) Long vowels are put in an open syllable by the addition of a mute *e*, rather than indicated by a diphthongal *e* or *i* as in Scots, e.g. *fode* (food) was preferred to *foed*; *soone* (soon) to *soyn*; *welle* (well, adv.) to *weill*; though sometimes double vowels were used, as *faa* foe; *leef* leaf.

Rolle's *Prose Tracts* and his *Psalter* differ slightly. The most obvious differences are the use in the *Psalter* of the symbol *ʒ* for initial *yh*, and an occasional *qu* for *wh*; *agh* is written (as in the *Metrical Psalter*) for O.E. *āg*, where *The Pricke of Conscience* regularly has the more modern *aw*.

Although the phonology of Yorkshire Middle English strongly resembled Middle Scots, there were differences. Dr Murray's statement, made in *The Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland* (p. 29), that 'Barbour at Aberdeen, and Richard Rolle de Hampole near Doncaster, wrote for their several countrymen in the same identical dialect' is not quite exact. This is not the place to make a detailed comparison, but it is certain that there were marked differences. To mention the most obvious: (1) The guttural spirant was falling in Yorkshire ca. 1400. In Scotland it remains still. (2) Anglian *ē* remained in Scotland. In Yorkshire, as in the Midlands, M.E. *ē*, from O.E. *æ*, took its place. (3) In Scotland, M.E. *ō* was pronounced *ū* [y:], in Yorkshire it was probably *öü*. These divergencies alone are sufficient to show that Middle Yorkshire was far from being 'the same identical dialect' as Middle Scots, and a detailed comparison of modern dialects of Scotland with the dialects of North and East Yorkshire would doubtless reveal other points of difference.

1. *Vowels in stressed syllables.*

50. The Northern Middle English (ca. 1350) of the dialect had the following vowel-system:

Short *a* *ɛ* *e* *i* *o* *u*

Long *a* *ɛ* *e* *i* *ɔ* *o* *u*

Diphthongs *ai* *au* *eu* *ɔi* *ou*.

Short.

51. *a* represented:

(1) Anglian *a*, *æ*, *ea* (West Germanic *a*) in closed syllables, or in open syllables before a suffix containing *l*, *m*, *n*, or *r*, as: *barn* child; *caffē* chaff; *hard* hard; *man* man; *shap* shape; *strang* strong; *fader* father; *hasel* hazel; *ladel* ladle; *watter* water.

(2) Scandinavian *a* in closed syllables: *ban* to curse; *tak* to take.

(3) French *a* in closed syllables, or in open unstressed syllables: *partes* parts; *salme* psalm; *manērs* manners; *pastūr* pasture.

52. *ɛ*, written *e*, and pronounced with the 'open' sound, like Scottish short *e* in *men*, *pet*, etc., represented:

(1) Anglian *e* (West Germanic *e*) in closed syllables, or in open syllables before a suffix containing *l*, *m*, *n*, or *r*; as, *bren* to burn; *felle* skin; *hert* heart; *werk* work; *heven* heaven; *wedir* weather; *wesel* weasel; or *e* the I Mutation of *a*, as *endyng* ending; *helle* hell; *hende* hands; *men* men; *nek* neck; *strenth* strength; or *e*, the equivalent of O.E. *ie*, the I Mutation of *ea* or *eo*; *elde* age; *eldere* older; *derne* secret; *wers* worse.

(2) Scandinavian *e* in closed syllables, or in open syllables before a suffix containing *l*, *m*, *n*, or *r*: *bek* brook; *after* after; *kevel* to muzzle; *herber* harbour.

(3) French *e* in closed syllables, or in open unstressed syllables: *ensample* example; *dette* debt; *letter* letter; *emperour* emperor; *certāyn* certain.

53. *e* 'close' was spelled *e* or *i* by the Northern M.E. scribes. It represented:

(1) M.E. *ɛ* before dental consonants as: *togider* together; *ette* to eat; *es* is.

(2) M.E. *ȳ*, before *-ght*, from Anglian *æht*, *eht*, as: *might*; *feghtand* fighting; *right*; *weght* weight.

(3) The lowering of M.E. *i*, from O.E. *y*, in a few words as: *bery* to bury; *threst*, to thirst.

(4) The lowering of French *i* occasionally as: *cete* city; *pete* pity; *preson* prison.

54. *i*, spelled *i* or *y*, represented:

(1) Anglian *i*, *y*; as *bysy* busy; *bisen* example; *ilk* same; *lym* limb; *thyng* thing; *yvel* evil; or *i*, the equivalent of O.E. *ie*, the I Mutation of *eo* (Anglian *io*): *shephirde* shepherd.

(2) Scandinavian *i*, *y*; as *bigg* big; *gilders* snares; *ligg* to lie; *myrk* dark; *til* to.

(3) French *i*, *y*; as *condicioun* condition; *firmament*; *pistel* epistle; *tyrdunt* tyrant.

55. *o* represented:

(1) Anglian *o* in closed syllables, or in open syllables before a suffix containing *l*, *m*, *n*, or *r*, as: *ofte* oft; *stok* stock; *word* word; *broken* broken; *holin* holly; *open* open.

(2) Scandinavian *o* in closed syllables, or in open syllables before suffixes containing *l*, *m*, *n*, or *r*: *froske* frog; *sloken* to quench.

(3) French *o* in closed syllables, or in open unstressed syllables: *fors* force; *groche* to grudge; *honour* honour; *fortone* fortune; *prophete* prophet.

56. *u*, spelled *u* or *o*, represented:

(1) Anglian *u*: *son* sun; *sum* some; *somer* summer; *shulder* shoulder; *tung* tongue; *thurgh* through; *wolwes* wolves.

(2) Scandinavian *u*: *mun* must.

(3) French *u* in closed syllables: *turn* to turn; *cuntre* country. Or in open unaccented syllables: *puniss* to punish.

Long.

57. \bar{a} , spelled *a* in an open syllable, *a* or *aa*, may have been already in Northern M.E. (ca. 1350) partly fronted to ϵ ; for in the modern dialect it has two developments: (1) $\epsilon\cdot\bar{a}$ from M.E. \bar{a} , and (2) $i\cdot\bar{a}$, which indicates that the sound fell together with M.E. \bar{e} , in the majority of words containing this sound.

M. E. \bar{a} was derived from :

(1) Anglian \bar{a} (Germanic ai): *allane* alone; *brade* broad; *clath* cloth; *lade* load; *mare* more; *nane* none; *sare* sore; *stane* stone.

(2) The lengthening of Anglian \check{a} in open syllables: *bale* misery; *shape* to shape; *spane* to wean, persuade; *wake* to wake; and before *-mb*: *wambe* womb.

(3) Scandinavian \bar{a} : *bathe* both; *bla* livid; *kale* cabbage; *krake* crow, rook.

(4) The lengthening of Scandinavian \check{a} in open syllables: *dased* dazed; *tane* taken.

(5) French *a* in open syllables: *abate* to abate; *chace* to chase; *dam* dame; *stable* firm; *state* state; *variand* variant; and before *-st*; *chaste* chaste; *taste* taste.

58. \bar{e} , spelled *e* in an open syllable, *e* or *ee*, was derived from :

(1) Anglian \bar{e} , the I Mutation of \bar{a} : *brede* breadth; *fere* fear; *hete* heat; *leste* least.

(2) Anglian $\bar{e}\bar{a}$ ($\bar{e}\bar{o}$), (Germanic *au*): *ded* death; *ere* ear; *grete* great; *heved* or *hed*, head; *leef* leaf.

(3) Anglian \bar{e} (O. E. \bar{e} , \bar{ie} , $\bar{e}\bar{a}$) before *r*¹: *here* here; *here* to hear; *nere* nearer; *yhere* year.

(4) The lengthening of Anglian \check{e} in open syllables: *dere* to injure; *bere* to bear; *breke* to break; *speke* to speak.

(5) Scandinavian \bar{e} , the I Mutation of \bar{a} : *sete* seat; or Scandinavian \bar{e} before *r*; *sere* (adj.) separate.

(6) The lengthening of Scandinavian \check{e} in open syllables: *nese* nose.

(7) Anglo-French open \bar{e} (French *e*, *ai*, *ei*): *ese*, ease; *mesur* measure; *clere* clear; *pees* peace; *seson* season; *tresor* treasure; or from the lengthening of French *e* before *-st*: *beste* beast.

(8) Anglo-French close \bar{e}^1 (French *e*, *ie*, *eu*, *ue*) before *r*: *chere* face; *manère* manner; *were* war.

59. \bar{e} , spelled *e* in an open syllable, *e* or *ee*, was derived from :

(1) Anglian \bar{e} (O. E. \bar{e}), West Germanic \bar{a} : *grete* to weep;

¹ Rolle's rimes indicate that M. E. \bar{e} was always 'open' before *r* in an open syllable, cf. *here* (O. E. $\bar{h}\bar{e}r$) and *yhere* (O. E. $\bar{g}\bar{e}\bar{a}r$); *here* (Angl. $\bar{h}\bar{e}ra(n)$) and A. Fr. *clère*; *dere* (O. E. $\bar{d}\bar{e}rian$) and *were* ($\bar{w}ar$); *bere* (O. E. $\bar{b}\bar{e}ran$) and *daungère*.

shepe sheep; *speche* speech; *wreþe* wrath. In most words containing this vowel in the modern dialect the present sound indicates a M.E. \bar{e} , as if from O.E. \bar{x} (§ 137).

(2) Anglian \bar{e} (O.E. \bar{ie}) the I Mutation of $\bar{e}\bar{a}$, $\bar{e}\bar{o}$: *nede*, need; *nest* next.

(3) Anglian \bar{e} (O.E. $\bar{e}\bar{a}$, $\bar{e}\bar{o}$, \bar{ie}) before the palatal spirant [ç]: *dreghe* to endure; *eghe* eye; *fleghe* to fly; *hegh* high; *neghe* nigh; *deghe* to die.

(4) Anglian *oe*, \bar{e} (O.E. \bar{e}), the I Mutation of \bar{o} : *fete* feet; *seke* to seek; *tethe* teeth.

(5) Anglian $\bar{e}\bar{o}$ ($\bar{e}\bar{a}$), (Germanic *iu*): *bede* to bid; *brest* breast; *devel* devil; *free* free; *frende* friend; *tre* tree.

(6) The lengthening of Anglian \bar{e} before *-ld*: *feld* field; *yheld* to yield.

(7) The lengthening of Anglian \bar{i} in open syllables: *stere* to stir; *weke* week; *neghen* nine.

(8) Scandinavian \bar{e} , as: *felaghe* fellow.

(9) Anglo-French close \bar{e} (French *e*, *ie*, *eu*, *ue*): *cheef* chief; *feble* feeble; *degréé* degree; *prophéte* prophet.

60. \bar{i} , spelled *i* or *y*, represented:

(1) Anglian \bar{i} , \bar{y} , as: *dry*; *dwyne* to dwindle; *fyr* fire; *life*; *pyn* or *pine* torment; *whilles* whilst.

(2) Scandinavian \bar{i} , \bar{y} : *ryve* to tear; *slike* such; *tite* quickly.

(3) French \bar{i} : *stryf* strife; *jaunýs* jaundice; *vice* vice.

(4) It was also derived from the lengthening of O.E. *y*, before *-nd*, as: *kynde* nature; *mynde* memory.

61. \bar{o} , spelled *o* in an open syllable, or simply *o*, was derived from:

(1) The lengthening of Anglian \bar{o} in open syllables: *hope* to expect; *thole* to endure; *throte* throat; *rote* to rot; *wanhope* despair.

(2) Scandinavian \bar{o} as: *hordom* adultery; *more* moor.

(3) The lengthening of French *o* in open syllables: *rose* rose; *suppóse* suppose (but not before *-er*, e.g. *proper*; *povert*, poverty; *cover* to recover), and the lengthening of *o* before *-st*: *roste* to roast.

62. \bar{o} , spelled *o* in an open syllable, *oo* or *u*, had probably developed the out-glide *u* in Northern M.E. and was fronted to the mixed lax position, with rounding [öü]. The first element of the diphthong may, even ca. 1350, have been unrounded, and the sound then would resemble the \ddot{u} sometimes heard in such modern affected pronunciations as **n \ddot{u} ai d \ddot{u} nt 0 \ddot{u} rk s \ddot{u}** , No I don't think so, cf. § 159. The sound represented:

(1) Anglian \bar{o} : *boke* or *buke* book; *fode* food; *rote* root; *wode* mad. Also M.E. \bar{o} before the velar spirant [x] from Anglian $\bar{o}g$, as *ynogh* enough; *drogh* (pret. of draw) drew; but *og*, \ddot{oh} became *ou* [ou], § 68 (2).

(2) The lengthening of Anglian \ddot{u} in open syllables, as *foghil* fowl; *wone* to dwell.

(3) Scandinavian \bar{o} before *k*: *croked* crooked.

(4) French \bar{o} , *oe*: *doleful* doleful; *fool* fool; *pure* poor.

(5) French \ddot{u} : *fortone* fortune; *mesure* measure; *use* to use; *vertue* virtue.

63. \bar{u} , spelled *ou*, *ow*, represented:

(1) Anglian \bar{u} : *down* down; *lowt* to reverence; *moute* to moult; *mouthe* mouth; *now* now; *outlawes* outlaws.

(2) Scandinavian \bar{u} : *bown* ready.

(3) French *ou*, or \bar{o} before *n* and *r*: *dout* doubt; *flour* flower; *powere* power; *tribulacioun* tribulation; *colour* colour; *emperour* emperor.

64. *ai*, spelled *ay*, was derived from:

(1) Anglian $\ddot{a}g$: *day* day; *fayn* glad; *fayre* fair.

(2) Anglian *eg*: *agayn* again; *rayn* rain.

(3) Anglian $\ddot{e}g$ (O.E. $\ddot{a}g$): *ayther* either; *cay* key.

(4) Scand. *ei* (Germanic \ddot{a}): *layk* to play; *layt* to seek; *rayke* to wander; *wayk* weak.

(5) Scand. *ey*, the I Mutation of *au*: *flay* to frighten.

(6) French accented *ai*, *ei*, as: *assayle* to assail; *desayve* to deceive; *fayle* to fail; *mayster* master; *payne* pain; *prayse* praise; but unaccented *ai* became open ϵ , as: *seson* season; *tresore* treasure.

65. *au*, spelled *au*, *aw*, *a(l)* or *a(gh)*, was derived from :

(1) Anglian *ag*, *āg*, as: *aghen* or *awn* own; *draw* to draw; *gnaghe* to gnaw.

(2) Anglian *aw*, *āw*, as: *blawe* to blow; *knawe* to know; *snaw* snow; *saule* soul; *sprawel* to sprawl.

(3) Anglian *al*, as: *manyfaulde* manifold; *alde* old; *talde* told; *cald* cold (§ 96).

(4) Scand. *ōg*, *āg*, as: *lagh* law; *laghe* or *law* low.

(5) French *au*, as: *baum* balsam; *faute* fault.

(6) French *ā* before nasals, as: *chaunge* to change; *chamber* chamber.

Note:—*gh* was a velar spirant, and the pronunciation of *agh* was most probably $a^u\chi > au^x > au$. The sound χ disappeared from the dialect before the early Modern English period, or became f (see § 408) in the case of *laghter* laughter, and *slaghter* slaughter, etc. without the development of the diphthong *au*.

66. *eu*, spelled *eu*, *ew*, was a rising diphthong, that is to say, the stress fell on the second component. It probably had the value $e\acute{u}$ —close *e* (mid front lax) followed by *u* (high back tense rounded). It was derived from :

(1) Anglian *ēaw*, *ēow*: *shewe* to show; *hew* hue; new *new*; *treuth*, truth.

(2) French *eu*, *eau*: *beute* beauty; *rewle* rule.

67. *oi*, spelled *oy*, *uy*, represented French *oi*, *ui*: *ioy* joy; *oyele* oil; *poynt* point; *nuye* to annoy.

68. *ou*, spelled *ou*, *ow*, or *o(gh)*, had the sound ou , and was derived from :

(1) Anglian *āh*, as: *outher* either; *nouther* neither; *noght*, naught.

(2) Anglian *ōh*, *ōg*: *boght* bought; *broght* brought; but *ōg* became \bar{o} [$\bar{o}\bar{u}$], § 62 (1).

(3) Anglian *eāw*, *eōw*: *fou* few; *four* four; *trowth* truth.

(4) Scandinavian *au*: *goule* to yell; *how* hill; *rowt* to roar. ou also probably occurred before *l* in words spelled with *-ol*, as *golde* gold. See § 117.

Note:—*gh* was a velar spirant, and the pronunciation of *ogh* was probably $o^u\chi > ou^x > ou$. The sound χ disappeared from the dialect before the early Modern English period, or became f (see § 408). Where *gh* has become *f*, the diphthong *ou* is not found, but a modern vowel $i^{\circ}e$ which represents North. M. E. long close \bar{o} , e.g. *ynogh* has become $i^{\circ}ni^{\circ}ef$.

2. *Vowels in unstressed syllables.*

69. In unaccented syllables, a weakening of the Older English vowels was apparent in Northern Middle English. The Northern infinitive ending, *-a*, had fallen. A final *e* was sometimes written, but was not pronounced, except perhaps in poetry, e.g. *br̄est* to burst; *f̄le* to flee; *d̄eme* to deem. The present participle ended in *-and*; e.g. *lyfand* living; *shynand* shining; but it is doubtful whether the final *-d* was pronounced. The past participle ending *-en*, also an adjectival suffix, remained as *-en*, or was reduced to *-n*; e.g. *awen* own; *fayn* glad. The inflection of the present tense of the verb, *-es*, was probably pronounced [æz]. The past tenses of weak verbs, which in Old Anglian ended in *-idæ* and *-adæ*, ended regularly in *-ed* [æd] with loss of the final *-æ*. Others ended in *-t* or *-d*, like *taght* taught, or *sald* sold.

70. The prefix *ge-*, Southern M.E. *y*, was lost entirely in Northern English; *bi-* remained as *by* [bi]; e.g. *bygginning* beginning; *byhove* to behave; *bylyve* quickly; *bytwe* between. Anglian *ā* (West Saxon *on-*) remained as *a-* or *o-*, as *abouen* above; *agayn* again; *olyke* alike; *about* about; but *un-* survived, e.g. *unnethes* scarcely; *unstable* unstable. The dialect already betrayed a tendency to dispense with prefixes, e.g. *pistel* epistle; *pleyn* complain, etc., but it had borrowed the convenient Scandinavian prefix *um-* (O.E. *ymbe*) around, and made frequent use of it, e.g. *umgang* circuit; *umlap* to envelop; *umset* to surround.

71. The usual plural suffix was *-es* [æz], but *eghen* eyes; *oxen* oxen; and *shoen* shoes formed their plurals with *-en* [æn]. The suffix *-er* (a sign of the plural in *childer* children) appeared sometimes as *-ir*, e.g. *eftir* after; *wedir* weather.

Anglian *-līcæ* had become *-ly* [li]: *ānly* only; *ōpenly* openly; *-ig* appeared as *-y* [i], e.g. *hevy* heavy; *bisy* busy; and the suffixes *-on*, *-ol*, *-ur*, and *-ud* had been weakened to *-en*, *-el*, *-er* and *-ed*, as: *heven* (Cædmon's *Hymn*, hefæn, heben) heaven; *devel* devil; *fader* (Cædmon's *Hymn* fadur) father; *heved* head. The suffix *-uð* fell, like *-ið*, to simple *-th*, e.g. *yhowthe* youth.

3. *The Consonants.*

72. The Consonant System of the Dialect was as follows :

Stops *p b*; *t d*; *k (c) g*.

Spirants *f v*; *th (þ)*; *s (c)*; *sh*; *gh*; *h*.

Liquids *l, m, n, ng, r*.

Semivowels *yh (y)*; *w, wh (qu)*.

Diphthongs *ch*; *j (ge)*; *qu*.

73. *p, b, t* and *d* represented their Old English, Scandinavian, or Romance originals, and were probably pronounced as in modern English.

74. Initially *k*, the breathed velar stop [k], represented O.E. *c* before front vowels which were the result of mutation, as: *ken* keen; *kyng* king; *kye* cows; *kynd* nature; and also Scand. *k* before all front vowels, e.g. *kevel* to muzzle; *kirk* church. Written *c*, it represented O.E. *c*, Scand. *k*, or French *c* before all consonants except *n*, and before back-vowels, e.g. *caffé* chaff; *cald* cold; *clote* clout; *colour* colour; *cover* to recover. *k* was probably not silent in the combination *kn* (O.E. *cn*), e.g. *knaw* to know. It may have been pronounced **tn** in this position. Scandinavian *sk* remained, e.g. *skoule* to scowl; *skilles* reasons; *skyne* to shine.

Medially and finally *k*, or *c*, represented O.E. 'palatal' *ç*, as *mykil* much; *swylc* such; *askes* ashes; *whilk* which; *rike* kingdom; or O.E. final *c*, as *lok* a curl; *dike* dike.

75. *g*, a voiced velar stop [g] as in modern English, represented O.E. or French initial *g* before consonants, e.g. *gres* grass; *gnaghe* to gnaw; *groche* to grudge; and before back-vowels as *gadir* to gather; *gudes* goods. Finally *g* represented O.E. 'palatal' *çg*, as *brig* bridge; *ligg* to lie; *rig* ridge. Scandinavian *g* remained in all positions, whereas O.E. medial *g* had become vocalised, e.g. *get* to get, beget; *swelge* (O.I. *swelga*) to swallow; *goule* to howl; *rogg* to tear.

76. *f* was probably always the breathed labio-dental spirant, and not voiced as in Southern English. It represented O.E., Scand., or Romance *f*. Probably it remained voiceless in a final

position in infinitives, where the characteristic inflexion *-a* (*-an*) had fallen, e.g. *lefe* to leave; *shriſe* to shrive. Here the final *e* was only a device to indicate the length of the root-vowel, and was probably not pronounced.

77. *v* was the corresponding voiced sound, and represented O.E. *f* between vowels, as *heven* heaven; *hevy* heavy; *even* even; or French *v*, e.g. *vayne* vein; *variand*, varying.

78. *th* represented O.E. þ, ð, or Scand. ð. It was usually written þ at the beginning of a word, and *th* in other positions. Initially and finally it was a voiceless (breathed) sound [θ], e.g. *þir* these; *thurgh* through; *þrete* to threaten; *teþe* teeth; *bathe* both. Between vowels it was voiced [ð], e.g. *wethir* whether; (*þe*)*tother* the other; *outher* either.

79. *s* [s] represented O.E., Scand., or French *s*, also French medial *-ce*, e.g. *sare* sore; *sere* various; *chace* [tʃa:s] to chase. It was voiced to *z*: (1) in inflexions, as *rotes* [röütəz] roots; *fyngers* [fɪŋərz] fingers; *partes* [partəz] parts; *hynges* [hiŋəz] it hangs; *welkes* [welkəz] withers; and probably in *us* [əz] us; *es* [əz] is; and *has* [əz] in unemphatic positions; (2) between vowels, as *mesur* [me'zöür] measure; *dased* dazed; *ese* (O.Fr. aise) pleasure. Romance *c* before front vowels was pronounced *s*, as *certain* [sərtain] certain.

80. *sh*, sometimes also spelled *sch* [ʃ], represented O.E. *sc-*, as *shap* shape; *shote* to shoot; *shriſe* to shrive; *sho* she; *bischop* bishop; *fissch* fish; *wesch* to wash, except in *sal* shall, and *suld* should. It also represented O.Fr. medial *ss*, *-iss*, e.g. *ravissche* to ravish.

81. *gh* was the regular spelling of O.E. medial and final *h*, as *light* light; *weght* weight; *neghe* nigh. But it also represented the O.E. voiced spirant postvocalic *g*, as *neghen* nine; *foghil* fowl. After back vowels it was evidently the breathed velar spirant [χ] (probably articulated very slightly), for it had induced an *u*-glide before it, and was in process of being absorbed by it, as is shown by the alternative spellings *aghen* or *awn* own; *laghe* or *law* low; *boghe* or *bow* to bend; *foghil* or *fowl* fowl. The scribe of Rolle's *Psalter* preferred the *gh* spellings, but the writer of *The Pricke of*

Conscience used mainly *w*. We may suppose the change to have been as follows: *laghe* [laχ] > [la^uχ] > [lau^x] > *law* [lau]; or, *foghil* [fo:χəl] > [fo^uχəl] > [fou^l] > *foul* [foul].

After front vowels we may suppose that the sound was fronted to become the breathed palatal spirant [ç]. An *i*-glide was developed after the open *ε* in Midland forms as is shown by the rare spellings *height* (*Pricke of Conscience*) and *hey* (*Psalter*) for 'height' and 'high' (O.E. *héah*). The development would be O.E. *héah* > [hε:ç] > [hεⁱç] > [heif] > *hey* [hei]¹.

After the close *ē*, which was regular in Northern M.E. before *gh*, and after short *i*, the sound fell, and the preceding vowels became lengthened to the long close *ē*. Rolle's *neghen* was probably *ne:çæn*. His *light* was probably [leçt]. But the spirant sounds indicated by *gh* were falling as early as the fourteenth century, as Rolle's spellings, *did* died; *hey* high; *nest* (superlative of *neghe* *nigh*) next; and *awn*, *bow*, and *law*, mentioned above, indicate. Minot (ca. 1350) has once *ine* (eyes) riming with 'pine,' instead of the usual 'eghen.' He rimes *dy* (North M.E. *deghe*), to die, with 'company.'

82. The glottal breathing, *h*, was probably sounded, though there is no clear evidence. In the modern dialects of Lowland Scotland and Northumberland it remains², but it is not heard in the dialects of North and East Yorkshire.

83. The liquids *l*, *m*, *n*, *r* and *ng* [ŋ] represented their O.E., Scand., or French originals, and were voiced as in Modern English. *l*, *r*, and *n* also represented the O.E. and Scand. initial breathed sounds spelled *hl*, *hr*, and *hn*, which had become voiced, e.g. *laghter* laughter; *rowt* to shout; *nit* louse. *n* before *k* or *g* was pronounced ŋ as in Modern English.

r was probably trilled as in Modern Scotch dialects. There was no metathesis of O.E. *r* in *bren* to burn; *bridde* bird; *crud* curd; *thrid* third; and *thurgh* through.

84. *yh*, spelled also *ȝ* sometimes in Rolle's *Psalter*, was probably the voiced palatal spirant [j], Mod. Eng. *y*, as in 'you.' It represented: (1) O.E. *ge*, *gi* (= Germanic *j*) as *yhowthe* youth;

¹ Cf. § 177.

² Wright, *English Dialect Grammar*, p. 254, § 357.

yha ye; *yhere* year; or (2) O.E. *g* as a palatal voiced spirant before front vowels, e.g. *yheld* to pay; *yhell* to yell; *zate* gate. It only occurred initially, and the spelling *yh* was designed to prevent confusion with *y*, the variant spelling of *i*, e.g. *ynogh* enough; *yvels* evils; *hey* high.

85. *w* was voiced as in Modern English, but the voiceless sound (O.E. *hw*) remained, and was written *wh* or sometimes *qu*, as *whele* wheel; *whilk* or *quilk* which. Probably this voiceless sound was becoming voiced (as in the modern dialect) as early as the fourteenth century. The spellings *wethir* whether; *warso* wheresoever, indicate this. It may have been pronounced before consonants, as *wlatsome* loathsome; *wrepe* wrath (subs.), but the spelling *latsome* occurs, indicating that *w* was not always sounded in this position.

86. *ch* [tʃ], as in Modern English, represented O.E. 'palatal' *c* before front vowels, as *chyn* chin; *cheese* to choose. It is necessary to remember that O.E. *c* before front vowels which resulted from the mutation of back vowels was preserved as *k*, e.g. *kyng* king; *ken* keen; *ch* also stood for O.Fr. *ch* as *chace* to chase; *chaunge* to change; *riche* rich.

87. *j* [dʒ] represented O.French *j* initially, as *jaunys* jaundice; *joy* joy. Medially and finally the same sound was written *-ge*, e.g. *chaunge* change; *age* age.

88. *qu* was pronounced **kw** and represented Romance *qu*, O.E. *cw* or Scand. *kv*, e.g. *quite* to requite; *quakand* quaking. This *qu* [kw] must be differentiated from the voiceless *w* (§ 85), which was sometimes spelled with *qu* in Hampole's *Psalter*, in imitation of the Scotch scribes who regularly wrote *qu* for *wh*, cf. Barbour's *quhen* when; *quhile* while; *quhethir* whether. The English spelling was *wh*.

CHAPTER III

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE MIDDLE ENGLISH VOWELS IN STRESSED SYLLABLES

The English Element

89. THE object of the following chapter is to trace the development of the present vowel system of the dialect. I begin from Middle English because, after working out the development from Old English, Scandinavian, and Anglo-French, I found such confusion and repetition in the huge mass of material I had collected, that I felt I must resort to a basis which would afford some regular system for the classification of the multitude of vowel sounds which it was necessary to work out in a speech compounded of at least three national elements. This unity I found in Middle English. After consideration, I decided to leave out, as far as practicable, all dialect forms which agree with the 'standard' English of the nineteenth century, for we can never definitely say that they have not been borrowed from the educated speech, if not of this generation, of the generations which influenced the dialect during the late eighteenth and the whole of the nineteenth century. Their value is doubtful, and such forms are only included, either where genuine dialect words could not be brought forward to illustrate, or where it was necessary to state that the dialect development of a given Middle English sound agrees with the standard development.

1. *Short Vowels.*

M.E. *a*.

90. M.E. *a* remains in the dialect as **a**, except that in some instances it has become **e** before dental consonants. There has

been no lengthening before the voiceless spirants **f**, **s**, **θ**, no nasalisation of *a* to *ɔ* before **ŋ**, and no rounding to *ɔ* after **w** as in standard English. Even before *r*, the seventeenth-century lengthening of **a** to **ɛ**: in the fashionable language is only partially exemplified.

91. M.E. *a*, from Anglian *a*, *æ*, *ea* (W. Germ. *a*) in closed syllables, or in open syllables followed by a suffix containing **l**, **m**, **n**, or **r**, appears as **a** :

aft (O.E. *hæft*) a handle; **anl** handle; **as** ashes; **band** twine; **bas** bast, mat; **baθ** bath; **brant** (O.E. *brant*) steep; **braniu** (O.E. *brand*, *burning*) brand new; **bras** money; **brazek** wild mustard; **brazn** impudent; **daft** (O.E. *gedæfte*, meek) foolish; **glas** glass; **faðe(r)** (*Rolle fader*) father; **fadm** fathom; **flake(r)** (cf. O.E. *flacor* (adj.) flying) to flutter; **galēsiz** (a double pl. form, O.E. *galga*, M.E. *galwes* + *es*) braces; **gam** (O.E. *gamen*) a game; **jarə** milfoil; **kaf** (*Rolle caffè*) chaff; **klam** (O.E. *clam*) a clamp, claw-grip of a crane; **klamd** thirsty (cf. O.E. *clam* sticky); **kani** wise, skilful; **kanl** candle; **kasl** castle; **ladl** ladle; **lat** (O.E. *lætt*) lath; **pankin** a pipkin; **paθ** path; **saklēs** (O.E. *sacleas*) foolish, simple; **sam** (O.E. *sammian*) to collect; **sal** shall; **satl** (O.E. *sahtlian*, *Rolle saghtel*) to settle; **stapl** a staple; **ſap** (O.E. *gesceap*, *Rolle*, *Yorks. Mys. shappe*) shape; **tſavl** (cf. O.E. *céafias*, jaws) to gnaw; **tſat** (cf. Swed. *kotte*) a pine-cone; **blaſ** (cf. Low G. *plasken*) to splash; **θak** thatch.

A short vowel occurs also in **ſak** (O.E. *sēacan*) to shake, probably by analogy with **mak** to make; **tak** to take; and in **ſam** (O.E. *sēamu*) shame which appears to have been influenced by O.I. *skamm*.

92. M.E. *a* from shortening of O.E. *ā* remains: **aks** to ask; **ask** (O.E. *āðexe*) a newt; also M.E. *a* due to the shortening of O.E. *æ* to *ǣ* before dental consonants, in **blaðe(r)** bladder; **blast** blast; 'bad,' 'fat,' 'mad,' etc.; and M.E. *a* from the shortening of O.E. *ēa* in **ſaf** (O.E. *sēāf*) a sheaf.

93. M.E. *a* preceded by *w*, which became *ɔ* in standard English towards the end of the seventeenth century, appears as **a** in the dialect :

swan a swan; **swap** to exchange; **wakn** to awake (int.), to waken (tr.); **war** (*Rolle war*) was; **wat** what; **watə(r)** (*Rolle watter*) water; **watʃ** watch.

94. N.M.E. *a*, before *-ng*, regularly remains as **a** :

ə'maŋ (*Psalms amang*) among; **strɑŋ** (*Rolle strang*) strong; **θraŋ** (O.E. *ðrang*) a crowd; **laŋ** (*Rolle lang*) long; **waŋkl** (O.E. *wancol*) unstable.

But *a* has become **e** in **tenʒ** (O.E. *tange*, *Clavis tengs*) pl. tongs, and in **teŋ** to nip, sting, which appears to be a derivative (O.E. **tangian*, M.E. **tengen*); it cannot be derived from O.E. *stingan* to sting. Possibly the verb has been influenced by the Scandinavian form, cf. O.I. *tengja* to tie.

And *a* appears as **o** before *n* in **moni** (O.E. *manig*, M.E. *moni*) many, and its associate **oni** (O.E. *ænig*, M.E. *ani*) any.

95. N.M.E. *agh*, O.E. *ah*, appears as **aʃ** in: **laʃtə(r)** (*Rolle laghter*) laughter; and **slaʃtə(r)** (*Cath. slaghter*) slaughter.

96. M.E. *al*, *aul* (Anglian *al*, O.E. *eal*), followed by another consonant, has become **ɔː**. Probably the introduction of the *u*-glide between *a* and *l* took place before the same change in standard English; certainly the *l* had fallen by the end of the seventeenth century, for the authors of the 'Dialogues' of 1673 and 1684 wrote *aw* in words of this class. Brokesby (1691) says: 'In many words we change *ol* and *oul*, into *au*, as for "cold" they say *caud*; for "old," *aud*;.....for "Woulds," *wards*¹.' The change may have been beginning in Rolle's generation; I have found *manyfaulde* for 'manifold.' This is probable, for the *au*, from M.E. *a* before *l*, fell together with M.E. *au*. The development was [*al* > **aʷl** > **au** > **ɔː** > **ɔː**]. Examples are :

bɔːk (O.E. *balca*) a rafter; **fɔːd** fold; **fɔːd** to fold; **fɔːf** (*Cath. falghe*) fallow land; **kɔːf** calf; **kɔːd** (*Rolle cald*) cold; **ɔːd** (*Rolle alde*, *Clavis awd*) old; **ɔːf** half; **ɔːləs** always; **ɔːl** all; **mɔːt** malt; **pɔːmz** (O.E. *palm*) willow catkins; **sɔːv** salve; **sɔːt** (*Clavis sawt*) salt; **wɔːdz** Wolds; **nɔːp** (*Clavis naupe*) to knock on the head.

But **ɛəf** half also occurs. Here the **ɔː** which developed has been fronted, like Northern M.E. *ā* to **ɛː** > **ɛə**.

¹ Postscript to Ray's Preface to *A Collection of English Words*, etc., English Dialect Society 1874, Series B, Part III., p. 7, § 3.

(a) The prets. and past-participles **seld** sold; **teld** told; which occur in Rolle as *sald* and *tald* (*Clavis* teld), show the mutated vowel of the present and infinitive stems, and agree with Wycliffe's forms.

(b) Also a short vowel is found in **omæst** (*Clavis* ommust) almost, and in **od** (*Rolle* hald) to hold. The vowel in *hold* was probably first shortened in the past participle, before the double consonant (e.g. **odn** pp. held). *Clavis* (1684) has the regular and to be expected form *haud*, but Marshall (1788) gives *hod*¹, indicating that the vowel became short in the eighteenth century.

97. M.E. *ar* (Angl. *ær*, O.E. *ear*) before a following consonant usually appears as **ɑ:**, and *r* has been assimilated to the second consonant:

ɑ:dlinz hardly; **ɑ:dn** to embolden, harden; **ɑ:f** (O.E. *earg*, *Clavis* arfe) afraid, mean (heard in the phrase **ə ɑ:fif su·ət əv ə fele** a listless, spiritless creature); **ɑ:li** (O.E. *ærlíce*, *Rolle* arly) early²; **da:(r)** vb. dare; **ta:t** (O.E. *teart*) sour; **wa:d** ward; **wa:m** warm; **wa:t** wart.

In these words the lengthening and fronting of *a* before *r* to **ɛ:r**, current in the fashionable English of the seventeenth century³, does not appear to have taken place, or we should expect to find **ɛ·ə** in the dialect to-day. There is no indication of such a change in the *Yorkshire Dialogues* of 1673 or 1684.

But in a few words a relic of this fronting remains, *r* has been assimilated as above, and the vowel appears as **ɛ·ə**. The dialect here appears to have followed the standard language. In the nineteenth century for the first time, Castillo (ca. 1830) indicates this change by such spellings as *ame* arm, *bain* bairn, though most of his words containing M.E. *ar* are spelled either with *ar*, or *ah*. Examples are: **ɛ·əm** arm; **bɛ·ən** (*Rolle* barn) bairn; **spɛ·ək** spark.

The development might be indicated as follows:—

M.E. *ar* + consonant > (1) early mod. Eng. *ar* > *ar* > **ɑ:**, with lengthened vowel due to assimilation of *r* to following consonant;

¹ *The Rural Economy of Yorkshire*, Vol. II. p. 311.

² Brokesby, 1691, gives the pronunciation of this word as 'yarely.'

³ Horn, *Historische neuenglische Grammatik*, I. § 45. Wyld, *Short History of English*, § 222.

or more rarely became (2) early mod. Eng. $\bar{a}r$, and fell with M.E. $\bar{a}r$ to $e\bar{a}$, in few English words, but in most French words (§ 254).

98. M.E. a has been raised before f to e in :

ef ashtree; **efin** a beating; and **wef** (*Cath.* *wesche*) to wash.

99. These are the only examples of f -breaking found in the dialect, but the phenomenon appears to be only part of a general lifting of a to e before dental consonants, e.g.

geḡæ(r) (*Prose* *geder*) to gather; **kredl** cradle; **preti** or **prati** (O.E. *prætig*, *Cath.* *praty*) pretty; **weḡæ(r)** which of two; **wen** when; **ed** had; **ez** has; **ezi** hazel.

Also before $-l$ in **elḡæ(r)** halter.

For this latter raising of a to e before dentals and l , cf. the raising of e to i under similar conditions (§ 106).

M.E. e .

100. M.E. e generally appears in the dialect as e , save that before η , and in some cases before dental consonants, it has become i .

101. M.E. e from Anglian e , eo (W. Germanic e) and also from e , the I Mutation of a , in closed syllables, or in open syllables followed by a suffix containing l , m , n , or r , appears as e :

belæ to bellow; **beli** belly; **belæs** bellows; (vb.) to exhaust, to condition; **bleb** a blister; **beriz** gooseberries; **ek** (O.E. *hecc*, *Cath.* *heke*, Scots *haik*) a hay rack, or grating above a manger; **eldæs** parents; **enȝ** (M.E. *henge*) hinge; **evn** (*Rolle* *heven*) heaven; **jest** (*Cath.* *zeste*) yeast; **lenθ** (*Rolle* *lenþe*) length; **neb** (O.E. *nebb*) beak; **meldiu** (O.E. *meledéaw*, M.E. *meldew*) mildew; **rezi** weasel; **seg** (O.E. *secge*, *Cath.* *segg*) sedge; **senz** selves; **senȝ** (O.E. *sengan*, M.E. *sengen*) to singe; **slek** (O.E. *sleccan*, to slacken) to slake; **snek** (*Cath.* *snekke*) sneck, latch; **spel** (O.E. *speld*, a torch) a taper; **stevn** (O.E. *stefnian*) to shout; **stevn** (*Psalms* *steven*) voice; **θref** (O.E. *þerscan*, *Cath.* *threshe*) to thrash; **θrefwud** (*Cath.* *threshwalde*) threshold; **wed** to marry; **wen** (O.E. *wenn*) tumour; **wet** (O.E. *hwettan*) to sharpen; **wetstn** whetstone; **weḡæ(r)** (O.E. *wēðer*) a castrated ram; **wedæ(r)** (O.E. *weder*, *Rolle* *wedir*) weather; **bensilin** (cf. Low G. *benseln*, to beat) a beating.

M.E. e from the shortening of O.E. $\bar{v}e$, Anglian \bar{e} , remains in :

debθ depth¹; from O.E. *ē* in **slep** slept; **feðæfiul** (O.E. *fēferfuge*) feverfew²; from O.E. *ȳ* in **remæn** (O.E. **rȳmnian*) to remove.

A short vowel occurs in **nevi** (O.E. *nefa*) nephew, but this has probably been influenced by O. Fr. *neveu*.

M.E. *e*, O.E. *eo* has become **α** in **jale** (*Cath.* *zalowe*) yellow, probably by analogy with 'sallow,' 'tallow,' 'fallow,' etc.

102. M.E. *e* before **ŋ**, has become **i**, as in the standard pronunciation: **liŋə(r)** to linger; **miŋl** to mingle, etc.

103. M.E. *e* before *ld* became lengthened early in the history of the language, and words of this class are dealt with under M.E. *ē*, but another lengthening took place in the eighteenth century. It is alluded to by Marshall in his *Rural Economy of Yorkshire* 1788, vol. II., p. 310: 'The *e* short before *l* and *n*,' he says, 'is lengthened by the *y* consonant...thus: well (a fountain) becomes *weyl*; to fell to *feyl*; men *meyn*; ten *teyn*.'

The only relics of this change appear to be **be·əl** (O.E. *bellan*) to roar; and **je·əl** (O.E. *gellan*) to yell.

104. M.E. *er* (Angl. *er*, *ĕar*; O.E. *eor*) before a following consonant often appears as **α:**, which is also the usual development of M.E. *ar* + consonant. The two sounds appear to have fallen together in the fifteenth century. The *Catholicon* has sometimes *-er* and sometimes *-ar*. The authors of the *Yorkshire Dialogues* spelled with *-ar* words which the Middle English scribes had written with *-er*. We might indicate the development as follows:

M.E. *ar* + cons. \searrow **ar** \swarrow > (1) usually *ar* > **α:**, with lengthened vowel due to loss of *r*.
 M.E. *er* + cons. \swarrow **ar** \searrow > (2) rarely *ǣr*, and fell with M.E. *ār* to **ε̄ə**, in *arm*, *bairn*, *spark*, and perhaps in *earth* and *earnest*.

It is necessary to emphasise the difference made by a second

¹ Possibly **debθ** depth was formed from M.E. *depe* by the addition of the *-th* suffix after the analogy of M.E. *highth*, *length*, *strength* etc. In this case the vowel merely became short before the double consonant.

² This is a case of the shortening of the long vowel in the first syllable of a trisyllabic word. See Luick, *Quantitätsveränderungen im Laufe der englischen Sprachentwicklung*. *Anglia* 20, p. 335 et seq. For O.E. *fēferfuge* must have become *fēverfew*, or confusion with *feather-feuille* could not have taken place.

consonant following the *r*, for M.E. *er* in an open syllable was pronounced **ɛ:r** in M.E. and appears in the modern dialect as **i·ə(r)**.

(a) Most words containing M.E. *er* followed by a consonant suggest early mod. English *ar* :

a:b herb; **a:n** to earn; **a:nist** earnest; **a:s** (*Cath.* erse) rump; **a:θ** (*Cath.* harthe) hearth; **a:t** (*Rolle* hert) heart; **da:lin** (O.E. *dēorling*, *Rolle* derlyng) darling; **fa:din** (O.E. *fēorðung*) farthing; **fa:m** (*Cath.* ferme) farm; **la:n** to learn; **wa:k** (O.E. *weorc*, *Prose* werk) work; **wa:s** (O.E. *wiers*, *Rolle* wers, *Clavis* warse) adj. worse; **wa:ld** (*Rolle* werld) world.

To these must be added words containing M.E. *er*, which are now spelled with *-ar* in the literary language, such as 'far,' 'starve,' 'tar' (*Cath.* ter), etc.; and perhaps **ba:fn** (*Cath.* bargham) a horse-collar. All the words of French origin containing M.E. *ēr* (§ 257) have had this, the regular, development.

(b) The only words which indicate the lengthening of M.E. *er* to **ɛ:r** are **jenist** earnest, and **jeθ** (*Prose* erth), in which the vowel may have had the following development, [**er** > **ɛ:r** > **i·ə** > **je**].

105. But M.E. *er* followed by a consonant occasionally became confused with M.E. *ir*.

(a) The pronunciations **oθ** earth, and **wold** world, are often heard, and point to earlier forms containing M.E. *-ir* (cf. § 114). **bon** (*Rolle* bren) to burn is derived from M.E. *birne*, recorded in the *Catholicon Anglicum*.

(b) The following words probably represent late M.E. forms containing *-ir*, lowered in Early Mod. Eng. to *er* (cf. § 107), and *r* has been assimilated to the following dental consonant:

jed (Angl. *gerd*) yard, 3 feet; **jet** (Angl. *scerte*) shirt; with metathesis in **ges** (O.E. *gærs*, *græs*, *Rolle* gres, *Clavis* girse) grass; **gen** to grin; **geni** peevish.

106. M.E. *e* has become **i** before dentals in the following words:

frif fresh; **it** (*Rolle* ette) pp. itn, to eat; **jistədə** (*Cath.* zister-day) yesterday; **rist** rest; **stritf** to stretch; **ti'gidə(r)** (O.E. *æt-gædere*, *Rolle* togidere) together; **wizn** (O.E. *wāsend*, Early Mod. Eng. *wesand*) weasand, gullet.

Also before **l** in: **fil** to shell (peas); **wilk** a welk; **wile** (O.E. *welig*) willow.

M.E. *i*.

107. M.E. *i* regularly appears as **i** in the present dialect, but there is evidence that it was not always so. We have the word **splet** (M. Du. *splitten*) to split, and such forms as **krekit** cricket, **renf** to rinse. But above all, the evidence of the following rimes from *A Yorkshire Dialogue* of 1684—*finnd, end; whickens, breckins; Pegg, whig; ill, tell; rest, wist; will, sell; Tib, web*, etc.—shows that late in the seventeenth century, short *i* was a very lax *r*¹, such as is now heard in many Scottish dialects. Whether this change began in the Middle English period, for the Yorkshire scribes wrote *cete* for city; *pete* for pity; *preson* for prison, etc., is more difficult to establish. What is important is that M.E. *i*, from O.E. *i, y*, sank to *e* and has been raised, probably before 1788, for Marshall has nothing to say upon the subject, back again to **i**:

bid to offer a price, to invite to a funeral; **bizi** (*Rolle bysy*) busy; **biznəs** business; **bitf** bitch; **drin kinz** nuncheon; **finə(r)** finger; **fik** (*Cath. flyke*) fitch; **gidi** fickle; **grizl** gristle; **in də(r)** to hinder; **jis** (O.E. *gise*) yes; **jit** (O.E. *giet, Rolle yhit*) yet; **krik** a twist, spasm; **kriŋkl** to wrinkle; **mitf** (O.E. *micel*) much; **nit** (O.E. *hnitu*) a louse's egg; **pik** (*Cath. pikke*) tar; **pik** (vb. tr.) to give birth prematurely; **pik-fork** pitchfork; **rig** ridge, back; **sin** (O.E. *siðan, Rolle sythen, Clavis sine, Cast. sahn*) since; **sində(r)** (O.E. *sinder*, cf. O.I. *sindr*) cinder; **siv** (O.E. *sife*) sieve; **spinl** axle; **stinzi** stingy; **swimi** dizzy; **fift** to move, to remove; **fift** chemise; **tik** a sheep-louse; **tit** (O.E. *tit*) a teat; **titi** breastmilk; **twinz** to nip, to ache; **twin klin** an instant; **twitf** to tighten a cord; **wintə(r)** winter; **wispə(r)** to whisper; **wisp** a bunch of hay; **wift** (int.) silence!; **wizn** (O.E. *wisnian*) to wither; **kin kof** chincough, whooping-cough².

¹ Lax *i* also occurred in the London dialect in Early Modern English. Horn, *Historische neuenglische Grammatik* § 28; Wyld, *The Spoken English of the Early Eighteenth Century*, § 4.

² If this word was borrowed from the Scandinavian, it must have been taken over before *n* became assimilated to *kk*, cf. Swed. *kikhosta*.

108. M.E. *i* from O.E. *y* appears as **i**, as a rule; although a few **e** and **u** forms occur in the dialect.

i forms; **brig** bridge; **didl** to cheat; **dip** sheepwash; **dizi** giddy; **figd** fledged; **kil** a kiln; **ə'kin** related; **klik** (O.E. clyccan) to clutch; **ig** (O.E. hycge, mind, mood, pride) ill temper; **pila** pillow; **pitid** (adj.) blemished with rust spots; **rig** (O.E. hrycg) ridge, back; **trimd** (adj.) pleased.

M.E. *i* from shortening of O.E. *y* remains in **θiml** (O.E. *ðymel*) thimble.

109. **e** forms: **beri** (*Rolle bery*) to bury; **menə** (O.E. myne, *Cath.* menowe) a minnow; and, of course, the standard 'left' and 'merry.'

Also, with assimilation of *r* to a following dental, in: **waks-kenl** (O.E. cyrnell) a cyst; and **sket** (O.E. scyrte, a skirt) skirt; but the latter may come from Scand. skyrtá § 207. *Rolle* has also *threst* (to thirst), *bren* (to burn). Marshall (1788) cites '*rush*' as **ref**, but the usual dialect word is **si-əf** (O.I. sef).

110. **u** forms: **brunstp** (O.E. bryne, flame, *Psalms* brunstan) brimstone, sulphur; **runl** (O.E. rynell) a spring (in place-names); **stub** to uproot (O.E. stybb, a stump); **umlək** (O.E. hymlice) hemlock; in **wutfət** (O.E. wurtgeard) orchard, *r* has, in each syllable, been assimilated to the following dental consonant. To these words must be added the standard 'blush,' 'crutch,' 'comely,' and 'shut.'

111. This triple appearance of O.E. *y* as **i**, **e**, and **u**, in a Northern dialect, as far asunder from Kent and the South-West Midlands in the late Middle Ages as England is from New York to-day, indicates that *e* and *u* are not developments peculiar to Kent and the South-West respectively. The above **e** and **u** forms can hardly be borrowings; it is likely that they developed in Northern English directly from O.E. *y*. The orthodox opinion is that O.E. *y*, and the *y* from Scandinavian sources, were *always* unrounded to *i* in Northern Middle English. I believe the **e**-forms to be relics of a M.E. lowering of *y* to *e*, and possibly the **u** forms are derived from an O.E. *u* unmutated to *y*.

112. M.E. *i* usually remained short before **-nd**, e.g. **bind** to bind; **blind** blind; **find** to find; **grind** to grind; **bi'jint** behind; **rind** rind; **wind** wind; **wind** to wind.

But it lengthened to M.E. *ī*, and became **ɑ:** in the eighteenth century (§ 151) before **-ld**: **wɑ:ld** wild; **tɑ:n** (O.E. *tind*) a spike.

M.E. *i* is also short before **-mb**, e.g. **klim** to climb.

113. On the contrary, M.E. *i* from O.E. *y* became long before **-nd**, and developed like M.E. *ī* before voiced consonants to **ɑ:** in: **kɑ:nd** kind; **mɑ:nd** mind.

114. M.E. *i*, before *r* followed by a consonant, has regularly become **o**, and *r* has been assimilated where a dental consonant followed: the development was probably [*ir* > *er* > *o(r)*]. Examples are:

bod bird; **bork** birch; **or** (O. and M.E. *hire*) her; **storəp** stirrup; **tʃorəp** to chirp; **tʃotʃ** church; **θod** (*Rolle* *thred*) third; **θotti** (O.E. *θritig*, *Rolle* *thretty*) thirty; **θot'ti:n** thirteen; **wøθ** (O.E. *wierðe*) worth.

The Early Mod. Eng. lowering of *i* to **e** remains in **kesməs** (M.E. *cristenmas*) Christmas, and in **kesn** (O.E. *cristnian*) to christen, where metathesis of *r* has been followed by its assimilation to the following *s*.

115. M.E. *i* from O.E. *y* also became **o** before *r*, with loss of *r* before dentals:

bodn burden; **boθ** birth; **fost** first; **stor** to stir; **worm** worm; **θost** (O.E. *θyrst*, *Rolle* *threst*) thirst; **wori** to worry; **work** (O.E. *wyrcean*, *Prose* *wyrke*) to work.

M.E. *o*.

116. M.E. *o* from O.E. *o* in closed syllables, including *o* followed by a single consonant and a suffix containing an **l**, **m**, **n**, or **r**, regularly appears as **o**.

bodm bottom; **borə** to borrow; **boðə(r)** to bother; **brokn** (pp.) broken; **don** to dress; **dof** to undress; **dokin** dock (plant name); **fond** (pp. of M.E. *fonnen*, to be foolish) (adj.) silly; **frozn** (pp.) frozen; **kod** (O.E. *codd*) husk of peas and beans; **ku·ən-kokl** (O.E. *coccel*, *tares*) cornflower; **koləp** a slice; **kroft** a field (in place names); **krop** crow (of a fowl); **los** (O.E. *los*, destruction) loss; hence **los** (v.) to lose; **jon** yon; **nodl** head; **ofnz** often; **olin** (O.E. *holegn*, M.E. *holin*) holly; **opn** open; **otə(r)**

otter; **pok** a pustule; **post** post; **prod**, a spike, vb. to prick; **snot** nose-mucus; **sodn** saturated; **spokn** (pp.) spoken; **spot** situation; **topin** front hair of the head; **trod** a footpath; **trof** (*Cath. A.* throghe) trough; **θros1** a thrush; **θrot1** to strangle; **θof** (N.M.E. thof, þoffe) though; and with metathesis of *o* and *l* in **goləp** (M.E. gloppen) to gulp, and its derivative, **goli** a fledgeling bird.

Short vowels are found in **bodi** (O.E. bodig) body; and in **popi** (O.E. popig) poppy, where a lengthened vowel in the open syllable would be regular.

English *g* has remained through the M.E. period in **og** (O.E. hogge) a yearling sheep; and also in 'dog' and 'frog.'

117. M.E. *ol*, O.E. *ol*, followed by a second consonant appears as **ou**. The development was [ol > o^hl > ou]. In the dialect, *l* fell before 1680. The *Clavis* has *ow* in words of this class. Examples are:

boustə(r) bolster; **boul** (O.E. bolla) a bowl; **bout** bolt; **kouʔə(r)** (M.E. colter < L. culter) coulter (of a plough); **kout** colt; **goud** (*Clavis* gowd) gold; **mouðiwa:p** (O.E. molde, earth + weorpan to cast) a mole; **stoun** (*Clavis* stown) (pp.) stolen; **toul** toll, vb. to toll.

But **u·ə** occurs in **fu·əks** (*Clavis* fowkes) folks, which appears to be borrowed. The vowel implies a M.E. *ō*.

118. M.E. *o* before *-rn* and *-rd* became lengthened to **ɔ:** in some words. The change probably took place before 1673, for the *Yorkshire Dialogue* of that date spells 'morn' as *moarne*. This Early Mod. *ō* has developed, like M.E. *ō*, to **u·ə**:

bu·əd board; **ku·ən** corn; **mu·ən** morning; **ti·mu·ən** tomorrow; **ti mu·ən t nit** tomorrow evening; **θu·ən** thorn; **u·əd** hoard; **u·ən** horn; and in the past participles, **bu·ən** born; **swu·ən** sworn; **tu·ən** torn; **ʃu·ən** shorn; **wu·ən** worn.

119. There is no evidence to show that M.E. *o* was ever lengthened before *r* in the following words, where *r* has been assimilated to a following dental consonant:

(**wat**) **for**? (int. adv.) why; **fork** fork; **storm** storm.

ə'fod to afford; **moθə(r)** (O.E. morðor) murder; **noθ** north; **noθrən** northern; **os** horse; **ʃot** short; **wod** word.

M.E. *u*.

120. M.E. *u* from O.E. *u* has regularly remained :

blubæ(r) to weep; **buṭæ(r)** butter; **ḡruṅkn** drunken; **dum** dumb; **duldull**; **fulæk** (O.E. full + suffix -ok) speed, rushing movement; **guts** entrails; **juṅ** young; **krudz** (M.E. crud) curds; **klustæ(r)** a bunch, cluster; **kud** (O.E. *cuðu*) cud; **kudl** to embrace; **kum** to come; **luv** love; **rud** red ochre; **stunt** (O.E. *stunt*) obstinate; **sum** some; **sumæt** something; **sun** son; **tuml** to tumble; **unḡæd** hundred; **uṅæ(r)** hunger; **uṅæd** hungry; **ṭunæ(r)** thunder; **wud** wood; **tunṅ** (O.E. *tunge*, *Rolle tung*) tongue.

Metathesis of *u* and *r* is seen in **ṭruf** (O.E. *ṭurh*, *Rolle thurgh*) through.

121. *u* has usually remained short before *-nd*: **bun** (pp. of bind) bound; **fun** (pp.) found; **grund** ground; **grunsl** groundsel; **grunz** (pl.) sediment; **grunstṅ** grindstone; **pund** pound; and of course in **wunḡæ(r)** wonder.

But it appears long in **sund** healthy; **u:nd** hound; and in **wu:nd** wound, which therefore fall under suspicion of being borrowings from literary English, with dialect substitution of **u:** for lit. Eng. *ou*.

An early modern English lowering of **u:** to **ou** remains in **pound** (O.E. *pund*, an enclosure) (1) pond, (2) pound (for cattle).

122. Before *-ld*, M.E. *u* has become long, and *l* has been assimilated in :

fu:ḡæ(r) (O.E. *sculder*, *Rolle shulder*) shoulder.

123. Medial M.E. *v* has become vocalised to *u* in :

ə'bu:n (*Rolle abouen*, *Clavis aboon*) above.

124. Before *r*, M.E. *u* has regularly become **o**, and *r* has usually been assimilated when a dental consonant followed. The change was probably developed as follows [**ur** > **ər** > **o(r)**].

bor burr; **bordok** burdock; **boræ** borough; **borli** (O.E. *būrlīc*) burly; **dost** (v.) durst; **foræ** furrow; **kor** cur; **kos** to curse; **mon** (O.E. *murnan*, *Cast. mon*) to mourn; **monin** mourning; **ori** to hurry; **orl** to hurl; **spor** spur; **tod** (*Cath. turde*) dung; **ton** to turn; **torf** turf.

125. In **su·əd** (O.E. *sweord*, M.E. *swurd*) sword¹, M.E. *u* was lengthened before *-rd* in the early Modern English period to **ɔ:²**, which has developed like M.E. *ō* in the dialect to **u·ə**, *r* being assimilated to the following dental consonant.

2. Long Vowels.

M.E. *ā*.

126. M.E. *ā* has a double development in the Hackness dialect. In a few words it appears as **ɛ·ə**, usually it has become **i·ə**. A similar double development occurs in the Cumberland dialect of Lorton, where M.E. *ā* appears either as **ɛ:** or as **ja:³**. This indicates that M.E. *ā*, which normally yielded **ɛ·ə** in the dialect of Hackness, was usually fronted in M.E. to *ē* and fell, together with M.E. *ē*, in the greater number of words to **i·ə**. The *Yorkshire Dialogues* of 1673 and 1684 have *ā*, rarely *ea*, for this vowel. Brokesby (1691) tells us: 'Many words are varied by changing *o* into *a*,...so for "both" we pronounce *bath*, for "bone" *bane*...for "home" *hame*...for "stone" *stane*⁴,' by which he probably indicated **ɛ:**. Marshall (1788) says: 'the *a* long is generally, but not invariably, changed into *ea*⁵,' by which he indicates either **ia** or **i·ə**. The line of development then would be [**a:** > **ɛ:** > **ɛ·ə** (> **e·ə**) > **i·ə**], but words such as **jal** ale, **jak** oak, **jan** one, etc. almost force one to believe that when M.E. *ā* became diphthongised, *a* remained as the outglide in some such development as the following: [**a:** > **ɛa** > **ea** > **ia**]; for these words, if derived from forms containing early modern English **i·ə**, would normally appear as **jel**, **jen**, etc. (§ 104 *b*). Borrowings from literary English, which have **ou** in the standard pronunciation, appear in the dialect with **ɔ:**, as **ɔ:li** holy, **tɔ:kn** token.

¹ For loss of *w* before a rounded vowel, see Jespersen, *Modern English Grammar*, Vol. 1., p. 211, and Horn, *Historische neuenglische Grammatik*, 1., p. 141, § 175.

² Horn, *Ibid.*, § 109, p. 93.

³ Brilioth, *Dialect of Lorton*. Phil. Soc. 1912, p. 24.

⁴ Postscript to John Ray's Preface to *A Collection of English Words*, etc., E.D.S. 1874, Series B, Part III., p. 7, § 1.

⁵ *Rural Economy of Yorkshire*, Vol. II., p. 310.

127. M.E. *ā*, caused by the lengthening of O.E. *a* in open syllables, has become *ɛ·ə* in all borrowed words having *ei* in standard English; and in: **bi'ɛ·əv** to behave; **fə'əθə(r)** father; **frɛ·əm** (O.E. *framian*) to show ability; **rɛ·əθə(r)** rather; **ʃs'əd** (O.E. *sceadu*, M.E. **schade*) a shed.

(a) It has developed a stage further to *i·ə*, indicating M.E. fronting of *ā* to *ē* in:

bli·əd blade; **di·əl** dale; **ɔri·ək** drake; **ɔri·əp** (*Clavis* drape) a barren cow; **gri·əv** (O.E. *grafan*) to dig; **i·əm** (*Cath.*, *Clavis* hame) the iron rod on a horse-collar; **li·əm** lame; **li·ət** late; **mi·ən** mane; **mi·əd** made; **ni·əkt** naked; **ni·əm** name; **si·ək** sake; **si·əl** sale; **si·əm** same; **spi·əd** spade; **spi·ənd** (O.E. *spanan*, to allure, *Rolle* spaned pp.) weaned; **ti·əl** tale.

The occasional form **ni·əz** (O.E. *nasu*, *Rolle*, *Cath.* nese) nose, appears to belong to this class.

(b) Traces of a former *ia*, still found in the Lakeland dialects, occur in the following words, which bewray a shifting of accent from *ia* to *id*, and the resulting change of *i* into a consonant: **jakə(r)** acre; **jakrən** acorn; **jal** (O.E. *ealu*) ale; **jat** (O.E. *geat*, *Psalms* yate, *Clavis* yate) gate.

128. M.E. *ā*, the Northern survival of O.E. *ā*, has become *ɛ·ə* in the strong preterites: **ɔrɛ·əv** drove; **rɛ·əd** rode; **rɛ·ət** wrote; **rɛ·əz** rose; **rɛ·əv** rived; **stɛrɛ·əd** strode; **tʃs·əz** (O.E. *čéás*) chose, and in **ms·əst** (*Rolle* mast) most.

(a) But otherwise it regularly appears as *i·ə*, indicating M.E. fronting of *ā* to *ē* in:

brī·əd (*Rolle* brad) broad; **bi·ən** bone; **bi·əθ** both; **ɔri·əv** (sub.) drōve; **gi·əst** ghost; **gri·əp** to grope; **gri·ən** to groan; **gi·ən** gone; **i·əl** (O.E. *hāl*, N.M.E. *hale*) whole; **i·əm** (*Yorks. Dial.* heame, *Clavis* hame) home; **i·ət** (adj.) hot; **kli·əθ** (*Rolle* clath) cloth; **kli·əz** clothes; **li·əd** (*Rolle* lade) load; **li·əf** loaf; **ə'li·ən** (*Rolle* allane) alone; **ni·ə** (*Clavis* neay) no; **ni·ən** (*Rolle*, *Clavis* nane) none; **ri·əd** road; **sti·ən** (*Rolle*, *Clavis* stane) stone; **si·ə** (*Rolle* swa, *Yorks. Dial.* seay) so; **si·əp** soap; **swi·ət** sweat; **twi·ə** (*Rolle* twa, *Clavis* tweay) two; **ti·ə** toe; **ti·əd** (*Cath.* tade) toad; **wi·ə** who; also before M.E. *gh* in **di·əf** (O.E. *dāg*, *Cath.* daghe, *Yorks. Dial.* deaugh) dough.

(b) Initial **i** is consonantal in : **jak** (*Cath. ake*) oak ; **jal** (*Rolle hale*) whole ; **jam** home ; **jan** (*Rolle an*) one ; **jans** (*Brokesby yance*) once.

129. (a) M.E. *ār* from O.E. *ār* regularly appears as **ε·ə**. Brokesby (1691) indicates the pronunciation of 'more' as *mare*¹, but the fronting of *ā* took place at an earlier date, for Rolle, in the fourteenth century, had rimed *mare* (more) with *ware* [O.E. *wēre* (subj.)] were, indicating a fronting of the vowel in M.E.² But 'ware' is influenced by the indicative 'war.' The regular form was *were* [**wε:r**]. Examples of M.E. *ār* are : **mε·ə(r)** (*Rolle mare, Clavis mare*) more ; **sε·ə(r)** (*Rolle sare*) sore.

(b) M.E. *ār* also appears as **ε·ə** in words which had long *ār* in Middle English, owing to the lengthening of O.E. *a* in an open syllable—'bare,' 'hare,' 'care,' etc.

130. M.E. *ā* from the lengthening of O.E. *a* before *-mb* and *-st*, appears as **i·ə** : **ki·əm** comb ; **wi·əm** (*Yorks. Dial. wayem*) belly ; **wi·əst** (? O.E. **wæst*, cf. *wæstm*, growth) waist ; but **lam**, lamb, has retained its short vowel, and the **a** in **blast** (O.E. *blāest*), blast, indicates the shortening of the vowel in the Middle English period.

M.E. ē.

131. The open *ē*-sound, written *e*, *ee* by Rolle, and *ea* by the authors of the *Yorkshire Dialogues*, appears to have survived in the dialect until the end of the eighteenth century. Marshall (1788) wrote : 'the diphthong *ea*...is still in common use in the dialect under notice. In the established pronunciation break is become *brake* ; tea *tee* ; sea *see* ; but in this they are pronounced alike by a vocal sound between the *e* and the *a* long.' Castillo (ca. 1830) wrote it *eea*, indicating **ia** or **i·ə**. The author of the *York Minster Screen* (1833) wrote it *e'a*, where probably the comma denotes a falling diphthong. It appears in the dialect to-day as **i·ə**, the line of development being [**εz** > **ε·ə** > (**e·ə**) > **i·ə**]. The open *ē* arose in M.E. from various O.E. vowels, viz. :

¹ Brokesby's *Postscript to Ray*. English Dialect Society 1874, Series B Part III., p. 7, § 1.

² Wyld, *Short History of English*, § 157 c.

132. (1) From O.E. *e* in open syllables:

bi·ə(r) to bear; **bri·ək** to break; **fri·ət** to fret; **ə'li·əvn** eleven; **mi·ə(r)** mare; **si·əvn** seven; **sti·əd** stead; **ə'sti·əd** instead; **pi·ə(r)** pear; **swi·ə(r)** to swear; **fi·əlin** a once-shorn sheep; **ti·ə(r)** to tear; **tri·əd** to tread; **wi·ə(r)** to wear.

133. (2) From O.E. \bar{e} (Anglian \bar{e}), the I Mutation of \bar{a} : **bli·ətʃ** to bleach; **di·əl** deal; **i·ət** (*Rolle* hete) heat; **i·ərənd** errand; **i·ətʃ** each; **kli·ən** clean; **li·əd** to lead; **li·ən** lean; **li·ədl** lady; **li·əst** (*Rolle* leste) least; **li·əv** to leave; **mi·ən** to mean; **ri·əd** to read; **os·ri·əs** horse-race; **ri·ətʃ** (O.E. *hræccan*) to retch; **ri·ətʃ** (O.E. *ræccan*) to reach; **ri·əθ** wreath; **swi·ət** (s.) sweat; **swi·ət** to sweat; **spri·əd** to spread; **ti·əz** to tease; **ti·ətʃ** to teach; **wi·ət** wheat.

134. (3) From O.E. \bar{e} (Anglian \bar{e} , W. Germ. \bar{a}):

bri·əθ breath; **bri·əθ** to breathe; **bri·ə(r)** (O.E. *brǣr*) briar; **gri·ət** (O.E. *grætan*, *Rolle* grete) to weep; **qri·əd** to dread; **fi·ə(r)** fear; **i·əvnin** evening; **ji·ə(r)** year; **li·ən** a loan; **li·ətʃ** leech; **mi·əl** meal; **spi·ətʃ** (*Rolle* speche) speech; **swi·əl** (O.E. *swælan* to burn) to gutter; **θi·ə(r)** there; **θri·əd** thread; **wi·ə(r)** where.

In Northern M.E., Anglian \bar{e} , the equivalent of Germanic \bar{e} , remained; and the close sound is still heard in modern Scotch dialects in words of this class. The above are non-Anglian forms, Anglian \bar{e} would have given **i:** in the Hackness dialect, except before *r*, when **i·ə** would be regular. Unless all the above words are recent borrowings, they indicate that Anglian \bar{e} (O.E. \bar{e}) usually became the 'open' sound M.E. \bar{e} in Yorkshire, as in the Midland dialect. But a few forms with **i:** occur, cf. § 141.

135. (4) From O.E. \bar{e} before *r*:

wi·əri (O.E. *wërig*) weary¹; **i·ə(r)** (*Rolle* here²) here; **i·ə(r)** (Angl. *hëran*, *Rolle* here²) to hear; **i·əd** heard.

136. (5) From O.E. *éo* before *r*:

bi·ə(r) beer; **di·ə(r)** dear; **qri·əri** dreary; **sti·ə(r)** steer, a young ox.

¹ Luick, *Untersuchungen zur englischen Lautgeschichte*, p. 180, § 331.

² The sound was long 'open' **e:** in *The Pricke of Conscience*; here (here) rimes with 'manðre,' here (to hear) rimes with 'clere.'

137. (6) From O.E. *éa* :

bi·ən bean; **bri·əd** bread; **di·əd** (*Rolle* ded, *Y. M. Screen* de'ad) death; **di·əd** (adj.) dead; **di·əf** (*Rolle* deaf) deaf; **ə'gi·ən** again; **gri·ət** great; **i·əd** (O.E. *héafod*, *Rolle* heved, hed) head; **i·ər** (*Rolle* ere) ear; **i·əp** heap; **i·əst** east; **li·əd** lead (metal); **li·əf** (*Rolle* leef) leaf; **bi'li·əf** belief; **ni·ə(r)** (O.E. *hnéaw*) stingy, mean; by analogy with **ni·ə(r)** near; **ni·ə'rand** (*Rolle* nerehand) nigh; **ri·əd** red; **sti·əm** steam; **st̥ri·əm** stream; **ti·əm** a team (of horses); **t̥ji·əp** cheap; **θri·əp** (O.E. *ðréapian*, to rebuke) to contradict; **θri·ətn** (*Psalms*, *Rolle* threte) to threaten. Also in: **ri·ə** (O.E. *hréa*) raw, and **stri·ə** (O.E. *stréa*, *Brokesby* strea) straw¹.

138. M.E. *ē* has been shortened to *e* in :

bet (Angl. *bēat* for *bēot*, pret.) beat; **eIθ** health; **len** (O.E. *lānan*, *Yorks. Dial.* len) to lend; in **efə(r)** (O.E. *héahfore*) heifer; in 'less,' 'meadow,' 'wet'; and in the preterites 'left,' 'lent,' 'meant,' 'read,' and 'slept.'

M.E. *ē*.

139. The close *ē* sound, also written *e* or *ee* by *Rolle*, and *ee* by the authors of the *Yorkshire Dialogues* of 1673 and 1684, has become *i*: in the dialect, as in standard English. Hence, only dialect words are here adduced as examples. The close *ē* arose in M.E. from various O.E. vowels, viz.:

140. (1) From Anglian *ē* for *æ*, I Mutn. of *ā* :

bri:d (*Rolle* brede) breadth; shortened to *i* in: **t̥fiz-ki·ək** (O. Merc. *cēse*) cheese-cake; **ivə(r)** (*Rolle* ever) ever; **ivri** every; **nivə(r)** never; and **ridi** ready.

141. (2) From Anglian *ē* (O.E. *æ*, West Germanic *ā*):

di:d (*Rolle* dede) deed; **i:l** eel; **ni:dl** needle; **fj:ɪp** (*Psalms* schepe) sheep; **si:d** seed; **slj:p** to sleep; shortened to *i* in: **fjɪpʌ(r)** (and in its vulgarised forms **dʒɪpi**, **dʒɪp-'sta:lɪn**) a starling; and **fjɪpət** (*Cath.* scheperde) shepherd. But this sound usually appears in the dialect as **i·ə**, as if from M.E. *ē*, cf. § 134.

¹ For the explanation of O.E. *éa* in these words, see Wright, *Old English Grammar*, p. 43, § 75.

142. (3) From Anglian \bar{e} (I Mutn. of *éa, éo*):

ri:k to smoke; **stri:p** to strip; **stri:pinz** the last milk drawn from a cow after milking; **ni:d** (*Rolle nede*) need.

143. (4) From Anglian *oe, ē* (I Mutn. of \bar{o}):

bri:ks breeches; **fi:tinz** footprints, spoor; **fi:t** (*Rolle fete*) feet; **si:k** (*Rolle seke*) to seek; shortened to **i** in: **blis** to bless; **blisin** blessing; and in **diz** do, dost, does.

144. (5) From Anglian $\bar{e}a, \bar{e}o$ (Germanic *iu*):

bri:st (*Rolle brest*) breast; **dri:p** (O.E. *drēopan*) to drip; **lif** (O.E. *lēof*) adv. soon, in such phrases as: **ad ez lif gan ez nut** = I would as soon go as not; **tri:** (*Rolle tre*) tree.

145. M.E. \bar{e} from O.E. \bar{e} which arose in stressed monosyllables¹ appears as **i:** in the emphatic forms: **i:** he; **ji:** ye; **mi:** me; **θi:** thee; **wi:** we. In unemphatic forms, it occurs as **i** in: **i** he; **wi** we; and as **ə** in: **jə** ye; **mə** me; **θə** thee.

146. O.E. *e* before *-ld* lengthened to M.E. 'close' \bar{e} and appears as **i:**, as in standard English, in 'field,' 'yield,' and 'shield.' O.E. *e* also became long before simple *l* in **wi:l** (*Rolle wele*) adv. well². M.E. \bar{e} , due to the lengthening before *-ld* of *e*, lowered from *i*, the Northern development of O.E. *y* (§ 107), is indicated by the dialect forms: **bi:ld** to build; **bi:ldin** building. These forms cannot be derived from M.E. *bilde*, the normal Northern development of O.E. *byldan*. M.E. *bilde* would have given modern Hackness ***ba:ld**. The vowel is shortened before *-lt* in the pret. and pp. **belt**.

147. M.E. *i* often became lengthened in Northern M.E. to \bar{e} in open syllables³. The only evidences of this change which remain in the modern dialect are **i:vil** (O.E. *yfel*, *Rolle yvel*) evil; **ni:n** (O.E. *nigon*) nine; **sti:l** (O.E. *stigol*) stile; and, as in standard English, 'beetle' and 'week'; but this is not an argument against the likelihood of this sound-change, for M.E. *e* lengthened before *l* and *n* in the eighteenth century (§ 103), and yet scarcely an example of this sound-change remains.

¹ Sievers, *Angelsächsische Grammatik*, p. 59, § 121; Wright, *Old English Grammar*, p. 50, § 95.

² Bülbring, *Altenglisches Elementarbuch*, § 284.

³ Luick, *Untersuchungen zur englischen Lautgeschichte*, II., p. 209 et seq.

148. M.E. *i* also lengthened to \bar{e} in late M.E. when the palatal spirant, spelled *gh*, fell; and this late M.E. \bar{e} became **i:** in the early modern English period. The change was accomplished before 1684, for the spellings in the *Yorkshire Dialogue*, viz. *neet* (night), *reet* (right), etc., represent the present pronunciation. It is evident that before **ç**, M.E. *i* was very lax; for had it been a pure *i*, its lengthening would have developed to **ei** in the modern dialect before the following **t**, which occurs in words of this class. We may assume its development as follows: [**içt** > **eçt** > **ert** > **i:rt**].

This M.E. **eçt**, spelled *ight*, arose from various O.E. combinations:

(1) From O.E. *ih̄t*: **br̄it** bright; **fi:rt** (*Prose* fyght, *Cath.* feghte) to fight; **mi:rt** (*Rolle* might) might; **ni:rt** night; **pli:rt** plight; **ri:rt** (*Rolle* right) right; **si:rt** sight; **sl̄i:rt** (*Cast.* sleight) slight.

(2) From O.E. *yht*: **fi:rt** flight; **fri:rtn** to frighten; **fri:rt** fright; **ri:rt** (O.E. *wyrhta*) a wright.

(3) From O.E. *ih̄t*: **li:rt** (O.E. *lihtan*) to alight; **li:rt** (O.E. *leoht* for *liht*) adj. light; **li:rts** lungs.

(4) From Anglian *eh̄t*: **li:rt** (O. Merc. *lēht*, *Rolle* light) subs. light; **li:rt̄n̄** lightning.

This M.E. \bar{e} has been shortened to **i** in: **fo:tniθ** fortnight; and in **lit** (pret.) alighted.

149. M.E. \bar{e} from various sources, occurring before the palatal spirant, has had a like development, and has become **i:**. The Yorkshire M.E. spelling for words belonging to this class was *-egh*, but the spellings *lee* lie, to lie; *stee* ladder; and *thee* thigh, in the *Catholicon Anglicum* show that the spirant was disappearing from the dialect as early as 1483. It was completely lost in the dialect before 1684, for the *Clavis* spelled words of this class with *ee*. The development would be [**e:ç** > **e:** > **i:**]. Examples are:

(1) From O.E. *ig*, Northern M.E. *ēgh*: **ni:n** (*Rolle* neghen, *Cath.* neen, *Castillo* neen) nine; **sti:l** (*Clavis* steel) stile¹. In

¹ Words of this class are oftener heard to-day as **na:n**, nine; **sta:l**, stile; **ta:l**, tile; **Fra:de**, Friday; where the dialect forms are borrowed from the literary English forms, with substitution of **a:** for **ai** before voiced consonants.

these words the M.E. \bar{e} was due to the lengthening of i in an open syllable¹. For this lengthening cf. § 147.

(2) From Anglian $\bar{e}g$ (O.E. $\bar{e}g$): **ti:** (O.E. $t\bar{e}gan < t\bar{e}ag$, rope) to tie; **di:** (*Rolle deghe*) to die.

(3) From Anglian $\bar{e}g$ (O.E. $\acute{e}ag$): **i:**, pl. **i:n** (*Rolle eghe, eghen*) eye; **di:** (O.E. $d\acute{e}agian$) to dye.

(4) From Anglian $\bar{e}h$ (O.E. $\acute{e}ah$): **i:** (*Rolle hegh, Cast. heegh*) high; **ni:** (*Rolle negh, Cast. neegh*) nigh².

(5) From O.E. $\acute{e}og$: **qri:** (O.E. $gedr\acute{e}og$ sober) tedious, weary; **fi:** (*Rolle flegh*) to fly; **fi:** (sub.) a fly; **li:** (O.E. $l\acute{e}ogan$, *Cath. lee*) to tell a lie; **qri:** (O.E. $dr\acute{e}ogan$, *Rolle dreghe*) to endure.

(6) From O.E. $\acute{e}oh$: **θi:** (O.E. $\acute{e}oh$, *Cath. thee*) thigh.

Irregular is **wai** (O.E. $wegan$, M.E. $weghen$) to weigh, which appears to be influenced by **weit** weight (see § 177).

150. M.E. \bar{e} has been shortened to i in:

bid (O.E. $b\acute{e}odan$, *Rolle bede*) to offer, invite; **di:vl** (*Rolle de:vel*) devil; **frind** (*Rolle frende*) friend; **bislinz** (cp. O.E. $b\acute{i}est$, thick milk) beastings, the first milk after calving; **θripns** threepence; **ips** (O.E. $h\acute{e}ope$) wild-rose berries; **it** (*Rolle ete*) pret. ate.

M.E. \bar{i} .

151. M.E. \bar{i} from O.E. \bar{i} or \bar{y} has three developments. Before voiceless consonants, and before r , it appears as **ei**; at the end of a word it has become **ai**; but before voiced consonants it appears as **ai:**, indicating a development to **di** with subsequent loss of the unstressed constituent of the falling diphthong. The change took place during the eighteenth century. The authors of the *Yorkshire Dialogues* of 1673 and 1684 spelt M.E. \bar{i} as i or y in all positions, indicating **ei** or **ei:**³. Marshall in 1788 first indicated that 'before l ' long i had the sound of 'a broad (as in father, half, and before the letter r) as: mile, *maal*; stile, *staa*l; and does not in any case take, in strictness, the modern sound, which is a diphthong composed of a broad and e ' [**ai**], ' whereas its provincial sound

¹ Luick, *Studien zur englischen Lautgeschichte*, p. 162.

² Oftener to-day heard as **ai** and **nai**, borrowed from standard English.

³ Horn, *Historische neuenglische Grammatik*, I., p. 56. Spira, *Englische Lautentwicklung*, p. 238, § 706.

here' (Pickering vale) 'is the accepted sound of *e* short lengthened by the *y* consonant' [ei]; 'as white, *wheyt*; to write, *to wreyt*: a mode of pronunciation which perhaps formerly was in general use, but which now seems to be confined to provincial dialects¹.'

After the turn of the century, the author of the *York Minster Screen* and Castillo wrote M.E. \bar{i} before voiceless consonants and *r*, as *i* (or *y*); and as *ah* (sometimes wrongly spelled *ar*) before voiced consonants. Marshall's statement appears to imply that the lowering of M.E. \bar{i} to α : first took place before *l*. The dialect development would then be:—

$$i: > ei > \begin{cases} \text{ei, and remains before } r, \text{ and voiceless cons.} \\ \text{ei} > \text{ai} > \alpha: \text{ before } l, \text{ and voiced cons.} \end{cases}$$

Borrowings from standard English often appear with **ai**, e.g. **ailand** island, etc.

152. From O.E. \bar{i} , **ei** occurs before **r** and voiceless consonants in:

bait to bite; **deik** dike; **sieræn** (O. and M.E. *iren*) iron; **eis** ice; **griip** to gripe; **leif** life; **leik** to like; **msit** mite; **neif** knife; **peik** (O.E. *pīcan*) to pick²; **peik** (O.E. *pīc*) a pointed round corn-stack; **peip** pipe; **reip** ripe; **reit** to write; **seip** (O.E. *sīpian*) to ooze; **feit** cacare; **smst** to smite; **tweis** twice; **wseif** wife; **wseip** to wipe; **wseit** white; **wseia(r)** wire; and **seik** (*Rolle* swilk, *slike*) such.

O.E. \bar{i} has been shortened to **i** in **fift** fifth.

153. From O.E. \bar{y} , **ei** occurs before **r** and voiceless consonants in:

sia(r) hire; **fsia(r)** fire; **keit** (O.E. *cȳta*) a kite; **leis** lice; **msis** mice.

154. And **ai** is heard, finally, in **kai** (O.E. *kȳ*) kine; **drai** (O.E. *drȳge*, *Rolle* dry) dry.

155. From O.E. \bar{i} , α : occurs before voiced consonants in:

α:vin (O.E. *ifegn*) ivy; **ba:d** to bide; **bra:di** bridle; **dra:v** to drive; **dwa:n** (O.E. *dwinan*, *Rolle* dwyne) to dwindle; **dwa:ni**

¹ *The Rural Economy of Yorkshire*, Vol. II., p. 310.

² The long vowel in North. M.E. *pīken* is perhaps not due to the 'vocalisation' of *k* in Scand. *pikka*, as Dr Mutschmann suggests in his *Phonology of the N.E. Scotch Dialect*, p. 8, § 15. It may be merely the regular development of O.E. long \bar{i} .

languishing; **fa:l** file; **fa:v** five; **la:m** lime; **ə'la:v** alive; **la:n** flax; **ma:l** mile; **ma:n** mine; **ra:d** to ride; **ra:ndi-**(frost) (cf. *Beowulf* 1363, *hrinde* bearwas) hoar-(frost); **ra:z** to rise; **sa:d** side; **sʌ:ra:d** to stride; **swa:m** (cf. *Windhill* swaim, p. 50, § 156) to climb a tree or pole; **ʃa:n** to shine; **witsn-ta:d** Whitsun-tide; **ta:m** time; **twa:n** twine; **θa:n** thine; **wa:d** wide; **wa:l** while.

156. From O.E. \bar{y} , **a:** occurs before voiced consonants in:

a:v hive; **ba:l** (O.E. *bȳl*) a boil; **bra:d** bride; **da:v** to dive; **pra:d** pride.

a: also occurs in **la:tl** (O.E. *lȳtel*) little, which is probably derived from an older contracted form ***la:l**, with re-insertion of the **t** under the influence of literary English.

M.E. \bar{o} .

157. M.E. open \bar{o} has regularly become raised to **u.ə**. In Northern Middle English this vowel arose from the lengthening of O.E. \bar{o} in open syllables:

du.ə(r) (O.E. *dor*) door; **flu.ət** to float; **fu.əl** foal; **ə'fu.ə(r)** before; **ju.ək** a yoke; **ku.əlz** (*Psalms* *koles*) coals; **klu.əs** (O.E. *close*) a close; **nu.əz** (O.E. *nosu*) nose; **ru.əz** rose; **stu.əv** stove; **su.ək** to soak; **tʃu.ək** (M.E. *choken*) to choke; **θru.ət** throat; **u.əl** hole; **u.əp** hope.

Also **lu.ən** (O.E. *lone*, nasalised form of *lane*) a lane.

158. O.E. \bar{a} remained in Northern M.E., and was usually fronted to **ɛ:** (§ 126). In the Midlands, however, as in the South, O.E. \bar{a} was rounded in early M.E. (1150—1250) to **ɔ:**. The following words are borrowings from the Midland dialects. The regular development of O.E. \bar{a} in the Hackness dialect would be **i.ə**, but this Northern vowel is gradually being displaced by **u.ə**, the representative of the Midland development of O.E. \bar{a} . Many words have two forms, e.g. **ti.əd** and **tu.əd** toad, **qri.əv** and **qru.əv** a drove, etc. The following are Midland forms:

bru.əd (*Rolle* *brad*) broad (§ 128); **bu.ət** boat; **fu.əm** foam; **gru.əv** grove; **gu.ət** goat; **mu.ən** moan; **ru.əd** road (§ 128);

ru·ə(r) to roar; **stru·ək** to stroke; **u·əri** hoary; **u·əs** (O.E. *hās*, *Rolle Ps.* *hase*) hoarse; **u·əθ** oath.

u is consonantal in **wuts** (O.E. *ātas*) oats, by shifting of stress in an initial diphthong, from an earlier ***u·əts**. M.E. *ɔ* is shortened in **onli** (*Rolle* *anly*), which appears to be a spelling-pronunciation of literary English *only*.

The form **poul** (O.E. *pāl*) pole appears to be derived from M.E. *pole*, affected by the development of an *u*-glide before the *l*; cf. **soul** (§ 175) *soul*.

M.E. *ō*.

159. The development of this sound to its present dialect equivalents **i·ə** and **ju·** is exceedingly difficult to deduce. It is generally supposed that long close *ō* in Northern M.E. became raised and fronted to a sound something like French *u*¹. Certain rimes in *The Pricke of Conscience* suggest this; *doos* (pres. indic. of 'do') rimes with *use* (to use); *fordoos* (destroys) with *vertues*; *sonē* with *fortune*. But the present equivalents of M.E. *ō* in the dialect point to an Early Mod. Eng. **eu**. I believe M.E. *ō* in North and East Yorkshire to have been a rounded diphthong, like the sound **ëü** sometimes heard in affected pronunciations of the modern **ou** in 'no,' **nëü**. Starting from **or**, the development of an *u*-glide would give **ou** as in Modern English. This **ou** was fronted, and the diphthong became the mixed lax rounded **öü**, afterwards partially unrounded to **ëü**.

The later evidence confirms this. The *Yorkshire Dialogue* of 1673, which appears to record a North-West Yorkshire Dialect (Swaledale or Wensleydale), contains the following words: blood *blude*, fool *fule*, took *teuk* and *tuke*, also door *deer*. The *u* or *eu* indicates **iu**, the *ee* **i·ə** before *r*². These sounds still remain in that dialect.

The *Clavis* to the *Yorkshire Dialogue* of 1684, which was written in the dialect of North-East or East Yorkshire, has *eau*

¹ Luick, *Untersuchungen zur englischen Lautgeschichte*, p. 67, § 119 et seq. Wright, *English Dialect Grammar*, p. 132.

² Theo. Spira, *Englische Lautentwicklung*, etc., p. 55; p. 249.

very consistently in words containing M.E. \bar{o} . For example, *ceaul* (cool), *deau* (do), *feaul* (fool); *feaut* (foot), *geause* (goose), *neaun* (noon), *preauf* (proof), *reaut* (root), *seauun* (soon), *weaud* (wood, mad); also before *r*, *deaur* (door), *seaur* (sure), and *k*, *ceauke* (cook), *neawke* (nook). This *eau* represents either **eu** or **e·ə**¹, most probably the former. Brokesby (1691), writing on the Dialect of Rowley (East Riding), says: 'In some words, for *oo*, we pronounce *eu*, as *ceul*, *feul*, *eneuf*, for cool, fool, enough. In some words, instead of *oo*, or *o*, or *oa*, we pronounce *ee*, as *deer* for door, ... *fleer* for floor?' His *eu* represents **eu** or **iu** as the dialect development of M.E. \bar{o} , and his *ee* shows a new change before *r* to **i·ə**.

Marshall, writing of the Dialect of Pickering Vale in 1788, describes the sound of M.E. \bar{o} (*oo* in the literary language) as 'ea long'... 'before *t*, *l*, *m*, *th*,' by which he means all consonants except *r* and *k*. He instances 'boots *beats*, fool *feal*, broom *bream*, and tooth *teath*?' Having already defined 'ea' as 'a vocal sound between the *e* and *a* long' (p. 309), and having differentiated it from 'eea' [**ia**] (p. 310), the dialect development of 'a long' (M.E. \bar{a}), he must mean that in his day M.E. \bar{o} had the sound **e·ə**, except before *r* and *k*. He next speaks of the development before *r* and *k*. The sound *oo* changes, he says, 'before *r* mostly into *ee*: as floor *fleer*, door *deer*'², which indicates a development to **i·ə** before *r*. But 'the *oo* before *k* changes into *u* long; as book *buke*, to look *luke*'³, by which he means that M.E. \bar{o} had become **iu** before *k*.

In the modern Dialect of Hackness (1900), M.E. \bar{o} appears as **i·ə**, with weakening and unrounding of the second element of the diphthong, before all consonants, except gutturals. Before **k**, or in a final position owing to the loss of a former guttural, M.E. \bar{o} appears as **ju**, owing to the retention of the outglide **u** before velar consonants, and subsequent shifting of stress to the second element of the diphthong.

¹ Spira, *Englische Lautentwicklung*, p. 239.

² Postscript to Ray's Preface to *A Collection of English Words not generally used*, etc. E.D.S. 1874, Series B, Part III., p. 7, § 4.

³ Marshall, *Rural Economy of Yorkshire*, Vol. II., p. 311.

Tabulation of these records suggests the following line of development :

O.E. \bar{o} > M.E. ou > öü > ëü > eu	{	<p>(1) > eú > iú in N.W. Yorks. (except before <i>r</i>), and in N.E. Yorks. before gutturals.</p> <p>(2) éu > e·ə > i·ə, first before <i>r</i> in N.W. and N.E. Yorks., later in N.E. Yorks. before other consonants (except gutturals).</p>
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The view that North. M.E. \bar{o} was fronted to the sound of French *u*, and that this **y** remained until the seventeenth century is incorrect for Yorkshire. Diphthongisation of M.E. \bar{o} must have begun in the M.E. period, or we cannot account for the M.E. rimes like *some* and *fortune*, or late M.E. forms like *fewle* (*Cath.*) from an earlier *fōghel* fowl, and the well-marked diphthongisation of M.E. \bar{o} in the seventeenth century *Yorkshire Dialogues*.

The unrounding and weakening of the second element of the diphthong **eu** first took place before *r* in Early Modern English (cf. *Yorks. Dial.*, 1673) *deer* door, Brokesby (1691) *fleer* floor. For a similar unrounding before *r*, compare also **si·ə(r)** sure, § 297 *b*, and popular German *Tier* (Tür), *natierlich* (natürlich).

Borrowings from standard English appear in the dialect with **u:**, e.g. **tu:l** tool; **u:f** hoof; **blu:m** bloom.

160. M.E. \bar{o} generally appears as **i·ə** :

blī·əd blood; **bri·əm** broom; **di·ə** to do; **di·ən** done; **fi·ə(r)** floor; **fi·ət** foot; **gi·əs** goose; **ki·əl** cool; **gli·əv** glove; **mi·ən** (*Psalms* mone) moon; **ni·ən** noon; **ri·əf** roof; **ri·ət** (*Rolle* rote) root; **ski·əl** (O.E. *scōl*) school¹; **smi·əð** smooth; **spi·ən** spoon; **sti·əl** stool; **si·ət** soot; **si·ən** soon; **ti·əθ** tooth; **ti·ə** to, too; **fi·ə** (*Rolle* sho) she; **fi·ə** (*Cath.* scho), pl. **fi·ən** (*Clavis* sheaun) shoes; **sti·əd** (pret.) stood; **wi·əd** (*Rolle* wode, *Clavis* weaud) mad.

Shortened in **fibin** (lit. shoe-bind) bootlace, and in the unaccented forms **di** do, **ti** to, **fə** she.

¹ The vowel in *school* is not derived from O.Fr. *escole*, which would have yielded **sku·əl**, but direct from Lat. *scola*, pronounced *scōla*, cf. O.H.G. and Ital. *scuola*.

(a) From M.E. lengthenings of O.E. *ð*, *ǔ* in open syllables to the long close \bar{o}^1 , *i·ə* appears in: **si·əl** (O.E. *sole*) sole, and **di·ə(r)** (O.E. *duru*, N.M.E. *dore*) door.

(b) Also from M.E. \bar{o} before *gh* (χ), when the spirant has become labialised to **f**: **bi·əf** (*Rolle bughe*) bough; **i·ni·əf** (*Rolle ynogh*) enough; **pli·əf** (*Cath. ploghe*, *Yorks. Dial. plewgh*) plough; **ti·əf** (O.E. *tōh*, *Cath. toghe*) tough.

161. But before **k**, and M.E. *gh* (χ), when it has fallen, M.E. \bar{o} has become **iu**.

(a) Before **k**, **iu** occurs in: **biuk** (*Rolle buke, boke*) book; **kiuk** to cook; **liuk** (*Rolle loke*) to look; **niuk** nook; **fiuk** shook (pret.); **tiuk** took (pret.). Also in **juk** (O.E. *hōc*) a hook, and its derivative verb **juk** to pull with a jerk.

And, from M.E. lengthening of O.E. *ð* in open syllables, before **k**, in: **smiuk** (O.E. *smoca*) smoke; **smiuk** (O.E. *smocian*, *Skeat*) to smoke.

(b) **iu** occurs in a final position, owing to the loss of a former velar spirant (M.E. *gh*), in: **driu** (O.E. *drōg-on*, *Rolle drogh*) drew; **sliu** (O.E. *slōg-on*, *Rolle slogh*) slew; **fiu** (*Rolle flogh*) flew.

And from the M.E. lengthening of O.E. *ǔ* in an open syllable to long close \bar{o}^1 in: **siu** (O.E. *sugu*, North. M.E. **sōghe*) sow, pig; and medially in the rare word **fiul** (O.E. *fugol*, *Rolle fōghel*, *Cath. fewle*) fowl.

(c) M.E. \bar{o} occurs as **ju:** (from **iu**, by stress-shifting in an initial diphthong) in **ju:n** (O.E. *ofen*, *Rolle oven*, *Clavis yune*) oven, where medial *v* became *u* after a back vowel [*oven* > *öuen* < *εuən* > *iuən* > **ju:n**].

162. M.E. \bar{o} has become **u·ə** before *r* in: **mu·ə(r)** moor².

163. M.E. \bar{o} has been shortened to **u** before dentals in:

bruðe(r) brother; **muðə(r)** mother; **uðə(r)** other; **fiud** flood; **fud** (*Yorks. Mys.* p. 83, l. 262, *fudde*) food; **gud** (*Rolle gudes* = goods, *Yorks. Mys.* p. 215, l. 450, *gud* = goods) good; **ud** hood;

¹ Luick, *Untersuchungen zur englischen Lautgeschichte*, II., p. 209 et seq.

² Probably due to the influence of the labial **m**, cf. **fi·ə(r)** floor; see *Anglia*, *Beiblatt*, June 1908, p. 179. Dr Mutschmann suggests that the [*u·ə*] in **pu·ə(r)** poor; and **mu·ə(r)** moor is due to the initial lip-consonants.

fut (O.E. *sceótan*, N.M.E. *schut*) to shoot; **munθ** month; **munde** Monday.

M.E. *ū*.

164. M.E. *ū*, spelled *ou*, *ow* (from O.E. *ū*), remains as **u**:

bru: brow; **bru:n** brown; **bu:ns** to bounce; **ə'bu:t** about; **du:n** (*Rolle* down) down; **ɔru:zi** drowsy; **glu:mi** gloomy; **ku:** cow; **klu:d** cloud; **klu:t** (O.E. *clūt*, *Rolle* clote) clout; **fur:mət** (O.E. *fūlmearð*) a stoat; **lu:d** loud; **lu:s** louse; **mu:s** mouse; **mu:θ** mouth; **nu:** (*Rolle* now) now; **i'nu:** (lit. e'en now) soon, presently; **mu:t** (O.E. *bimütian*, *Rolle* moute) to moult; **su:k** to suck; **su:θ** south; **spru:t** to sprout; **spu:t** to spout; **fru:d** shroud; **tu:n** town; **θu:** thou; **ə'θu:t** without; **θu:zn** thousand; **u:** how; **u:s** house; **u:'ivə(r)** however; **u:lət** owl; **u:t** (*Psalms* oute) out.

Shortened in: **bud** but; **ruf** (O.E. *rūh*) rough; **rum** room; **sup** (O.E. *sūpan*) to sup; **usi** hussif; **θum** thumb.

165. Before *r*, M.E. *ū* has become **u·ə**: **su·ə(r)** sour; **fu·ə(r)** (O.E. *scūr*, M.E. *schour*) shower; **u·ə(r)** our.

The introduction of a glide between **u:** and **r** appears to be of modern origin. Marshall (*Rural Economy of Yorkshire*, vol. II., p. 312) wrote in 1788: 'The *ou* changes almost invariably into *oo*; as flour *floor*; our *oor*; house *hoose*; mouse *moose*.' 'The *ow* is subject to a similar deviation; as bowls *bools*; power *poor*; flower *floor*; bow *boo*; cow *coo*.' His transcription of **u:** before **r** as simple 'oo' implies no glide, but the same pure sound as in *hoose* and *coo*. The pure **u:** is still kept before **r** in the Sheffield dialect¹.

3. *Diphthongs.*M.E. *ai*.

166. M.E. *ai*, and Northern M.E. *ai*, the equivalent of Southern M.E. *ei*, regularly appear as **ɛ·ə**, the development having been [**ai** > **ɛ:** > **ɛ·ə**]. The earlier stage, **ɛ:**, is still preserved in the Cumberland dialect².

This M.E. diphthong arose from various sources, viz.:

¹ J. S. Jones, *Historical Notes on the Sheffield Dialect*, Transactions of the Yorkshire Dialect Society, vol. II., part xiii., 1913, p. 47.

² Brillioth, *Dialect of Lorton*, §§ 98, 115, 164.

167. (1) From O.E. *æġ*:

br̥e·ən brain; **de·ə** (*Rolle* day) day; **de·æzi** daisy; **ɛ·əl** hail; **f̥e·ə(r)** (*Rolle* fayre) fair; **me·ə** may; **me·ən** main; **ne·əl** nail; **pe·əl** pail; **sl̥e·ən** slain; **te·əl** tail.

Shortened in: **sed** said, and in **mebi** (lit. may be) perhaps.

168. (2) From O.E. *eġ*, N.M.E. *ay*:

ɛ·əl (O.E. *eglan*) to ail; **br̥e·əd** (O.E. *bregdan*, to pull) to resemble; **ə'g̥e·ən** (*Rolle* agayn) again; **le·ə** to lay; **re·əl** rail; **re·ən** (*Rolle* rayn) rain; **se·ə** to say; **se·əl** sail; **we·ə** way; **ə'w̥e·ə** away; **tw̥e·ən** twain.

Here must be added also **dr̥e·ən** to drain, which postulates an Anglian form *dr̥egnian from Teutonic √draug, dry; the vowel in *dr̥egnian would become short in M.E. giving *dreznen*, *dreine*.

169. (3) From O.E. *æġ*, N.M.E. *ay*:

ɛ·əð̥e(r) (O.E. *ægðer*, *Rolle* ayðer) either; **gr̥e·ə** gray; **kle·ə** clay; **ne·əð̥e(r)** neither: **ste·əz** (O.E. *stæger*) stairs.

170. (4) From Anglian *ēġ*, West Saxon *ēġ*:

ɛ·ə (O.Merc. *hēg*, O.E. *hīeg*) hay.

M.E. *au*.

171. M.E. *au* has regularly become [ɔ:], having passed through the stages [au > a: > ɔ:]¹. The earlier stage, a:, is still preserved in many Northumbrian and N.E. Scots dialects. M.E. *au* arose from various sources, indicated below; and with it fell M.E. *al* followed by a consonant (§ 96).

172. (1) From O.E. *ag*, N.M.E. *agh*, *aw*²:

dr̥o: (*Rolle* draw) to draw; **ɔ:z** (cf. O.E. *haga*, hedge) hawthorn berries; **so:** (O.E. *sagu*, *Psalms* *sagh*) a saying, 'saw'; **no:** (O.E. *gnagan*, *Rolle Ps.* *gnaghe*) to gnaw; **so:** (O.E. *sagu*, *Cath.* *saghe*) a saw.

173. (2) From O.E. *aw*:

kle: (O.E. *clawu*) claw³; **θo:** (O.E. *thawian*) to thaw; **spro:l** (O.E. *spreawlian*, *Rolle* sprawel) to sprawl.

¹ M.E. *au* could not have passed through the stage *ɔu*, as Wyld suggests for Standard English (*Short History of English*, § 259), or it would have fallen together with M.E. *ou*, to *ɔu*. For M.E. *ou* remains unchanged in the dialect (§ 182).

² *The Pricke of Conscience* has *aw*, the *Psalter agh* for this sound.

³ Brokesby (1691) indicates the pronunciation of this word as 'clea.' 'In the same country...they use...for claws *cleas*.' By this he appears to denote **kle:** or

174. (3) From O.E. *āg*; N.M.E. *agh*, *aw*¹;
ɔ: (*Prose, Cath.* awe) to owe; **bi'ɔ:** to own; **ɔ:n** (adj.) (*Rolle awn, Ps.* aghen) own.

175. (4) From O.E. *āw*, N.M.E. *aw*:
blɔ: (*Rolle* blawe) to blow; **krɔ:** to crow; **mɔ:** to mow;
nɔ: (*Rolle* knawe) to know; **slɔ:** (*Rolle* slaw) slow; **snɔ:** (*Rolle* snaw) snow; **sɔ:** (O.E. *sāwan*) to sow; **θrɔ:** to throw.

But a u-glide has developed before l in: **soul** (O.E. *sāwol*, *Rolle* saule) soul.

176. (5) From M.E. *au*, where *u* is due to vocalisation of *v* after a back vowel, in: **lɔ:d** (O.E. *hlāford*, *Psalms* laverd, > [*laueɹd*]) lord; and in **ɔ:k** (O.E. *hafoc*, M.E. *havek*, *hawk*) hawk.

M.E. *ei*.

177. In Northern Middle English there was no diphthong *ei*. With the exception of **kei** key, which should appear as **ke·e** from N.M.E. *cay*, all the forms given below would normally appear in the Hackness dialects with the vowel **i:**, the development of M.E. *ē* after the loss of palatal spirant (*gh*), §§ 148, 149. The forms below are borrowings from the Midland dialect. That this borrowing dates from the Middle English period is apparent from the Midland forms *eighth* and *height* in *The Pricke of Conscience*, but we may suppose the majority of these words to be spelling-pronunciations based on the lit. Eng. form.

sit (*Angl.* æhta, *Cath.* aght, but *Rolle* eght) eight; **sitt** (*Rolle* eighth) eighth; **sit'ti:n** eighteen; **sit** (*Angl.* hēhðu, *Rolle* heght, height) height; **neibə(r)** (*Angl.* nēhbūr, *Rolle* neghebur, *Cast.* nighber) neighbour; **neibərud** (*Cast.* nighberhud) neighbourhood; **st̥reit** (O.E. *striht*, *Cast.* stright) straight; **we̥it** (O.E. *gewiht*, *Rolle* weght) weight.

kle·e, which must come from a M.E. *cleē*, O.E. *clēā*, shortened form of *clawu*. Wright gives **kleē** as a modern Midland form, and cites **tleē** from Westmorland (*Dialect Grammar*, *claw*), but **kleē** is not a common pronunciation in the modern dialect of Eastern Yorkshire.

¹ *The Pricke of Conscience* has *aw*, the *Psalter* *agh* for this sound.

ksi key is abnormal, and appears to be a survival of *Angl.* cēg, M.E. key, but it may be merely a spelling-pronunciation, cf. **nsi** (O.E. hnāgan) to neigh (of a horse).

M.E. *eu*.

178. M.E. *eu*, *eu* regularly appears in the dialect as **iu**. It arose from various combinations, viz.:—

179. (1) From O.E. *éaw*:

tiu (O.E. *tēawian*) to work laboriously, to become weary.

180. (2) From O.E. *éow*:

briu to brew; **kliu** (O.E. *cleōwe*) a ball of wool, clew; **riu** (*York. Mys. rewe*) to rue, repent; **triu** (*Cath. trewe*) true; **triuθ** (*Rolle treuth*) truth.

iu is found also in the preterites, **bliu** blew; **griu** grew; **kriu** crew; **miu** mowed; **niu** knew; **sniu** snowed; **siu** sowed; **θriu** threw.

181. (3) From O.E. *īw*:

ju: (O.E. *īw*) yew (tree); **spiu** (O.E. *spīwan*) to spew.

M.E. *ou*.

182. M.E. *ou* remains as **ou** in the dialect. It arose from various sources as enumerated below, and with it fell *ol* followed by a consonant (§ 117).

183. (1) From O.E. *eah*, Anglian *æh*:

fout (Anglian *fæht*) fought. This appears to be a genuine development, and not a byform from O.E. pp. *fohten*, cf. **tout** below.

184. (2) From O.E. *āh*, N.M.E. *ōgh*, *ou*:

ouðæ(r) (O.E. *āhwæðer*, *Rolle outh*) either; **nouðæ(r)** (O.E. *nāhwæðer*, *Rolle nouth*) neither; **out** (O.E. *āht*, *Rolle oght*) anything; **out** (O.E. *āhte*) ought; **nout** (O.E. *nāht*, *Rolle noght*) naught; **tout** (Anglian *tāhte*, *Ormulum* 18741 *tahht*) taught.

Shortened in **nobət** (lit. naught but) only, if; and in **nut** (*Rolle noght*, > **nout** > **nut**) not.

185. (3) From O.E. *og, oh*, N.M.E. *ōgh*:

bout (O.E. *bohte*, *Rolle boght*) bought; **douȝe(r)** (*Rolle doghter*) daughter; **re·ən·bou** rainbow; **floun** flown.

186. (4) From O.E. *ōh*, N.M.E. *ōgh*:

brout (O.E. *brōhte*, *Rolle broght*) brought; **sout** sought; **θout** (*Prose thoghte*) thought.

In the above words, the diphthong **ou** is derived from a late M.E., or Early Mod. E. *ou* [ɔu], in which the *u* originally began as a glide before the M.E. *gh* (χ), and ended by absorbing it. The development would be *oght* > ɔ^uχt > ɔu^χt > **out**.

187. (5) From O.E. *ēow*:

jou (O.E. *scēawian*¹) to show, where O.E. *éa* has presumably become *éá*, and the surviving *ā* has coalesced with the medial *w* to form the M.E. diphthong *ou*. The usual North. M.E. form was *schewe*. The dialect word therefore falls under suspicion of being a spelling-pronunciation. But cf. § 189.

188. (6) From O.E. *eow*:

jou (*Cath. zowe*) ewe; **strou** to strew.

189. (7) From O.E. *eow*:

fouər (O.E. *fēower*, *Rolle foure*) four; **fouæt** fourth; **fouə'tin** fourteen; **sou** (O.E. *sēowian*²) to sew; **tjou** (O.E. *cēowan*) to chew; where O.E. *éo* has become *eó*, and the surviving *ō* has coalesced with the medial *w* to form the M.E. diphthong *ou*.

Shortened in **fotti** (*Rolle fourty*) forty; **fortniθ** fortnight.

190. (8) From O.E. *ōw*:

bi'stjou to bestow; **flou** (*Rolle flowe*) to flow; **glou-worm** glow-worm; **glou** to glow; **grou** (*Rolle grow*) to grow.

¹ Wright, *Old English Grammar*, p. 44, § 76.

² *Ibid.* p. 266.

CHAPTER IV

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE MIDDLE ENGLISH VOWELS IN STRESSED SYLLABLES (*continued*)

The Scandinavian Element.

191. THE words which are classified in the following chapter are scarcely borrowings, at least in the sense in which 'borrowing' is used when the Romance element is spoken of. Rather are they relics of a time when, in East Yorkshire, Angle and Dane lived in adjacent villages and developed a mixed Anglo-Norse speech for their mutual traffic. This settlement dates from A.D. 876, the year when Halfden shared out (*gedæilde*) the lands of Northumbria, and the Danes became their ploughers and harrowers. The ninth and tenth centuries, especially the latter, would be the time when these words were Anglicised. Certainly many words were borrowed before the sound-changes known as breaking (or Guttural mutation) and Labialisation began in the Old Norse speech, which Mr Arnold Wall dates from the tenth century¹. It is highly probable, therefore, that English and Norse mingled and blended almost immediately, in spite of the harrying in the south and midlands. The word Dane has been used, but it must not be implied that these borrowed words come from the Danish. They come from the parent speech of Dane and Norseman alike, from which also Icelandic was derived. It was not Old Icelandic, and it is perhaps misleading to give Old Icelandic forms as the sources of the Scandinavian element in the dialect; but Old Icelandic, with its rich vocabulary, is the most convenient for illustration, and its nearness to the parent speech obviously fits it for this purpose.

¹ *The Scandinavian Element in the English Dialects, Anglia* xx.

1. *Short Vowels.*M.E. *a*.

192. M.E. *a* appears in the dialect as **a**, not only after **w**, but before **ŋ**; and, here differing from English words, before **g**.

The fact that **a** is found in many of the following words corresponding to an Old Norse, or Old Icelandic, rounded vowel written *ō*, indicates that the words were taken into the dialect before 'Labialisation' in Scandinavian began to affect the Norse *a*.

adl (O.I. *öðla*, *Cath.* *addyl*) to earn; **asl-ŋri** (O.I. *öxultré*) axle; **asl-ti-əθ** molar tooth; **blaðə(r)** (O.I. *blaðra*) to prate; **blaðə(r)(s)** nonsense; **brakn** bracken, fern; **gab** (O.I. *gabb*) impudence; **gad** to gossip, to visit (usually in the phrase **ti gad ə'but**); **gavlək** (O.I. *gaflak*) a gavelock; **kap** (cf. O.I. *kapp*, a contest) to beat in a contest; **kapin** surprising; **kam** (O.I. *kambr*) a bank, ridge; **kazn** (O.I. *kös* heap, pile, cf. Swed. dial. *kokase* cowdung) cowdung; **naf** (O.I. *nöf*) the nave of a wheel; **naf-i-əd** a simpleton; **naŋə(r)** (O.I. *gnötra*) to grumble; **ram** (O.I. *ramr*) pungent; **skrag** to choke; **skragi** thin; **skrát** (*Rolle* *scratte*) to scratch; **stak** (O.I. *stakkr*) rick; **skrafi** to scramble; **slak** (O.I. *slakki*) a dell; **slavə(r)** (O.I. *slafr*) spittle; **slaps** (O.I. *slöþ* = *offal*) sink-refuse; **slapstŋ** a sink; **stakə(r)** (O.I. *stakra*) to stagger; **θak** (O.I. *þak*, *Cath.* *thakke*) thatch.

193. Northern M.E. *a* remains in **mak** (O.I. *maka*, N.M.E. *mak*) to make; and **tak** (O.I. *taka*, *Rolle* *tak*) to take, where lengthening in the open syllable would have been regular. Also in the derivative **uptak**, the climax, the 'limit'; as in the phrase **ðatst 'uptak əv out a:v 'i-əd** = that beats anything I've heard; and in **ransak** (O.I. *rannsaka*) to ransack. **mal** to shout, presupposes M.E. *ǣ*, the shortening of Scandinavian *ǣ* (cf. O.I. *mæla*).

194. M.E. *a* preceded by *w* remains as **a** :

swaŋ (O. Norse *swange*) a meadow (in place names); **want** (O.I. *wanta*) to want; as does M.E. *a* before **ŋ** : **aŋk** skein of yarn; **aŋkl** to entangle; **gan** (O.I. *ganga*, *Clavis* *gang*) to go; **raŋ** wrong; **staŋ** (O.I. *stöngr*) a shaft, pole; **θraŋ** (O.I. *ðröngr*) busy.

195. Scandinavian 'stopped' *g* has usually remained after *a*, whereas O.E. 'open' *ġ* became vocalised :

agl to cut with a blunt knife ; **agworm** (O.I. höggormr, *Cath.* hagworme) lit. hedge-worm, viper ; **flag** a flat stone ; **klag** to stick ; **nag** (O.I. gnaga) to tease, nag.

But in **ɔ:n** (O.I. ögn) husk of barley, and in **lɔ:** law, Scandinavian *ag*, borrowed before its Labialisation to *ög*, became the M.E. diphthong *au*.

196. M.E. *a*, followed by *l* and another consonant, has become **ɔ:**, by passing through the same changes as M.E. *al* from English sources, namely [*al* > **au**] > **au** > **ɔ:** > **ɔ:**]:

sko:p (O.I. skālpr, M.E. scālp) scalp ; **ɔ:m** (O.I. almr) elm tree ; **fo:m** (O. Norse skālma) to spread the legs before the fire ; **mo:mi** (cf. O.I. mālmr, ore) rotten, soft.

197. M.E. *ar* before a following consonant appears regularly as **ɑ:**, through assimilation of *r*. In words of this class from Scandinavian sources there appears to have been no fronting such as gave **ɛ·ə** in many Romance words containing *ar* and consonant (§ 254).

ɑ:sk (M.E. harsk) harsh ; **ga:θ** (O.I. garðr) yard ; **ka:t** (O.I. kartr) cart ; **spa:k** (O.I. sparkr, lively) a gay fellow ; **wa:p** to warp ; **na:k** (cf. Dan. knarke, to creak) to annoy. This **ɑ:** has been shortened before final **θ** in **swaθ** (O.I. swarð) grass land, rind of bacon.

M.E. *e*.

198. M.E. *e* usually remains (even before *g*), when derived from Scandinavian *e* in closed syllables, including *jö* the *u*-mutation (breaking) of *e*. The fact that some dialect forms with **e** correspond, to Scandinavian forms with *jö* indicates that these words were borrowed before this sound change took place in Norse.

bek (O.I. bekk, *Cath.* bek) brook¹ ; **eftə(r)** (O.I. epter, *Rolle efter*) after ; **esp** (O.E. hæps, O.I. hespa) a hasp ; **fes** (O.I. festa, a pledge) a hiring fee ; **getn** (O.I. getinn pp.) gotten ; **felt** (a weak pp. < O.I. fela, str. to hide) adj. hidden ; **ket** (O.I. kjöt) carrion ; **kep** (O.I. keppa, to strive) to catch ; **kletf** (cf. O.I. klekja,

¹ This may be English (< O.E. bece), see Arnold Wall, *The Scandinavian Element in the English Dialects in Anglia* xx.

to hatch) a brood; **mens** (O.I. mennska, *Psalms* mensk) honour, decency; **reklīn** (O.I. reklīngr, an outcast) the smallest animal of a litter; **rekn** (O.I. rekendr, chain) a pot-hook or chain; **sek** (O.I. sekkr) sack; **skel** (O.I. skella) to upset; **skep** (O.I. skeppa) a basket; **skelp** to flog; **rig-weltid** (a weak p.p. < O.I. welta, str. to turn) adj. overturned (of sheep); **rendə(r)** (cf. O.I. renna, wk. to make run) to melt fat; **sled** (O.I. sleði) sledge.

199. A short vowel remains in **git** (O.I. geta) to get; and in **gi, giv** (O.I. gefa) to give, where a long vowel in the open syllable would be regular. Probably the vowel is derived from the Anglian 2nd and 3rd pers. Present Indic. *gīfes*, -eō; *gītes*, -eō; though **giv** may have been borrowed from standard English in the Early Modern period. In the form **git**, the **i** may be due to **t**. Cf. § 106.

200. Scandinavian 'stopped' *g* has remained after *e*, whereas O.E. 'open' *ġ* usually became vocalised:

qregz (O.I. dreg) lees; **eg** (O.I. eggja) to incite; **kleg** (O.I. kleggi) a gad-fly; **steg** (O.I. steggr, *Cath.* stegge) a gander.

But in **ge·ən** (O.I. gegn) near, convenient, Scandinavian *eg* fell, like O.E. *eġ*, to Northern M.E. *ai*.

201. Differing from O.E. *e* followed by *ld*, Scandinavian *e* did not become long in M.E. before this consonant-group (see § 146), and there appears to have been no lengthening in the eighteenth century (§ 103). Short **e** remains:

eldin (O.I. elding) fuel; **geld** (O.I. gelda) to castrate; **geldin** (O.I. geldingr) a castrated horse; **keld** (O.I. kelda) a spring (in place names).

202. Before **ŋ**, Scandinavian *e* has been raised to **i**: **diŋ** (O.I. dengja) to beat; **iŋ** (O.I. hengja) to hang (tr.); **iŋz** (O.I. eng) meadows (in place names), **wiŋ** (*Psalms* weng) wing.

Except in the interjection **deŋ!** = hang!

203. M.E. *er* from Scandinavian sources, before a following consonant, regularly appears as **ɑ:**, indicating early Mod. Eng. *ar* with subsequent assimilation of *r* to a following consonant. The change to *ar* was certainly completed by 1680, though the *r* may then still have had some consonantal value, which it has now lost. **ɑ:bə(r)** (*Prose* herber) harbour, shelter; **ka:z(r)** (M.E. *ker*) marshy

ground; **ka:l** (O.I. karl) a man, fellow; **ka:linz** (cf. O.I. kerling, an old woman) buttered peas (prepared for 'Carling Sunday,' the Sunday before Palm Sunday); **sa:k** (O.I. serkr) shirt; **wa:k** (O.I. werkja, *Clavis* wark) to ache; **wa:k** (O.I. werkr) pain, ache; **wa:r** (O.I. werr) adv. worse; **upsta:t** (O.I. uppsterte) an upstart.

204. Before *t*, M.E. *e* appears as *i* in: **kitlin** (O.I. ketlingr) a kitten, and in **git** (O.I. geta) to get.

M.E. *i*.

205. M.E. *i* from Scandinavian sources regularly remains: **dil-wa:tə(r)** (cf. O.N. dilla, to lull) soothing-syrup; **fik** (O.I. fika) to struggle; **fit** (O.I. fitja) adj. ready; **gil** (O.I. gil) a ravine; **gilðə(r)** (O.I. gildra, *Rolle Ps.* gilder) a horsehair snare for small birds; **grip** a gutter; **kinl** to kindle; **kinlín** firewood; **kist** (O.I. kista) chest; **kitl** (O.I. kitla) to tickle; **klip** (O.I. klippa) to shear wool; **nigl** (cf. Swed. dial. niggla, to be stingy) adj. stingy; **skil** (cf. O.I. skilja, to separate) to understand; **skitəz** diarrhoea; **swizn** (cf. O.I. swiðna) to be singed; **snikl** a snare; **wik** (O.I. kwikr) adj. alive, lively¹; **wiks** quitch, couchgrass; **win** gorse; **smit** (cf. Dan. smitte) to infect; **smitl** infectious; **smit** infection.

206. M.E. *i* from Scandinavian *y* usually appears as *i*, although there are examples of *e* and *u* forms from Scandinavian *y*, as well as from O.E. *y*. See § 111.

i forms: **fiit** (O.I. flytja) to remove (intr.); **gimə(r)** (O.I. gymbr) a young ewe; **gilt** (O.I. gyltr) a young sow; **kinl** to kindle; **liŋ** (O.I. lyng) heather; **midin** dunghill, ashpit; **rift** (O.I. rypta, *Cath.* ryfte) to belch; **θik** (O.I. ðykk) friendly, thick.

207. *e* form: **sket** (O.I. skyrta) a skirt, which presupposes a M.E. *skerte* (with *e* lowered from *i*) in which *r* became assimilated to the dental consonant that followed.

208. *u* forms: **muk** (O.I. myki, *Cath.* mukke) earth, manure, filth; **θrust** (O.I. ðrýsta) to push, and by analogy **brust** (O.I. bresta, *Cath.* bryst) to burst.

¹ This probably not O.E. *ewic*. Compare **wai** (O.I. kwiga) a heifer.

209. Scandinavian *ig* remains in: **big** (*Rolle* bigg) big; **lig** (O.I. liggja, *Rolle* ligge) to lie, and perhaps in **mig** (cf. O. Norse kũ miga, cows' urine) liquid manure.

Similarly M.E. *ig* from Scandinavian *yg* remains in: **þrig** (O.I. tryggr) trim, neat.

210. Scandinavian *ir* has become **e** in: **ken** (O.I. kirna) a churn; **kenmilk** buttermilk. This vowel change is comparatively recent. In the *Clavis* to the *Yorkshire Dialogue* of 1684, the spelling *kirne* is given. In the form **ken**, early Mod. Eng. *i* was lowered to *e*, and *r* became assimilated to *n*.

M.E. o.

211. M.E. *o*, from Scandinavian sources, in closed syllables, has regularly remained:

bos (O.I. bossi) master¹; **kok** (cf. Dan. kok, a heap) a heap of hay; **æ'kros** across; **lop** (cf. Dan. loppe) flea; **loft** (O.I. lopt) an upper chamber; **okæ(r)** (O.I. hokra) to stoop, walk awkwardly; **skopæril** (cf. O.I. skapt-kringla, a top) a skipjack, or teetotum (lit. shaft-reel); **slokn** (O.I. slokna, *Rolle Ps.* sloken) to quench; **slop** (O.I. sloppr) leg of trousers.

Scandinavian *g* remains after *o* in: **fog** aftergrass; and in 'cog.'

212. M.E. *ol* appears as **ou** (cf. § 117) in: **stoup** (O.I. stōlpi, M.E. stolpe) a post.

213. M.E. *o* remains before *r* as a short vowel: **skorf** scurf.

This *o* does not appear to have been lengthened before *r*, as in Lakeland **fwo:ʃ**, **fɔ:ʃ**, in: **fɔs** (O.I. fors) a waterfall, where *r* has become assimilated to *s*.

M.E. u.

214. M.E. *u*, from Scandinavian *u*, and sometimes *o*, remains.

busl to bustle; **lubæ(r)** (cf. Swed. dial. lubber) a clumsy or lazy man; **skufi** (cf. Swed. skuffa, to push) to hoe, with a machine called a **skufiæ(r)**; **skuf** (cf. O.I. skopt, hair) the nape of the neck; **numskul** (cf. O.I. numinn (pp. nema) bereft, palsied, + skull)

¹ But see *N.E.D.* on this word.

a simpleton; **klubstə(r)** (cf. O.I. klubba, a club, and O.E. steort, a tail) a stoat; **mun** (*Rolle* mun) vb. must; **stub** (O.I. stubbi) subs. stump; vb. to uproot; **tup** ram; **kuf** (cf. O. Norse kussa) a call for cows; **skutl** (O.I. skutill, a trencher) a metal vessel used in foddering cattle; **skrub** underwood.

215. Scandinavian *ug* has remained intact:

lug to pull; **lug** ear; **mugi** damp and close (of weather); **ug** to carry.

2. Long Vowels.

M.E. *ā*.

216. As in the case of English words of this class there have been two developments, namely to **ɛ·ə**, and to **i·ə**. The latter sound suggests fronting of M.E. *ā* to **ɛ**, so that it fell together with M.E. *ē*.

217. M.E. *ā*, caused by the lengthening of Scandinavian *ǣ* in open syllables, has become **ɛ·ə** in:

dre·ət to drawl; **ɛ·əl** (cf. O.I. hala, to drag) to originate (from); **le·əð** (O.I. hlaða) barn; **ske·əl** to scatter; **sl·ə** (O.I. slā, *Cath.* slaa) to slay; **te·ən** (*Rolle* tane) pp. taken.

218. But M.E. *ā* appears as **i·ə**, suggesting fronting of the sound to **ɛ**, in:

di·əzd (O.I. dasaðr, faint, *Rolle* dased) adj. dazed, addled (of eggs); **gi·əp** to gape; **gi·ət** (*Psalms* gate) gait; **ə'gi·ət** in motion; **gi·əvl** (O.I. gafi) gable; **i·əvln̩** oblong; **ki·ək** cake; **si·əm** same; **skri·əp** to scrape.

219. M.E. *ā*, the northern survival of Scandinavian *ā*, has become **i·ə**:

bi·əθ (*Rolle* bathe) both; **bli·əberi** bilberry; **ki·əl** (O.I. kāl, *Rolle Ps.* kale) cabbage; **ski·əlz** scales; **kri·ək** (O.I. krākr, *Rolle* krake) crow, rook; **sli·ə-worm** (cf. O.I. slā, to strike, *Cath.* slaworme) slow-worm.

M.E. *ē*.

220. As in the case of the English element, M.E. *ē* has become **i·ə**, through the stages **ɛ**: > **ɛ·ə** > (**ɛ·ə**) > **i·ə**.

M.E. *ē* developed from various sources:

221. (1) From Scandinavian $\bar{æ}$, the I Mutation of \bar{a} : **skri·ək** (O.I. skrækja) to shriek; **skri·əm** (O.I. skræma) to scream; **si·ət** (O.I. sæti, *Psalms* sete) seat. But shortened in: **geslin** (O.I. gæslingr) gosling.

222. (2) From Scandinavian $\bar{ø}$, the I Mutation of \bar{o} : **ti·əm** (O.I. toema, *Clavis* team) to empty.

223. (3) From the lengthening of Scandinavian short *e* in open syllables: **li·ək** (O.I. leka) to leak; **ni·əf** (O.I. hnefi, *Cath.* nef, *Clavis* pl. neaves) fist; **θi·ək** (O.I. ðekja, O.E. ðeccan) to thatch; **θi·əkə(r)** (*Cath.* theker) thatcher; **spi·ən**¹ (cf. O.I. speni, a teat) to wean lambs; **si·əf** (O.I. sef) rush. Shortened in **nevil** to beat (with the fist).

M.E. \bar{e} .

224. As in the case of original English words containing this vowel, M.E. \bar{e} from Scandinavian sources has become **i:**,—the same development as in standard English.

225. M.E. \bar{e} from Scandinavian \bar{e} appears as **i:**: **θirt** (O.I. ðētrr) water-tight. But the vowel was shortened in M.E., before the change from M.E. \bar{e} to **i:**, in: **felə** (O.I. fēlagi, *Rolle* felaghe) fellow.

226. M.E. $\bar{e}gh$ [**e:ɣ**] derived from Scandinavian *i, e*, before the palatal spirant occurs as **i:**, as in the case of English words (§ 149):

sti: (O.I. stigi, *Rolle* stegh, *Cath.*, *Clavis* stee) a ladder;
di: (O.I. deyja, *Rolle* deghe) to die.

M.E. \bar{i} .

227. As in the case of English words containing this vowel, M.E. \bar{i} has had three developments. Before voiceless consonants and *r* it occurs as **si**; at the end of a word it has developed to **ai**; and before voiced consonants it appears as **ai:**, indicating a development to **ai**, with subsequent loss of the second element of the diphthong.

¹ This word may be derived from O.E. *spanan* to allure, persuade; or from O.I. *spenja* with the same meaning.

228. **si** occurs before *r*, and breathed consonants in :

slēip (cf. O.I. *slīpa*, to whet) to strip off; **sneip** (O.I. *snīpa*) a snipe; **sweip** (O.I. *swīpa*) to sweep, to strike; **teik** (O.I. *tīk*) a tyke; **meisē(r)** (O.I. *mýrr*) mire; **seik** (O.I. *slikr*, *Rolle* slike, *Clavis* sike) such, probably owes its loss of *l* to confusion with the N.M.E. form *swilk* (O.E. *swylc*).

229. **a:** occurs before voiced consonants in :

gram (cf. O.I. *krīm*) grime; **ra:v** (O.I. *rīfa*, *Rolle* ryve) to rive; **sa:l** (O.I. *sīla*) to filter (milk); **sa:l** (O.I. *sīli*, *Cath.* syle) a milk sieve; **ta:dinz** (O.I. *tīðindi*) news; **θra:v** (O.I. *ðrīfa*) to thrive; **twa:n** (cf. Dan. *tvine*) to whine, to complain.

sna:l (O.I. *snigill*) snail, has a lengthened vowel due to loss of *g*, M.E. *snile, Mod. Lakeland **sni:l**. O.E. *snægl*, *snegel*, would have given N.M.E. *snayl*, Mod. ***sne·əl**.

230. **ai** occurs finally in **wai** (O.I. *kwīga*, *Clavis* whye) a heifer.

M.E. \bar{o} .

231. M.E. \bar{o} , from the lengthening of Scandinavian \bar{o} in open syllables, appears as **u·ə** :

bu·əl (O.I. *bolr*) the trunk of a tree; **pu·ək** (O.I. *poki*) bag, sack; **ru·ək** (O.I. *roka*) mist.

232. Scandinavian \bar{o} , except before *k* (§ 233), appears as **u·ə**, indicating a M.E. \bar{o} in :

glu·ə(r) (O.I. *glōra*) to stare; **mu·ə(r)** (O.I. *mōr*) moor; **u·ə(r)** (O.I. *hōra*) whore; **u·əst** (O.I. *hōsta*) to cough; **u·əst** (O.I. *hōsti*) a cough.

Shortened in **θozdæ** (O.I. *ðōrs dagr*, O.E. *ðūres dæg*), where *r* has been assimilated to the following *s*.

M.E. \bar{o} .

233. Before *k*, Scandinavian long \bar{o} appears as **iu**, like M.E. long close \bar{o} in this position :

kriuk (O.I. *krōkr*) crook; **kriukt** (*Rolle* croked) crooked; **liuk** (cf. O.I. *lok*, weed) to weed corn.

In the last case, the M.E. long vowel appears to be due to lengthening in the open syllable (M.E. **loken*); though the analogy

of O.E. *lōcian*, M.E. *loken*, to look, must have had some influence upon this verb. The word occurs in the *Catholicon Anglicum* (1483) as *lowke*.

M.E. *ū*.

234. M.E. *ū* remains in the dialect as **u:** :

bu:n (O.I. *būinn*) ready, forced to; **ḡru:p** (O.I. *drūpa*) to droop; **ḡru:nd** (M.E. *drounen*, the **d** is from the pp.) to drown¹; **ku:l** (O.I. *kūla*, a knob, boss) a swelling on the head; **pru:d** (O.I. *prūðr* < O.E. *prūt*, or O.Fr. *prud*) proud; shortened in: **busk** (O.I. *būask*) to busk.

235. Scandinavian *g* has fallen, and M.E. *ū* has become **u·ə** before **r** in: **ju·ə(r)** (O.I. *jūgr*, *Cath.* *zowre*) udder.

236. But **ɔ:** occurs in: **do:n** (O.I. *dūnn*) down, soft plumage.

3. *Diphthongs.*

M.E. *ai*.

237. Northern M.E. *ai* appears as **ɛ·ə**, its regular development, in the following classes of words, derived:

238. (1) From Scandinavian *eg*:

ge·ən (O.I. *gegn*) near, convenient.

239. (2) From Scandinavian *ei* (Germanic *ai*) the equivalent of O.E. *ā*.

be·ət (O.I. *beita*) to bait (a horse); **ble·ək** (O.I. *bleikr*) yellow (of eggs); **ɛ·əl** (O.I. *heill*) hale; **de·əri** dairy; **fe·ək** (O.I. *feikr*) fake; **kle·əm** (O.I. *kleima*) to daub, smear; **le·ək** (O.I. *leika*, *Rolle* *layk*) to play; **le·ək** (O.I. *leikr*) game, play; **le·ət** (O.I. *leita*, *Rolle* *layt*) to seek; **re·ək** (O.I. *reika*, *Rolle* *rayke*) to wander; **swɛ·ə** (O.I. *swigja*) to sway; **sle·əp** (O.I. *sleipr*) slippery; **ste·ək** (O.I. *steik*) steak; **ðe·ə** they; **ðe·ə(r)** their; **we·ək** (O.I. *weikr*, *Rolle* *wayk*) weak.

240. (3) From Scandinavian *ey*, the I Mutation of *au*, the equivalent of O.E. *īe* (< *ēā*):

be·əst (O.I. *beysta*) to baste, beat; **fle·ə** (O.I. *fleyja*, *Rolle* *flay*) to frighten; **sne·əp** (O.I. *sneypa*) to snub, chastise.

¹ The O.I. form is *drukna*. Dr Björkman, *Scandinavian Loan-words in Middle English*, pp. 158, 176, assumes an original Scand. form **drugna*.

M.E. *au*.

241. M.E. *au* has regularly become **ɔ**, through the stages **au** > **a**: > **ɔ**:. The diphthong was derived in Middle English:

242. (1) From Scandinavian *ög, ag*, Northern M.E. *agh, aw*: **lɔ**: (O.I. *lög, Rolle lagh, law*) law; **ɔ:n** (O.I. *ögn, Cath. awn*) awn, husk of barley.

243. (2) From Scandinavian *āg*; Northern M.E. *agh, aw*: **lɔ**: (O.I. *lāgr, Rolle Ps. laghe, law*) low.

244. (3) From M.E. *au*, which arose from the loss of a spirant after *a*, and before a velar consonant: **ɔ:kæd** (O.I. *öfugr, contrary, + suffix -ward, Rolle awkward*) awkward; **mɔ:k** (O.I. *maðkr, Cath. mawke*) a maggot.

M.E. *ou*.

245. Scandinavian *au* regularly became *ou* in Northern M.E., and the diphthong remains in the present dialect as **ɔu**:

dɔuli (O.I. *daufigr*) lonely, dull; **jɔul** (O.I. *gaula, Rolle goule*) to howl, yell; with **j** by analogy with 'yell' (*Cath. zowle*); **lɔup** (O.I. *hlaupa*) to leap; **lɔus** (O.I. *lauss*) loose; **lɔuz** (*Cath. lowse*) to loosen; **rɔut** (O.I. *rauta, Rolle Ps. rowt*) to roar, bellow; **rɔuntri** mountain ash; **ɔu** (O.I. *haugr, Rolle how*) hill (in place-names); **noutɔt** (O.I. *naut-hirðir*) lit. neatherd, a simpleton; **skɔup** (cf. Lakeland *skaup*) scoop.

246. But **ɔ**: is found in: **gɔ:ki** (cf. O.I. *gaukr, cuckoo*) a simpleton, (adj.) awkward; and in **gɔ:mləs** (cf. O.I. *gaumr, heed*) stupid.

247. M.E. *ou* is shortened to **u** in: **gumʃn** (Scand. *gaumr + -tion*) gumption, understanding; and in **trɔst** (O.I. *traust, Rolle trayste*) trust.

248. M.E. *ou*, from Scandinavian *og*, occurs also as **ɔu** in: **lɔu**, usually (*lili*)**lɔu** (O.I. *log, logi, flame, Rolle low*) a bright flame.

CHAPTER V

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE MIDDLE ENGLISH VOWELS IN STRESSED SYLLABLES (*continued*)

The French Element

249. DIALECT borrowings from French present considerable difficulty. The lengthening of the Old English and Scandinavian short vowels in open stressed syllables was already accomplished when the bulk of the French element was taken into the language between 1250 and 1400; nevertheless when Norman-French words were anglicised in the Middle English period, *a*, *e* and *o* became or remained long when they occurred in open *stressed* syllables. In *unstressed* syllables short vowels remained short, even if afterwards the Germanic accent was given to such a syllable. For example, **be·əkn** bacon and **pe·əpə(r)** paper had the long *ā* in M.E. because the French *a* lengthened in the open syllable in the same way as O.E. *ǣ*, but **baril** barrel and **damif** damage retain their short vowel, because it was *unstressed* when the words were taken into the language, and when the stress was shifted to the first syllable by analogy with original English nouns, the law of lengthening in open stressed syllables had ceased to operate. So that the development of French vowels in English depends partly on stress, and partly upon original quantity. Classification is therefore rather a complex task. The system here followed is to use the Middle English vowel system as a basis,—for all French vowels, even the nasals (except *ā*, which sometimes became *au*), were anglicised. As it would be absurd to include every Romance word which agrees with the standard pronunciation, since one can

never be certain that such a word is not a recent borrowing, only those dialect words are included which differ from standard English, in form or meaning, or words common to both which illustrate a particular sound-change.

1. Short Vowels.

M.E. *a*.

250. Short *a* is found in the dialect in the following words, indicating M.E. short *a* in closed syllables, or in open syllables which originally were unaccented:

apɾən (O.Fr. *naperon*) apron; **apɾil** April; **bas** bass (in music); **bastət** bastard; **danl** to dandle; **galək** left-(handed); **gafə(r)** (Fr. *grand + fader*) master; **ga'mafiz** (Fr. *gamaches* < Prov. *garamacha*, leather from Ghadamas, Tripoli) gaiters; **gantri** (Fr. *chantier*) a gantry; **glanɟəz** glanders; **granmuɟə(r)** grandmother; **kalit** (cf. Fr. *caillette*, quail) a gossip; **kal** to gossip; **kabif** cabbage; **manif** to manage; **manifment** (lit. management) manure; **maɟələs** immaterial; **mari** (intj.) verily; **faf** (Fr. *fâcher*) to vex, to trouble; **ɔ:d'fafənd** precocious; **pastə(r)** (*Rolle* *pastur*) pasture; **ratn** (O.F. *raton*) rat; **satn** Satan; **stati** statue, statute; **statis** a hiring-fair; **fami** chamois (in the word **fami-leðə(r)**); **saf** (Fr. *chassis*) a window frame; **tali** (Fr. *tailler*) to agree (in number); **tali-stik** a stick on which reckonings are cut; **tap** (Mid. Fr. *tapper*) to hit; **travil** to go with speed; **vast** a great deal, many; **vali** value; and, of course in such borrowed words as have a short *æ* in standard English.

251. After *w*, as in the case of Teutonic words, *a* remains:

kwaləti gentry; **kwari** quarry; **warənt** to guarantee; **waləp** (O.Fr. *walop* (subs.), M.E. *walopen*, to gallop) to flog, etc.

252. Before *l*, M.E. *a* became *au* in the late M.E. period, and appears in the dialects as *ɔ*, with assimilation of *l* to a following consonant: e.g. **sko:d** to scald; **so:m** (*Psalms* *salme*) psalm.

253. Before nasal consonants, M.E. *ã* became *au* and appears as *ɔ*, the regular development of M.E. *au* in:

dzɔ:m (door)-jamb; **ɔ:nt** (O.Fr. *hanter*) to haunt; **mɔ:nɟ**

mange; **mɔ:ŋzi** (O.Fr. mangie) mangy, ill-tempered; **tʃɔ:mə(r)** (Fr. chambre, *Clavis* chamber) chamber; **kɔ:məril** (*Yorks. Dial.* cameril) a gambrel, a wooden bar for hanging butchers' carcasses by the hind legs.

The words **ant** aunt; **dans** dance; **tʃans** chance; and words in which *ā* became M.E. *ā* (§ 271) are exceptions to this rule.

254. M.E. *ar* followed by a second consonant has had a double development. It appears as **a:**, and *r* has been assimilated to the following consonant in: **ga:di:n** (N.Fr. *gardin*) garden; **ga:ʔə(r)** garter; **kwa:ʔə(r)** (*Cast.* *quahter*) quarter; **pa:zl** (O.Fr. *parceler*, to measure) to cover ground, to walk briskly.

But in the following words M.E. *a* was fronted and lengthened in the early Modern English period¹. The change is first apparent in the spelling of Castillo's dialect rimes (ca. 1830), so that probably the dialect copied fashionable English in this respect.

e:əmi (*Cast.* pl. *aimies*) army; **ke:əd** (*Cast.* *kade*) card; **kwe:ət** quart; **pe:ət** (*Cast.* *pait*) part; **pe:ətne(r)** partner; **tʃe:ədʒ** (*Cast.* *chaige*) to charge.

M.E. *e*.

255. Short *e* is found in the dialect in the following words, indicating M.E. short *e* in closed syllables, or in open syllables which originally were unaccented:

demikt diseased (of vegetables); **det** (*Rolle dette*) debt; **fend** (O.Fr. *defendre*) to provide; **letis** lettuce; **medl** (A.Fr. *medler*, to mix) to interfere; **mend** to recover health; **merilz** (Fr. *merelles*) merrils; **mes** disorder; **mezlz** (*Cath.* *meselle*) measles; **prentis** apprentice; **speks** spectacles; **'erənsiu** (O.Fr. *herouneau*) a heron; **in'sens** to explain; **mel** (O.Fr. *mail*, *Rolle*, *Cath.* *melle*) a large wooden mallet²; **nevi** (Fr. *neveu*) nephew; **wesp** wasp.

¹ Horn, *Historische neuenglische Grammatik*, Vol. 1., § 45. Wyld, *Short History of English*, § 222.

² Marshall (1788) indicates the pronounciation of this word as **meil**, with *e* lengthened before *l*, § 103.

256. M.E. *e* is raised to *i* before nasals in: **inʒn** engine; **kimist** chemist; **ʃi'mi** chemise; **ʒriml** to tremble; also in **ʒris** dress (subs. and vb.).

But **a** occurs before **l** in: **saləri** celery.

257. M.E. *er* from French sources, followed by a second consonant, regularly became *ar* in Early Modern English, and appears in the modern dialect as **a:**, with assimilation of *r* to the following consonant:

a:b herb; **kon'sa:n** to concern; **pa:ləs** (lit. perilous) very, Scots unco'; **sa:mn** sermon; **sa:tʃ** (O.Fr. cercher, M.E. serchen) to search; **sa:v** to serve; **sa:vis** service; **va:min** vermin; **va:dʒəs** verjuice; **wa:(r)** (*Rolle* were¹) war.

258. In open *accented* syllables, M.E. *e* before *r* has become **i·ə**, indicating M.E. \bar{e} (§ 276), but in open *unaccented* syllables the *e* remained short, even after the syllable acquired Germanic accent, in the following words, where M.E. *e* became **a** before **r**. The consonant **r** has been retained before a following vowel.

tariə(r) terrier; **vari** (O.Fr. *verai*, *Clavis varra*) very.

M.E. *i*.

259. Short *i* is found in the following words, and in all borrowed words which have *i* in standard English:

iʒri a tale; **list** to enlist; **livə(r)** to deliver; **minʃ** mince; **misis** mistress, wife; **mis'tʃi:vəs** mischievous; **pipin** seed of fruit; **twilt** (lit. to quilt) to flog; **spikit** (probably a confusion of "spike" with O.Fr. *espigot*) spigot.

260. But some dialect words point to M.E. close \check{e} , or at least a very lax **r** in borrowings containing Fr. *i*. Professor Luick cites from *The Prick of Conscience* the following *e*-spellings: **cete** city; **pete** pity; **preson** prison; and **suspecion** suspicion², though one must add that these spellings rarely occur. Whether *i* became *e* in French borrowings in the fourteenth and fifteenth

¹ In *The Pricke of Conscience*, l. 1468, this word rhymes with *dere* (O.E. *derian*) to injure. This vowel must have been M.E. \bar{e} , and the word should appear in the present dialect as **wi·ə(r)**, § 276. The form **wa:(r)** is derived from O.Fr. *werre* through M.E. *werre*, with short *e*.

² *Studien zur englischen Lautgeschichte*, Wien, 1903, p. 54.

centuries is more doubtful than the fact that, in the late seventeenth century, short *i* in the dialect was so like *e*, that the writer of the *Yorkshire Dialogue* of 1684 regularly rimed short *e* and *i* together¹. The following *e*-forms still are heard: **krekit** cricket; **lenit** linnet; **redʒestə(r)** to register; **renʃ** to rinse; **revit** to rivet (of shoes).

261. This *e* from M.E. *i* remains before *r* in: **serəp** syrup; **sperit** spirit.

M.E. *o*.

262. Short *o* is found, indicating M.E. short *o* in closed syllables, or in originally unaccented open syllables, in: **boni** pretty; **kodl** to pamper; **podif** broth; **forin** foreign; **ʃog** to jog, jolt.

Also before *-er* (Fr. *-re*) in: **propə(r)** proper; **povəti** (*Rolle* povert) poverty; and, of course, in all borrowed words which have *o* in standard English.

263. Before *l*, M.E. *o* has become **ou**, with loss of *l* before a consonant, e.g. **boul** to bowl; **koul** to rake mud; **koula(r)** a road scraper; **roul** to roll; **soudʒə(r)** soldier; **troul** (M.Fr. troller) to roll.

But *o* remains in **soðə(r)** which is derived from a French form without *l* (M.E. *soder*, M.Fr. *souder*), and **o:** is found in **po:z** to kick, beat, which Wright derives from an O.Fr. *poulser*, or *posser* (*Windhill Dialect*, p. 63, § 225).

264. Before *r* followed by a consonant, *accented* M.E. *o* usually lengthened to **o:**, and appears as **u·ə** in **fu·ədʒ** forge; **fu·əs** force; **fu·əst** forced; **ku·əd** cord; **ku·ət** to woo; **ku·ətin** wooing; **ku·ən** corn; **tu·ətʃ** torch.

Unaccented M.E. *o* appears to have remained short in the following words, where *r* has been assimilated whenever a dental consonant followed it: **fo:tn** (*Rolle* fortune) fortune; **mis'fo:tn** misfortune; **kotn** (O.Fr. *cortine*) curtain; **mo:ʔə(r)** mortar.

¹ This lax *i* occurred in the London dialect too, cf. Horn, *Hist. neuenglische Grammatik*, § 28; Wyld, *The Spoken English of the Early Eighteenth Century*, § 4.

M.E. *u*.

265. Short **u** occurs, from O.Fr. *o*, Fr. *ou*, or from Fr. *u* [**y**], in:

bukit (O.Fr. *boket*) bucket, pail; **buləs** (*Cath.* *bulas*) the wild plum; **guli** a knife; **guzl** to eat greedily; **kusʦət** custard; **kuzn** cousin: **kuvər** to cover; **stubl** stubble; **supər** supper; **ʦrubl** trouble; **ʦfuk** (Fr. *choquer*) to throw; **b'grutʃ** (O.Fr. *groucher*, to grumble) to envy.

u appears, as in literary English, after *j* in: **ʦʒudʒ** judge; **ʦʒust** just; and also without lengthening before *l* in: **pulit** (Fr. *poulet*) a young hen; **pultis** poultice; and **pulʦri** poultry.

266. Short *u* followed by *r* has regularly become **o**, with assimilation of *r* to a following dental consonant:

abʒod absurd; **ʦʒoni** journey; **fonif** to furnish; **fonitʃ(r)** furniture: **korb** curb; **korenz** currants; **nos** nurse; **ot** to hurt; **pos** purse; **tonəp** turnip; **otʃn** (O.Fr. *irecon*, *Rolle Ps.* *vrchun*) hedgehog.

2. Long Vowels.

M.E. *ā*.

267. M.E. *ā* from French sources appears either as **ɛ·ə** or as **i·ə**, like M.E. *ā* of Old English and Scandinavian origin. The sound **i·ə** denotes fronting in Middle English to the open *ē* position.

268. M.E. *ā* due to lengthening of French *ā* before *-st* appears as **i·ə**:

pi·əst paste; **ti·əst** (O.Fr. *taster*, *Rolle* *taste*) to taste; **wi·əst** (O.Fr. *wast*) waste.

269. M.E. *ā* due to French *a* in open accented syllables (standard English **ei**) appears as **i·ə** in:

bli·əm blame; **fi·əs** face; **fli·əm** flame; **li·əs** lace; **pli·ət** plate; **si·əf** (N.Fr. *sauf*) safe; **si·əv** to save; **sti·əbl** stable; **ti·əbl** table; with initial *i* consonantal, in **ʃabl** able.

270. Otherwise it appears as **ɛ·ə** in words of this class:

bɛ·ət (*Rolle* *abate*) to abate, to reduce in price; **bɛ·əkɲ**

bacon; **ne·ətə(r)** nature; **re·ət** (O.Fr. rateir, M.E. raten) to scold; **te·əti** (Span. patata) potato; etc.

e·ə, not **i·ə**, occurs before **r**, e.g. **di'kle·ə(r)** to declare; **kon'tre·əri** contrary; **re·ə(r)** rare; **pe·ə(r)** (Fr. parer) to peel.

271. M.E. \bar{a} , from French nasalised \tilde{a} (standard English **ein**), appears as **e·ən** in:

de·ənzə(r) danger; **gre·ənz** grange; **stre·ənz** strange; **tʃe·ənz** (*Rolle* change) to change; **e·ənzil** angel. But French nasalised \tilde{a} also became M.E. *au*, modern **ɔ:**. Compare § 253.

M.E. \bar{e} .

272. M.E. open \bar{e} from French sources regularly appears in the dialect as **i·ə**, like M.E. \bar{e} of Old English and Scandinavian origin. This vowel sound arose in Middle English from various sources.

273. (1) From Romance *e* in open accented syllables: **fi·əbl** (*Rolle* feble) feeble; **pi·əl** (*Cotgrave* peler) to strip off skin; **pri·ətʃ** (O.Fr. precher) to preach; **tʃi·ət** (cf. O.Fr. eschete, rent) to cheat; **si·əne** (It. sena) senna.

274. (2) From Anglo-French open ϵ (O.Fr. *e, ai, ei, ia*): **dizi·əz** disease; **i·əz** (*Rolle* eese) ease; **pi·əs** (*Rolle* pees) peace; **pli·əz** to please; **tri·ət** to treat; **pli·əd** to plead; **fi·ətə(r)** feature; **pli·əzə(r)** pleasure; **gri·əz** to grease, flatter; **kri·əm** (O.Fr. cresseme) cream; **kri·ətə(r)** creature; **ri·əl** (O.Fr. reël) real; **li·əzə(r)** leisure; **pli·ən** (*Rolle* pleyn) to complain; **ri·əzn** reason; **si·əzn** (*Rolle* seson) season; **tri·əkl** (O.Fr. triacle) treacle; **vi·əl** (O.Fr. veël) veal.

In the early modern English period, the vowel has been shortened to **i** in: **mi·zə(r)** (O.Fr. mesure, *Rolle* mesur) measure; **tri·zə(r)** (*Rolle* tresor) treasure; and sometimes in **pli·zə(r)** pleasure. The vowel was shortened to **e** in **fezn** (O.Fr. faisant) pheasant, in Middle English.

275. (3) From French *e* before *-st* in: **bi·əst** (*Rolle* best) beast, pl. **bi·əs** horned cattle, and its derivative **skel·bi·əs** (cf. O.I. skilja, for *skelja to separate, divide, + O.Fr. beste) a partition in a cattle stall; **fi·əst** (O.Fr. feste) feast.

276. (4) From French open ϵ (*ai*), or close e (*ie*), before r in an open *accented* syllable: **kl̥i·ə(r)** (*Rolle* clere) clear; **tʃi·ə(r)** (O.Fr. *chiere*, *Rolle* chere, face) in the phrase **wat tʃi·ər**, a salutation; **mi·ə(r)** mere; **pi·ə(r)** peer.

In an open *unaccented* syllable M.E. *er* became *ar*, § 258.

M.E. \bar{e} .

277. M.E. \bar{e} from Anglo-French close e (O.Fr. *e*, *ei*, *ie*, α , *ue*) appears as **i:** in the Hackness dialect, as in standard English:

bi:f (O.Fr. *boef*) beef; **di'gri:** (*Rolle* degree) degree; **di'si:v** (A.Fr. *deceivre*) to deceive; **pi:pl** (O.Fr. *pueple*) people; **pis** (O.Fr. *piece*) piece; **fi:** (A.Fr. *fee*) fee; **kri:l** (O.Fr. *creil*) a butcher's hurdle; **tʃi:f** (*Rolle* cheef) chief; **ri'tri:və(r)** retriever (dog).

M.E. \bar{i} .

278. M.E. \bar{i} from French sources has developed like M.E. \bar{i} of Old English and Scandinavian origin to **ei**, **ai**, or **a:**. It appears:

279. Before voiceless consonants and r as **ei**: **dʒeis** (O.Fr. *giste*) joist; **leisəns** license; **preis** price; **tsis** to entice; **ad'veis** advice; **umpsie(r)** umpire.

280. Finally as **ai**: **ʧrai** (O.Fr. *trier*) to try.

281. Before voiced consonants as **a:**: **fa:n** fine; **pra:z** (Fr. *prise*, p.p. of *prendre*) to open with a lever; **stɹa:v** to strive; **kon'tɹa:v** to contrive.

282. In **ʃi'mi:** chemise, a modern borrowing, which has been mistaken for a plural form and consequently shorn of its final *s*, we have an attempt to imitate the French pronunciation preserved.

M.E. \bar{o} .

283. M.E. open \bar{o} has become raised to **u·ə** in French, as in English and Scandinavian words.

284. French o in open accented syllables appears as **u·ə**, corresponding to standard English **ou** in:

bru·ətʃ brooch; (vb.) to tap a cask; **glu·əri** glory; **klu·ək** cloak; **klu·əs** (adj.) close; **klu·əz** to close; **ku·ət** coat; **ku·ətʃ** coach; **nu·ətɪʃ** notice; **pu·əni** pony; **pu·ətʃ** to poach; **pu·ətʃə(r)** poacher; **ru·əb** robe; **ru·əg** rogue; **stu·əri** story; **sku·ə(r)** (O.Fr. *escorrer*, L. *excurrere*) to have diarrhoea.

285. French *o* before *-st* also appears as **u·ə**: **ru·əst** to roast; **tu·əst** toast.

M.E. *ō*.

286. French *o* in open accented syllables appears as **i·ə**, the regular development of M.E. close *ō*, corresponding to standard English **u**: in:

bi·ət (O.Fr. *bote*) boot; **fi·əl** (O.Fr. *fol*) fool; **mi·əv** (O.Fr. *movoir*) to move; **pri·əf** proof; **pri·əv** (O.Fr. *prover*) to prove; **im'pri·əv** (O.Fr. *aprover*) to improve¹.

M.E. *ū*.

287. M.E. *ou* from Old French *ou, oō, eu, on* appears as **u**: in the dialect:

bu:nte bounty; **du:t** (*Rolle* *dout*) doubt; **du:t** (v.) to fear, e.g. **ɑ'du:t itl bi ə'wet də·ə ti'de·ə** I am afraid it will rain to-day; **gu:n** gown; **gu:t** gout; **ku:kumə(r)** cucumber; **ku:nt** (Fr. *conter*) to count; **ə'ku:nt** account; **ku:tʃ** couch; **krun** crown; **ə'lu:** to allow; **mu:nt** to mount; **ə'mu:nt** amount; **pu:də(r)** powder; **ru:nd** (O.Fr. *roënd*) round; **su:nd** (Fr. *son*) sound; **stu:t** stout; **ʔru:ziz** (Fr. *trousses*, late M.E. *trowses*) trousers; **u:ns** ounce; **vu:** (O.Fr. *veu*) vow.

But **ɔ:** occurs in: **ɔ:** (Fr. *houe*, late M.E. *howe*) hoe.

288. Before *r*, **u·ə** occurs: **flu·ə(r)** (*Rolle* *flour*) flour, flower; **di'vu·ə(r)** to devour; **ku·ət** to woo; **ku·əs** course, coarse; **pu·ə(r)**

¹ Dr H. Mutschmann in his *North Eastern Scotch Dialect*, § 137, suggests that the development of M.E. *ō* in these words was due to the influence of the initial labial consonants. I agree. The above dialect words are not derived from M.E. forms containing *ē*, e.g. *meve* move, *preve* prove. These were derived from N.Fr. forms with *ē*, corresponding to O.Fr. *ue*, from stressed Latin *o*, whereas *move* and *prove* go back to the unstressed *o* (Jespersen, *New English Grammar*, 1., pp. 105, 106). *meve* and *preve* would appear to-day as **mi:v** and **pri:v** (§ 277).

poor; **pu·əli** poorly, in ill-health; **sku·ə(r)** (M.E. *scoure, O.Fr. escurer, L.L. excūrare) to scour; **su·əs** source; **pu·ə(r)** (O.Fr. poer, *Rolle powere*) power; **tu·ə(r)** tower; **u·ə(r)** hour.

And also before an unaccented syllable containing a back vowel in: **lu·əns** allowance.

M.E. *ai*.

289. Northern M.E. *ai*, from French *ai*, *ei*, appears as **ɛ·ə**, the regular development of M.E. *ai* from all sources. It passed through the stages [**ai** > **ɛ:** > **ɛ·ə**].

290. From French *ai*:

brɛ·ə (O.Fr. braier) to bray; **ɛ·ə(r)** (O.Fr. haire) hair; **fɛ·əl** (*Rolle fayle*) to fail; **fɛ·əθ** faith; **gɛ·ə** gay; **grɛ·ənz** brewers' grains; **kle·əm** to claim; **mɛ·əstə(r)** (O.Fr. maistre, *Rolle mayster*) master; **pɛ·ə** to pay; **plɛ·ən** plain; **sɛ·əm** (O.Fr. sain) lard; **plɛ·əstə(r)** (O.Fr. plaistre) plaster; **tɛ·ələ(r)** tailor; **trɛ·əl** to drag; **trɛ·ən** to train; **tʃɛ·ən** chain; **tʃɛ·ə(r)** chair; **wɛ·ət** to wait; **vɛ·ən** vain.

291. From French *ei*:

kon'ss·ət to imagine; **prɛ·ə** to pray (but **prɪθi**, prithe, please); **pɛ·ən** (*Rolle payne*) pain; **pɛ·ənt** paint; **prɛ·əz** (*Rolle prayse*) to praise; **rɛ·ən** rein.

Short in **renʃ** (O.Fr. reincier) to rinse.

M.E. *au*.

292. M.E. *au* has regularly become **ɔ:**, as in the case of the standard English development [**au** > **ɑ:** > **ɔ:**], e.g.:

brɔ:n (O.Fr. braon) brown; **dʒɔ:nɪs** (*Rolle jaunys*) jaundice; **fɔ:n** (O.Fr. faon) fawn; **fɔ:t** (O.Fr. faute) fault; **kɔ:zə** (N.Fr. caucie) causeway; **pɔ:m** (Fr. paume) palm (of the hand).

Shortened in **ə'kos**, **koz**, because.

M.E. *oi*, *ui*.

293. M.E. *oi* from French *ui*, *oi*, appears as **oi** in the dialect¹:

¹ Brokesby (1691) gives the pronunciation of 'poison' as *peuson*, indicating probably the East Riding dialect pronunciation of Early Mod. Eng. *puison* (Horn, *Hist. neuengl. Grammatik*, p. 101).

koit quoit; **moiqə(r)** to confuse; **moistə(r)** moisture; **boil** to boil; **oil** (*Psalms* oyele) oil.

294. **oi** appears too in **foisti** (O.Fr. fusté) fusty.

295. But **u** appears before **f** in: **bufil** (O.Fr. boissel) bushel; **kufin** (O.Fr. coissin) cushion.

296. Those words which in Modern English have assumed the vowel-sound **oi** retain their original vowel, or its development, in the dialect: e.g. **ba:l** (O.E. bȳl, M.E. bile) a boil (on the neck); **eist** (M.Du. hyssen) to hoist; **dʒeis** (O.Fr. giste) joist.

M.E. *ü, eu.*

297. M.E. *eu* from French *eu, eau* appears as **iu** (initially **ju:**) even after **r** and **l**, and with it has fallen M.E. *u* [*eu*], from Fr. *ü*:

biuti (O.Fr. *beaute, Rolle beute, York. Mys. bewte*) beauty; **bliu** blue; **briut** brute; **feðəfiul** (Fr. *feuille*) feverfew; **fiu** flue; **friut** fruit; **fiuriəs** furious; **ju:s** use; **ju:z** (*Rolle use*) to use; **kriuil** cruel; **griuil** gruel; **pius** puce; **piuṭə(r)** pewter; **piuə(r)** pure; **riul** (*York. Mys. rewllle*) rule; **riuin** ruin; **siugə(r)** sugar; **viuli** pleasant to the eye.

(a) But **ou** is found in: **pouə(r)** (O.Fr. *purér, to clarify*) to pour.

(b) And **i·ə** in: **si·ə(r)** (O.Fr. *setür, Clavis seature*) sure.

Here the second element of the diphthong was unrounded and weakened before *r*, in the eighteenth century, exactly as *ëu* from M.E. *ō* was weakened in *door* and *floor*, § 159.

(c) M.E. *eu, (ue)* from French *ü, eu*, weakened to **i** in: **a:gi** to argue; **nevi** nephew; **stati** statue, statute; and **vali** value; after the first syllable acquired Germanic stress.

(d) M.E. *eur, (ure)* from French *üre*, weakened to **ər** in: **mizə(r)** (*Rolle mesur*) measure; **ns·əṭə(r)** nature; **pastə(r)** pasture; **piktə(r)** picture; **trizə(r)** (*Rolle tresor*) treasure; after the first syllable acquired Germanic stress.

(e) M.E. *ëun, (one)* from French *üne*, has become syllabic in **foṭn** (*Rolle fortune*) fortune.

CHAPTER VI

THE VOWELS IN UNSTRESSED SYLLABLES

298. VOWELS in weak or unstressed syllables have lost their original tone, as in standard English, and are degraded, through slack habits of articulation to *i*, *ə*, or are even dropped altogether. The general rule, which is subject to many exceptions, is that front vowels become *i*, and back vowels become *ə*, in an unstressed syllable.

299. The stressed syllable in the following words differs from the 'standard' pronunciation:

edi'ke·ət to educate; **əku·ədin'lai** accordingly; **kon'tre·əri** contrary; **en'veləp** envelope; **'polismən** policeman.

300. *ə* is found in prefixes, containing back vowels:

a- **ə'la:v** alive; **ə'bu:t** about; **ə'lɑŋ** along; **ə'li·ən** alone;
ə'wɑkn awake; **ə'bu:n** above; **ə'gi·ən** again; **ə'ws·ə**
away.

com- **kə'mit** to commit; **kə'miti** committee; **kə'lekt** to collect.

for- **fə'git** to forget.

pro- **pre'si:d** to proceed; **prə'di:us** to produce.

301. But *ə* is also found in:

ə'bu:t without; **ə'fu·ə(r)** before; **ə'kos** because; **ə'sti·əd**
instead.

302. *ə* is also heard in suffixes containing back vowels:

-ow **widə** widow; **medə** meadow; **barə** barrow; **marə**
marrow; **wində** window.

-ock **adək** haddock; **padək** paddock; **fulək** great speed;
brazək charlock; **bulək** bullock; **mulək** muddle.

- ture* **kri·ətə(r)** creature; **ne·ətə(r)** nature; **pastə(r)** pasture; **piktə(r)** picture.
- ous* **rsitʃəs** righteous; **pɑ:ləs** parlous.
- mas* **kesməs** Christmas; **mɑ:tnməs** Martinmas.
- most* **oməst** almost.
- ward* **forəd** forward; **ɔ:kəd** awkward.
- able* **ri'spektəbl** respectable; **ju:zəbl** useable; **git'atəbl** accessible.
- worth* **penəθ** pennyworth; **ɔ:pəθ** halfpennyworth.

303. And also in:

koləp a slice; **waləp** to beat; **galəp** to gallop; **kubəd** cupboard; **kustət** custard; **mustət** mustard; **ɔ:ləs** always; **storep** stirrup; **tonəp** turnip; **u:lət** owl; **unðəd** hundred; **sumət** something; **olidə** holiday; **jistədə** yesterday; **sundə** Sunday; **mundə** Monday; **karət** carrot; **stageθ** stackyard.

304. **ə** is also the pronunciation of the suffix *-er* (North. M.E. *-er*, *-ir*) before consonants; *-ər* before vowels: **faðə(r)** father; **buʔə(r)** butter; **nivə(r)** never; **sluʔə(r)** to slide.

305. **ə** appears in *-less*, as: **matələs** immaterial; **sakləs** foolish; and in *-herd* as **fipət** shepherd; **nouʔət** (neatherd) simpleton.

306. **i** is found in prefixes containing front vowels:
- be-* **bi'set** beset; **bi'θiŋk** to bethink; **bi'ɔ:** to own; **bi'jont** beyond.
- e-* **i'ni·əf** enough.
- mis-* **mis'tak** mistake; **mis'du:t** to suspect; **mis'le·ə** to mislay.
- to-* **ti'di·ə** ado; **ti'de·ə** to-day.
- with-* **wið'dro:** to withdraw; **wið'od** to withhold; **not-wið'standin** notwithstanding.
- de-* **di'ke·ə** decay; **di'pend** to depend; **di'fai** to defy; **di'sit** deceit.
- dis-* **dis'gust** disgust.
- re-* **ri'di:m** to redeem; **ri'zolv** to resolve.
- se-* **si'lekt** select; **si'kiuə(r)** secure.
- en-* **in'dʒoi** to enjoy; **in'gs·ədʒ** to engage.

307. *i* is heard in suffixes containing front vowels:

- et* **blaŋkit** blanket; **bulit** bullet; **revit** rivet; **lenit** linnet;
pulit pullet.
- ed* **krabi** crabbed; **ragi** ragged; **ne·əki** naked; but **la:nid**
 learned, and others have [id].
- ing* **herin** herring; **fiin** shilling; **fi·əlin** shearling (adj.), and
 in all words ending in lit. Eng. *-ing*, *-ling*.
- ship* **frindʃip** friendship.
- ish* **gudif** good; **fə·ərif** fair; **ɑ:fif** cowardly, afraid.
- y* **bodi** body; **boni** bonny; **emti** empty; **evi** heavy; **moni**
 many; **slipi** slippery.

308. *i* also occurs in the dialect pronunciation of the suffix
-age **damif** damage; **manifment** manure; **podif** porridge;
kabif cabbage.

309. And also in: **ɑ:vist** harvest; **forin** foreign; **fortniθ**
 fortnight; **letis** lettuce; **ɑ:vin** (O.E. *ifegn*) ivy; **olin** (O.E.
holegn) holly; **dokin** dock (plant); **pultis** poultice; **weskit**
 waistcoat; **ɑ:gi** to argue; **ɑfi'de·əvi** affidavit; **nevi** nephew;
ɔ:pni halfpenny; **stati** statue; **statisis** statute hirings; **vali**
 value; **wagin** (Du. *wagen*) waggon.

310. But *e* remains in the suffix *-ment*: **ɑŋment** hangment!
 (an interjection of annoyance); **ɑ:giment** argument; **dʒudʒment**
 judgment; **lotment** an allotment-garden.

311. *u* remains in the suffix *-ful*: **pe·əlfu**l pailful; **ɑnfu**l
 handful.

312. And *o* remains in: **ni·əbodi** nobody; **sumbodi** some-
 body.

313. Vowels in unaccented syllables have fallen altogether
 where *l*, *m*, or *n* are the final sounds in a suffix following a
 consonant:

- le* **ɑnl** handle; **kɑnl** candle; **kredl** cradle; **kudl** to em-
 brace; **britl** brittle; **smitl** infectious; **θiml** thimble.
- om* **bodm** bottom; **fɑdm** fathom; **bizm** besom.
- dom* **fri:dm** freedom; **kindm** kingdom; **wizdm** wisdom.

-en **a:dn** to incite; **frozn** frozen; **tjozn** chosen; but the adjectival suffix *-en* = made of, is obsolete, e.g.: **ə wud anl** a wooden handle, **ə goud kru:n** a golden crown.

-stone **brunstn** brimstone; **grunstp** grindstone; **wetstp** whetstone.

-on **bə·əkn** bacon; **mutn** mutton.

Also in **inzn** engine.

314. Prefixes have disappeared initially in: **bakə** tobacco; **bə·ət** to abate; **demik** epidemic, disease (of vegetables); **koz** because; **lu·əns** allowance, lunch; **lotment** allotment; **list** to enlist; **livə(r)** to deliver; **prentis** apprentice; **təis** to entice; **tə·əti** potato; **kə·əzn** occasion; **pli·ən** to complain; **pistil** epistle; **fend** to provide.

315. Unaccented vowels have disappeared medially in: **dženrəli** generally; **kumpni** company; **reglə(r)** regular.

316. The vowel **ə** has developed between consonants in: **galək-andid** (O.Fr. *galc*) left-handed; **tjorəp** (M.E. *chirpen*, *chirken*) to chirp; and medially in: **ʃə·rimp** (M.E. *shrimp*) shrimp.

There is a tendency to insert **ə** between **r** and **k** in such words as 'fork,' 'York'; also before **m** in 'worm.'

317. The same phenomenon, namely degradation of the original vowel owing to careless articulation, is seen in one-syllabled words, which are used frequently in the unemphatic, unstressed part of a sentence. The following words have weak (unstressed) forms when no emphasis is put upon the word.

Weak forms of particles.

a, I. **av**, I have; emphatic form **a e** before consonants, **a ev** before vowels, e.g. **av'fun ə peni**, I have found a penny; accented: **a 'e fun ə peni**.

az, I am; emphatic form **a:z**, e.g. **'a:zgain gif az'wi:l i'ni·əf**, I am going, if I am well enough.

bi be, by; **bin** been; **bəd** but.

di do; **diz** dost, does.

d, əd (1) had.

(2) would. **d** is used after vowels, **əd** after consonants, e.g. **gif əd ə'nɔ:n, əd ə'gɔn** If I had known, I would have gone; but **it əd ə'kild im, if it əd ə'fɔ:lɪn** It would have killed him, if it had fallen.

e ev, have; **e** is used for the infinitive, and in conjugation, before consonants; **ev** before vowels, e.g. **istə 'gəɪn ti 'e jən**, are you going to have one; but **əz'gəɪn ti ev ə 'liuk**, I am going to have a look.

ez hast, has.

ə (1) a, **ə boni bɛrən** a pretty child.

(2) her, before consonants, e.g. **ə fəðə(r)** her father.

(3) have, weakest form, e.g. **əstə 'di'ənt, gif əd ə'nɔ:n**, I should have done it, if I had known.

The **ə**, prefixed to **nɔ:n** in the if-clause, is either a relic of O.E. *ge*, M.E. *y*; or a repetition of 'have' from the main clause, by analogy.

(4) on, of. Since **ə** is the unaccented form of both 'on' and 'of' before consonants, **on** is used where we should expect **ə**, before vowels, e.g. **'ɔ:l on əm**, all of them; **əsl 'tel on im**, I shall tell of him. Before vowels, 'of' appears as **əv**, and in confusion is sometimes used for 'on,' e.g. **'ɔ:l əv ə 'i:əp** all on a heap.

əm, m them; **ən, n** an, a, one; **ə(r)** or, are; **ət** at, that; **əz** as, us.

fə(r) for; **frə** from.

i (1) he.

(2) 'in' before consonants; before vowels **iv** is used, e.g. **ðə 'kærɪd ə r i 'tu:s iv ə 'fɪt** They carried her into the house, in a fit; **i'ta:m** in time; but, **iv ə 'ɪg** in a bad temper.

intə into.

jə (1) ye, you.

(2) your, before consonants; otherwise **jər**.

(3) you are, before consonants; otherwise **jər**.

kəd could; **kən** can.

ɪ will; e.g. **it ɪ di'ə** = it will suit; **ɪl, ɪl, wɪl** = I, he, we, will.

mɪ me, my; **mə** may; **məd** might; **mən** must.

nə(r) nor, than (after a comparative).

nt not, is attached to the auxiliary verb: **ɛ:ənt** have not; **esnt** has not; **wi:ənt** will not; **wudnt** would not; **sə:nt** shall

not; **sudnt** should not; **dosnt** durst not; **ka:nt** cannot; **kudnt** could not.

s us, after voiceless consonants, e.g. **lets bi 'of** let us go.

sl shalt, shall; **səd** should; **si** (1) so; (2) see (Imperative) e.g. **siðə** look!

fə she.

t (1) the; (2) it.

ti to, **tiv** before vowels, e.g. **az'gain tit'tjotf tiv əwedin** I am going to church to a wedding.

ðəz there's, there is.

ðə (1) thee, e.g. **a 'teld ðə 'si·ə** I told you so.

(2) they, e.g. **ðə mun 'di əz 'best ðə 'kan** They must struggle on as well as they can.

(3) they are, **ðər** before a vowel.

(4) their, **ðər** before vowels, e.g. **ðər up ti ðə 'triks ə'gl·ən** They are trying their cunning again.

ðə, tə thou, in interrogative forms, e.g. **'siðə, 'liukstə, Sam!** **ðu'nɔ:z az ə 'tʃap ət leiks 'sens** Look here Sam! you know I am a man who likes reason; **'wilʔə fut up** will you be quiet?

ði thy, thee, e.g. **a 'tel ði, Sam, si·əm əz a 'teld ði ɔ:d 'fə·əðə(r)...** I tell you, Sam, just as I told your old father...

v have.

wə(r) (1) our, accented form **u·ə(r)**; (2) was, were.

wi(r) we are; **wi** we, with.

z (1) is, e.g. **az** I am, **ðuz** thou art, **iz** he is.

(2) has, e.g. **az** I have, **ðuz** thou hast, **iz** he has.

CHAPTER VII

THE CONSONANTS

THE consonants are here considered in the following order: Semivowels *w, yh*; Liquids *l, r*; Nasals *m, n, ng*; Labials *p, b, f, v*; Dentals *t, d, th*; Sibilants *s, sh, ch, j (ge)*; Palatals *gh*; Gutturals *c(k), g, gh, h*.

1. *Semivowels.*

M.E. *w*.

318. Initially, M.E. *w* has remained before vowels:

wankl (O.E. wancol) tottering; **wa**tə(r) water; **wi**n furze; **wi**ti chaffinch; **wem**l to overturn; **wa**rənt to guarantee; **wal**əp (cf. O.Fr. galoper, to gallop) to beat; **wi**ndə window; **wi**ŋ wing.

M.E. *w* has remained in the groups **dw**, **hw**, **qu (kw)**, **sw** and **tw**:

dwa:n (O.E. dwīnan) to dwindle; **wa**t what; **wi**·ə who; **kws**·əvə(r) to jig, to fluctuate; **kwik** (adv.) quickly; **kws**·ət quart; **swi**·ət sweat; **swi**·əl (O.E. swāelan) to gutter; **twit**fjel earwig; **twi**·ə two.

319. Exceptions: *w* has fallen in strong syllables between *s* and a back vowel¹ in:

suf (O.E. swogan, M.E. swough) to sough; **si**·ə (O.E. swā) so; **su**·əd (O.E. sweord, M.E. swurd) sword; **sum**pi swampy.

O.E. *w* has fallen in *c(w)yllan, M.E. cullen, which appears in the dialect as **kil** to kill, and perhaps in **seik** (O.E. swylc, *Rolle* swilk) such.

M.E. *w* has disappeared from the unaccented forms of **wil** will; **wad** (*Rolle* wald) would, which appear as **l** and **əd**.

¹ Jespersen, *Modern English Grammar*, Vol. I., p. 212.

M.E. *w* has disappeared before *r* (*Rolle wr*), as in modern standard English; **raθ** (*Rolle wrath*) wroth; **ra:k** wreck; **ra:ŋ** wrong.
w (or *wr*?) has become *r* in **re:z** (? O.E. *wesle*, M.E. *wesel*) weasel.

320. Medially, M.E. *w* followed by a final vowel (O.E. *-wa*, *-we*; M.E. *-owe*, *-ewe*) has become *ə* after a consonant; **ja:rə** milfoil; **spa:rə** sparrow; **wi:ndə** window.

321. As the consonant beginning an unaccented syllable, M.E. *w* has disappeared from the following suffixes:

-ward: **ba:kədʒwɛ:ə** backwards; **fo:rəd** forward; **ɔ:kəd** awkward.

-worth: **ɔ:pəθ** halfpennyworth; **penəθ** pennyworth.

-ways: **ɔ:ləs** always.

-what: **sumət** something.

M.E. *w* has also disappeared from weak syllables in:

ansə(r) to answer; **ko:ŋkə(r)** to conquer; **grunsəl** (O.E. *grundeswelze*) groundsel; but it remains in: **θrefswud** (O.E. *ðerscwald*) threshold, by analogy with **wud** wood.

322. Loss of O.E. *w* in the dialect.

O.E. *w*, as a hinge between an accented and an unaccented syllable, has fallen as follows:

O.E. *aw*, M.E. *au* has become **ɔ:** **klɔ:** claw.

O.E. *āw*, M.E. *au* „ „ **ɔ:** **blɔ:** to blow; **no:** to know;
snɔ: snow.

O.E. *éaw*, M.E. *eu* „ „ **iu:** **diu** dew; **fiu** few.

O.E. *éow*, M.E. *eu* „ „ **iu:** **niu** new; **briu** to brew; **triuθ**
 truth.

O.E. *éow*, M.E. *ou* „ „ **ou:** **fouər** four; **sou** to sew.

O.E. *iw*, M.E. *eu* „ „ **iu:** **spiu** to spew.

O.E. *ōw*, M.E. *ou* „ „ **ou:** **glou** to glow; **grou** to grow.

M.E. *yh*, *ʒ*.

323. M.E. *yh*, *ʒ*, remains as [j] in:

jed (*Angl. gerd*) three feet; **jə** you; **jis** yes; **ji:ə(r)** year;
jest yeast; **jalə** yellow; **jistədə** yesterday; **jit** yet; **jon** that;

bi'jont (O.E. *begeondan*) beyond; **jat** (O.E. *ġeat*) gate; **ju·ə(r)** (O.I. *jūgr*) udder;

and appears as **g**, due to Scandinavian influence in :

git (O.E. *ġietan*, O.I. *geta*) to get; **giv** (O.E. *ġiefan*, O.I. *gefa*) to give; and their compounds, also in **bi'gin** to begin, and perhaps in **gif** (*Rolle* *yf*, *Ps.* *zif*) if.

324. M.E. *y* (O.E. *ge-*) survives as **i** in :

i'ni·əf (*Rolle* *ynogh*) enough. Also perhaps as **ə** before past participles, only in the protasis of conditional sentences, e.g. **gif** **ðu:d ə'teld im, id ə 'kumd** If you had told him, he would have come; though this **ə** may merely represent 'have' borrowed in false symmetry from the apodosis.

325. Modern **j** has developed *initially*, through shifting of stress from **ia** or **īa** to **iá**, in :

jabl able; **jak** oak; **jakrən** acorn; **jakə(r)** acre; **jal** ale; **jam** home; **jan** one; **jans** once; **jal** whole; and through stress-shifting from **iu** to **iú** in: **ju:** (O.E. *īw*) yew-tree; **juk** (O.E. *hōc*) hook; **ju:n** (O.E. *ofen*) oven (§ 161 c).

Also in words which contained late M.E. *eu* from O.F. *ü* : **ju:s** (s) use; **ju:z** to use.

2. *Liquids.*

M.E. *l*.

326. M.E. *l* has remained initially, medially before vowels, and finally in unaccented syllables after a consonant :

luk luck; **luv** love; **ble·ək** yellow; **klik** to sieze; **fale** fallow; **kanl** candle; **smitl** infectious.

327. Medially before consonants, M.E. *l*, following a short back-vowel, has fallen :

bo:k (O.E. *balca*, M.E. *baulke*) a rafter; **ko:d** (*Rolle* *cald*) cold; **ɔ:f** (M.E. *haulf*) half; **sɔ:t** salt; **no:p** (M.E. *nolpen*, *Clavis* *naupe*) to knock on the head; **kouʔə(r)** (L. *culter*, M.E. *colter*) coulter (of a plough); **mouðiwa:p** (M.E. *moldewarpe* D.D.) a mole; **goud** gold; **stoun** stolen; **stoup** (M.E. *stolpe*) a post; **sud** (*Rolle* *suld*) should; **wad** (*Rolle* *wald*) would; **sa:nt** shall

not; **wi·ənt** will not; except before a second *l*: **ko:l** to call; **sto:l** stall; **toul** toll; **koul** to rake.

But *l* remains after front vowels:

teld told; **seld** sold; **fi:ld** field; **eldin** fuel; **geld** to castrate; **wa:ld** (M.E. *wilde*) wild; **bi:ld** (M.E. **bēlden*) to build.

328. M.E. *l* has also disappeared from:

seik (*Rolle* *slike*) such; **witf** (*Rolle* *whilk*) which; and **wenf** (M.E. *wenchel*) a woman.

329. Apparently there has never been an *l* in the forms:

fə:t (O.Fr. *faute*) fault; **mout** (M.E. *mouten*) to moult; **pə:m** (O.Fr. *paume*) palm (of the hand); **pə:z** (O.Fr. *poulser*, *posser*) to kick; **soðə(r)** solder.

M.E. *r*.

330. M.E. *r* has remained, initially, medially, and finally, if followed by a vowel:

ra:v to tear; **beri** (*Rolle* *bery*) to bury; **beṭər ən beṭər** better and better; **θrust** to thrust.

331. M.E. *r* has fallen after *a* and *e*, when a consonant follows:

wa:m warm; **ke·əd** card; **a:bz** herbs; **a:t** heart; **pə·ət** part.

332. M.E. *r* after *i*, *o*, *u*, and *y* has been assimilated to following dental consonants, viz. **t**, **d**, **θ**, **n** and **s**, but has survived before:

(1) **p**, **b**, **f**: **tʃorəp** to chirp; **korb** to curb; **torf** turf.

(2) **k**, **g**: **bork** birch; **fork** fork; **work** to work; **orgn** organ.

(3) **m**, **l**: **storm** storm; **borli** burly; **worm** worm.

333. Metathesis of medial *r* has taken place in:

brit bright; **brust** (pp. **brusn**) to burst; **frit** fright.

334. M.E. *r* retains its original position in **krudz** (M.E. *crud*) curd; but is lost in **unðəd** hundred.

335. Final **r** is only heard in the dialect if it ends a period; or if a vowel begins the following word when final **r** is heard in

the midst of a sentence, e.g. **Ist 'beṭe nē ʒu 'θout ? 'Ni·ə, its 'wa:r** Is it better than (lit. nor) you thought? No, it's worse. Or, to illustrate final **r** followed by a word beginning with a vowel, the answer might be: **'Ei, 'beṭer ən 'iver a 'θout** Yes, better than I ever thought. Before consonants, final **r** invariably falls.

3. Nasals.

M.E. *m*.

336. M.E. *m* has remained in all positions, and is syllabic in unaccented syllables beginning with a non-liquid consonant :

merilz merels (a game); **mig** liquid manure; **wimin** women; **rum** room; **ta:m** time; **bodm** bottom; **bizm** besom.

M.E. *n*.

337. M.E. *n* has usually remained in all positions, and is syllabic in unaccented syllables beginning with a non-liquid consonant :

neb beak; **ni·əf** fist; **kanl** candle; **don** to put on; **dokin** dock; **apn** perhaps; **kazn** dried cows-dung; **fezn** pheasant.

338. M.E. *n* has disappeared finally after **l** and **m** :

kil kiln; **mil** mill; **dam** damn; **im** hymn; **o:tm** autumn.

Also from the preposition 'in,' which appears as **i** before consonants, **iv** before vowels; and from **jan** one, which becomes **ja:** before consonants, e.g. **ja: man** one man, but **jan os** one horse.

339. M.E. *n* has disappeared before **s** in unaccented syllables : **ə'sti·əd** instead; **Robisn** Robinson; **Alisn** Allanson.

340. M.E. *n* has disappeared by confusion with the indef. article in : **apren** (O.Fr. naperon) apron; **umpsie(r)** umpire; but has been added from this source to : **ns·əp** jackanapes; **nik-ni·əm** nick-name; **nə're·əfn** oration.

341. An **n** has been inserted 'before **g** or **dʒ** in the weakly-stressed middle syllable of a trisyllable stressed on the first syllable'¹ in **ma:tings·əl** martingale (a harness strap to hold

¹ Jespersen : "The Nasal in *Nightingale*, etc." *Eng. Studien*, 31, p. 239.

a horse's head down) and in **pasindzə(r)** passenger. There are no 'nightingales' in the Hackness district.

342. Final **-in** occurs in the dialect, representing North. M.E. **-and**, as the ending of the pres. participle: **ganin**, **gə:in**, **gəin** going; **cumin** coming; **di:in** dying; and also, representing North. M.E. **-ing**, as the verb-noun suffix: **leikin** (*Rolle* lykying) pleasure, liking; **bi'ginin** (*Rolle* beginnying) beginning; **untin** hunting.

M.E. *ng* [ŋ].

343. M.E. *ŋ* has remained unchanged:

ə'maŋ among; **raŋ** wrong; **teŋ** to sting; **teŋz** tongs; **iŋ** (O.I. *hengja*) to hang; **liŋ** (O.I. *lyng*) heather; **θraŋ** (O.I. *ðröŋgr*) busy; **aŋk** (O.I. *hönk*) a hank; and has developed in words borrowed from the French in: **kaŋkə(r)** blight; **iŋk** (O.Fr. *enque*) ink; **siŋl** (O.Fr. *sengle*, L. *singulus*) single. Also by reason of the assimilation of *d* to *n* in: **oŋkotʃə(r)** handkerchief.

344. Save that M.E. *ŋ* has regularly become *n* in final unaccented syllables: **fə:din** farthing; **gezlin** gosling; **filin** shilling, and in the words **lenθ** length; **sʌrenθ** strength; where O.E. *ŋ* was fronted, probably in the M.E. period, before the dental suffix **-þ**.

345. The dialect regularly has the sound **ŋ** where the 'standard' pronunciation has **ŋg** as the equivalent of lit. medial *ng*:

siŋl single; **swiŋl-ʌri** swingle-tree, the cross-bar which hangs in the traces at the heels of horses; **miŋl** to mingle; **fiŋə(r)** finger; **laŋə(r)** longer; **sʌraŋə(r)** stronger.

4. *Labials*.

M.E. *p*.

346. M.E. *p* has, with few exceptions, remained in all positions: **paθ** path; **pund** pound; **tʃaʌptə(r)** chapter; **doləp** a heap, lump; **laɪmp** lamp.

347. It has been assimilated to the following consonant in :

Bruntn Brompton; **emti** (O.E. *æmtig*, M.E. *empty*) empty; **kubəd** cupboard.

348. M.E. *p* has been voiced in :

bab'ta:z to baptise; **debθ** depth; **ɔrab** (O.Fr. *drap*) drab, probably owing to the influence of the initial voiced consonant, cf. **bud** but.

M.E. *b*.

349. M.E. *b* has generally remained in all positions, except after **m** : **brig** bridge; **ə'but** about; **jabl** able; **web** web.

350. In the dialect, *b* is never found after **m**, not only finally in words like : **ki·əm** comb; **lam** lamb; **wi·əm** womb; **klam** climbed (clomb); **θum** thumb; but also medially where *b* is sounded in the 'standard' pronunciation : **tʃo:mə(r)** chamber; **θiml** thimble; **trɪml** to tremble; **ə'seɪml** to assemble; **raml** to ramble; **gaml** to gamble; and in **gimə(r)** (O.I. *gyibr*) a yearling ewe.

351. In **nobət** (lit. not but) only, **b** has assimilated *t*.

M.E. *f*.

352. M.E. *f* has remained initially, finally, and medially before *t* :

fan to winnow; **fetj** (O.E. *fetian*, M.E. *fecchen*) to fetch; **felfə(r)** fieldfare; **fik** (O.I. *fika*) to wriggle; **flit** (O.I. *flytja*) to remove; **felt** (cf. O.I. *fela*) to hide; **fariə(r)** (O.Fr. *ferrier*, a blacksmith) a veterinary surgeon; **fiksfaks** beef sinew; **fridʒ** to rub; **for** (O.Fr. *forre*, sheath) fur; **fruməti** (O.Fr. *fromentee*) frumenty; **flɛ·ə** to frighten; **fluməks** to confound; **fudl** to confuse; **kaf** chaff; **ri·əf** roof; **torf** turf; **weif** wife; **ni·əf** (O.I. *hnefi*) fist; **aft** handle; **fift** fifth; **sikst** sixth; **twelft** twelfth.

353. In **rɪft** to belch, and in **loft** (O.I. *lopt*, air) loft, **-ft** represents Scandinavian [**ft**], the O.I. spelling *-pt*.

354. M.E. *f* has fallen in : **dʒoli** jolly; **oŋkotʃə(r)** handkerchief; **ɔ:pni** halfpenny; and in **elʃə(r)** (O.E. *hælftrē*) halter.

M.E. *v*.

355. M.E. *v* has usually remained in all positions :

venēmas venomous; **vikə(r)** vicar; **vari** very; **nevil** to strike with the fist (**ni·əf**); **ra:v** (O.I. *rīfa*) to tear; **evn** (*Rolle* heven) heaven; **sta:v** (O.E. *steorfan*, to die) to be cold or hungry; **stevn** (O.I. *stefna*) to cry out; **juv** to shove.

356. M.E. *v* has become **f** in: **bi'li·əf** belief, by analogy with 'grieve,' 'grief'; 'prove,' 'proof,' etc.¹

357. M.E. *v* has been lost in :

e, ez have, has; **ə'nenst** (O.E. *on-efen-st*) opposite; **i·əd** (*Rolle* heued) head; **gi** (North. M.E. *gif*) to give, pp. **gin** (North. M.E. *gifen*); **li·ədi** lady; **wumən** woman; **sen** self; **o, ə** of.

358. In **o:k** (M.E. *havek*) hawk; **ɔuə(r)** over; and **lɔ:d** (M.E. *laverd*) lord, *v* became *u* in late M.E. after a back vowel, likewise in **ju:n** (M.E. *oven*) oven.

359. **v** is intrusive in the dialect, before vowels in: **frev** from; **iv** in; **tiv** to; **wiv** with; **div** do. This **v** probably first arose in **to** and **do**. North. M.E. *to* and *do* would become **tiu** and **diu** in early Mod. Eng. (§ 159), whence the forms **tiv** and **div** arose before vowels, by the passage of a medial *u* into *v*. At the end of a sentence the normal development of M.E. long close *ō* to **i·ə** took place, whence the forms **ti·ə** and **di·ə**.

NOTE.—Mr John Hill of Goathland, an old gentleman of over 80, tells me that formerly initial 'f' could frequently be heard in forms which in Southern English had **v**, such as: **fat** vat: **fiksn** vixen, but now only the literary 'v' is heard. The only relics of Northern M.E. initial 'f' for literary 'v' which I could find out, are the regular pronunciations of the fairly common surname Ventress as **fentris**, and of Vane as **fe·ən**.

¹ Wilhelm Horn, *Historische neuenglische Grammatik*, Strassburg 1908, p. 139, § 171.

5. *Dentals.*M.E. *t*.

360. M.E. *t* has generally remained in all positions:

tup a ram; **lat** (O.E. lætt) a lath; **fift** fifth; **sikst** sixth; **la:tl** little; **te·əti** potato.

361. Except that *t* has fallen after the breathed spirants **s** and **f** by assimilation before **l**, **m**, and **n**: **blosm** (O.E. blostma) blossom; **brusn** (pp.) burst; **bust** to hurry; **θros** thrush; **θrusn** (pp.) thrust; **ofnz** often.

362. And that before **r**, **-ər**, or a syllable containing **r**, a spirant glide is heard after *t* (see § 28): **tr̥e·əps** to walk idly; **tr̥e·əl** to drag; **ot̥ə(r)** to talk idly; **eft̥ə(r)** after; **sist̥ə(r)** sister; **fonit̥ə(r)** furniture; **past̥ə(r)** pasture; **pikt̥ə(r)** picture.

363. M.E. *t* has been assimilated to **s** or **n** in:

bi·əs (pl.) cattle; **dʒeis** (O.Fr. giste) joist; and in **korən** a currant. There was no *t* in **fezn** (O.Fr. faisan) pheasant.

364. M.E. *t* has become **d** in: **bud** but; **bodm** bottom; and at the end of many short words before vowels and voiced consonants; e.g. **gid** get, **gid əwə ʔai** get away by!—the call to a sheepdog when rounding up a flock; **led** let, **ledz gid ʔut ə ʔis lədz!** let's get away from here, you fellows!; and likewise **id** it, **pu** put, **pu id ʔu:n!** put it down!

The glottal stop is never used for intervocalic *t*, as in some dialects; nor is the **r** which is so common in many dialects in this position (cf. Windhill p. 88, § 290, and Ellis, *Early English Pronunciation*, Vol. v., p. 420) often heard. I think the only case in which it is sometimes used is the word **git** get. It is evident that in these words our dialect **d** is the link between M.E. *t* and modern provincial **r** which has resulted from the voiced dental stop becoming spirant in an unstressed position.

365. In this dialect also, *t* has become **d** in **prodistant** protestant; and in **podif** (O.Fr. potage) broth; and appears as an outgrowth in **tuft** (O.Fr. touffe) a tuft.

366. The suffix **-tion** appears as **fn**, as in the 'standard' pronunciation, the explanation being that the unaccented termination M.E. [siu:n] became [sjən] and the assimilation of the dental spirant (**s**) to the palatal spirant (**j**) produced as a compromise the alveolar spirant (**f**).

M.E. *d*.

367. M.E. *d* has usually remained, except before **r**, or **-er**: **de:ətɪ** (adj.) by the day; **do:n** down, fluff; **ni:dl** needle; **ra:d** to ride.

368. Before **r** M.E. *d* occurs as **ɖ** (§ 29) initially in:

ɖre:ət to drawl; **ɖri:p** to drip; **ɖri:** dreary; **ɖre:əv** (pret.) drove, and medially in: **blaɖə(r)** bladder; **diɖə(r)** (M.E. dyderen) to shudder; **foɖə(r)** fodder; **gaɖə(r)** gander; **inɖə(r)** to hinder; **laɖə(r)** ladder; **sinɖə(r)** (O.E. sinder) cinder; **tinɖə(r)** tinder; **pu:ɖə(r)** powder; **wunɖə(r)** wonder; **unɖəd** hundred.

But **ɖ** has become **ð** after a lengthened vowel in **fe:əðe(r)** father, and **re:əðe(r)** rather, which appear to be borrowings from eighteenth century standard English. Short vowels did not lengthen in the dialect before the suffix **-er**, **-ir**.

369. M.E. *d* has become **t** in the preterites and past participles of weak verbs, after a voiceless consonant, as in 'standard' English, e.g. **akst** asked; **smiukt** smoked; **kapt** astonished.

370. M.E. *nd* has fallen by assimilation to **n** before a following consonant, e.g. **kanl** candle; **kinlin** firewood; **anful** handful; **frinz** friends; **grunz** sediment; **gransun** grandson; **lanlo:d** landlord; **ansə(r)** answer, and in the compound adjective **bran-niu** brand-new.

As a rule **d** remains in a final position: **end** end; **band** band; **fend** to provide; **frind** friend; **pund** pound; **u:nd** hound, and **d** is intrusive in **ɖru:nd** (M.E. drounen) to drown, and **su:nd** (Fr. son) sound. But **d** has fallen after **n** in: **ən** and; **θu:zn** thousand; **uzbn** husband, and in the preterites and past participles of the verbs **bind** to bind; **find** to find; and **wind** to wind, which are **ban**, **bun**; **fan**, **fun**; **wan**, **wun**; and

also in the ending of all present participles, which in North. M.E. was *-and*, and is now *-in*.

371. The dialect is correct in having no excrescent *d* in: **bu:n** (O.I. *buinn*) about to; **len** (O.E. *lǣnan*, *Yorks. Dial.* *len*) to lend; and in **θunə(r)** (O.E. *θunor*, *Psalms* *thoner*) thunder.

M.E. *th* [θ].

372. Initially and finally, M.E. *th* has usually remained a voiceless spirant, e.g. **θak** thatch; **θi:** (O.E. *θéoh*) thigh; **θruf** through; **θron** busy; **θozdæ** Thursday; **baθ** bath; **paθ** path; **woθ** worth; **ti·əθ** tooth; **triuθ** truth; **goθ** (O.I. *gjörð*) girth; **swaθ** (O.I. *svörðr*) grass; **bi·əθ** both.

And it remains medially in **nosθiril** (O.E. *nosðyrl*, M.E. *nose-thirl*) nostril, where the 'standard' pronunciation is an attempt to escape the northern dialect **ʦ** before **r**. For example, Yorkshire dialect speakers who attempt to talk 'fine' habitually say **tred** for thread, **tri:** for three, and so on.

373. M.E. *th* has disappeared before **w** in: **wak**, to beat; **witl** to shape wood (lit. to cut with a (M.E.) *thwitel*—a knife, related by gradation to O.E. *θwitan*, to cut); also after **w** in **wi** with; **wiv** before a vowel.

374. M.E. *th* has become **t** in the ordinals: **fouæt** (fourth); **sevnt** seventh; **levnt** eleventh; **θot'ti:nt** thirteenth, etc., by analogy with those which originally ended in *-t*, e.g. **foſt** (O.E. *fyrst*) first; **fift** (O.E. *fiftā*) fifth; and **sikst** (O.E. *sixtā*) sixth.

M.E. *th* [ð].

375. Voiced M.E. *th* has remained medially, and is now voiced finally, where the following vowel has become mute:

boðə(r) trouble; **bruðər** brother; **bri·əð** to breathe; **ouðə(r)** either; **le·əð** (O.I. *hlaða*) a barn; **swi·əð** (O.E. *swaðu*) a row of cut grass; **weðə(r)** which (of two).

376. M.E. voiced *th* has become *d* in: **fɑdm** fathom; **fidl** fiddle: and after M.E. *r* in: **boɔn** burthen; **fa:ɔin** farthing, and **ə'fod** to afford.

377. M.E. *th* is voiceless before *s*: **paθs** paths; **munθs** months.

378. M.E. *th* has been assimilated to *s* in: **bask** (O.I. baðask) to bask; **ask** (O.E. aðexe) a newt;—where by a metathesis, so common in O.E., *x* [ks] became *sk*—also in **kli·əz** (O.E. clāðas) clothes; and has disappeared in **mɔ:k** (O.I. maðkr, *Cath.* mawke) a maggot.

379. In pronominal and adverbial words, M.E. initial *th* is voiced, as in standard English: **ðe·ə** they; **ða:** thy; **ði:** thee; **ðis** this; **ði·əz** these; **ðem** (O.I. ðeim, dat. of ðeir, they) those; **ðu:** thou. When **ðu:** is used interrogatively after the verb, it remains if emphatic; **wil 'ðu:** wilt thou?; **diz 'ðu:** dost thou?; but it is weakened to **tə** if unemphatic, **'wiltə** wilt thou?; **distə** dost thou?

This sheds some light on the development of the definite article. The Northern M.E. scribes wrote it as *the* or *þe*. The writers of the *Yorkshire Dialogues* of 1673 and 1684 wrote it 'th.' Now it is heard as a prefixed **t**. What has happened is that in early modern English it became **t̥** in unemphatic positions, which has weakened to **t**, owing to its being prefixed to nouns, and consequently losing its aspiration. Its *unemphatic* development consequently was **ðə** > **t̥** > **t**. The definite article still remains as **ðə**, the M.E. unemphatic form, when used *with emphasis*, or before 'Lord' meaning God, and in phrases like **wat ðə divl** etc.

6. *Sibilants.*

M.E. *s*.

380. M.E. *s* has remained initially:

sal (*Rolle* sal) shall; **sud** (*Rolle* suld) should; **sa:l** (O.I. sile) a sieve; **seip** to filter; **skep** a basket; **skrat** to scratch; **snig** to drag wood; **snikl** a snare; **so:mi** mild; **steg** gander; **sup** to drink; **swi·əl** to gutter; **si·ə(r)** sure; **siugə(r)** sugar,

also medially before voiceless consonants, or even before **l**, **m**, or **n**, where an assimilated *t* formerly came between:

esp (O.I. *hespa*) hasp; **foisti** fusty; **rist** to rest; **rasl** to wrestle; **busl** to hurry; **ri'si:t** recipe,

and finally:

aks to ask; **mu:s** mouse; **os** horse; **jans** once; **tjans** chance; **pi·əs** peace; **gri·əs** flattery; **pɑ:ləs** (adj.) parlous.

381. M.E. *s* appears voiced, as in Middle English pronunciation, between vowels medially, including *s* followed by syllabic **l**, **m**, or **n**: **bi:zm**, besom; **fezn** pheasant; **tuzl** to dishevel; **u:ziz** houses; **si·əzn** season; **ə'sɑ:ziz** (M.E. *assise* < O.Fr.) assizes, or before a voiced consonant:

uzbn husband; **wenzdə** Wednesday; **θozdə** Thursday;

and also finally, where a following vowel has become mute:

gri·əz to grease; **pli·əz** to please; **bu:z** (M.E. *bousen*) to drink; **snu:z** to sleep.

382. Final M.E. *-es* became voiced in M.E., and now appears as **s** after a voiceless consonant e.g. M.E. *cates* > [**katəz**] > **kats** cats; but after voiced consonants, and vowels, it remains as **z**: **nu·əz** nose; **fi:ldz** fields; **diz** does; **kli·əz** clothes, as in the 'standard' speech.

383. M.E. *s* has become voiced in **ez** has; **əz** as; **iz** is; **uz** us; where the voicing took place originally in unemphatic positions in the sentence, the *s* being retained in accented positions, and before voiceless consonants.

384. M.E. *s*, voiced medially before *i*, has become **ʒ**, as in English, e.g. Rolle's *mesúr* became in early Modern English [**me'zjur**] where **ju** was the development in the dialect of Fr. *ü*. Then by means of an assimilation of **z** and **j**, the spirant produced by a tongue position halfway between, namely **ʒ**, resulted.

miʒə(r) measure; **triʒə(r)** (*Rolle* *tresore*) treasure; **pli·əʒə(r)** or **pliʒə(r)** pleasure.

385. French final *-ce[s]* has become **f**: **minf** mince; **renf** to rinse; **nu·ətif** notice; **pinfəz** pincers.

Also final *-age*: **damif** damage; **manif** manage; **manif-ment** manure.

This is one of the peculiarities of the Northern dialect, cf. Scots *farsch* (farce), *scairsch* (scarce), *pynschers* (pincers), *notisch*¹.

386. M.E. *s* was mistaken for a plural, and dropped in:

pi-ə (O.E. *pisa*, M.E. *pese*) pea; **ridl** (O.E. *rædels*, M.E. *redels*) an enigma; **ji'mi:** chemise; and **tferi** cherry.

M.E. *sh*; *sch* [ʃ].

387. M.E. *f* remains:

ʃap shape; **ʃeit** *caicare*; **ʃe-əd** (Anglian *scædu*) shed; **ʃam** shame; **ʃaf** sheaf; **ʃi-əlin** a once-shorn sheep; **ʃil** to shell (peas); **ʃipət** shepherd; **ʃak** to shake; **ʃibin** (lit. shoe-bind) bootlace; **ʃi-ə**, unaccented **ʃə** (O.E. *seō*, North. M.E. *schō*) she; **biʃəp** to burn milk in the pan; **eʃ** ash tree; **paʃ** rottenness; **wef** to wash.

388. *f* occurs also in Romance words containing O.Fr. medial *-ss-*: **famiʃt** famished; **nuriʃ** (*Prose*, *nuris*), to nourish; **puʃ** to push; **puniʃ** (*Prose*, *puniss*) to punish; **seʃ** (O.Fr. *chasse*) window-frame; **bujil** (O.Fr. *boissel*) bushel, as in standard English; but *f* represents also O.Fr. *-ce*, *-che*, *-ge*: **ɔ:d'faʃənd** (O.Fr. *faceon*) precocious; **minʃ** to mince; **renʃ** to rinse; **nu-ətʃ** notice; **pinʃəz** pincers; **kabiʃ** (Picard, *caboché*) cabbage; **damiʃ** damage; **maniʃ** to manage; **maniʃment** manure. In the case of the suffix *-age*, it would appear that the French *ʒ* was retained in Midland M.E. and changed to **dʒ**, by analogy with words like M.E. *loge*, *juge*, and *rage* (lodge, judge, rage), in the 'standard' pronunciation. In the dialect, *ʒ* became unvoiced in the unaccented syllables where it occurred, when the accent was shifted to the first syllable, by analogy with words like 'notice,' 'cabbage,' etc.

M.E. *ch* [tʃ].

389. M.E. *ch* remains in all positions:

tʃavl to champ; **tʃəu** to chew; **tʃotʃ** church; **tʃildə(r)** children; **tʃuf** conceited; **mitʃ** much; **notʃ** notch, run (at cricket); **watʃ** watch; **kletʃ** a brood (of chickens); **tʃe-ədʒ** to charge; **tʃɔ:mə(r)** chamber; **tʃuk** (Fr. *choquer*) to throw; **pu-ətʃ**

¹ Cf. Murray, *Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland*, p. 127.

to poach; **bi'grutʃ** (M.E. grucchen, O.Fr. groucher) to grudge; **pa:tritʃ** (M.E. pertriche, O.Fr. pertrix) partridge.

390. Except that the first constituent of the diphthong has been assimilated when it follows **n**: **bunʃ** to kick; **ʒrenʃ** (O.E. drencean) to drench; **inʃ** (O.E. ynce) inch; **pinʃ** (A.F. pincher) to pinch.

M.E. *j, g* [**dʒ**].

391. M.E. *j, g* also remains:

dʒoi (*Rolle ioy*) joy; **dʒo:nis** (*Rolle jaunys*) jaundice; **dʒeis** joist; **ɛ·ədʒ** age; **fu·ədʒ** forge; **pidʒin** pigeon.

dʒ represents O.E. final *-ġ*, M.E. *-gge*, in the following borrowed Midland forms: **edʒ** edge; **wedʒ** wedge; **sledʒ-ame(r)** sledgehammer; **edʒ** hedge; and **midʒ** midge.

392. But after **n, d** has been assimilated: e.g. **swinʒ** to beat; **inʒn** engine; **mɔ:nʒ** mange.

7. Palatals.

M.E. *gh* [**ç**].

393. M.E. *gh*, as palatal spirant after a front vowel has regularly disappeared from M.E. forms with *-ight* (§ 148):

brɪt bright; **li:t** light; **ni:t** night; **ri:t** right; **si:t** sight. And from M.E. *egh* forms (§ 149): **ni:n** nine; **di:** to die; **i:n** eyes; **i:** high.

Before *-t* M.E. *gh* (**ç**) became lost to the dialect between 1480 and 1680. Probably it disappeared during the sixteenth century. In other positions **ç** fell earlier. It had fallen by the fifteenth century; for **li:** lie; **ni:n** nine; **θi:** thigh, N.M.E. *leghe, neghen, and *thegh, appear in the *Catholicon Anglicum* (1483) as *lee, neen, and thee*. Probably it was disappearing during the fourteenth century: *hey* occurs in *The Pricke of Conscience* besides *hegh, high*; and *nest* as well as *neghest* next.

8. Gutturals.

M.E. *c, k*.

394. M.E. *c, k*, remains as a rule:

bek (*Cath. bek*) a brook; **kei** key; **snek** a latch; **kud** (O.E. *cudu*) cud; **juk** hook; **kep** (O.E. *cēpan*) to catch; **ʃakn** (pp.)

shaken; **kitl** difficult; **wanjkl** unstable; **koul** to rake; **ko:zə** causeway; **le-ələk** lilac; **ski-əl** (O.E. *scōl*) school; **sku-ə(r)** (O.Fr. *escurer*) to cleanse; **kriukt** crooked; **klom** to grope; **klit** colts-foot; **klag** to stick; **pu-ək** (O.I. *poki*) a bag; **stakə(r)** (N.M.E. *stakir* < O.I. *stakra*) to stagger.

395. But M.E. *k* has fallen, as in 'standard' English, before **n**: **ni**: knee; **nodl** head; **nɔ:** to know; **nit** to knit. There is no trace of **tn** in this position in the dialect.

396. Also before **w** in: **wiks** (O.E. *cwice*) quitch, or couch-grass; **wai** (O.I. *kwīga*) a heifer; **wik** (O.I. *kwikr*) alive, and medially in: **mi-əd** made; **musl** muscle; **te-ən** taken; **asl-tri:** (O.I. *öxultrē*) an axle.

397. Romance *qu* [**kw**] remains, e.g. **kwe-ət** quart; **kwa:t** (O.Fr. *quarterer*) to plough crosswise (lit. to cut into quarters).

398. M.E. *sk* from Scandinavian *sk-*, remains:

skab scab; **skuf** (cf. Fries. *skuft*) nape (of the neck); **skri-ək** (O.I. *skrækja*) to shriek; **skep** (O.I. *skeppa*) a basket; **skelp** to flog; **skitəs** diarrhoea; **skutə(r)** to run; **skrat** (M.E. *scratten*) to scratch; **bask** to bask; **busk** to hurry.

399. Metathesis of O.E. *sc* remains in: **aks** (O.E. *ascian*) to ask; **miks** (O.E. *miscian*) to mix.

400. Final Northern M.E. *k*, corresponding to Southern and Midland *ch*, is found in:

biŋk (O.E. *benċe*) bench; **bork** (O.E. *birċe*) birch; **klik** (O.E. *clýċcean*) to seize, clutch; **θi-ək** (O.E. *þeċcean*) to thatch: **θak** thatch; **seik** such; **pik** (O.E. *piċ*, *Cath.* *pikke*) pitch; **pik-fork** pitchfork; **kiŋkof** chincough.

Also in the Scandinavian forms: **kist** (O.I. *kista*) chest; **kork** (O.I. *kirkja*) church: **wa:k** (O.I. *werkr*) to ache.

401. M.E. final *k* has fallen in: **as** (O.E. *askan*, *Rolle* *askes*) ashes; **mens** (O.I. *mennska*) decency, neatness.

402. M.E. *k* has become **t** in: **twilt** to beat, flog, lit. to quilt, derived from O.Fr. *cuiltte*, a quilt.

M.E. *g*.

403. M.E. *g* has regularly remained:

gavlæk (O.I. *gafлак*, M.E. *gavelok*) a pointed iron bar (used in building sheepfolds); **galæk** (O.Fr. *gale*) left-handed; **gǫlki** awkward; **gilt** (O.I. *gyltr*) a young sow; **gimæ(r)** a young ewe; **gildæ(r)** (*Rolle Ps.* *gildire*) a snare; **ǰagi** shaggy; **seg** sedge; **mugi** sultry; **agl** to hack; **igl** to chaffer; **fog** aftermath; **og** a yearling sheep; **ug** to carry; **lig** (O.I. *liggja*) to lie; **grund** ground; **glumpi** sorrowful.

404. Except that it disappeared before **n**: **nag** (O.I. *gnaga*) to nag; **nǫ**: to gnaw; **nat** gnat; **naṭæ(r)** to grumble, nag.

405. Final Northern M.E. *g*, corresponding to Southern and Midland *-gge*, *-dge* in words derived from O.E. final *-ǰg*, remains in: **brig** (O.E. *brycg*, M.E. *brig*) bridge; **fligd** fledged; **mig** (O.E. *midge*) perhaps short for 'midge-water,' liquid manure; **rig** ridge, back; and in **seg** (O.E. *secge*) sedge.

406. Loss of O.E. spirant *ǰ* in the dialect.

The above examples of medial or final **g** in an accented syllable are mainly Scandinavian. O.E. *ǰ* in accented syllables, preceded by a vowel, fell as follows:

O.E. *aǰ*, North. M.E. *au* [**au**] has become **ɑ:** **ɑ:z** haws; **ɑ:n** (O.I. *ögn*) awn (of barley).

O.E. *æǰ*, *eg*, North. M.E. *ai* [**ai**] has become **ɛ:ə** **de:ə** day; **we:ə** way; **se:ə** to say.

O.E. *iǰ*, North. M.E. *ēgh* [**e:ç**] has become **i:** **nin** nine; **stil** stile.

O.E. *oǰ*, North. M.E. *ogh* [**ouχ**] has become **ou:** **re:ənbou** rainbow.

O.E. *uǰ*, North. M.E. *ōgh* [**öüχ**] has become **iu:** **siu** a sow (pig); **ful** fowl.

O.E. *āǰ*, North. M.E. *au* [**au**] has become **ɑ:** **bi:ɑ:** to own.

O.E. *æǰ*, { North. M.E. *ai* [**ai**] has become **ɛ:ə** **kle:ə** day.
M.E. *ei* [**ei**] has become **ei:** **ksi** key.

O.E. *ēǰ*, North. M.E. *ēgh* [**e:ç**] has become **i:** **di:** to die
ti: to tie.

O.E. *ōġ*, North. M.E. *ōgh* [öüχ] has become **iu**: **ɖriu** drew; **sliu** slew.

O.E. *ȳġ*, North. M.E. *ȳ* [i:] has become **ai** (finally) in: **ɖrai** dry.

O.E. *éag*, North. M.E. *ēgh* [e:ç] has become **i:**: **i:** eye.

O.E. *éog*, North. M.E. *ēgh* [e:ç] has become **i:**: **fi:** fly: **li:** to tell a lie.

But O.E. spirant *ġ* remains as a stop in: **dog** dog; **frog** frog; and **ɶag** shag, as in 'standard' English.

M.E. *gh* [χ].

407. M.E. *gh* as a velar spirant after a back vowel has regularly disappeared. For its appearance as *u*, see §§ 184–186. M.E. *gh* fell first in the fourteenth century after M.E. *ā*. *The Pricke of Conscience* regularly has such forms as *draw*, *awn* (own), where other North. M.E. works have the spelling *draghe*, *aghen*. By the fifteenth century medial M.E. *gh* appears to have fallen. The *Catholicon Anglicum* (1483) records *fewle*, fowl, against the North. M.E. form *foghel*; *The Pricke of Conscience* has *outher* and *nouther* beside *oght* (aught) and *noght* (naught). The dialect pronunciations **bout** (bought); **douʔe(r)** (daughter); **brout** (brought); **θout** (thought) indicate that M.E. *oght* was really *out*, for the diphthong in these words has had the same development as M.E. *ow* from O.E. *ōw* in the words **flou** to flow; **grou** to grow; etc.

Finally, and in the words 'laughter' and 'slaughter,' M.E. *gh* has become **f**.

408. In the present dialect, **f** represents M.E. χ (velar spirant) in the following words spelled with *gh*:

i'ni·əf enough; **kof** cough; **ti·əf** tough; **ruf** rough; **ʔrof** trough; **laf** laugh; **laʔe(r)** laughter; **dwa:f** dwarf; which have [f] in the 'standard' pronunciation. Also in the following dialect forms: **fo:f** (*Cath.* *falge*, *Clavis*, *faugh*) fallow land; **ba:fn** a bargham, horse-collar; **bi·əf** bough; **di·əf** dough; **pli·əf** plough; **θof** though; **θruf** through; **slaʔe(r)** slaughter; **sluf** slough; **suf** (O.E. *swōgan*, M.E. *swough*) to sough, make a 'rushing' noise; **uf** displeasure; **pef** (cf. Lowland Scots *pech*) to gasp, cough. In the latter instances, the dialect still preserves the 'standard'

pronunciation of the first half of the seventeenth century, as far as the end-consonant is concerned.

M.E. *h*.

409. M.E. *h* as a glottal breathing has generally disappeared in the dialect, though **h** is often wrongly inserted when a word beginning with a vowel is emphasised.

410. O.E. and Scand. breathed *l*, *n*, *r* and *w*, formerly spelled *hl*, *hn*, *hr*, and *hw* (North. M.E. *wh*, *qu*), have become voiced, and occur as **l**, **n**, **r**, and **w** :

loup (O.I. *hlaupa*) to leap; **nit** (O.E. *hnitu*) a louse's egg; **rig** (O.E. *hrycg*) back; **wat** what; **wi·ə** who.

411. Loss of O.E. *h* in the dialect.

O.E. *h* as a palatal or velar spirant fell as follows :

O.E. *ǣht*, North. M.E. *oght* [ɔuχt] has become **ɔu** : **nout** naught ; **tout** taught.

O.E. *ǫht*, North. M.E. *oght* [ɔuχt] has become **ɔu** : **douʔə(r)** daughter ; **bout** bought.

O.E. *iht*, North. M.E. *ight* [eçt] has become **i** : **bri:t** bright ; **ni:t** night.

O.E. *ēah*, North. M.E. *ēgh* [e:ç] has become **i** : **i** high ; **ni** : nigh.

O.E. *ēoh*, North. M.E. *ēgh* [e:ç] has become **i** : **θi** thigh.

412. O.E. *h* + *s* regularly appears as **ks** : **aks** to ask ; **siks** six. But the seventeenth century forms for *ox* (*Yorks. Dial.* 1673, *owse*) and *next* (*Rolle* nest, *Clavis* 1684 *neest*) are interesting therein, that they show vocalisation of O.E. *h*, (1) to **u** after a back vowel, (2) to **i** after a front vowel. M.E. **ɔχs** > **ɔu's** > **ɔus** *owse*, and M.E. **ne:çst** > **neifst** > **ni:st** *neest*. In the present dialect these words are borrowed from literary English.

CHAPTER VIII

THE HISTORIC ORIGINALS OF THE PRESENT VOWEL-SYSTEM

1. *Short Vowels.*

a.

413. **a** corresponds to M.E. *a*, and to :

(a) O.E. *æ*, *a*, *ea* (West Germanic *a*) in closed syllables, § 91.

(b) The shortening of O.E. *ā*, *ǣ*, *eā* in **ask** newt, **bladæ(r)** bladder, **jaf** sheaf, § 92.

(c) Standard English *ɔ* after **w**, Literary English *a*, as : **swan** swan, **want** want, **kwalæti** quality, §§ 93, 194, 251.

(d) O.E. *a* before *ng*, as : **straŋ** strong, § 94.

(e) O.E. *a* in **slaf̄tæ(r)** slaughter, § 95.

(f) With foregrowth of **j**, to O.E. *ā*, *a*, as : **jakæ(r)** acre, **jan** one, §§ 127, 131.

(g) Scandinavian *a*, *ö*, §§ 192, 193, 195.

(h) Romance *a*, § 250.

(i) The shortening of Fr. nasalised *ã* in : **ant** aunt, **dans** dance, and **tʃans** chance, §§ 253.

(j) Romance *er* in **tariæ(r)** terrier, **vari** very, § 258.

e.

414. **e** corresponds to M.E. *e*, and to :

(a) O.E. *e*, *eo* (West Germanic *e*) in closed syllables, § 101.

(b) O.E. *a* before *sh*, and dental consonants, as : **wef** wash, § 98, and **kredl** cradle, § 99.

(c) O.E. *y* in **beri** to bury, **menæ** minnow, § 109.

- (d) Shortening of M.E. \bar{e} in **len** to **lend**, etc., § 138.
 (e) O.E. *ir* in **kesmæs** Christmas, and **kesn** to christen, § 114.
 M.E. *ir* in **jed** yard, § 105 b.
 (f) M.E. \bar{a} in **seld** sold, **teld** told, § 96 a.
 (g) Scandinavian *e*, *jö* in closed syllables, §§ 198, 200, 201.
 (h) Scandinavian *ir* in **ken** churn, § 210.
 (i) Romance *e*, § 255.
 (j) Romance *i* as: **lenit** linnet, etc., § 260, **seröp** syrup, **sperit** spirit, § 261.

i.

415. **i** corresponds to M.E. *i*, and to :
 (a) O.E. *i*, § 108; and in **blind** blind, etc., before *-nd*, § 112.
 (b) O.E. *y*, § 109.
 (c) O.E. *e* before dentals as: **it** to eat, **rist** rest, § 106.
 (d) O.E. *e* before *ng*, § 105.
 (e) Shortening of M.E. \bar{e} : **tfix-ki-æk** cheese-cake, **nivø(r)** never, etc., § 140; **fipæt** shepherd, § 141; **blis** bless, § 143; **frind** friend, etc., § 150.
 (f) Scandinavian *e* in **git** get, and **gi (giv)** give, § 199.
 (g) Scandinavian *i*, §§ 205, 209.
 (h) Scandinavian *y*, § 206.
 (i) Scandinavian *e* before *ng*, § 202.
 (j) Romance *i*, § 259.
 (k) Romance *e* before nasals in **triml** tremble, **inzn** engine, etc., § 256.

o.

416. **o** corresponds to M.E. *o*, and to :
 (a) O.E. *o* in closed syllables, § 116.
 (b) O.E. *a* before *l* in **od** hold, **omæst** almost, § 96 b.
 (c) O.E. *a*, $\bar{æ}$ before *n* in **moni** many, **oni** any, § 94.
 (d) Scandinavian *o* in closed syllables, § 211.
 (e) Romance *o*, § 262.
 As an *r*-vowel, **o** corresponds to :
 (f) O.E. *i* before *r*, §§ 105, 114.
 (g) O.E. *y* before *r*, § 115.

- (h) O.E. *o* before *r* in **fork** fork, **os** horse, etc., § 119.
 (i) O.E. *u* before *r*, § 124.
 (j) Scand. *o* before *r*, § 213.
 (k) Romance *o* before *r* in **mis'fotn** misfortune, **moṭə(r)** mortar, etc., § 264.
 (l) Romance *u* before *r*, § 266.

u.

417. **u** corresponds to M.E. *u*.
 (a) O.E. *u*, § 120, and in **grund** ground, etc. before *-nd*, § 121.
 (b) O.E. *y* in **umlæk** hemlock, **runl** spring, etc., § 110.
 (c) Shortening of M.E. *ō* before dentals in **fud** food, **fut** shoot, etc., § 163.
 (d) Shortening of M.E. *ū* in **rum** room, etc., § 164.
 (e) Scandinavian *u*, §§ 214, 215.
 (f) Scandinavian *y* in **muk** earth, § 208.
 (g) Romance *u*, *ou*, § 265.
 (h) Romance *oi* before *ʃ* in **bujil** bushel, **kujin** cushion, § 295.

2. Long Vowels.

a:.

418. **a:** corresponds to M.E. *ī* before voiced consonants, also to M.E. *ǣr*, *ēr*, + cons.
 (a) O.E. *ī* before voiced consonants: **fa:v** five, **ma:l** mile, etc., § 155.
 (b) O.E. *i* lengthened in **wa:ld** wild, **ta:n** spike, § 112.
 (c) O.E. *ȳ* before voiced consonants: **a:v** hive, **pra:d** pride, etc., § 156.
 (d) O.E. *y* lengthened before *-nd*, **ka:nd** kind, **ma:nd** mind, § 113.
 (e) O.E. *ear* (Anglian *ar*, *ær*), § 97.
 (f) O.E. *eor* (Anglian *er*, *ear*), § 104.
 (g) O.E. *ēor* (Anglian *ēar*) in: **da:lin** darling, **fa:din** farthing, § 104.
 (h) Scandinavian *ī* before voiced consonants: **gra:m** grime, **a:l** sile, etc., § 229.

- (i) Scandinavian *ar*, § 197.
- (j) Scandinavian *er*, § 203.
- (k) Romance *ī* before voiced consonants: **fa:n** fine, **kon'tra:v** contrive, etc., § 281.
- (l) Romance *ar*, § 254 a.
- (m) Romance *er*, § 258 a.

i:

419. **i:** corresponds to M.E. *ē*, also to M.E. *igh*, *egh*.
- (a) Anglian *ē* for *ǣ* (I Mutation of *ā*) in **brī:d** breadth, § 140.
 - (b) Anglian *ē* (Germanic *ǣ*) in **di:d** deed, etc., § 141.
 - (c) Anglian *ē* (I Mutation of *ēā*, *ēō*) in **ri:k** smoke, etc., § 142.
 - (d) Anglian *ōē* (I Mutation of *ō*) in **fi:t** feet, etc., § 143.
 - (e) O.E. *ēō* (Anglian *ēō*, *ēā*; Germanic *iū*) in **brī:st** breast, etc., § 144.
 - (f) O.E. *e* lengthened before *-ld*, § 146.
 - (g) O.E. *i* lengthened, also M.E. *ight*, §§ 147, 148.
 - (h) North. M.E. *egh*, § 149.
 - (i) Scandinavian *ē*, § 225.
 - (j) North. M.E. *egh* from Scandinavian *ig*, § 226.
 - (k) Anglo-French 'close' *ē*, § 277.

o:

420. **o:** corresponds to M.E. *au*, also to M.E. *al* (*aul*) from the following sources:
- (a) O.E. *ag*, § 172.
 - (b) O.E. *aw*, § 173.
 - (c) O.E. *āg*, § 174.
 - (d) O.E. *āw*, § 175.
 - (e) M.E. *au* arising from O.E. *af* in **lo:d** lord, **o:k** hawk, § 176.
 - (f) Anglian *-al* + consonant, § 96.
 - (g) Scandinavian *ōg*, § 242.
 - (h) Scandinavian *āg*, § 243.
 - (i) Scandinavian *al* + consonant, § 196.
 - (j) Scandinavian *au*, in **go:ki** simpleton, **go:mles** stupid, § 246.
 - (k) Scandinavian *ū* in **do:n** down, § 236.

(l) M.E. *au*—arising from the loss of a spirant between *a* and a guttural consonant: **ɔ:kəd** awkward, **mɔ:k** maggot, § 244.

(m) Romance *au*, § 292.

(n) Romance *al*, § 252.

(o) Romance *ã* before nasals, in **tʃɔ:mə(r)** chamber, **mɔ:nʒi** mangy etc., § 253.

u:

421. **u:** corresponds to M.E. *ū*.

(a) O.E. *ū*, § 164.

(b) O.E. *ū* lengthened before *-ld*, in **ʃu:ðə(r)** shoulder, § 122.

(c) Scandinavian *ū*, § 234.

(d) Romance *ou*, § 287.

3. The Diphthongs.

422. **ai** corresponds to M.E. *ī* in a final position:

(a) O.E. *ȳ*, § 154.

(b) Scandinavian *ȳ*, § 230.

(c) Romance *ī*, § 280.

ei.

423. **ei** corresponds to M.E. *ī* before *r* and voiceless consonants, also to Midland M.E. *ei*.

(a) O.E. *ī* before *r* and voiceless consonants, § 152.

(b) O.E. *ȳ* before *r* and voiceless consonants, § 153.

(c) M.E. *ei*, § 177.

(d) Scandinavian *ī, ȳ* before *r* and voiceless consonants, § 228.

(e) Romance *ī* before *r* and voiceless consonants, § 279.

iu.

424. **iu** corresponds to M.E. *eu*, and to M.E. *ō* before gutturals.

(a) O.E. *éaw*, § 179.

(b) O.E. *éow*, § 180.

(c) O.E. *iw*, § 181.

(d) M.E. *ō* before gutturals, § 161.

- (e) M.E. *ou* arising from O.E. *of*, in **ju:n** oven, § 161 c.
- (f) Scandinavian *ō* before *k*, § 233.
- (g) Romance *eu*, *ü*, § 297.

oi.

425. **oi** corresponds to M.E. *oi*, *ui*.
Romance *oi*, *ui*, §§ 293, 294.

ou.

426. **ou** corresponds to M.E. *ou*, also to M.E. *ol* (*oul*).
- (a) O.E. *eah* (Anglian *æh*), § 183.
 - (b) O.E. *āh*, § 184.
 - (c) O.E. *og*, *oh*, § 185.
 - (d) O.E. *ōh*, § 186.
 - (e) O.E. *éaw*, § 187.
 - (f) O.E. *eow*, § 188.
 - (g) O.E. *eów*, § 189.
 - (h) O.E. *ōw*, § 190.
 - (i) Early Mod. E. *ou* in **pound** pond, § 121, and in **poul** pole, § 158.
 - (j) O.E. *ol*, § 117.
 - (k) Scandinavian *au*, § 245.
 - (l) Scandinavian *og* in **lililou** flame, § 248.
 - (m) Romance *u* in **pouæ(r)** to pour, § 297 a.
 - (n) Romance *ol*, § 263.

ε·ə.

427. **ε·ə** corresponds to M.E. *ai*, also partly to M.E. *ā* and *ār*.
- (a) O.E. *æg*, § 167.
 - (b) O.E. *eg*, § 168.
 - (c) Anglian *ēg*, O.E. *æg*, § 169.
 - (d) Anglian *ēg*, O.E. *īeg*, § 170.
 - (e) M.E. *ā*, §§ 127, 128.
 - (f) M.E. *ar*, § 97; M.E. *ār*, § 129.
 - (g) Scandinavian *ei*, § 239; Scandinavian *ey*, § 240; Scandinavian *eg* in **ge·æn** rear, § 238.

- (h) Scandinavian \bar{a} , § 217.
- (i) Romance ai , ei , §§ 290, 291.
- (j) Romance $\bar{a}n$, § 271.
- (k) Romance \bar{a} , § 270.
- (l) Romance ar , § 254.

i·ə.

428. **i·ə** corresponds to M.E. \bar{a} , M.E. \bar{e} , and to M.E. \bar{o} , also to M.E. $\bar{e}r$ in open syllables.

- (a) O.E. a in open syllables, § 127 *a*.
- (b) O.E. \bar{a} , § 128 *a*.
- (c) O.E. a before $-mb$, $-st$, § 130.
- (d) O.E. e in open syllables, § 132.
- (e) O.E. \bar{x} (I Mutation of \bar{a}), § 133.
- (f) O.E. \bar{x} (Anglian \bar{e} , Germanic \bar{x}), § 134.
- (g) O.E. $\bar{e}\bar{a}$, § 137.
- (h) O.E. $\bar{e}r$, $\bar{e}or$, §§ 135, 136.
- (i) O.E. \bar{o} , § 160.
- (j) Scandinavian a in open syllables, § 218.
- (k) Scandinavian \bar{a} , § 219.
- (l) Scandinavian e in open syllables, § 223.
- (m) Scandinavian \bar{x} , § 221.
- (n) Scandinavian \bar{e} , § 222.
- (o) Romance a in open syllables, § 269.
- (p) Romance a before $-st$, § 268; e before $-st$, § 275.
- (q) Romance e in open syllables, § 273.
- (r) Anglo-French 'open' \bar{e} , § 274.
- (s) Romance \bar{o} in **bi·ət** boot, **fi·əl** fool, etc., § 286.
- (t) Romance $\bar{e}r$, § 276.

u·ə.

429. **u·ə** corresponds to M.E. \bar{u} , also to M.E. $\bar{u}r$, $\bar{o}r$.

- (a) O.E. o in open syllables, § 157.
- (b) O.E. \bar{u} (Midland development), § 158.
- (c) O.E. or before dental consonants, § 118.
- (d) O.E. ur before dental consonants, § 125.
- (e) O.E. $\bar{u}r$, § 165.

- (f) Scandinavian *o* in open syllables, § 231.
- (g) Scandinavian *ō* before *r*, § 232.
- (h) Romance *o* in open syllables, § 284.
- (i) Romance *or* before dental consonants, § 264.
- (j) Romance *o* before *st*, § 285.
- (k) Romance *ou* before *r*, § 288.

4. *The Triphthongs.*

ie̯.

430. **ie̯** corresponds to M.E. *ī* before *r*.
- (a) O.E. *ī* before *r* in **si̯er̯en**, iron, **ws̯i̯er** wire, § 152.
 - (b) O.E. *ȳ* before *r* in **si̯er** hire, **fs̯i̯er** fire, § 153.
 - (c) Scandinavian *ȳ* before *r* in **ms̯i̯er** mire, § 228.
 - (d) Romance *ī* before *r* in **umps̯i̯er** umpire, § 279.

iu̯.

431. **iu̯** corresponds to M.E. *eu* before *r*, or before an unaccented syllable containing a back vowel, e.g. **kaziu̯el** casual.
Romance *ū* before *r*, in **piu̯er** pure, § 297.

oi̯.

432. **oi̯** corresponds to M.E. *oi* before an unaccented syllable containing a back vowel, e.g. **loi̯el** loyal.

ou̯.

433. **ou̯** corresponds to M.E. *ou* before *r*.
- (a) O.E. *éow* before *r* in **fou̯er** four, **fou̯et** fourth, § 189.
 - (b) Romance *ū* before *r* in **pou̯e(r)** to pour, § 297 *a*.

APPENDIX

THE VOWEL DEVELOPMENT

434. The following table indicates the stages of development of the chief vowel sounds. The letters indicate sounds, not spellings; and refer only to the dialect, not to standard English.

1. *Short Vowels.*

Middle English (1350)	Early Modern English (1650)	Modern English (1850)
<i>a</i>	ɑ	ɑ
<i>al (aul)</i>	ɑ:	ɔ:
1 <i>ar</i> + cons.	ar	ɑ:
2 <i>ar</i> (' <i>bairn</i> ,' ' <i>part</i> ,' etc.)	ɛ:r	ɛ:ə
<i>e</i>	ɛ	e
<i>er</i> + cons.	ar	ɑ:
<i>ex</i> t (' <i>might</i> ,' ' <i>right</i> ,' etc.)	i:t	i:t
<i>i</i>	ɪ lax.	i
<i>ir</i> + cons.	er	or } o before dental cons.
<i>o</i>	o	o
<i>ol (oul)</i>	ou	ou
<i>or</i> + cons.	or	or } o before dental cons.
<i>or(d), or(n)</i>	ɔ:r	u:ə
<i>u</i>	u	u
<i>ur</i> + cons.	er	or } o before dental cons.

2. *Long Vowels.*

ɑ:	ɛ:	ɛ:ə
ɑ:r	ɛ:r	ɛ:ə
ɛ:	e:ə	i:ə
ɛ:r (' <i>bear</i> ,' ' <i>here</i> ,' ' <i>hear</i> ,' etc.)	e:ər	i:ə(x)

Middle English (1350)	Early Modern English (1650)	Modern English (1850)
e:	i:	i:
e:χ ('eye,' 'fly,' etc.)	i:	i:
i:	ei	1 {ei before r, and voiceless cons. 2 {ai at end of a word 3 {a: before voiced cons.
o:	o:	u·ə
o: (ōū)	1 ou 2 {i·ə before r 3 {u before d, ð, and t	1 {iu before gutturals 2 {i·ə before other consonants 3 {u before d, ð and t
u:	u:	u:
u:r	u:r	u·ə(r)

3. *Diphthongs.*

ai	ɛ:	ɛ·ə
au	ɑ:	ɑ:
[ɛi	ɛi	ɛi]
eu	iu	iu
oi	oi (? ei) (iu in 'poison')	oi
ou	ou	ou

PART II

CHAPTER I

A GRAMMAR OF THE DIALECT

NOUNS

THERE are no full declensions in the dialect. Inflections have disappeared as in standard English. It is only necessary to know how to form the plural forms of nouns, and their possessive case.

435. *Formation of the Plural.*

I. **-es** plurals. The plural of nouns is regularly formed by the endings **-iz**, **-z**, or **-s**.

(a) **-iz** is the plural ending of nouns which end in hissing sounds (**s**, **f**, **z**, **ʒ**, **tʃ**, **dʒ**), e.g. **dɪʃ** dish **dɪʃɪz**; **lɑs** lass **lɑsɪz**; **nu·ez** nose **nu·ezɪz**; **os** horse **osɪz**; **tʃotʃ** church **tʃotʃɪz**.

(b) **-z** is the inflexion of nouns ending in vowels, or voiced consonants (**z**, and **ʒ** excepted), e.g. **dɛ·ə** day **dɛ·əz**; **lɑd** lad **lɑdz**.

Nouns which end in **-nd**, or (**r**), lose the end-consonant before the plural ending: **fɪnd** friend **fɪnz**; **end** end **enz**; **bruθə(r)** brother **bruθəz**.

(c) **-s** is the plural ending of nouns which end in voiceless consonants (**s** and **f** excepted), **biuk** book **biuks**; **kɑp** cap **kɑps**; **pɑθ** path **pɑθs**.

But a few nouns in **θ**, **f**, and **s** change the end-consonant into the corresponding voiced **ð**, **v**, and **z**, in the plural, and hence take **-z**, **-iz** as the plural ending: **mu:θ** month **mu:ðz**; **ju:θ**

youth **ju:ðz**; **kɔ:f** calf **kɔ:vz**; **ɔ:f** half **ɔ:vz**; **lsif** life **la:vz**; **lu:əf** loaf **lu:əvz**; **nsif** knife **na:vz**; **si:əf** rush **si:əvz**; **ʃaf** sheaf **ʃavz**; **θi:f** thief **θi:vz**; **weif** wife **wa:vz**; **u:s** house **u:ziz**.

These endings represent Anglian *-as, -æs*, the plural inflexion of the strong masculine nouns, weakened to M.E. *-es* (probably pronounced [əz]). The modern plurals in **s** are due to the unvoicing of **z** after a voiceless consonant. By the middle of the fourteenth century the *-es* type in the North had superseded the O.E. plurals in *-n*, or in a vowel. The plural forms of Northern M.E. were almost identical with those of the present dialect.

II. *-en* plurals. Three nouns may have plural in **n**: **i:eye** **i:n**; **oks** ox **oksn**; **ʃi:ə** shoe **ʃi:ən** (*Clavis* sheaun), corresponding to the three Northern M.E. plurals *eghen, oxen, and shoen*, from the weak declension in Old English.

III. *-er* plural. One noun may have plural in **-ər**, **tʃa:ld** **tʃildə(r)**. 'Child' is rarely heard, **bɛ:ən** bairn with plural **bɛ:ənz** is used instead; but **tʃildə(r)** is a genuine dialect form, derived from Northern M.E. *childer*, O.E. *cildru*.

IV. Mutation Plurals. The following form their plural by a vowel change (I Mutation): **fɪ:ət** foot **fɪ:t**; **gi:əs** goose **gis**; **lu:s** louse **leis**; **ku:** cow **kai**; **mæn** man **men**; **mu:s** mouse **meis**; **ti:əθ** tooth **ti:θ**; **wumən** woman **wimin**. All the Northern M.E. plural forms of this class, *fete, gese, ky, men, mice, tethe*, have remained, excepting *brether* (brothers), and *hende* (hands), which have gone over to the class which forms the plural by adding *-s*.

V. The following nouns have singular and plural alike: **as** ashes; **ʃɪʃ** fishes; **gru:s** grouse; **ʃi:p** sheep; **di:ə(r)** deer; **trʊ:t** trout; **tʃi:z** cheeses; **swa:n** swine.

This declension of nouns owes its origin to the Old English strong neuter nouns with a long root vowel, whose plural form was the same as the singular in the nominative and accusative cases, but it has absorbed many words which did not originally belong to it.

To these must be added **ʃi:ə(r)** year, **munθ** month, and **wi:k** week, which were originally O.E. genitive plural forms ending in *-a*, in such phrases as **ə'bu:t siks munθ sin** about six months ago, **nut fə ten ʃi:ər** not for ten years; also the following nouns of

measure when they follow a cardinal number: **br̄əs** (= 2) brace (e.g. **foūə br̄əs ə gru:s**); **sti·ən** (= 14 lbs.) stone(s) (e.g. **eit sti·ən ten**); **p̄ə·ə(r)** (= 2) pairs (e.g. **θri: p̄ə·ər ə bi·əts**); **duzn** (= 12) dozen; **sku·ə(r)** (= 20) score; **tun** tons; **pund** pounds; **inʃ** inches; **ma:l** miles.

VI. The following nouns are only used in the plural: **britʃiz** breeches; **bodmz** or **grunz** sediment; **li:ts** lungs; **mezlz** measles; **krudz** curd; **ʃi·əz** shears; **tenʒ** tongs; **truziz** trousers; **gr̄·ənz** malt which has been used in brewing beer; **ʃiŋlz** shingles; **ga'maʃiz** gaiters, leggings; **ɔ̄riŋkinz** nuncheon. **podiz** porridge, and **broθ** soup are plurals, and require a plural verb or pronoun.

VII. Double plurals are found in: **beləsiz** bellows; and **galəsiz** braces.

VIII. The following nouns have a plural with a specialised meaning.

<i>Singular</i>	<i>Specialised Plural</i>
bi·əst , beast.	bi·əs , cattle.
kopə(r) , copper, a caldron.	kopəz , pence.
kli·əθ , cloth.	kli·əz , clothes.
li:t (O.E. <i>lēoht</i> , Goth. <i>liubath</i> , subs.) light.	li:ts (O.E. <i>lēoht</i> , Goth. <i>leihts</i> , adj.) lungs.
ju:θ , youth.	ju:θz , fellows, men.
oil , oil.	oilz , oil for anointing or rubbing
so:t , salt.	so:ts , Epsom salts.
su·ət , sort.	su·əts , health (in such phrases as i 'gud 'su·əts in good health, 'urt ə 'su·əts ill, wat su·ət ə 'su·əts iz i in how is he?).

436. *Formation of the Possessive Case.*

I. (a) There is no inflexion when a second noun follows the possessive noun, used adjectivally. The two nouns are simply placed side by side, the genitival noun becomes an adjective qualifying the noun which follows it, e.g. a hen egg, a calf head.

Examples of the possessive case are:

mi f̄ə·əθ̄ər at my father's hat,

tlad bi·əts the lads' (farm labourers') boots.

This *s*-less genitive appears to be peculiar to Northumbrian as opposed to the Scotch variety of modern Anglian. It owes its beginning to the Old English strong feminine nouns, which formed the gen. sing. in *-e*, and to those (ending in *-er*, *-or*) which had no genitival inflexion. In Northern M.E. the weak nouns with gen. sing. in *-an* passed into this class, instead of into the strong masculine declension with gen. sing. *-es*, nom. plur. *-as*. Rolle has *þe hert rote* (the heart's root), *an eghe twynkelyng*, *þe son rysing* (the sun's rising), *til helle ground*, *helle pyne*¹, beside *þe dede hand* (the hand of death), *fader house*, *moder kne*. The usual Northern M.E. inflexion for the genitive of masculine nouns was *-is* or *-es*, e.g. *kinges son*, *manis blame*, and to many feminine nouns was given this ending e.g. *þis worldis lyfe*. The genitive plural ending, *-ra*, disappeared altogether; but the ending *-s* sometimes took its place in M.E. Rolle has *mens bodys*, beside *men banes* (men's bones), also *wormes fode* (worms' food).

(b) The Hackness dialect, like other Northern English dialects, has dispensed entirely with the inflexion *-s*, except when the possessive case is substantival. In this case the genitival noun, whether singular or plural, takes the inflexion, which is pronounced *-iz* after sibilants, *-z* after vowels or voiced consonants, and *s* after voiceless consonants, e.g.

ðat ats mi fe·əðəz, that hat is my father's,
ðem bi·əts is tlədz, those are the lads' boots,
its Diks, it is Dick's.

(c) Nouns ending in **θ**, **f**, and **s**, which voice these consonants in forming their plurals—e.g. **ju·θ** youth **ju·ðz**, **kəf** calf **kəvz**—retain the voiceless **θ**, **f**, or **s** before the substantival possessive case, e.g.

ist 'θat ju·θs ? Does it belong to that man ?

(d) Nouns which make their plurals by vowel mutation, or in (**r**), form their possessive case in **-s** (**-z**) when substantival—e.g. **manz** man's, **menz** mens, **tʃildəz** children's.

II. The possessive case may also be indicated by the use of **əv**, in the dialect, as in literary English.

¹ Murray, *Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland*, p. 163.

437. *Gender.*

Names of male animals require the masculine pronoun **i**: he, whilst females are designated by **fi·ə** she.

Machines, engines, and the like are often referred to as *she*, e.g. **Dzu·ədʒ əz getn ə niu self-biŋdər ən fə ganz up ti tma:k** George has got a new self-binding reaper, and it runs well.

ADJECTIVES.

438. *The Articles.*

(a) The indefinite article is **ə** or **ən**, a, an. **ə** is used before consonants and *h*-mute, **ən** is heard before vowels, e.g. **ə kɔ:d snəp**, a spell of cold weather, but **ə nɔ:d tʃəp** an old man.

The indefinite article is the O.E. numeral *ān* one, used as an article, like the French *un*. In Northern M.E. no difference was made between the numeral and the article. For both *a* (**ɑ:**) was written before consonants, and *an*, *ane* (**ɑ:n**) before vowels. The modern dialect has a specialised form for the numeral, **ja:** before consonants, **jan** before vowels.

(b) The definite article is **t**, the, which is generally prefixed to the noun it qualifies, e.g. **tman** the man, **tku:** the cow.

The definite article represents Northern M.E. sing. *þe* which superseded O.E. demonstrative *sē*. The *th* came from the oblique cases. In early modern English it was weakened to *th'* (*Clavis* *th'*), and now appears as a prefixed **t**. In Northern M.E. the definite article had a plural form *þa*, which fell out of use in favour of the singular form *þe*.

(c) In expressions of anger and surprise beginning with **wat** what, the emphatic form **ʔə**, and not the weak form **t**, is used, e.g. **wati ʔə wold...** what in the world! **wat ʔə aɹjment!** what the hangment! etc.

439. *Comparison of Adjectives.*

(a) The comparative is formed by adding **-ə(r)** (North. M.E. *-er*, *-ar*), and the superlative by adding **-ist** (North. M.E. *-est*) to the uninflected adjective. Long or unfamiliar adjectives are compared with **me·ə(r)** more, for the comparative, and **me·əst** most, for the superlative form, e.g.

viuli pretty,	viuli-ə(r) ,	viuli-ist .
ɔ:kəd awkward,	ɔ:kəd-ə(r) ,	ɔ:kəd-ist .
plentiful plentiful,	me·ə plentiful ,	me·əst plentiful .

(b) The superlative absolute is formed with **vəri** very, **ri:t** right, or **ri·əl** real, e.g. **ə vəri gud frind** a very good friend; **ə ri:t gud dʒob** a very good thing; **ri·əl ɔ:kəd** very awkward.

Irregular Comparison.

(c) The following adjectives are irregularly compared:

bad bad,	wos (<i>Rolle wers</i>),	wost (<i>Rolle werst</i>),
fa:(r) (M.E. <i>fer</i>)	{ fa:rər ,	{ fa:rist ,
far ,		
gud good,	betər ,	best ,
la:tl little,	les (<i>Rolle les</i>),	li·əst (<i>Rolle leste</i>),
moni many,	mē·ə (<i>Rolle ma</i>),	} mē·əst (<i>Rolle mast</i>),
mitʃ much,	mē·ə(r) (<i>Rolle mare</i>),	
ni·ər near, nigh,	ni·ərər ,	{ ni·ərist (in position),
		nekst (in order).

foðər is the comparative of the adverb 'forth,' M.E. *forther*, **foðist** is a new adjectival superlative.

fa:rər and **fa:rist** are used with reference to sight, e.g. **t fa:rist star** the farthest star; **foðər** and **foðist** with reference to motion, e.g. **t foðist ʒrip wiv mi·əd** the farthest trip which we have made.

The Midland form **mitʃ** has superseded North. M.E. *mykel* (O.E. *mycel*). Marshall (1788) quotes: "Is there mickle to deea?" but *mickle* is now no longer heard.

mē·ə (*Clavis meay*) and **mē·ə(r)** (*Clavis mare*) are now confused, owing to the loss of **r** before consonants. The distinction was preserved in North. M.E. e.g.

"And ay þe ma saules þat þider wendes,
þe mare þair payn es, þat never endes."

(*Pricke of Conscience*, l. 3728.)

ni·ər is either the M.E. adverb *nere* used as an adjective, or else the comparative of North. M.E. *negh* nigh used as the positive. The North. M.E. forms were *neghe* or *nerehand*, near; *nere* nearer, *neghest* nearest, *nest* next.

(d) After the comparative form of the adjective, *than* appears in the dialect as **ən**, but the usual substitute is **nə(r)**, nor, e.g. **iz θri: ji·ər ɔ:də nə 'mi:**, he is three years older than I. Northern

M.E. used only *than* in this construction, but *nor* frequently occurs in the Middle Scots writers, cf. James Melvill's account of his flight from St Andrews:

"I grew sa extream seik, that manie a tyme I besaught my cowsing to sett me a-land; schosin (choosing) rather anie sort of dethe for a guid cause, *nor* sa to be tormented in a stinking holl."

(e) Adjectives of one syllable which end in *ŋ*, do not, as in English, form their comparatives in *-gə(r)* and *-gist*. There is no inserted *g* in the dialect, e.g.

juŋ young,	juŋə(r) ,	juŋist .
laŋ long,	laŋə(r) ,	laŋist ,
strɑŋ strong,	strɑŋə(r) ,	strɑŋist .

The Northern M.E. forms offer no guide to their pronunciation. The writers spelled the comparatives of *lang*, *strang*, etc., as *langer*, *stranger*. Probably *g* was not heard.

440.

THE NUMERALS.

Cardinal	Ordinal	Cardinal	Ordinal
1 jan, ja:	fost	17 sevn'ti:n	sevn'ti:nt
2 twi'ə	tu'ðə(r), seknd	18 eit'ti:n	eit'ti:nt
3 θri:	θod	19 na:n'ti:n	na:n'ti:nt
4 fouə(r)	fouət	20 twenti	twentit
5 fa:v	fift	21 jan ən twenti	twenti fost
6 siks	sikst	22 twi'ə ən twenti	twenti
7 si'əvn, sevn	sevnt		seknd
8 eit	eitt	30 θotti	θottit
9 ni:n, na:n	na:nt	40 fotti	fottit
10 ten	tent	50 fifti	fiftit
11 ə'li'əvn, levn	levnt	60 siksti	sikstit
12 twelv	twelft	70 sevnti	sevntit
13 θot'ti:n	θot'ti:nt	80 eitti	eittit
14 fouə'ti:n	fouə'ti:nt	90 na:nti	na:ntit
15 fif'ti:n	fif'ti:nt	100 undəð	undəðt
16 siks'ti:n	siks'ti:nt	1000 θu:zn	θu:znt

(a) Like Scots, the dialect has developed a **j** in **jan** one, and a long root-vowel in **si·əvn** seven and **ə'li·əvn** eleven; but it differs in having a Midland form in **sit** eight. The Middle Scots form was *aucht*, Northern M.E. *aght*, Rolle *eght*. Metathesis of *r* has taken place in **θod** third, **θotti** thirty, and **θotti:n** thirteen, by analogy with Midland forms, but the Northern tense **tt** remains in **θotti:n**, and in **θotti**. In **fotti** forty the **t** is long by analogy with **θotti**.

All the ordinal forms end in **-t**, except **seknd** and **θod**. The **-t** is due to analogy with O.E. *fyrsta*, *fifta*, *sihsta*, etc. In Northern M.E. the ordinals usually ended in *-end*, as *sevend*, *neghend*, *tend*, etc. due to the influence of the Scandinavian ordinal ending, which occurs in O.I. as *-onde* or *-ande*.

(b) The unaccented form of **jan** one is **ən**, e.g. **tri·ədən** the red one. **tuθə(r)** (lit. the other) is used for the second of two, also for one remaining after a subtraction.

(c) Fractions are :

ə·əf, **ə·f** half; **θod** third; **kwa:tə(r)** quarter.

(d) Multiplicatives are :

jans once; **tweis** twice; **θrsis**, **θri:ta:mz** thrice; **foue ta:mz** four times, etc.; **dubl** double; **tribl** threefold.

ən 'od ən ə twi·ə, **jan ə'twi·ə**, a few.

PRONOUNS.

The forms in parentheses are the 'weak,' or unemphatic forms. They here follow the 'full' or emphasised forms, which are more conservative and nearer to their Middle and Old English ancestry. Naturally the stressed pronouns are not used so often as the unemphatic forms.

441. Personal.

	1st Person		2nd Person		3rd Person		
Nom. Sing.	a: (ɑ)	I	θu: (θu)	thou	i: (i)	fi·ə (fi·ə)	it he, she, it
Obj. Sing.	mi: (mə)	me	θi: (θe ; ʔe)	thee	im	or (ər , ə)	it him, her, it
Nom. Plur.	wi: (wi)	we	ji: (je)	ye	θe:ə (θe) they		
Obj. Plur.	uz: (əz)	us	ju: (je)	you	θəm (əm) them, 'em		

(a) The first person singular **a:** represents North. M.E. *I* [i], the short unstressed form of *ik*, I. After *ik* had fallen out of use,

I was used in stressed positions also, and when used emphatically the vowel became **i:**. This M.E. **i:** gave rise to our **a:**, from which a new unemphatic form [**ɑ**] has been formed. Probably **mə** represents North. M.E. *mek*, the O.E. accusative, *mecc*; **mi:** is the O.E. dative, *mē*.

(b) The second person singular **ðu:**, **ði:** is used in addressing an intimate friend, a child, or an animal. The plural of the second person is used (1) in addressing a stranger or a superior, (2) as the plural of familiar intercourse with friends and children. The unemphatic nominative [**jə**] represents the North. M.E. accusative *yhow*, O.E. *eow*, with [**j**] from the nominative **ji:** (Rolle *yhe*, O.E. *gē*).

(c) The third person singular pronouns **i:** and **fi·ə** are used when male and female animals are spoken of, e.g. **fəz ə gud 'u:nd, ðat la:tl 'bitf ə ða:n** Your little bitch is a good dog. The weak plural form [**əm**] represents Midland M.E. *hem* (them), O.E. *heom*, *him*, dative plural of *hie* (they). **ðs·ə** (they), and **ðem** (them) are Scandinavian forms, which occurred in North. M.E. as *þai* and *þam*. The feminine sing. **fi·ə(fə)** is from the old Northern M.E. *scho*, *sho*, probably directly derived from O.E. *seo*, the fem. demons. pronoun.

(d) The Objective forms for all persons are used after the verb *be*, e.g. **its im** it is he; **'if'a: wə'ði:** if I were you; **ðemz əm** those are they. This construction is probably due to Scandinavian influence.

The Objective case is also used:

(1) when more than one subject precedes the verb.

e.g. **im ən'or əl gan** he and she will go.

'Tom ən im kom 'bæk tigidər Tom and he came back together.

(2) when a pronominal subject is separated from its verb by a subordinate sentence, or phrase.

e.g. **ðem, ət 'sez 'si·ə, iz 'li·əz** They who say so are liars.

(3) Reflexively instead of the reflexive form (**sen**); with the verbs **set** to set, **lɛ·ə** to lay.

e.g. **i lɛ·əd im du:n on t su·əfə** He lay down on the sofa.

ən set mə du:n, ti rist ə bit And sat me down to rest awhile.

(Castillo, *Awd Isaac*, l. 5.)

(e) Main affirmative sentences are frequently introduced by

a personal pronoun; and the noun to which it refers, connected by a link-verb, or a demonstrative adjective, is attached at the end of the main sentence.

e.g. **Its 'ruf ti de·ə, ist** (or simply **t**) **'si·ə** The sea is rough to-day.

i pa:zilz ə'laŋ, diz Tom Tom walks rather fast.

fəz ə'gud ən, jon 'inzn, wen fə gits ə'ge·ət That engine goes well when once it has been started.

442. Possessive.

(a) Adjectival forms.

	1st Person		2nd Person		3rd Person		
Possess. Sing.	ma: (mi)	my	ða: (ði)	thy	iz or (ə)r, ə	it his, her, its	
„ Plur.	u·ə(x) (wə(x))	our	ju·ə(x) (je(x))	your	ðe·ə(x) (ðe(x))	their	

mi and **ði** represent M.E. *mi* and *þi*, adjectival possessive (weak) forms of O.E. *mīn*, *þīn*. New emphatic forms **mi:** and **ði:** were developed in the M.E. period (cf. **a:**, I. < **i:**) which gave modern **ma:** and **ða:**. The genitive **it** represents North. M.E. *it*, O.E. *hit* the nominative form. The old genitive was *his*. The feminine **or** is Rolle's *hir*, O.E. *hire*. **ðe·ər** (Rolle's *þair*) is a Scandinavian form.

(b) Substantival forms.

	1st Person		2nd Person		3rd Person		
Possess. Sing.	ma:n	mine	ða:n	thine	iz ors	his, hers	
„ Plur.	u·əz	ours	ju·əz	yours	ðe·əz	theirs	

With the exception of the Scandinavian form **ðe·əz** theirs, these 'absolute' possessives represent the O.E. genitives *mīn*, *þīn*, *his*, *hire*, *ūre*, *eower*, used as pronouns—not, as in the case of the possessive forms above, as adjectives.

443. Reflexive.

	1st Person		2nd Person		3rd Person			
Reflex. Sing.	mi'sen	myself	ði'sen	thyself	iz'sen	ə'sen	it'sen	} himself } herself } itself
„ Plur.	wə'senz	ourselves	je'senz	yourselves	ðe'senz			

The accent always falls on the second syllable. I believe **sel** forms do occur in certain parts of the North and East Ridings. Dr Wright, quoting Ellis¹, says “-*sel* is the only form that occurs

¹ *Windhill Dialect*, p. 193.

in all the North Northern, West Northern, and East Northern dialects, except at Holderness (S.E. Yorks.), and South Ainsty, where we find *-sen*." I can only state that I have never heard *-sel* used in the Hackness district; **Self** is used as a demonstrative pronoun in the dialect meaning 'very,' 'same,' e.g. **tself ən tsi·əm** the very same. Historically, **sen** is the dative of *self*, O.E. *selfum*, Northern M.E. *selvyn*, *selfine*. Since many verbs with which reflexive pronouns are used take a Dative Object, e.g. *tell*, *give*, etc., a dative case remained in M.E.; and the use of *selvin* (*selvn* > *seln* > **sen**) spread by analogy to verbs like *wesh*, *lay*, etc. which took an Accusative Object. It is worth noting that nearly all the pronominal Accusative forms are derived from the O.E. Dative forms.

444. *Demonstrative.*

Sing.	ðis , this	ðat , that	jon , yon.
Plur.	ði·əz , these	ðem , those	jon , yon.

(a) **ðis** and **ði·əz** refer to objects nearest to the speaker (Lat. *hic*, *hi*), **ðat** and **ðem** to objects near or belonging to the person spoken to (Lat. *iste*, *isti*). **ðis** and **ði·əz** are usually followed by **i·ə(r)** here, and **ðat** and **ðem** by **ði·ə(r)** there, e.g. **ði·əz i·ə te·ətiz iz beṭə nə ðem ði·ər** These potatoes are better than those. *This* (O.E. neut. *ðis*, *hoc*) and *that* (O.E. neut. *ðæt*, *istud*) were used in North. M.E. exactly as now. Their plurals were *thir* (Rolle *þir*, *þer*, Yorks. Dial. *thur*), probably of Scandinavian origin, = these; and *þa* (O.E. *ðā*, *ista*) or *þaas* (O.E. *ðās*, *haec*) = those. The modern **ði·əz**, these, probably goes back to Rolle's *þaas*, or it may be a new form from the O.E. dative of *ðās*, *ðeosum*. *ðem* is the O.E. dative of *ðā*, *ðæm*; Rolles *þam*, acc. of *þai* they. *thur* has fallen out of use, but it remains in Lowland Scotch and Northumbrian.

(b) Whenever the object or objects pointed out are *remote*, **jon** is used (Lat. *ille*), e.g. **jon 'ilz kold 'Wintəz Foli** That (over yonder) hill is called Winter's Folly. **jon** is the (rare) O.E. *geon*, Northern M.E. (common) *zone*; cf. Mannyng "ys *zone* þy page" (Is that thy footman?), *Handlyng synne*, l. 5893.

(c) The Midland English form 'those' is never heard in the dialect.

(d) The determinative forms are :

	Masc.	Fem.	Neut.	
Sing.	im et , he who	or et , she who	ðat et, yon et	that which
Plur.	ðem et , they who, those...who		ðem et	those which

The antecedent of the relative pronoun in the modern dialect is always an Accusative form, historically an O.E. dative. The use of **ðem** as a demonstrative pronoun (*ista*) is probably owing to its use as a grammatical nominative in this position.

445. *Interrogative.*

Nom.	wi·e who?,	wat what,	witf which,	weðe(x) which of two.
Obj.	wi·e whom?,	wat what,	witf which,	weðe(x) which of two.
Poss.	wi·ez whose?			

The Northern M.E. forms were *wha* (O.E. *hwa*) who; *wham* (O.E. dat. *hwām*) whom, *whase* (O.E. *hwæs*) whose, *what* (O.E. *hwæt*) what. *Whilk* (O.E. *hwilc* what sort of?) was a relative pronoun in Northern M.E. **weðe(x)** is the O.E. *hwæðer*, which of two?

wi·ez refers only to persons, and is adjectival like the possessive case of nouns.

wi·e refers to persons, **wat** to things. **witf** is used only partitively of either persons or things. The interrogative pronoun is never governed by a preposition, the latter is put at the end of the sentence.

e.g. **'wi·e wər it 'di·ən bi** by whom was it done?

'wi·e eʃtə 'gin it ti·e to whom have you given it?

weðe(x) is used of two alternatives, e.g. **'weðe wilʃə ev, 'tri·ədən ət'blakən** which will you have, the red one or the black one?

446. *Relative.*

(a) When the antecedent is expressed, **æt (ət)** that is used for all genders and numbers. The relative **ət** cannot be governed by a preposition, but the preposition is tacked on after the object, or at the end of the sentence.

e.g. **im ət wi si:d tos ov last wi:ks di·əd** The man whose horse we saw last week is dead.

its ði: ət əz ədlin it for I am earning it for you.

æt is also used as a conjunction, e.g. **Þu no:z æt i 'sed æt i 'i·əd þat** You know that he said that he heard that. As such, **æt** clearly corresponds to the Scandinavian conjunction *at* (that), also used as a relative in Old Icelandic with *swā* (so), e.g. *swā mikill at*, so great that. In North. M.E. *at* was only rarely used as a relative, beside the commoner *wha* and *whilk*; but the Early Scottish writers made frequent use thereof. In the early Modern English period, it became the only relative pronoun used with an antecedent in Northern English.

(b) When the antecedent is missing, **wi·ə** is used for persons, **wat** for things.

E.g. **A di·ənt 'no: wi·ə wə 'ði·ər** I don't know who was there.

A 'si:d wat wər 'up I saw what was the matter.

Strictly speaking, such sentences as these are indirect questions with interrogative pronouns, and the rule that such a relative cannot be governed by a preposition holds good.

E.g. **ʃə 'teld mə wi·ə ʃəd 'gin it ti·ə** she told me to whom she had given it.

447. *Indefinite.*

sum some; **sumbodi** someone, somebody; **sumæt** something.

out anything; **nout** naught, nothing.

i'ni·əf enough; **fiu** few; **ivri** every; **ɔ:l** all; **els** else.

seik such; **ə'nuðə(r)** another; **tuðə(r)** the other.

{ **ɔuðə(r)** either; **nɔuðə(r)** neither.

{ **ɛ·əðə(r)** „ ; **nɛ·əðə(r)** „

oni any; **onibodi** anyone; **moni** many.

jan(ən) one, pl. **ənz** ones; **jan ə'nuðə(r)** one another.

ni·ə (ni) no; **ni·əbodi** no-one, nobody; **ni·ən** none.

ni·ən is often used emphatically instead of **nut** not; **ɑ:z 'ni·ən ga:in ti di·ə 'θat** I am not (emphatic) going to do that.

fiu (M.E. *fewe*) is a Midland form. The Northern M.E. was *fone*.

ɔuðər, **ɛ·əðər**, and **nɔuðər**, **nɛ·əðər** are both adjectives and conjunctions. They refer to two alternatives. A tale is told of a man who went to the village schoolmaster and asked: **wəðər iz it ri:t ti'se·ə, 'ɛ·əðər ər 'i:ðər?** And the master replied: **ɔ:l 'ɔuðər on əm l 'di·ə.**

The dialect possesses several words, adjectives or substantives, to express indefinite quantity, as: **ə di·əl**, **ə vast**, **ə fu**, **ə i·əp** a lot, a many.

The distributive adjective is **ivri**, every, each; **ilk** (*Rolle* ilk) each was in use up to the end of the 18th century. Marshall (1788) mentions it in his glossary, with the meanings each, every, and instances "ilk other house" every second house, but it is now no longer heard.

ADVERBS.

448.

(a) Of Place. **i·ə(r)** here, hither; **ði·ə(r)** there, thither; **wi·ə(r)** where, whither; **sumwi·ə(r)** somewhere; **bi·jint**, **ə·bak ə** behind; **up** up; **dun** down; **u:t** out; **of** off; **gs·ən** near; **ə·we·ə** away; **ə·buzt** about; **jonðə(r)** yonder; **i·əm**, **jam** home.

(b) Of Time. **nu:** now; **jans** once; **twais** twice; **ə·gi·ən** again; **wen** when; **ðen** then; **si·ən** soon; **ivə(r)** ever; **nivə(r)** never; **oft**, **ofenz** often; **seldnz** seldom; **i·nu:** (lit. een now) soon; **jistədə** yesterday; **las·nit** lastnight; **ti·mu·ən** tomorrow; **ti·mu·ən tmu·ən** (lit. to morn at morn) tomorrow morning; **ti mu·ən tnit** tomorrow night; **sin** since; **ti·de·ə** today; **ti·nit** tonight; **jit** still.

(c) Of Manner. **ɔuə(r)** too (e.g. **ɔuə bad fər out** too bad for anything); **i·əvn** even; **ən ɔ:l** (lit. 'and all') also (e.g. **shez 'of, ən 'a:z of ən 'ɔ:l** she is going, and I am going also); **si·ə** (si) so; **u:** how; **dʒust** just; **els** else; **re·əðə(r)** rather; **i·ni·əf** enough; **a:dlinz** hardly; **oməst** almost; **wat for?** why?

Affirmative and negative words. **ei**, **jis** yes; **ni·ə** no; **nut**, **ni·ən** not.

(d) Of Degree. **u·ivə(r)** however; **apn**, **mebi** perhaps; **nobet** only; **ɔ:ləs** always; **ðat** so (e.g. **i we ðat bad, ət i kd a:dlinz ba:d** he was so ill that he could hardly bear it); **ka:nd ə** somewhat; **vari** very.

(e) Same form as the adjective. **wil** well; **lan** long; **kwik** quickly; **li·ət** late; **il** ill; **prati**, **preti** pretty, rather; **midlin** middling, rather; **fast** fast; **stil** still; **a:d** hard; **st̥reit** straight; **rit** right; **lɔ:** low; **t̥ji·əp** cheap; **di·ə(r)** dear; **lud** loudly. These are compared, like adjectives, by adding **-ər** and **-ist** to form the comparative and superlative forms.

Irregular Comparison.

li·ət late	li·ətər	} last (in order), li·ətist (in time)
il ill	wɑ:r (cf. O.I. werri)	
wil well	beʔər	best.

(f) Adverbs built from adjectives usually end in **-li** unstressed, e.g. **ɔ:kədli** awkwardly; **munθli** monthly, etc., but the suffix **-ly** is stressed in: **ə'ku·ədɪn'lai** accordingly.

(g) Adverbial phrases, and expressions. **li·əstwɜs·əz** at least; **up tə 'tend** to the last; **i'nu:** at once; (**ə**)**'ku·əs** of course, naturally; **ti bi 'si·ə(r)** no doubt; **'θis wɜ·ə** thus, in this way; **ə'ge·ət** (lit. on the road), at work, going; **leɪk** like, is used redundantly in such sentences as **'wai, 'u: ɑ: jə 'leɪk** Well, how are you, **i 'ɒfnz leɪk 'kumz ɒv ə 'mʌndə** he often comes on a Monday. In Cumberland, I believe, 'what' is similarly used.

(h) The forms whither, hither, thither (North. M.E. whidir, hidir, thidir) and whence, hence, and thence (North. M.E. whethen, hethen, thethen), are not found in the dialect today. Instead of 'whither,' **wi·ə(r)**, followed by **ti·ə** after the main verb, is used, e.g. **wi·əz i gɑ:ɪn ti·ə ? iz gɑ:ɪn ti Bolɪtn** where is he going to? He is going to Bridlington. Similarly 'hither' and 'thither' are replaced by **i·ə(r)**, and **θi·ə(r)**, e.g. **kʌm i·ər** come here, **ɑz 'ɒf θi·ə nu:** I am going there now. Instead of 'whence,' **wi·ə(r)**, followed by **frə** after the main verb, is used, e.g. **wi·ə diz jə ɛ:l frə ? jə kʌmz frə Jɑtn** Where does she come from? She comes from Ayton. 'Hence' and 'thence' are replaced by **frəv i·ə(r)**, and **frə θi·ə(r)**.

PREPOSITIONS.

449. (a)

eftə(r) after	ə'fu·ə(r) before	du:n down
	bi'jɪnt behind	septɪn, sept except
ə'bu:t about	bi'lɔ: below	for, fə(r) for
ə'bu:n above	ə'nenst, bi'sɑ:d beside	frə·ə (frə), frəv from
ɔuə(r) across	bi'twɪkst, ə'twɪ:n	i, ɪv in
ə'gi·ən against	between	ɪntə, ɪntɪv into
ə'mʌŋg amongst	bi'jɒnt beyond	ɪnsɑ:d inside, within
ət at	bai (bi) by	ʊt'sɑ:d outside

ni·ə'rand }	near	sin since	wa:l until, til
ge·ən'and }		θruf through	wi, wiv with
on (ə) on, of		ti·ə (ti), tiv to	ə'ðut without
of off		undə'ni·əθ under	
ru:nd round, around		up up	

frē·ə is the Northern M.E. *fra*, corresponding to Midland M.E. *fro*, and Southern *from*. The form **fræv**, which is used before consonants, is made by analogy of **iv** in and **tiv** to. **ə'nenst** is O.E. *onefen*, *onemn*, prep. alongside of, and the adverbial genitive suffix *-es*.

(b) Prepositional phrases. **əz 'far əz** as far as; **spsit ə** in spite of; **ɔʊər ə'nenst** opposite to; **ə 'ðis sa:d** on this side; **ət tuðə sa:d** on the other side; **i 'frunt ə** in front of; **fə 'tsi·ək ə** for the sake of.

CONJUNCTIONS.

450. **bud, bət** but; **koz, ə'kos** because; **ən** and; **ət** that (*that* is never used as a conjunction); **gif, if** if; **ne·əðə(r), nouðə(r)** neither; **ε·əðə(r), ɔʊðə(r)** either; **nə(r)** nor (after comparative adjectives = *than*); **ə(r)** or; **wa:l** until.

INTERJECTIONS.

451. Exclamation, **ai**; Wonder, **i:**; Pain, fear **u:**; Objection, **ε, ε: bud**; Doubt, **wi:l**; Vexation, **deɟ, bon, bonl it ont**; Surprise, **lɔ:k, 'lɔ:k ə 'masi 'on əz**; Meeting, **holɔ:, wat—**; Expostulation, **wa:i** (e.g. **wa:i, wat diz i ε·əl** why, what does he ail?); Triumph, **u'rsɛə**; Commiseration, **ɔ:ə, di·ər ə di·ər**; Intention, **wa:i nu: ðen**; To horses, **ɔ:v** move to the left; **dzi:** move to the right; **wu:ə** stop.

VERBS.

1. *Strong Verbs.*

452. The strong verbs are characterised by a vowel change (gradation) which marks the difference between the Present and Past tenses, and the Past Participle; as **find, fan, fun**,—but the Old English gradation has become much obscured in the course of the dialect's development. The Past Participle regularly should

end in **-n** (M.E. *-en*), but the ending has been dropped whenever a nasal consonant (**n**, **ŋ** or **m**) appears in the preceding syllable. Thus **dra:v**, to drive, has Past Participle **drovn**; but **bind**, to bind, contracts to **bun** (for **bundn**); and **klim** to **klum** (for **klumbn**).

In Old English these verbs had four vowel-steps, representing (1) Infinitive and Present, (2) Pret. Singular, (3) Pret. Plural, (4) Past Participle. In Northern Middle English the Pret. Plural vowel was ousted by that of the Pret. Singular, and the steps were reduced to three, (1) Infinitive and Present, (2) Preterite, (3) Past Participle. Roughly speaking, these vowel-steps remain, and may be traced in the following pages. The vowels have undergone the normal development of vowels in accented syllables.

453. The inflections of strong verbs in Northern M.E. were as follows. The example is the verb 'speak.'

<i>Indicative Mood.</i>				
<i>Present</i>			<i>Past</i>	
	Sing.	Plur.	Sing.	Plur.
1	<i>speke</i>	<i>spekes, speke</i>	<i>spak</i>	<i>spak</i>
2	<i>spekes</i>	<i>spekes, speke</i>	<i>spak</i>	<i>spak</i>
3	<i>spekes</i>	<i>spekes, speke</i>	<i>spak</i>	<i>spak</i>

Imperative mood: sing. *spek*, plur. *spekes*.

Infinitive mood: *speke*.

Present participle: *spekand*.

Past participle: *spoken*.

Verbal noun: *spekyng*.

The inflection *-es* of the Pres. Indic. Plural was dropped when *we*, *yhe*, or *hai* came immediately before or after the verb. Cf. *Pricke of Conscience*, l. 1463: "Now we *fande* our force, now we *fail*."

454. In the modern dialect of Hackness, strong verbs are inflected as follows:

<i>Indicative Mood.</i>				
<i>Present</i>			<i>Past</i>	
	Sing.	Plur.	Sing.	Plur.
1	spi·æk, spi·æks	spi·æks, spi·æk	spak	spak
2	spi·æks	spi·æks, spi·æk	spak	spak
3	spi·æks	spi·æks, spi·æk	spak	spak.

Imperative mood: sing. **spi·ək**, plur. **spi·ək**.

Infinitive mood: **spi·ək**.

Present participle: **spi·əkin**.

Past participle: **spokn**.

Verbal noun: **spi·əkin**.

(a) In the Present Indic., the inflection **-s** appears as (**z**) after vowels and voiced consonants, and as (**iz**) after hissing sounds. This inflection is not a vulgarism in such sentences as **tmen kumz**. It is the historical plural inflection; cf. such a sentence in *The Pricke of Conscience* as: "þe tother part of the lyfe, men *calles* þe midward" (l. 552). Here follow the rules for its use.

The inflected forms of the Pres. Indicative plural are used with a noun subject, or when the pronominal subject is separated from its verb, exactly as in Northern M.E., e.g. **wi: ɔriŋk** we drink, but **im ən mi: ɔriŋks nobət waɔtər** He and I drink only water; **jə kum** you come, but **ji: ət kumz ti mɑ:kit nɔ:z** you who come to market know, etc.; **ʒe·ə sup** they drink, but **tkɑi sups t muki pəʊnd waɔtər** the cows drink the dirty water of the pond.

The 1st person Sing. Pres. Indicative of all verbs in the modern dialect has acquired a similar inflected form, by analogy with the plural, e.g. **ɑ tel im nut ti·ə** I forbid him, but **ɑ ofnz telz im ə'bu:t it** I often tell him about it. This inflected form is used as the Historical Perfect tense, e.g. **ɑ si:z im ɡən bɑi, ən ɑ up ən eɔtər im, ən ɑ ʃu:ts ən mɑlz, bud on i ɡanz əz unkon'sɑ:nd** I saw him go past and I went after him and shouted, but he went on unconcernedly.

(b) The Subjunctive forms of both strong and weak verbs had already been replaced by the Indicative in Northern Middle English, hence only inflected forms of the verb are heard in sentences containing unreal suppositions introduced by **if, ɡif**, if; e.g. **if i ɡanz ʒi·ər, il di·ə ni ɡud** If he go there (but he wont), he will accomplish nothing. But the verb **bi:** to be, has retained its subjunctive forms—Present (all persons) **bi: (bi)**, Past (all persons) **war (wə)**, North. M.E. *be, ware*—and these are often used in the if-clauses of conditional sentences, e.g. **if 'ʒat bi si·ə** if that be so, **if 'ɑ: wə ʒi:** if I were you.

455.

CLASS I.

Infm.	Pret. Sing.	Pret. Pl.	P. P.
O.E. <i>i</i>	<i>ā</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>i</i>
M.E. <i>ī</i>	⏟ <i>ā</i>		<i>i</i>
Mod.E.			
ei before voiceless consonants	e·ə		i
a: „ voiced	„		
ba:d , bide	be·əd , ba:did		bidn , ba:did
beit , bite	be·ət , bit		bitn
dra:v , drive	dre·əv		drivn , drovn
glā:d , glide	gle·əd		glidn
ra:d , ride	re·əd		ridn
reit , write	re·ət		ritn
ra:v , rive	re·əv		rovn
ra:z , rise	re·əz		rizn
stra:d , stride	stre·əd		stridn , strodn
streik , strike	stre·ək		strukn
stra:v , strive	stre·əv		strivn , strovn
jsit , cacare	js·ət		jitn
ðra:v , thrive	ðre·əv		ðrivn , ðrovn
fa:n , shine	fs·ən		fon .

The **e·ə** of the preterite in verbs of this class has developed regularly from the *ā* of the Northern M.E. Preterites (see §§ 126, 128). This is probably the explanation of the **e·ə** in the Windhill-verbs of this class (Wright, *Windhill Dialect*, § 362), which appear to be borrowed from a Northern dialect. The Past Participles in this list with **o** or **u** as root vowels are by analogy with Class II.

ra:v (O.I. *rīfa*) and **ðra:v** (O.I. *ðrīfa*) are of Norse origin, **stra:v** is the O.Fr. *estriver* (M.E. *strīve*, *stroof*, *striven*) with a Northern preterite in *ā* by analogy with the verbs of this class.

456.

CLASS II.

(a) Inf.	Pret. Sing.	Pret. Pl.	P. P.
O.E. <i>eō</i>	<i>eā</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>o</i>
M.E. <i>ē</i>	⏟ <i>ē</i>		<i>o</i>
Mod.E. i:	e·ə		o
fri:z , freeze (M.E. <i>frese</i>)	fre·əz		frozn

kli:v , cleave	kle·əv	klovn
kri:p , creep	krs·əp	kropn
[tʃu:z] , choose	tʃs·əz	tʃozn
ʃut , shoot	ʃot (M.E. schet)	ʃotn.

The **s·ə** of the above preterites is not the development of O.E. *ēa* (which is **i·ə**), but is due to the analogy of drive, stride, thrive (Class I), and spread, tread (Class V). **ʃut** is from M.E. *shote*, *schut* (O.E. *sceōtan*), with M.E. *ō* shortened to **u** before a dental consonant (§ 163). The vowel in **ʃot**, the preterite, is from the past participle. O.E. *ēōsan*, Rolle *chese*, should have become ***tʃi:z**, but the word is not heard in the dialect; **tʃi·əz** is sometimes heard, and comes from M.E. *chose* (O.E. *ceōsan*). M.E. close *ō* has regularly developed in the dialect to **i·ə** (§ 159). The verb was influenced in M.E. by Fr. *choisir*, and became partly weak; a pret. *chosed*, *choisid*, occurs. **frozn** and **tʃozn** (O.E. *froren*, *coren*) have **z** re-introduced from the present and preterite forms.

(b)	Inf.	Pret. Sing.	Pret. Pl.	P. P.
O.E.	<i>ēog</i>	<i>ēag</i>	<i>ug</i>	<i>og</i>
M.E.	<i>ēgh</i>	<i>ēgh, ōgh</i>		<i>ow</i>
Mod.E.	i:	iu		ou
	ʃi: , fly	ʃiu		ʃoun.

The preterite **ʃiu** is not due to the analogy of the Reduplicating Verbs (Class VII), but it is the normal development of Rolle's *flogh*, a new preterite formed by analogy with *drogh* drew, and *slogh* slew (Class VI). This was made to supersede the older and more regular pret. *fleggh*, perhaps because the infinitive and present tense was also *fleggh*. To this class belonged **ʒri:** (O.E. *drēogan*, Rolle *dreghe*) to endure, suffer; and **li:** (O.E. *lēogan*) to tell lies, which are now weak.

(c)	Inf.	Pret. Sing.	Pret. Pl.	P. P.
O.E.	<i>ēow</i>	<i>ēaw</i>	<i>uw</i>	<i>ow</i>
M.E.	<i>ew</i>	<i>ew</i>		<i>ow</i>
Mod.E.	iu	iu		—
	briu , brew	briu, briud		briun, briud
	riu , rue	riu, riud		riun, riud.

These are often conjugated weak. The past participles are from the present stem.

(d) The other remaining verbs of Class II have become weak. **tʃou** is from an O.E. by-form *ceōwan*. **ɔri:p** (O.E. *drēopan*, M.E. *drepe*) preserves its long vowel, as do **suk** (O.E. *sūcan*), and **ʃu:v** (O.E. *scūfan*), but the root vowels are shortened in the weak prets. and past participles before the double consonants. **smiuk** is a new formation from the noun, O.E. *smoca*. The vowel shows the regular development of M.E. *ō* before *k*.

CLASS III.

457. The verbs of this conjugation may be divided into four sub-classes, according to the nature of the first medial consonant.

I. Verbs which had a medial nasal followed by another consonant:

	Inf.	Pret. Sing.	Pret. Pl.	P. P.
O.E.	<i>i</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>u</i>
M.E.	<i>i</i>	<i>a</i>		<i>u</i>
Mod.E.	<i>i</i>	a		u
m stems.	klim , climb	klam		klum
	swim , swim	swam		swum
n stems.	bind , bind	ban		bun
	find , find	fan		fun
	bi'gin , begin	bi'gan		bi'gun
	run , run	ran		run
	spin , spin	span		spun
	wind , wind	wan		wun
ŋ stems.	ɔriŋk , drink	ɔranŋk		ɔrunŋk
	kliŋ , cling	klaŋ		klunŋ
	siŋ , sing	saŋ		sunŋ
	siŋk , sink	saŋk		sunŋk
	sliŋk , slink	slaŋk		slunŋk
	sprɪŋ , spring	spraŋ		sprunŋ
	stiŋ , sting	staŋ		stunŋ
	stiŋk , stink	staŋk		stunŋk
	striŋ , string	straŋ		strunŋ
	swiŋ , swing	swaŋ		swunŋ
	ʃriŋk , shrink	ʃraŋk		ʃrunŋk

To this class belongs a new formation from O.E. *hringan* (wk.):

riŋ, ring **raŋ** **ruŋ**.

Also the following verbs of Scandinavian origin :

diŋ (O.I. <i>dengja</i>) beat	daŋ	duŋ
fiŋ (O.I. <i>flengja</i>) fling	faŋ	fuŋ
iŋ (O.I. <i>hengja</i>) hang (intr.)	uŋ	uŋ
slŋ (O.I. <i>slöngwa</i>) sling	slaŋ	sluŋ .

Loss of the final **-n** in the past participles of all the above verbs is owing to the nasal in the root syllable, but it remains in the adjective **ḍrunŋkn** drunken.

The modern form **run**, although it is to be found as a Present tense in the Northern Metrical Homilies (*ca.* 1325)¹, is not a Northern form, but a borrowing from Southern English. The Northern M.E. was *rin* (*Rolle ryn*), perhaps from Anglian *irnan*, but certainly influenced by Scandinavian *renna*.

458. II. The verbs of this conjugation which had a medial *l* or *r* followed by a consonant have all become weak.

They include **elp** to help, **be·əl** to bellow, **je·əl** to yell, **jelp** to yelp, **melt** to melt, **swe·əl** to swell, throw, **ba:k** to bark, **ka:v** to carve, **sta:v** to die of cold or hunger.

In **be·əl**, **je·əl** and **swe·əl**, the lengthened vowel is due to the following final **l**, § 103.

459. III. Verbs having a medial *h* + consonant.

	Inf.	Pret. Sing.	Pret. Pl.	P. P.
Angl.	<i>eh</i>	<i>æh</i>	<i>uh</i>	<i>oh</i>
M.E.	<i>egh</i>	<i>agh</i>		<i>ogh</i>

Only one representative of this class occurs :

fi:t, fight **fout** **foutn**.

460. IV. Verbs which had two medial consonants, the first of which is not a nasal, *l*, *r*, or *h*.

	Inf.	Pret. Sing.	Pret. Pl.	P. P.
Angl.	<i>e</i>	<i>æ</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>o</i>
M.E.	<i>e</i>	<i>a</i>		<i>o</i>

¹ Wyld, *Short History of English*, p. 211, § 354.

Only two verbs of this class remain strong :

brust , burst	brast	brusn
θrust , thrust	θrast	θrusn.

θrust is of Scandinavian origin (O.I. *θrȳsta*) and has influenced the root-vowel of **brust**, which occurred in North. M.E. regularly as *brēst*.

mon (O.E. *murnan*) to mourn, **θref** (O.E. *θerscan*) to thresh, and **spōn** (O.E. *spurnan*) to spurn, have become weak.

461.

CLASS IV.

(a)	Inf.	Pret. Sing.	Pret. Pl.	P. P.
Anglian	<i>e</i>	<i>æ</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>o</i>
M.E.	<i>ē</i>	<i>a</i> or <i>ā</i>		<i>o</i>
Mod.E.	<i>i·ə</i>	<i>a</i> or <i>ε·ə</i>		<i>o</i> or <i>u</i>
	bi·ə(r) , bear	bu·ə(r) , be·ə(r)		bu·ən
	bri·ək , break	brak		brokn
	gri·ət , weep	grat		grutn
	sti·əl , steal	stelt		stoun
	stik , stick	stak		stukn
	fi·ə(r) , shear	fi·əd		fu·ən
	ti·ə(r) , tear	tu·ə(r) , te·ə(r)		tu·ən ,

and, by analogy, from O.E. *werian* (wk.),

wi·ə(r) , wear	wu·ə(r) , wε·ə(r)	wu·ən.
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The verb **stik** is a new formation from O.E. *sticca*, a stick, **gri·ət** (O.E. *grætan*, *grēt*) was originally a reduplicating verb. The preterites of this class are very irregular, only **brak**, **grat**, and **stak** preserve the original sing. form; **be·ə(r)**, **te·ə(r)** and **wε·ə(r)** indicate lengthening of *ǣ* in the open syllable, but in the commoner forms **bu·ə(r)**, **tu·ə(r)**, and **wu·ə(r)**, the vowel of the past participle has penetrated into the preterite. The past participles **bu·ən**, **fu·ən**, **tu·ən**, and **wu·ən** show the regular dialect development of M.E. *-orn*, § 118, and **stoun** is regularly derived from M.E. *stolen*, § 117.

(b) The following verb, having a single medial nasal, was irregular in Old English.

	Inf.	Pret. Sing.	Pret. Pl.	P. P.
O.E.	<i>u</i>	\bar{o}	\bar{o}	<i>u</i>
M.E.	<i>u</i>	o		<i>u</i>
	kum , come	kom, kam		kum, kumd.

The infinitive **kum** preserves the vowel of O.E. *cuma(n)*. The usual Northern M.E. pret. was *com* or *come*. This is preserved in the dialect preterite **kom**. **kam** is difficult to account for. It may be the survival of an Anglian preterite singular **cam* or **cwam* (Gothic *qam*, O.H.G. *quam*). Undoubtedly the verb would be influenced by Scandinavian *koma*, which had *kom* or *kwam* for its pret. sing. Our standard English form 'came' indicates a Midland M.E. *cāme* with a long vowel, but the dialect form **kam** can only come from a Northern M.E. *cām*. Any lengthening in the Middle English period would have given **ke·əm* or **ki·əm* in the modern dialect.

The past part. **kum** (O.E. *cumen*) has lost its ending owing to the final nasal in the root syllable.

462.

CLASS V.

	Inf.	Pret. Sing.	Pret. Pl.	P. P.
Angl.	<i>e</i>	\bar{e}	\bar{e}	<i>e</i>
M.E.	\bar{e}	<i>a</i> or \bar{a}		<i>o</i>
Mod.E.	<i>i·ə</i>	a or ε·ə		o
	ni·əd , knead	nad, ne·əd		nodn
	spi·ək , speak	spak		spokn
	tri·əd , tread	trad, tre·əd		trodn,

and, by analogy, from O.E. *sprædan* (wk.)

spri·əd **sprad, spre·əd** **sprodn.**

The above past participles have **o** as root vowel by analogy with Class IV.

	Inf.	Pret. Sing.	Pret. Pl.	P. P.
Angl.	<i>i</i>	\bar{e}	\bar{e}	<i>e</i>
M.E.	<i>i</i>	<i>a</i>		<i>e</i>
Mod.E.	i	a		e or i
	bid , bid	bad		bidn
	sit , sit	sat		setn

git , get	gat	getn, gitn, gotn
giv, gi , give	gav	gin.

git and **giv** owe their initial consonant to their Scandinavian cognates, O.I. *geta* and *gefa*. The original meaning of **git** was to acquire, but as in modern English, the verb is also used in the dialect as the passive auxiliary, e.g. **i gat kild**, he was killed, and to strengthen the verb 'have,' e.g. **iz gotn ə kɔ:d** he has a cold.

it , eat	it	itn
lig , lie	ligd, lɛ·ə	ligd, lɛ·ən.

it (O.E. *etan*) shows raising of *e* to *i* before *t*, § 106. The preterite indicates the shortening of M.E. *ē* before a dental, § 150. Rolle's preterite was *ete*. **lig** is the Scandinavian strong verb meaning 'to lie,' O.I. *liggja*. The strong pret. **lɛ·ə** and the past part. **lɛ·ən** may be from O.E. (*licgan*) *læg*, *legen*.

Here must be added also

sit , see	si:d, so:	si:d, si:n.
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The weak forms are usually heard, but **so:** is the regular development of North. M.E. *sagh*. The past part. **si:n** is the regular development of M.E. *sene*, which was a new formation from the M.E. infinitive *se*. It is not derived from the O.E. past part. *sewen* or *segen*. Similar formations in the Middle English period were *tane* from *ta* (take), and *made* from *ma* (make).

463.

CLASS VI.

(a)	Inf.	Pret. Sing.	Pret. Pl.	P. P.
O.E.	<i>a</i>	\bar{o}	\bar{o}	<i>a</i>
M.E.	<i>a, ā</i>	⏟ \bar{o}		<i>a</i>
	gri·əv , dig	grov, gri·əvd		grovn
	swi·ər , swear	swɛ·ər		swu·ən
	stand , stand	stud, sti·əd		studn.

The infinitive **gri·əv** indicates M.E. *grave*, with a long fronted *ā* (§ 128); **gri·əv** (O.E. *grafan*) would have a preterite in M.E. *grove*. From this comes the shortened dialect preterite **grov**, and the past part. **grovn** (for **gravn**); **gri·əvd** is probably a new weak formation from the infinitive, but it may be the regular strong preterite ***gri·əv** < M.E. *grove* (§ 160) with the 'weak' -d added.

swi·ər shows the regular development of M.E. \bar{e} , lengthened in the open syllable from O.E. *swerian*. The Northern M.E. preterite in the Metrical Psalms is *sware* (xxiii. 10) by analogy with Class IV, from which comes the dialect form **swē·ər**.

The M.E. past part. *sworen*, or *sworn*, was formed from the Midland preterite *swore*, and took the place of the older *swaren*; *sworn* regularly became **swu·ən** (§ 118), like the *-orn* preterites **bu·ən**, **ju·ən**, **tu·ən**, **wu·ən** of Class IV.

stand preserves its original vowel before the double consonant. The preterite **sti·əd** is a regular development of M.E. *stode* (§ 160). The form **stud** and the past part. **studn** owe their vowel to a M.E. shortening of the close \bar{o} before *-d* (§ 163). **studn** is derived from M.E. *stoden*, a new formation from the preterite *stode*, like *sworen* from *swore*, which ousted the older *standen*.

(b)	Inf.	Pret. Sing.	Pret. Pl.	P. P.
O.E.	<i>ag</i>	$\bar{o}g$	$\bar{o}g$	<i>ag</i>
M.E.	<i>aw</i>	$\bar{o}gh$		<i>aw</i>
Mod.E.	ɔ:	iu		ɔ:
	ɔrɔ: , draw	ɔriu		ɔrɔ:n .

The vowel in the infinitive and past part. is the development of M.E. *au*, the Northern M.E. forms were *draw*, *drawen*. Rolle's preterite *drogh* regularly yielded **ɔriu** (§ 161b).

Here must be added:

slē·ə, slay **sliu** **slē·ən**,

where the infinitive is not from O.E. *slēan*, M.E. *slee* [**slē:**] but from the Scandinavian *slā* (Northern M.E. *sla*, *slai*). The preterite is O.E. *slōg*, North. M.E. *slogh*, regularly developed to **sliu**, cf. **ɔriu** above, and **fiu** from *flogh* (Class II). The past part. is not from O.E. *slægen* or *slegen*, M.E. *slawen*, but a new Northern M.E. past participle *slane*, formed from the infinitive *sla*.

(c)	Inf.	Pret. Sing.	Pret. Pl.	P. P.
O.E.	<i>ac</i>	$\bar{o}c$	$\bar{o}c$	<i>ac</i>
M.E.	<i>ak</i>	$\bar{o}k$		<i>ak</i>
Mod.E.	ak	iuk		ak
	ɟak , shake	ɟiuk		ɟakn
	tak , take	tiuk		takn , tē·ən .

These preterites show the regular development of M.E. *ō* before *k*. **tak** is of Scandinavian origin, O.I. *taka*, *tōk*, *tekin*. The form **takn** owes its vowel to the analogy of **jakn**, but in Northern M.E. a new past participle *tane* was formed from the shortened infinitive *taa* (cf. *slane* above), and **te·ən** is derived from this.

(d) The other remaining verbs of this class, **bi·ək** bake, **fle·ə** flay, **li·əd** load, **fav** shave, **wef** wash, have become weak.

Of these, only **fav** and **wef** preserve the O.E. short vowel. For **wef** see § 98. The vowel in **fle·ə** is difficult to account for, and it agrees with that in **slē·ə** to slay. One would expect O.E. *flean* and *slēan* to yield M.E. *flee* and *slee* with the open *ɛ*, which would have given ***fi·ə** and ***slī·ə** in the dialect. Wright, *Grammar of the Dialect of Windhill*, § 376, says that the *ɛ·ə* comes from the past participle. This is unlikely in the case of **slē·ə**, and impossible with the weak verb **fle·ə**. More likely is it that these infinitives come, not from the English verbs *flean* and *slēan*, but from their Scandinavian cognates *flā* and *slā*. Barbour has *sla*, to slay, whereas the Midland and Southern writers regularly have *sleen*, *slee* [**slē:n**]. The latter forms would have yielded literary English 'slea.' *Slay* and *flay* are undoubtedly Northern forms in literary English, and their spelling is the usual Middle Scots *ai*, *ay*, for M.E. *ā*, which had already become fronted to the sound of the Northern M.E. diphthong *ai*.

bi·ək and **li·əd** have developed M.E. fronted *ā* as far as the *i·ə* stage, like **gri·əv** to dig.

464.	CLASS VII. (<i>Reduplicating Verbs.</i>)			
(a)	Inf.	Pret. Sing.	Pret. Pl.	P. P.
O.E.	<i>āw</i>	<i>eōw</i>	<i>eōw</i>	<i>āw</i>
M.E.	<i>au</i>	<i>eu</i>		<i>au</i>
Mod.E.	<i>ɔ:</i>	<i>iu</i>		<i>ɔ:</i>
	blɔ: , blow	bliu		blɔ:n
	krɔ: , crow	kriu		krɔ:n
	mɔ: , mow	miu		mɔ:n
	nɔ: , know	niu		nɔ:n
	sɔ: , sow	siu		sɔ:n
	θrɔ: , throw	θriu		θrɔ:n ,

and by analogy :

	snɔ: , snow	snɪu	snɔ:n.	
(b)	Inf.	Pret. Sing.	Pret. Pl.	P. P.
O.E.	<i>ōw</i>	<i>ēōw</i>	<i>ēōw</i>	<i>ōw</i>
M.E.	<i>ou</i>	<i>eu</i>		<i>ou</i>
Mod.E.	ɔu	iu		ɔu
	grɔu , grow	griu		grɔun
	rɔu , row	riu		rɔun.

These verbs have not passed into the above class, as in standard English. In the dialect M.E. *au* became **ɔ:**, but *ou* has remained as **ɔu**.

	Inf.	Pret. Sing.	Pret. Pl.	P. P.
(c)				
Anglian	<i>al</i>	<i>ēal</i>	<i>ēal</i>	<i>al</i>
M.E.	<i>a(u)l</i>	<i>el</i>		<i>a(u)l</i>
Mod.E.	ɔ:	el		ɔ:
	fɔ:l , fall	fel		fɔ:ln
	ɔd , hold	eld		ɔdn.

The vowel in **ɔd** (*Rolle* hald, *Clavis* haud) should regularly appear as **ɔ:**, the normal development of M.E. *au*, but it became short, by analogy with the past part. **ɔdn** (where the vowel is short before the double consonant) during the eighteenth century (§ 96*b*).

	Inf.	Pret. Sing.	Pret. Pl.	P. P.
(d)				
O.E.	<i>ēa</i>	<i>ēō</i>	<i>ēō</i>	<i>ēa</i>
M.E.	<i>ē</i>	<i>ē</i>		<i>ē</i>
Mod.E.	i·ə	e		e or i·ə
	bi·ət , beat	bet		betn , bi·ətn.

bet is probably from an Anglian **bēat* for West Saxon *bēot*. It must come from a M.E. form containing the open *ē*, for the M.E. close *ē* shortened to *i* (§ 150).

	Inf.	Pret. Sing.	Pret. Pl.	P. P.
(e)				
O.E.	<i>ǣ</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>ǣ</i>
M.E.	<i>ē</i> or <i>a</i>	<i>a</i>		<i>ē</i> or <i>a</i>
	let , let	let		letn.

The Northern M.E. forms of this verb were *lete*, or *latte*, with pret. *lat*, and past part. *laten*. The *a* was due to the influence of the Scandinavian cognate verb (O.I. *lāta*, *lēt*, *lātinn*). The modern infinitive **let** derives its vowel from a shortening of M.E. open *ē*, (cf. **bet**) by analogy with the past part. **letn** (where the vowel is short before the double consonant, cf. **odn**, **od**). The preterite **let** may have its vowel from a common dialect development, the raising of *a* before dentals (§ 99).

To this class belong :

sli:p , sleep	slep , slept	slep , slept
swi:p , sweep	swep , swept	swep , swept
wi:p , weep	wep , wept	wep , wept.

These verbs have preserved the long vowel of their infinitive and present stem. **sli:p** is Anglian *slēpa(n)*, O.E. *slēpan*. **wi:p** is Anglian *wēpa(n)*; cf. Goth. *wōpjan*. Its preterite was originally *wēop* < **wewōp*, contracted to *wēp*, like *slēp* (slept) and *lēt* (let). The vowel appears to have become short in the weak forms before the double consonant, and to have been transferred afterwards to the strong forms. This may be the explanation of the short vowel in **let** above. **swi:p** (O.E. *swāpan*) appears to have been formed by analogy with **sli:p** and **wi:p**.

(*f*) The remaining verbs of this class: **fo:d** fold; **loup** (O.Ī. *hlaupa*) to leap; **ri:əd** (pret. **red**) read; **span** span; and **wɔ:k** walk; have become weak.

2. Weak Verbs.

465. For historical purposes we may divide the weak verbs into two classes. (1) Those which in Old English had no stem vowel,—the preterite ending was added directly to the root. (2) Those which formed their preterites with *-ede*, or *-ode*.

Class I includes the "irregular" weak verbs of the I-Conjugation, *sellan*, *bycgan*, etc.; I-Conjugation "long roots," *hieran*, *dēman*, *sendan*, *lecgan*, etc.; and the AI-Conjugation, *habban*, *secgan*, and *libban*; all of which formed their preterites in *-de*, or *-te* after a voiceless consonant.

Class II includes I-Conjugation "short roots," *fremman*, *wenian*, *ferian*, etc., which formed their preterites in *-ede*; the

O-Conjugation, *lufian*, *macian*, etc., which formed their preterites in *-ode*, and some new formations.

In Northern M.E. Class II regularly formed its preterite in *-ed*, whereas the preterites of Class I ended (in speech at least) in *-d*, or *-t* after a voiceless final consonant.

466. The inflections of Class II of weak verbs in Northern M.E. were as follows. The example is the verb 'look.'

<i>Indicative Mood.</i>			
<i>Present.</i>		<i>Past.</i>	
Sing.	Plur.	Sing.	Plur.
<i>loke</i>	<i>lokes, loke</i>	<i>loked</i>	<i>loked</i>
<i>lokes</i>	<i>lokes, loke</i>	<i>loked</i>	<i>loked</i>
<i>lokes</i>	<i>lokes, loke</i>	<i>loked</i>	<i>loked</i>

Imperative mood : sing. *loke*, plur. *lokes*.

Infinitive mood : *loke*.

Present participle : *lokand*.

Past participle : *loked*.

Verbal noun : *lokyng*.

The inflection *-es* of the pres. indic. plural was omitted when a pronoun-subject came immediately before or after the verb.

467. In the modern dialect of Hackness, weak verbs are inflected as follows :

<i>Indicative Mood.</i>				
<i>Present.</i>			<i>Past.</i>	
	Sing.	Plur.	Sing.	Plur.
1	liuk, liuks	liuks, liuk	liukt	liukt
2	liuks	liuks, liuk	liukt	liukt
3	liuks	liuks, liuk	liukt	liukt

Imperative mood : sing. **liuk**, plur. **liuk**.

Infinitive mood : **liuk**.

Present participle : **liukin**.

Past participle : **liukt**.

Verbal noun : **liukin**.

The remarks made upon the inflection *-s*, upon the inflected forms of the Present Indicative, and upon the Subjunctive Mood in § 454 are true also for the weak verbs.

The preterite and past part. may end in *-t*, as in the case of

liukt, or in **-id**, or **-d**. As a general rule **-t** occurs after voiceless consonants, **-d** after vowels and voiced consonants, and **-id** is heard only after **t** or **d**. New formations, and Middle English borrowings follow that rule, e.g. **be·ət** (to abate) **be·ətid**, **kle·əm** (to claim) **kle·əmd**, **profə(r)** (to offer) **profəd**, **pas** (to pass) **past**; but many original English verbs are irregular in this respect, as will be seen in the following paragraphs.

CLASS I. (M.E. preterites in *-t* or *-d*.)

468. I. Irregular verbs of the I-Conjugation :

bai , buy	bout	bout
st̥ritʃ , stretch	st̥ritʃt	st̥ritʃt
θi·ək , thatch	θi·əkt	θi·əkt
kil , kill	kild	kild
sel , sell	seld	seld
tel , tell	teld	teld
ri·ətʃ , reach	ri·ətʃt	ri·ətʃt
ti·ətʃ , teach	tout	tout
sik , seek	sout	sout
brin , bring	brout	brout
θiŋk , think	θout	θout
work , work	rout	rout

st̥ritʃ shows a Northern dialect development of *e* to *i* before dentals.

sel and **tel** had Northern M.E. preterites *sald* and *tald*. The present dialect forms are Midland, in which the I Mutation of the infinitive and present stem was adopted throughout the verb.

rout shows a metathesis of *r*, cf. O.E. *worhte*. The remainder are regular developments of O. and M.E. forms, excepting that **ri·ətʃ** has formed a new weak preterite. The regular form would be ***rout** (Anglian *rāht*) with the same vowel as **tout**.

The vowel change in the preterites of **bai**, and the last five verbs in the above list is not gradation, § 452, but is due to the fact that in O.E. their infinitives contained a vowel which was mutated by the *-j-* of the verbal stem. **sik**, for example, represents O.E. *sēcan*, *sōhte*, from an earlier **sōkjan*¹.

¹ See Wright, *Old English Grammar*, § 534, or Wyld, *Short History of English*, § 333.

469. II. I-Conjugation Long Roots:

(a) Long by position.

bend , bend	bent	bent
bild , bi:ld , build	bilt	bilt
qrenf , drench	qrenft	qrenft
fil , fill	fld	fld
kis , kiss	kist	kist
let , hinder, let	let	letn
le·ə , lay, bet	le·əd	le·əd
nit , knit	nit	nit
send , send	sent	sent
set , set	set	set, setn
spend , spend	spent	spent
fut , shut	fut	fut, futn
wend , wend	went.	

The original short vowels remain, excepting that

bi:ld shows a M.E. *e*, derived from O.E. *y* (*byldan*), lengthened before the consonant group *-ld*, § 146.

went is also used as the preterite of **gan** (§ 476) to go.

le·ə to lay is used always in speaking of birds and their eggs, also of betting; but otherwise **le·ə** and **lig** are "equally used transitively or intransitively, without any distinction in meaning," as in *Windhill* (p. 143).

Curious, too, is the inevitable use of 'laid' (to denote a 'state,' not an action) where modern usage demands 'lying,' in such a sentence as **a fan im 'le·əd ont grund** I found him lying on the ground. This solecism is not confined to the uneducated, as the following examples show: Maxwell's *Life of Wellington*, London, Bickers, 1890, chap. 12, p. 375, "the British infantry, who held the threatened point, were *laid* down on the reverse of the crest they occupied"; Kipling's *A Fleet in Being*, London, Macmillan, 1899, chap. 4, p. 44, "The Cornwall coast slid past us in great grey-blue shadows, *laid* out beyond the little strip of sail-dotted blue." It reminds one of the joke that Lord Kitchener refused to enlist "Bantam" regiments in 1915 because "they would not lay in the trenches."

(b) Long by 'nature.'

bli:d , bleed	bled	bled
bri:d , breed	bred	bred
di·əl , deal	delt	delt
drai , dry	dra:d	dra:d
fi:l , feel	felt	felt
fi:d , feed	fed	fed
i·ə(r) , hear	i·əd	i·əd
i·əl , heal	i·əld	i·əld
ki:p , keep	kept	kept
li·əd , lead	led	led
li·əv , leave	left	left
len , lend	lent	lent
mi·ən , mean	ment	ment
mit , meet	met	met
ri·ə(r) , rear	ri·əd	ri·əd
spri·əd , spread	spred	spred
swi:p , sweep	swept	swept
swi·ət , sweat	swet	swet
wif , wish	wift	wift

Many of the above verbs show an early M.E. shortening of O.E. *æ* or *ē* in the preterite and past part. before the O.E. double consonant, e.g. *fēdan*, *fēdde*; *lædan*, *lædde*, etc.

len (North. M.E. *len*) is not O.E. *lænan*, which would have become ***li·ən**. It is a new formation from the preterite **lent** (O.E. *lænde*), where the M.E. *ē* became short before the double consonant. Similarly **wif**, O.E. *wýscan*, would have yielded ***wɛif**. The vowel first became short in the preterite and past participle.

470. AI-Conjugation:

e , ev , have	ed	ed
liv , live	livd	livd
sɛ·ə , say	sed	sed

e (before consonants), **ev** (before vowels) represents North. M.E. *hā*, *hāf*. The **e** is due to the shortening of M.E. fronted *æ*:, probably in the Early Modern English period. The long vowel remains in the compound verb **bi'·s·əv**.

ed (North. M.E. *had*) is not the Midland M.E. *hafd* or *haved*,

which would have given **ɔ:d* in the dialect (cf. *lɔ:d* from M.E. *laverd*, or *ɔ:k* from M.E. *havek*). It is a new formation from the clipped North. M.E. infinitive *hā*, like *made* from *ma* (for *mak*) to make. The vowel is either to be explained as on the last page, or more probably as the development of *a* to *e* before dentals (§ 99) after its shortening in Middle English.

se·ə represents regularly North. M.E. *say* (O.E. *secgan*). The vowel became short in the pret. and past part. before *-d*.

CLASS II. (M.E. preterites in *-ed*.)

471. The remaining verbs, which in Middle English formed their preterites and past participles in *-ed*, from O.E. *ede*, *ode*, may be classified according to their modern forms into

- (1) Those which add *-id* to the present tense to form the preterite and past part.,
- (2) Those which add no inflection,
- (3) Those which add *-d*,
- (4) Those which add *-t*.

The general rule for the formation of the preterite and past participle is: (1) verbs which end in *-t* or *-d* take *-id*, (2) verbs which end in a voiced consonant take *-d*, (3) verbs which end in a breathed consonant take *-t*; but this rule is often broken. Many weak verbs in *-l*, *-m*, and *-n* make preterite and participle in *-t*.

472. I. Verbs which form preterite and past participle in *-id*:

felt , hide	feltid	feltid
flit , remove a household	flitid	flitid
fri·ət , fret	fri·ətid	fri·ətid
siut , suit	siutid	siutid
skrat , scratch	skratid	skratid
smit , infect	smitid	smitid
tji·ət , cheat	tji·ətid	tji·ətid

The ending *-id*, North. M.E. *-ed*, *-id*, is preserved in this class of verbs after a dental consonant.

felt is a new formation from the adjective **felt** hidden, a weak past participle of the Scandinavian verb (O.I.) *fela* to hide. **smit** and **skrat** are also of Scandinavian origin.

fri·ət (O.E. *frettan*, to devour) was originally a strong verb, belonging to the same Gradation series as **it** to eat.

473. II. Verbs which end in **-d** or **-t**, and add no inflection in the preterite:

(a) Short stem vowels. The past participle of these verbs is usually strong.

it , hit	it	itn
kast , cast	kast	kast, kesn
kost , cost	kost	kost, kosn
kut , cut	kut	kut, kutn
ot , hurt	ot	ot, otn
put , put	put	putn
slit , slit	slit	slit, slitn
splet , split	splet	splet, spletn
wed , wed	wed	wed, wedid
wet , wet	wet, wetid	wet, wetid.

kast, **kut**, and **it** are of Scandinavian origin.

kost and **ot** are Romance verbs from O.Fr. *coster* and O.Fr. *hurter* respectively.

(b) Long stem-vowels, with contracted preterite.

lit , light, alight	let, lit	let, letn ; lit, litn
tri·ət , treat	tret	tret, tretn.

tri·ət is of Romance origin, Fr. *traiter*. Its present stem indicates M.E. **tre:t** (*trete*). The short vowel in the preterite is owing to the analogy of the English verbs, which had originally a double consonant in the preterite, as *lædan*, *lædde*, to lead, etc.

474. III. Weak verbs, which end in a voiced consonant or a vowel, usually form their preterites and past participles in **-d**.

fi·ə , frighten	fi·əd	fi·əd
fo·ə , follow	fo·əd	fo·əd
fr·ə·əm , attempt	fr·ə·əmd	fr·ə·əmd
im'pri·əv , improve	im'pri·əvd	im'pri·əvd
lo·uz , loosen	lo·uzd	lo·uzd

luv , love	luvd	luvd
pri·əv , proove	pri·əvd	provn
smi·ə(r) , smear	smi·əd	smi·əd
sou , sew	soud	soud, soun
si·əz , sieze	si·əzd	si·əzd
strou , strew	stroud	stroud
ʃou , show	ʃoud	ʃoud, ʃoun
ʃi·ə , shoe	ʃod	ʃod, ʃodn
ti·əm , pour out	ti·əmd	ti·əmd
wakn , waken, awake	waknd	waknd
wi·ən , wean	wi·ənd	wi·ənd.

ti·əm, **ʃi·ə**, and **louz** are of Scandinavian origin.

pri·əv is Old French *prover*, **im·pri·əv** is M.E. *emprove*, from O.Fr. *emprover*, or *approver*, to benefit.

475. IV. Weak verbs, which end in a voiceless consonant (some verbs in **l**, **m**, and **n**), form their preterites and past participles in **-t**.

(a) Without vowel change.

bon , burn	bont	bont
katʃ , catch (of persons)	katʃt	katʃt
kep , catch (of things)	kept	kept
kos , curse	kost	kost
lɑ:n , learn	lɑ:nt	lɑ:nt
lap , wrap	lapt	lapt
los , loose	lost	lost
mak , make	mi·əd	mi·əd
smel , smell	smelt	smelt
spel , spell	spelt	spelt
spil , spill	spilt	spilt
ʃe·əp , shape	ʃe·əpt	ʃe·əpt.

ʃe·əp is not the strong verb (O.E. *scieppan*) but a new formation, M.E. *shape(n)*, from the noun O.E. *ge-sceap*, Northern M.E. *shap* or *shappe*, shape.

mi·əd is not O.E. *macode*. In Northern M.E. a new infinitive *ma*, or *maa*, was made by analogy with *ta* (take), and *sla* (slay), and a new weak preterite *made* was formed from this. From this

source comes literary English 'made,' and also the dialect form **mi·əd**. **katf** is of Romance origin, cf. Old Picard *cachier* (O.Fr. *chacier*) to hunt. **kep** is Scandinavian (O.I. *keppa*, to strive).

(b) With contracted preterites.

dri·əm , dream	dremt	dremt
ni:l , kneel	nelt	nelt .

476. Irregular is

gan , go	went , gi·əd	gi·ən .
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gan is a Scandinavian borrowing (O.I. *ganga*, *gekk*, *genginn*), in which the final **ŋ**, still preserved in Lowland Scots and Cumberland, has been weakened to **n** in the Hackness dialect. The Northern M.E. form was *gā* (O.E. *gān*) from which comes the past part. **gi·ən**, North. M.E. *gane*. The O.E. verb was originally strong, and the pret. **gi·əd** is a new weak formation.

Preterite-Present Verbs.

477. The historical interest of the following verbs, which are used as auxiliaries to express modifications of verbal action, lies herein, that they were all originally strong verbs. The present tenses of these verbs have long been obsolete. The present tense was superseded by the old preterite, and a new weak preterite formed from the old preterite plural stem, in the ages long before any of the Germanic languages were written down. The preterite-present verbs are common to all the Germanic tongues. The Hackness dialect of English, like modern English, employs them merely as modal auxiliaries. They have no subjunctive or infinitive forms, as in German. It is impossible for instance to say **a sl mun gan**, Ich werde gehen müssen; or **a evnt it kud di·ə**, Ich habe es nicht tun können, but the dialect is more conservative than English. It is possible to say **a ka:nt di it nu:**, **bud a ju:st ti kud di it**, where **kud** is a weak past part. used as an infinitive.

sal and **wil** are used to denote futurity and obligation exactly like literary English 'shall' and 'will.' Indeed, with the excep-

tion of **mun**, *q.v.*, all the following verbs have the same construction and meaning as in English.

478. *can* (M.E. *can*, pret. *cuthe*, *coude*).

Pres. emphatic form **kan**, weak form **kn** for all persons.

Pret. „ „ **kud**, „ „ **kæd** for all persons.

In composition with 'not.'

Pres. **ka:nt**, for all persons.

Pret. **kudnt**, for all persons.

479. *dare* (M.E. *dar*, pret. *dorste*).

Pres. **da:(r)**, for all persons.

Pret. **dost**, for all persons.

There is a weak preterite **da:d**, which is transitive, and means 'challenged.'

In composition with 'not.'

Pres. **da:nt**, for all persons.

Pret. **dosnt**, for all persons.

The weak preterite **da:d** has no composite form. *i 'da:d im ti 'di it*, he challenged him to do it, becomes *i didnt 'da:r im ti 'di it*.

480. *may*. (North. M.E. *may*, pret. *moght*, or *mught*.)

Pres. emphatic form **mæ·ə**, weak form **mæ**, for all persons.

Pret. emphatic form **mud**, weak form **mæd**, for all persons.

In composition with 'not.'

Pres. **mɔ:nt** for all persons.

Pret. **mudnt** for all persons.

mud is the regular descendant of North. M.E. *moght*, cf. **nut** (not) from *noght*.

North. M.E. *moght* would give an early Mod. Eng. [**mout**] from which **mud** is a shortened form. The **t** was voiced to **d** owing to the influence of the initial voiced consonant, cf. **bud** from M.E. *but*.

481. *must*.

Corresponding to lit. English 'must,' the dialect has two verbs

—**must** which implies outward necessity, not depending on the will of a person; and **mun** which implies compulsion depending on personal will.

must is borrowed from Midland M.E. *moste*, the preterite of *moot*, may or can, used as a present. The Northern M.E. auxiliary which implied logical necessity was *byhove*, cf. *Pricke of Conscience*, l. 491,

“All *pas*, he says, *pat* comes of Eve,
pat es, al men *pat* here *byhov*es leve
 ...say outh^r a, a, or e, e.”

must has

Pres. emphatic form **must**, weak form **məst**, for all persons.

In composition with ‘not’: **muznt**, for all persons.

The Preterite of this verb is wanting. Its substitute is: **ad ti·(ə)** (had to), for all persons.

mun (North. M.E. *mon*, or *mun*, from Scand. *mun*, pret. *munða*) has

Pres. emphatic form **mun**, weak form **mən**, for all persons.

In composition with ‘not’: **mɔ:nt** (§ 480), for all persons.

The Preterite of this verb is wanting. Its substitute is: **ad ti·(ə)** (had to), for all persons.

The difference in meaning may be shown by the following examples.

Pret. **ʒə 'must kum 'ʒis ru·əd** = they must come this way (they cannot come by another way).

Pres. **ʒə mən 'kum 'ʒis ru·əd** = they must come this way (“they are under personal restraint to take this road”?)

482. *ought*, which is followed by the infinitive with ‘to.’

Pres. and Pret. **out ti**, for all persons.

In composition with ‘not.’

Pres. and Pret. emphatic form **out nut ti**, weak form **out nt ti** for all persons.

out comes from M.E. *oght* or *ought*, the Midland form of the North. M.E. pret. *aght*, which was used without *to*; cf. *Pricke of Conscience*, l. 1836,

“First *aght* men *drede* the ded (death) in hert.”

¹ Wright, *Grammar of the Dialect of Windhill*, p. 152, § 392.

The verb originally meant 'to have' (O.E. *agan*), but early in M.E. it acquired the meaning 'to owe' (*debere*), and as such required the sign of the Dative, e.g. "He owȝte to him 10,000 talentes" Wycliffe, *Matt.* xviii. 24. The compound verb **bi'ɔ:** (North. M.E. **byawe*) retains the original meaning to have, own, e.g. **wi·ə bi'ɔ:z ʒat?** whose is that? **ɔ:**, the regular development of O.E. *agan*, North. M.E. *awe*, means 'to owe,' and takes no dative 'to'; e.g. **ɑ'ɔ:d im tupns** I owed him twopence.

483. *shall.* (North. M.E. *sal*, pret. *suld*.)

Pres. emphatic form **sal**, weak form **sl**, for all persons.

Pret. emphatic form **sud**, weak form **səd**, for all persons.

In composition with 'not.'

Pres. **sa:nt** for all persons.

Pret. **sudnt** for all persons.

484. *will.* (Northern M.E. *wil*, pret. *wald*.)

Pres. emphatic form **wil**, weak form **l**, for all persons.

Pret. emphatic form **wad**, weak form **əd, d**, for all persons.

In composition with 'not.'

Pres. **wi·ənt** for all persons.

Pret. **wadnt** for all persons.

Conjugation of Verbs

485.

Table of Tenses.

Tense	Indefinite	Imperfect and continuous	Perfect	Perfect and continuous
Present	ɑ bri·əks I break	ɑz bri·əkin I am breaking	ɑv brokn I have broken	ɑv bin bri·əkin I have been breaking
Preterite	ɑ brak I broke	ɑ wə bri·əkin I was breaking	ɑd brokn I had broken	ɑd bin bri·əkin I had been breaking
Future	ɑsl bri·ək I shall break	ɑsl bi bri·əkin I shall be breaking	ɑsl e brokn I shall have broken	ɑsl e bin bri·əkin I shall have been breaking

To conjugate a verb it is merely necessary to know the present, preterite, and past part. forms, and the auxiliaries have, be, use, and do, which are given in full in the next paragraphs.

The simple preterite is a Perfect, and indicates an action completed in the past, e.g. **a brak mi watf** (it is not broken now).

AUXILIARY VERBS.

Have.

486. The verb 'have' is used to form the Perfect tenses. The Present perfect always contains the notion that the effect of the state, action, or thought indicated by the verbs reaches into present time, e.g. **av brokn mi watf** (and it is not yet repaired), **av θout ə'but: θat ə'di-əl** (and I am still thinking about it).

The Preterite perfect indicates a similar effect reaching into the past time indicated by the context: e.g. **id 'brokn iz 'watf, i'teld mə** (and it was still broken when he spoke to me), **id 'mɔ:n ə but 'fouər s-əkəz, wen 'a: gat θi-ər** (and was still mowing).

	Affirmative	Interrogative
Present	a: e, ev, (av) θu: ez (θuz) i: ez (iz) wi: e, ev, (wiv). ji: e, ev, (jəv) θs-ə e, ev, (θəv)	ev a: (eva) ez θu: (estə) ez i: (ezi) e wi: (ewi) e ji: (ejə) e θs-ə (eθə).
With 'not'	a s-ənt θu eznt i eznt wi s-ənt jə s-ənt θə s-ənt	s-ənt a ezntə eznt i s-ənt wə s-ənt jə s-ənt θə.
Preterite	a: ed (ad) θu: ed (θud) i: ed (id) wi: ed (wid) ji: ed (jəd) θs-ə ed (θəd)	ed a edte ed i ed wə ed jə ed θə.
With 'not'	a: ednt, etc.	ednt a, etc.

Infinitive: **e**, **ev** (North. M.E. *hā*, *hāf*). As in the case of the present tense, **e** is used before a following consonant, **ev** before a vowel.

Present Participle: **evin**.

Past Participle: **ed**.

The unemphatic forms of the Present and Preterite are enclosed within brackets.

The plural forms of the present tense given above are used only with pronominal subjects which immediately precede or follow the verb. With noun-subjects, or when the pronoun subject is separated from the verb, **ez** (weak form **z**, or **s** after voiceless consonants) is used; cf. § 454 *a*. For example, **t men ez ʒə dinəz ət jan** the men have their dinner at one, **mi ən im ez jan** he and I have one, **ji: əts workt si a:d** you that have worked so hard.

Be.

487. The verb *be* is used to form the Imperfect and Perfect tenses which denote continuous action.

The Preterite imperfect denotes a continued action; e.g. **a wə workin 'ði:ər ʒen** (day after day) or an action, state, or thought interrupted in the past, e.g. **i wə 'mɔ:in wen a 'gat ʒi:ər** (and I interrupted his action).

The Perfect tenses of this class contain the notion that the action, state, or thought indicated by the verb reaches into the time period indicated by the context. The time period of the Present, Perfect and Continuous reaches into the present, e.g. **av bin workin 'i:ə sin a wər ə 'lad** (and I am still working). That of the Preterite reaches into the past time indicated by the context, e.g. **id bin ɔrinʒin ə gudif bit, ən it fɪniʃt im of** (continuous action in the past, to the time of his death).

	Affirmative	Interrogative
Present	a: iz (az)	iz a: (iza)
	ʒu: iz (ʒuz)	iz ʒu: (iʒə)
	i: iz (iz)	iz i: (izi)
	wi: ar (wi(r))	a: wi: (awi)
	ji: ar (jə(r))	a: ji: (ajə)
	ʒe:ə ar (ʒə(r))	a: ʒe:ə (aʒə).

With 'not'	a iznt	iznt a
	ðu iznt	izntə
	i iznt	iznt i
	wi a:nt	a:nt wi
	jə a:nt	a:nt jə
	ðə a:nt	a:nt ðə.
Preterite	a: war (a wə(r))	war a
	ðu: war (ðu wə(r))	wa:ɾə
	i: war (i wə(r))	war i
	wi: war (wi wə(r))	wa wi
	ji: war (jə wə(r))	wa jə
	ðe·ə war (ðə wə(r))	wa ðə.

With 'not' **a: wa:nt**, etc. **wa:nt a**, etc.

Infinitive: **bi:** (North. M.E. *bē*), weak form **bi**.

Present Participle: **bi:n**.

Past Participle: **bi:n**, weak form **bin**.

The unemphatic forms of the Present and Preterite are enclosed within brackets. The plural forms of the present tense given above are only used with pronominal subjects which come immediately before or after the verb. With noun subjects, or when the pronoun is separated from the verb, **z** (**s** after voiceless consonants) is used; cf. § 454 *a*. For example, **tmenz of ti ðe dīnəz** the men are going to their dinner, **ðem ats pu·əli** they who are ill.

Use.

488. **ju:z**, to use, is the auxiliary which forms the variety of the Preterite denoting habitual action. Its preterite in this construction is **ju:st** (used) for all persons, or **ju:s** before **t**, and the main verb is preceded by **ti·ə** (**ti**). When used alone to denote habitual action, it is also followed by **ti·ə**, e.g. **a 'ju:s ti·ə** I habitually did so. Examples of the Preterite habitual are: **i 'ju:s ti gan** he used to go; **a 'ju:s ti plu:** I used to plow.

As a main verb, its preterite is **ju:zd**, e.g. **a ju:zd ə'bu:t ə'pund** I used about a pound.

Do.

489. 'Do' is used to form the Present and Preterite which denote emphasis, e.g. **iz 'a:dl, ən θat a 'di·ə nɔ:** (I am certain about it), **a 'did rsit tiv im** (there is no doubt about it).

In composition with **nut** not, it forms the negatives of the Simple, Present and Preterite tenses, e.g.

Present: **a di·ənt bri·ək**, emphatic form **a di·ə 'nut bri·ək**.

Preterite: **a didnt bri·ək**, emphatic form **a did 'nut bri·ək**.

Inverted, it is used in their interrogative forms, e.g.

Present: **div a bri·ək, diz i bri·ək, di (wi, jə, θə) bri·ək**.

Preterite: **did a bri·ək**, etc.

	Affirmative	Interrogative
Present	a: di·ə	div a
	θu: diz	diz θu: (distə)
	i: diz	dizi
	wi: di·ə	di wi
	ji: di·ə	di jə
	θe·ə di·ə	di θə.
With 'not'	a di·ənt	di·ənt a
	θu diznt	dizntə
	i diznt	diznt i
	wi di·ənt	di·ənt wi
	jə di·ənt	di·ənt jə
	θə di·ənt	di·ənt θə.
Preterite	a: did	did a
	etc.	etc.
With 'not'	a didnt	didnt a
	etc.	etc.

Infinitive: **di·ə, di, div** (North. M.E. *dō*).

di·ə is emphatic and also occurs in a final position. **di** occurs before consonants, **div** before vowels, and are weak forms. Early Mod. Eng. **diu** from M.E. *do* developed to **div** before vowels, and to **di·ə** in an end position (§ 159).

Present Participle: **di:in**.

Past Participle : **di'en**.

The plural forms of the present tense above are only used with pronominal subjects attached to the verb ; with noun subjects **diz** is used, e.g. **tmen diz it** the men do it, also **diz** is used when the pronoun subject is detached from the verb, e.g. **Dem et diz it** they who do it. The rule for this use is stated in § 454 *a*.

CHAPTER II

SPECIMENS OF THE DIALECT

490. THE value of specimens of a language in phonetic script without the tongue of the interpreter is not very great. None would, I imagine, set out to learn French merely from the publications of the Association Phonétique. Hence, whilst I have deferred to what is perhaps a useful custom, I have not included many specimens. Those which follow are my own work and record my own pronunciation; and to those words which have varying values according to the emphasis laid upon them, I have assigned the values which I should give in reading aloud.

There is a mass of stories and poems printed in the dialects of Northern and Eastern Yorkshire. Besides those dialect pieces which appear from time to time in the Whitby, Scarborough, and Hull newspapers, I might mention:

Poems in the North Yorkshire Dialect, by John Castillo, Stokesley, pub. Tweddell, 1878.

The Folk-Speech of East Yorkshire, by John Nicholson, London, pub. Simpkin, 1889.

T' Hunt of Yatton Brigg, by Richard Blakeborough, Gainsborough, pub. Stokeld, 1899.

Specimens of the Yorkshire Dialect as spoken in the East Riding, Driffield, pub. Holderness, 1886.

Rhymes and Sketches, by Mrs G. M. Tweddell, Stokesley, pub. Tweddell, 1892.

Wit, Character, Folklore and Customs of the North Riding of Yorkshire, by Richard Blakeborough, Saltburn, pub. Rapp, 1911.

Goodies and other stories, by Rev. Walter F. Turner, London, pub. St Catherine Press, 1912.

But their spelling is unscientific and often capricious, and, I regret to say, not always consistent.

I

491. The N.E. Yorks. Dialect *ca.* 1350.

The following extract describing the horrors of old age is taken from *The Pricke of Conscience*, ll. 766—803, and represents an attempt to reconstruct the pronunciation of the dialect in the fourteenth century. The metre demands the occasional pronunciation of final *-e* and the accentuation of the ending *-and* of the present participle at the end of lines. These peculiarities were not heard in conversational speech.

But az tirt az ə man waksez auld,
 ðan waksez hiz ki:ndə waik ənd kauld,
 ðan tʃaundʒez his kum'pleksiu:n
 ənd hiz man'ɛ:rz ənd hiz kun'disiu:n ;
 ðan waksez hiz hert hard ənd hevi,
 and hiz hevəd fe:bl ən dezi ;
 ðan waksez hiz gæ:st sek ənd sa:r,
 and his fæ:sə ruŋkləz, ai mɑ:r ən mɑ:r ;
 hiz mi:nd ez fort Mɛn¹ he ouxt² θiŋkəz,
 hiz ne:z oft ɔ:ropəz, hiz and stiŋkəz,
 hiz seɔt³ waksez dim ðat he hæ:z,
 hiz bak waksez cröükid, stu:pənd he gæ:z ;
 fiŋərz ən tæ:z, föüt ənd hand,
 and aulə hiz tutʃəz er trem'bland.
 hiz werkəz for'worθəz ðat he bi'ginəz ;
 hiz hæ:rə mutəz, hiz e:çən rinəz ;
 hiz ɛ:rəz waksez de:f, ənd hard tō hæ:r,
 hiz tuŋ failez, hiz spe:tʃ ez noxt klɛ:r ;
 hiz mu:θə slavərz, hiz te:θə rɔ:təz,
 hiz witəz failəz, ənd he oftə dɔ:təz ;
 he iz leçtli wræ:θ, ənd waksez fra'ward,
 but tō turn him fra wrɛ:θə it ez hard ;
 he sutʃəz ənd tru:əz söün ə θiŋ,
 but ful læ:t he turnəz fra ðat tru:'iŋ,
 he ez kuvətu:s ənd hard haul'dand,
 hiz tʃɛ:r ez ɔ:rɛ:ri ənd hiz ssm'bland ;

¹ M represents Scotch wh in 'what.'

² x represents Scotch ch in 'loch.'

³ ç represents Scotch ch in 'nicht' or in 'bricht.'

(Old age)

Bot als tyte¹ als a man waxes alde,
 þan waxes his kynde² wayke and calde,
 þan chaunges his complexion
 And his maners and his condicion;
 þan waxes his hert hard and hevy,
 And his heved³ feble and dysy;
 þan waxes his gast⁴ seke and sare,
 And his face rouncles⁵, ay mare and mare;
 His mynde es short when he oght⁶ thynkes,
 His nese ofte droppes, his (h)and⁷ stynkes,
 His sight waxes dym þat he has,
 His bak waxes coked, stoupand⁸ he gas;
 Fyngers and taes, fote and hande,
 And alle his touches er tremblande.
 His werkes forworthes⁹ þat he bygynnes;
 His hare moutes¹⁰, his eghen¹¹ rynnes;
 His eres¹² waxes deaf, and hard to here,
 His tung fayles, his speche es noight¹³ clere;
 His mouthe slavers, his tethe rotates,
 His wyttes fayles¹⁴, and he ofte dotes;
 He is lyghtly wrath¹⁵, and waxes fraward,
 Bot to turne hym fra wrethe¹⁶ it is hard;
 He souches¹⁷ and trowes sone a thyng,
 Bot ful late he turnes fra þat trowing¹⁸;
 He es couatous and hard-haldand¹⁹,
 His chere²⁰ es drery and his sembland²¹;

¹ soon. ² nature. ³ head. ⁴ spirit. ⁵ wrinkles. ⁶ anything.

⁷ hand, but the word probably stands for 'and' breath.

⁸ stooping. Note the pres. part. ending -and. ⁹ come to naught.

¹⁰ moules. ¹¹ eyes. ¹² ears. ¹³ not.

¹⁴ fail. Note the plural inflection -es. ¹⁵ wroth, angry. ¹⁶ wrath, anger.

¹⁷ is anxious. ¹⁸ belief. Note the verbal noun ending -ing.

¹⁹ close-fisted. ²⁰ face. ²¹ appearance.

he ez swift tō spe:k on hiz manær,
 and latsem ænd slau for tō he:r;
 he praizez auld men ænd hauldez ðam wiz,
 and juŋ men list him oft despiz;
 he lu:ez men ðat in auld tim hæz be:n,
 he læ:kəz ða men ðat nu: er se:n;
 he ez oftə sek and ai græ:'nand,
 and oftə aŋərd, ænd ai ple:'nand.
 aulə ðir, θruχ ki:nd, tō ən auld man fauləz,
 ðat klerkəz, pro'pertəz ov e:ld, kauləz.
 jit er ðar mæ: ðan i: hæv tauld,
 ðat fauləz tōü ə man ðat ez auld.

II

492. The N.E. Yorks. Dialect, ca. 1750.

The next specimen is an attempt to reconstruct the pronunciation of the dialect in the seventeenth century. The extract is from *A York-shire Dialogue in its pure Natural Dialect, as it is now commonly spoken in the North parts of Yorkeshire*, published by J. White, York, in three successive editions, 1683, 1684 and 1685, the last being entitled "The Praise of York-shire Ale" by G. M. Gent. The short *i* is very lax, and must be pronounced like *i* in Scotch, hill, pit, etc.

ll. 53—78.

- Father.* Kum, 'Tɪb, for 'ʃam, brɪŋ' ʊt ðə 'breəd ən 'sɑ:t;
 ðu:z 'lɑŋ ə-'kumn, ðu 'bre:dz əv 'hævər-'mɑ:t.
 ðər 'ke:l tɛ:sts 'stɾɑŋ əv 'ri:k, ðər 'nʊt fər 'mi:
 'God sendz 'meət, ən θ'di:vl sendz 'keuks, ei 'si:.
- Mother.* 'Mɑ:ri ge: ʊp, 'stɪŋk! jər 'vɑ:rə 'dɛnʃt, ei 'tɾu:,
 jʊr 'beli 'sɑ:rəz ən 'ɪl 'mɛ:stər 'nu:.
 ðər 'ɔ:r 'gʊd fər 'ðəm ɑt fɪndz 'fɑ:t, eɪz 'seur,
 bʊt 'ɑz ðə 'seu duθ 'fɪl, ðə 'dɾɑf duθ 'su:r.
- Father.* 'ðu: wɑd 'fɛ:n pə'swe:d əs 'ðɛ: ɑr 'gʊdɪnz;
 'hʊŋri 'dɔgz ɑr 'fɛ:n əv 'dɛrti 'pʊdɪnz.
 kʊm 'ðu: ən 'tɛ:st ðəm, 'ænd sɪt 'du:n ɪθ 'tʃɛ:r;
 'mɛ:ə ðə 'mɛrɪər, bʊt 'fɪuər 'beʃər 'fɛ:r.

He es swyft to spek on his manere,
 And latsom¹ and slaw for to here;
 He prayses old men and haldes þam wyse,
 And yhung men list² him oft despyse
 He loues³ men þat in ald tyme has⁴ been,
 He lakes⁵ þa men þat now er sene;
 He es ofte seke and ay granand⁶,
 And ofte angerd, and ay pleynand⁷.
 Alle þir⁸, thurgh kynd⁹, to an old man falles⁴,
 þat clerkes, propertes of eld, calles⁴,
 Yhit er þar ma¹⁰ þan I haf talde,
 þat falles to a man þat es alde.

- F.* Come, Tibb, for sham, bring out the bread & sawt;
 Thou's lang a-coming, thou braids of¹¹ Haver-Maut¹².
 Thur Cael tasts strang of Reeke, they're nut for me;
 God sends meat, and th' Deevil sends Ceauks, I see.
- M.* Marry gea upe, stink! you're varra dench'd¹³, I trow,
 Your Belly sarraes¹⁴ an ill Master now.
 They'r, o're good for them that finnds faut, I seoure.
 But as the Sew doth fill, the Draffe¹⁵ doth soure.
- F.* Thou wad faine perswade us they are gooddins¹⁶;
 Hungry Doggs are fain of durty Puddins.
 Come thou and taste them, and sit down i' th' chaire;
 Meay¹⁰ the merrier, but fewer better Fair.

¹ loath.² it pleases.³ praises.⁴ the plural form.⁵ blames.⁶ groaning.⁷ complaining.⁸ these.⁹ by nature.¹⁰ more.¹¹ resemble.¹² oat-malt.¹³ dense, particular.¹⁴ serves.¹⁵ grain.¹⁶ goodies, sweetmeats.

- Mother.* but 'ju: wil 'nut let 'mi: bi 'meri 'lang,
ei 'seur, fər 'ðe-ər iz 'a:lwəz 'sumθiŋ 'raŋ.
'ðe: ðət ə 'seik əz 'ju: kn 'həv ne-ə 'wil
te 'deu out; ə 'gud 'dʒək maks ə 'gud 'dʒɪl.
- Father.* ei 'preði, 'Peg, 'let us bi 'fri:nz ə'ge'n;
ðu 'nɑ:z, 'fe:r 'wərdz dəz mak 'feulz 'fe:n.
its 'wil 'spokn ðats 'wil 'tɛ:n, eiv 'he-ərd;
ðu 'iz se-ə 'krəbd, 'te spe-ək eiz 'a:lwəz 'fe-ərd.
- Mother.* 'ju: set 'jan ən 'unske:p, ən 'ðan ju 'riu;
gre-ət 'mætəz əv ən 'aŋri 'wərd, ei 'tru:
st Reid, 'Tib, ən 'kla:t sum 'kasnz 'u:t ə 'θərn;
ðan 'ge-ə ði 'we:z, ən 'fetʃ ə 'skil ə 'bərn;
ən 'hiŋ ðə 'pɑ:n ɔ:r θfeir iθ rekin-'kreuk,
ən 'eis wɛf 'seil ən 'dɪʃiz 'up iθ 'neuk;
ən 'ðen wil 'a:l te 'bed; e-ərz ə 'kɑ:d 'nit.

III

Comparative Specimen

493. Here begin the specimens of the modern dialect. The following is the passage used by Ellis in his *Early English Pronunciation*, vol. v. As it has become the classic dialect specimen, a version in the Hackness dialect will be useful for comparison with other dialects.

Wat for Dzon ez ni-ə duts.

- (1) **Wi:l, neiber, ðu: ɔn im kn bi-əθ laf ət θis niuz ə ma:n. wi-ə ke-əz? ðats nouðer i-ə nə ði-ər.**
- (2) **nobət ə fiu di:z koz ðə laft at, wi nɔ: ðat, di-ənt wə? wat sud makm? its nut vari leikli, nu'ist?**
- (3) **u:sum'ivər, ði-əz iz tfaks ət ki-əs, si-ə dʒust od ði din wiðə, frind, ən wiʃt wa:l a:v di-ən. a:kn!**
- (4) **a:z si-ər ət a i-ədm se-ə—sum ɔn əm ət went θruf ɔ:l tdʒob frət stɑ:t—ðat a did, si-ər i'ni-əf—**
- (5) **ət tjuŋist sun iz'sen, ə gri-ət lad ə ni:n [nɑ:n] ji-ər ɔ:d, niu iz faðəz vois [stevn] ət jans, ðof it 'wa: si kwi-ər ən skwɔ:kin, ən əd trʌst im ti telt triuθ oni de-ə, e:əi, ðat ə'wəd.**

- M.* But you will nut let me be merry lang,
 I seaur, for there is allwayes something wrang.
 They that have sike as you can have neay will
 To deau ought; A good Jack macks a good Gill.
- F.* I pray thee, Pegg, let us be Friends again;
 Thou knaws, fair words duz mack Feauls fain.
 It is weel spoken that's weel tane, I've heard;
 Thou is seay Crabb'd, to speak Ise alwayes feard.
- M.* You set yan on unscape¹, and than you rewe;
 Great matters of an angry word, I trowe.
 Stride, Tibb, & clawt² some Cassons out o' th' Hurne³;
 Than geay thy wayes and fetch a skeel of Burn⁴;
 And hing the Pan ore th' fire i' th' Rekin-creauk,
 And Ise wesh Sile and Dishes up i' th' Neauke;
 And then wee'l all to Bed; here's a cawd Neet.

Why John has no doubts.

Well, neighbour, you and he may both laugh at this news of mine. Who cares? That is neither here nor there. Few men die because they are laughed at, we know, don't we? What should make them? It is not very likely, is it? Howsoever these are the facts of the case, so just hold your noise, friend, and be quiet till I have done. Hearken! *I* am certain I heard them say—some of those folks who went through the whole thing from the first themselves,—that did I, safe enough,—that the youngest son himself, a great boy of nine, knew his father's voice at once, though it *was* so queer and squeaking, and I would trust *him* to speak the truth any day, aye, I *would*. And the old

¹ horror.

² serape.

³ hole.

⁴ water.

(6) ən to:d wumən ə'sen əl tel oni on jə et lafs nu:, ən tel jə streit of, ən ɔ:l, ə'ðu:t mitʃ boðər, gif jəl nobət əks ər, —ɔ:ə! wi'ənt jə?—

(7) li'əst wə:əz jə teld 'mi: ə'bu:t it wen a əksʃ ər, twi'ə θri: tɑ:mz ɔuər; 'ðat jə did; ən ji'ə out nut ti bi rang ə 'bu:t sɛik ə point əz ðis, sud jə?

(8) wi:l, ez 'ɑ: wə sɛ:n, 'ʃiəd tel jə, 'u:, 'wi'ər, ən 'wen jə fənt ɔrʊŋkn u:nd [bi'əst] et jə kɔ:lz ər uzbn.

(9) jə swe'ər et jə si:d [sɔ:] im wiv ər ɔ:n i:n, lɛ'əd ful lenθ ont grund, iv iz gud sundə kli'əz, ə'nenst di'ər et u:s, du:n et tku'ənər ə jon lu'ən [lɛ'ən].

(10) i wə twɑ:nin, jə sed, fər ɔ:l twold leik ə dwa:ni bɛ'n, ər ə lɑ:tl las iv ə fri'ət.

(11) ən 'ðat əpnd, əz ji'ə ən or dɔuʃər-i-lɔ: kom θruf tɒk-jɑ:d fræv iŋin u:t tkli'əz ti ɔrai əv ə wejsin dɛ'ə,

(12) wɑ:l tketl wə boilin fət ti'ə, jɑ: fɑ:n brit sumər eʃtəni'ən, nobət ə wi:k sin kum nekst θɔzdə.

(13) ən, dijə nɔ: [distə nɔ:]? a nivə lɑ:nt ni:ə mɛ'ə nə ðis ə'bu:t ðat dʒɔb wɑ:l ti'dɛ'ə, ez si'ər ez mɑ: ni'əmz dʒɔn ʃipət, ən a di'ənt wənt ti'ə, nouðər, si ði'ər!

(14) ən si əz gɑ:in jam ti mi supər. gud nit, ən di'ənt bi si ridi ti krɔ: ɔuər ə bodi ə'gi'ən, wen i tɔ:ks ə ðis, ðat, et tuðər.

(15) its ə wɛ'ək fi'əl et prɛ'əts ə'ðu:t ri'əzn. ən ðats mɑ: last wɔd. gud bai.

IV

494. Tɛ'ər ənt prikli bakt Otʃn.

It wə jɑ: Sundə mu'ənin i Sumər, dʒust ə'bu:t tɑ:m wen tɒuʃəri buʃiz blɔsəmz. Tsun wə ʃɑ:nin brit up i tskai, bi:z wə bizi i tɒuʃəri blɔsəmz, skai-lɑ:ks wə siŋin up ə'loft, əz fu'əks wə ʃrɛ'əpsin of ti tʃɔtʃ. ɔ:l kri's'əʃn wər əpi, ən tɒriklɪ bakt otʃn ən ɔ:l.

Totʃn wə stəndin bi iz di'ər, snifin tmu'ənin bri:z, ən umin ə lɑ:tl sɑŋ tiv iz'sen, əz fu'əks diz wen ðə liuk ut ov ə fɑ:n Sundə mu'ən. Wɑ:l i wə tiunin up, tɑ:'di: kəm intiv iz i'əd et i mud dʒust əz wi:l ev ə strɔul ut, wɑ:l iz

woman herself will tell any of you that laugh now, and tell you straight off, too, without much bother, if you will only ask her, oh! won't she? leastways she told *me* about it when I asked her, two or three times over, did she, and *she* ought not to be wrong on such a point as this, what do you think? Well, as I was saying, *she* would tell you, how, where and when she found the drunken beast that she calls her husband. She swore she saw him with her own eyes, lying stretched at full length on the ground, in his good Sunday clothes, close by the door of the house, down at the corner of yon lane. He was whining away, says she, for all the world like a sick child, or a little girl in a fret. And that happened, as she and her daughter-in-law came through the back yard from hanging out the clothes to dry on a washing day, while the kettle was boiling for tea, one fine bright summer afternoon, only a week ago come next Thursday. And, do you know?, I never learned any more than this of that business up to to-day, as sure as my name is John Shepherd, and I don't want to, either, there now! And so I am going home to sup. Good night, and don't be so quick to crow over a body again, when he talks of this, that, or t'other. It is a weak fool that prates without reason. And that is my last word. Good bye.

The Hare and the Prickly-backed Urchin.

It war yaa Sunday mornin' i' Summer, just about t' time when t' buttery-bushes blooms. T' sun war shinin' breet up i' t' sky, bees war bisy i' t' buttery blossoms, skylarks war singin' up aloft, as fowks war traipsin' off tae t' chotch. All creätion war happy, and t' prickly-backt urchin and all.

T' urchin war standin' by his deär, sniffin' t' mornin' breeze, and hummin' a laatile sang tiv hissén, as fowks does when they lewk oot ov a fine Sunday mornin'. Whilst he war tunin' up, t' idee cam intiv his heäd at he mud just as weel hev a stroll oot,

wesif wə weʃin up, ti si: u: iz tonəps wə di:in. T tonəps wə tnekst fi:ld tiv iz u:s, ən im ən iz famli ju:st ti əv e beit nu: ən ə'gi:ən,—ʒat wə wai i kɔ:ld əm 'iz tonəps. Si:ə i snekt tdi:ər eftər im, ən set of up tedland. Id dʒust gotn əz fər əz tbuləs buʃ et standz i'taŋl ot tonəp fi:ld, wen i dʒumpt wi tɔ:d ɛ:ər. Tɛ:ər wər on tsi:əm dʒob. I wə stroulin ru:nd, si:in iz kabifiz. Wen totʃn kam up wi tɛ:ər, i nodid ən sed 'Nu: mɛ:ət, wat tʃi:ər?' Bud tɛ:ə rɛ:əðə fansid iz'sen, ən sti:əd ə sɛ:in 'Midlin, ʒaŋk jə, u:z ði'sen?' i nobət sed, ʃot laik 'Wats ðu di:in up i:ər ɔ:l bi ði'sen ə ðis fa:n mu:ənin?' 'O: az nobət evin ə stroul 'ru:nd,' sed tprikli bakt otʃn. 'Evin ə stroul 'ru:nd,' laft tɛ:ər, 'a sud ə θɔut ðu kud ə fun sumət beʒə ti di:ə fə ði ɔ:d bandi legz nə ti kum spai-in ru:nd ma: kabif.'

Nu: ðis ansər netlt tprikli bakt otʃn ə vast. I kəd stand ə bit, bud i wa:nt ga:in fə ti stand nɔut sed ə'gi:ən iz legz, fə ðə 'war ə bit kriukt, ən i niu ðə war. Si:ə i ansəd 'ðu: tɔ:ks əz if ðu:d gotn ə beʒə set ði'sen.' 'Wa:ə! a sud bi rit put u:t, if a ednt,' sed tɛ:ər. 'Wi:l!' sed totʃn, 'ʒat di'pendz. A lɛ:ə a kud dzust ə'burt ʃou ði: tkulər ə mi tɛ:əl iv ə rɛ:əs.'

'Wa, ðuz daft,' sed tɛ:ər, 'ðu: ən ði bandi legz. Bud a di:ənt ma:nd ʃouin ði ə θiŋ ə twi:ə, sin ðuz si kin ə'burt it. Wats tsti:əks?' 'Al lɛ:ə ði ə gini ən e bodl ə dʒin,' sed tprikli bakt otʃn.

'Di:ən,' sed tɔ:d ɛ:ər. 'Kum on ðen, ən lets ev it nu:.'

'Nɛ:ə! ðəz ni:ə gri:ət ori,' ansəd totʃn. 'Az nut kweit fit. A ɛ:ət ti di:ə θiŋz iv ə despət ori. Al dʒust gan ə'ws:ə jam, ən ev ə beit, ən al mi:t ði up i:ər iv ə'burt ɔ:f ən u:ər.'

Wi:l, tɔ:d ɛ:ər ə'gri:d ti ðis, ən tprikli bakt otʃn kantəd ə'ws:ə of i:əm θiŋkin 'i gudz iz'sen ə'burt iz laŋ legz, bud 'a:l in'sens im, a:l ʃou im u: its di:ən.'

Wen i gat jam, i sed tiv iz wesif, 'Misis, busk ði'sen ən liuk ʃa:p ə'burt it, ən kum on u:t wi mi:.' 'Wa:ie! wat-ivəz up,' sez ʃi:, 'ðu eznt bi:n u:t fər ə wɔ:k wi mi: sin a di:ənt nɔ: ttɑ:m wen.' 'Nivə ðu: boðər ə'burt ʒat,' sez i, 'but kum ðu u:t wi mi:. Av ə bet on ev ə gini ən ə bodl ə dʒin wi tɛ:ər, ən a want ði: wi mi:. 'ðuz ga:in ti run tɔ:d ɛ:ər! Wa! ðuz lost ði wits. U: kn ðu: rɛ:əs wiv

whilst his wife war washin' up, tae see hoo his tonneps war deein'. T' tonneps war t' next field tiv his hoos, and him and his family used tae hev a bite noo and agen. That war why he called 'em *his* tonneps. Seä he sneckt t' deär efter him, and set off up t' headland. He'd just gotten as far as t' bullas-bush at stands i' t' angle o' t' tonnep field, when he jumped wi' t' awd hare. T' hare war on t' same job. He war strollin' roond, seein' his cabbishes.

When t' urchin cam up wi' t' hare, he nodded and said: 'Noo mate, what cheer?' But t'hare raither fancied hissen, and steäd o' sayin': 'Middlin, thankye, hoo's thysen?' he nobbut said, short like: 'What's thoo deein' up here all by thysen o' this fine morning?' 'Oh, I's nobbut hevin' a stroll roond,' said t' prickly-backt urchin. 'Hevin a stroll roond,' laughed t' hare, 'I sud ha' thowt thoo cud ha' fun' summat better tae deä for thy awd bandy legs nor tae come spyin' roond my cabbish.'

Noo this answer nettled t' prickly-backt urchin a vast. He cud stand a bit, but he warnt gyin' for tae stand nowt said again his legs, for they war a bit crewkt, and he knew they war. Seä he answered, 'Thoo talks as if thoo'd gotten a better set thysen.' 'Why, I sud be reet put oot, if I hedn't,' said t' hare. 'Weel,' said t' urchin, 'that depends. I lay I cud just aboot show thee t' culler o' my tail iv a race.' 'Why, thoo's daft,' said t' hare, 'thoo and thy bandy legs. But I deän't mind showing thee a thing or tweä, since thoo's sae keen aboot it. Wat's t' stakes?' 'I'll lay thee a guinea and a bottle o' gin,' said t' prickly-backt urchin. 'Deän,' said t' awd hare. 'Come on then, and lets have it oot noo.' 'Nay, there's neä great hurry,' answered t' urchin. 'I's nut quite fit. I hate tae deä things iv a despert hurry. I'll just gang away yam and hev a bite, and I'll meet thee up here iv aboot hauf an hoor.' Weel, t' awd hare agreed tae this, and t' prickly-backt urchin cantered away off heäm thinkin': 'He goods hissen about his lang legs, but I'll insense him, I'll show him hoo it's deän.' When he gat yam, he said tiv his wife: 'Missis, busk thysen and lewk sharp aboot it, and come on oot wi' me.' 'Why! what-ivir's up?' says she, 'thoo hesn't been oot for a walk wi' me sin I deän't knaw t' time when.' 'Niver thoo bother aboot that,' says he, 'but come thoo oot wi' me. I've a bet on of a guinea and a bottle o' gin wi' t' hare, and I want thee wi' me.' 'Thoo's gyin tae run t' awd hare! Why! thoo's lost thy wits. Hoo

im? ðu: no:z wi:l i'ni:əf at i kn gan ten tɑ:mz fɑ:stə nə ðu:.' 'Nu: misis,' i sez, kɑ:nd bud form leik, 'ðis iz mɑ dzob. Dʒust ðu: git ði'sen fit, ən kum ʊ:t wi me:.' Nu:, wat kud tprikli bakt otʃn weif di:ə? ʃi kam wiv im ə ku:əs.

As ðə wə gɑ:in up ti tbuləs buʃ, wif wə tspot wi:ə ðəd ə're:ənzd ti mi:t, tprikli bakt otʃn sez tiv iz weif 'Nu: od ði noiz ə minit, ən let mi: tɔ:k. A:z gɑ:in ti fetl ðis re:əs it tonəp fi:ld. A:sɪ run i ʃɑ: forə, ən ts:ər in tnekst ən. Nu wat ðu:z gotn ti di:ə iz ti pɑ:zl of up tit top end et forə, ɔ:ər ə'nenst tbuləs buʃ, ən sit ði:ər [kɑi ði'sen du:n]. Wisɪ stɑ:t frə ðis end et fi:ld, ən wen tɔ:d s:ə kumz up et jon end, ɔ:l et ðu: ez ti di:ə iz ti dzʌmp up ən mɑl ʊ:t "I:ər ɑ iz."

Si:ə, tprikli bakt otʃn weif went on tit forə ɔ:ər ə'nenst tbuləs buʃ, ən eftər id ginə tɑ:m ti git ði:ər, tɔ:d otʃn went on tit buləs buʃ. ði:ər wə tɔ:d s:ər ə'wɛ:ətɪn fə ti win iz gini ən iz bodl ə dzɪn, ən i sed əz tprikli bakt otʃn kam up 'Istə fit? 'Ai, lɑd,' ənsəd totʃn. 'ðen kum on,' ən bi:əθ on əm tiuk iz stænd iv iz forə.

Tɔ:d s:ə kurntid, 'jan, twi:ə, θri:, ɑ'wɛ:ə,' ən of i went ɑiðə'rɑli up tforə əz ɑ:d əz ivər i kud gan. Bud tɔ:d otʃn nobət rɑn ə fiu jedz ən ðen kam bɑk ən klɑpt iz'sen du:n ə'mɑŋt tonəps et tbi'ginin et forə, ən wɛ:ətɪd. Tɔ:d s:ə went lɔupin up tfi:ld leik ə sti:əm inʒn, ən wen i kam tit top, up dzʌmps tprikli bakt otʃn weif ən mɑlz ʊ:t 'I:ər ɑ iz.' It wər re:əðər ə kum'du:n fə tɔ:d s:ər, for i reknd et totʃn wər ə ʊndəd jedz bi'ʃɪnt, bud i mis'dʌxted nout, kos tprikli bakt otʃn weif liukt dzʌst fər ɔ:l twɔld leik tɔ:d pɪkli bakt otʃn.

I θaut tiv iz'sen 'ðis iz ə kwi:ə dzob,' bud i sed, 'Kum on bɑk ðen,' ən of i went ɑiðə'rɑli bɑk ə'gi:ən du:n tforə leik ə sti:m inʒn.

But tprikli bakt otʃn weif stopt iv or spot.

Wen tɔ:d s:ə gɑt ti tuðər end et fi:ld, up dzʌmt totʃn ən be:əld ʊ:t 'I:ər ɑ iz.' An ts:ər, fɛ:ə bi'sɑ:d iz'sen wi re:ədʒ, ʃe:əld bɑk 'ðen kum on ə'gi:ən.' 'ɔ:l 'ri:t!' sez totʃn, 'ɑz oft əz ʃə leik, fə mɑ: si:ək.'

can thoo race wi' him? Thoo knaws weel ineäf at he can gan ten-times faster nor thoo.' 'Noo, missus,' he says, kind but firm like, 'this is my job. Just thoo get thysen fit, and come oot wi' me.' Noo, wat cud t' prickly-backt urchin wife deä? She cam wiv him o' course.

As they war gyin up tae t' bullas-bush, which war t' spot where they'd arranged tae meet, t' prickly-backt urchin says tiv his wife: 'Noo hod thy noise a minit, and let *me* talk. I's gyin tae fettle this race i' t' tonnep field. I sal run i' yaa furrow, and t' hare in t' next yan. Noo wat thoo's got tae deä is tae parzle off up tae t' top end o't furrow, ower anenst t' bullas-bush, and sit there. We sal start fra this end o' t' field, and when t' awd hare comes up at yon end, all at thoo hes tae deä is tae jump up and mal oot: "Here I is."

Seä, t' prickly-backt urchin wife went on tae t' furrow ower anenst t' bullas-bush, and efter he'd gi'en her time tae git there, t' awd urchin went on tae t' bullas-bush. There war t'awd hare a-waitin' for tae win his guinea and his bottle o' gin, and he said as t' prickly-backt urchin cam up: 'Istä fit?' 'Ay, lad,' answered t' urchin. 'Then come on.' And both of them tewk his stand iv his furrow.

T' awd hare coonted 'yan, tweä, three, away,' and off he went Hyder Ali up t' furrow as hard as iver he cud gan. But t' awd urchin nobbut ran a few yeds and then cam back and clapped hissen doon amang t' tonneps at t' beginnin' o' t' furrow, and waited. T' hare went loupin' up t' field like a steäm-ingen, and when he cam tae t' top, up jumps t' prickly-backt urchin wife and mals oot: 'Here I is.' It war raither a cum-doon for t' awd hare, for he reckoned at t' urchin war a hunthed yeds behint, but he misdooted nowt, 'cos t' prickly-backt urchin wife lewkt just for all t' world like t' awd prickly-backt urchin. He thowt tiv hissen: 'This is a queer job,' but he said: 'Come on back then,' and off he went Hyder Ali back again doon t' furrow like a steäm-ingen. But t' prickly-backt urchin wife stopped iv her spot. When t' awd hare gat tae t'other end o' t' field, up jumped t' urchin and belled oot: 'Here I is.' And t' hare, fair beside hissen wi' rage, yelled back: 'Then come on again.' 'All reet,' says t' urchin; 'as oft as ye like, for my sake.' And off t' awd

An of tɔ:d e·ə went ə'gi·ən. Ɔis apnd nɑ:n̄ti nɑ:n̄ tɑ:mz, ən tɔ:priklɪ bakt ɔtʃn wɛr ɔ:lɛs i:v̄n wiv im. Ivri tɑ:m̄ at tɔ:d e·ə kam tit top ət bodm ət forə, totʃn ɛr iz weif ju:tɪd 'I·ər a iz.' An ət tundət lɑp, tɔ:d e·ə wɛ fe·ə bet wit dʒɔb; ə'burt ɔ:f we·ə du:n tʃi:ld, i tumld du:n, ən ed ə ʃtɹu·ək ən di:d. Si·ə totʃn tiukt sti·ək frə bi'sɑ:d tbulɛs buʃ, ə gini ən ə bodl ə dʒin, i ju:tɪd fɛr iz weif to kum u:t ət forə, ən of Ɔə went i·əm kweit kon'tent wit mu·əninz wɑ'k; ən if Ɔə ɛ·ənt di:d sin Ɔen, Ɔə wik jit.

Ɔats u: tɔ:priklɪ bakt ɔtʃn rɑn tɛ·ər on Gantn Wɔ:d, ən fe·əli rɑn im ti di·əd, ən sin Ɔat tɑ:m̄ ni·ə ɛ·ər əz dɑ:d ti tʃalenz tGantn ɔtʃnz.

Tmɔrəl ə Ɔis ti·əl iz fost, at ni·əbodi out ti θiŋk iz'sen ə beʃə tʃɑp nɛr uƆə fɔuk, ən mɑk fun on əm. An seknd, at men out ti peik wɑ:vz lɛik Ɔə'senz, wɑ:vz ət kn elp əm, ən bi: sum ju:s tiv əm. Ɔem əts ɔtʃnz mun peik ən ɔtʃn fɛr ə weif, ən nut ə fɔnd dɔ: rɑbit, nɛr ə beitin rezil.

V.

495. The following verses are taken from *A Yorkshire Tyke*, London, pub. Grant Richards, 1914.

18

Ɔəz ə θikset θu·ən buʃ
ət stanz ə'fu·ər u·ə di·ər,
ən Ɔi·ər i sun ən sluf,
its studn moni ə ji·ər.

ən ivri ji·ər i Dʒiun
jɛst si: it weit wi mɛ·ə,
ət blu:mz tilt e·ə iz miun
ən Ɔen it pɑ:nz ə'we·ə.

Oft əv ən ɔ:gəst mu·ən,
ə'fu·ər u·ə wuts iz rɛip,
a sits bi'ni·əθ θis θu·ən
ən smiuks mi lɑŋ kle·ə psip.

hare went again. This happened ninety-nine times, and t' prickly-backt urchin war allus even wiv him. Ivery time at t' awd hare cam tae t' top or t' boddom of t' furrow, t' urchin or his wife shooted: 'Here I is.'

And at t' hundredth lap, t' awd hare war fair bet wi' t' job. Aboot hauf way doon t' field, he tumbled doon, and hed a stroke and deed. Seä t' urchin tewk t' stake from beside t' bullas-bush, a guinea and a bottle o' gin, he shooted for his wife tae come oot o' t' furrow, and off they went heäm quite content wi' t' mornin's wark. And if they ain't deed sin then, they 're wick yet.

That's hoo t' prickly-backt urchin ran t' hare on Ganton Wold, and fairly ran him tae deäd, and sin that time neä hare hes dared tae challenge t' Ganton urchins.

T' moral o' this tale is fost, at neäbody owt tae think hissen a better chap nor other fowk, and mak fun on 'em. And second, at men owt tae pick wives like theirsens, wives at can help 'em, and be some use tiv 'em. Them at 's urchins mun pick an urchin for a wife, and not a fond doe-rabbit, nor a bitin' rezzil.

9

**Az getn tblis ə mu:ntn-tops ti-nit,
 θof ɑ:z i bondidz nu:, ən blind, ən di:əf.
 Breðrən, az stoun! ən fan it vari swit,
 si:ə st̥reik mi ni:əm of, ift bi ju:ə bi'li:əf
 az sla:din bak.
 Last nit, əz a wə fəgin on up t̥st̥rit,
 a aktid t̥θi:f.**

**Jə θiŋk az ɑ:dnd. ai! a si: jə liuk.
 A stelt, its t̥riu; bud, breðrən, al ri'p̥e:ə.
 Al p̥e:ə bak ten-fə:d ivriθiŋ a tiuk,
 ən fu:əks mən se:ə wate:ə θ̥ə leik ti se:ə.
 It wər ə kis.
 ən tlas əz promist iv u:ər iŋl-niuk
 ti ni:əm tde:ə.**

ən du:n bi'lo:, it di'əl,
mi fi:ldz ligz, gri:n ən jelə;
mə weif sez a:z ə fi'əl,
bud a:z ə luki felə.

For wat kn man want me'ər
nər elθ, ən pi'əs ə mə:nd,
ənt sent ə sumər ɛ'ər
on ə fa:m əts fe'əli ka:nd.

20

Dez ru:ndə'bu:ts wislin ət Ska:bərə fe'ər,
ət tMa:tnməs statis i Niubərə ʃtri:t,
ənt kok-ʃaiz, ən swiŋ-bu'əts, ənt sa:kəs iz θe'ər;
ən ɔ:l su'əts ə gudiz ən aplz ti i:t;
ən ʃutin, ən laftər ən funz i θe ɛ'ər.

A went ə'laŋ t' ʃtri:t, ən a kam bak ə'gi'en
frə tMa:tnməs statis i Niubərə ʃtri:t,
ən a wift ət ad nivər ə'di'en wat əz di'en;
for wi'ə sud a dzump wi, ən wi'ə sud a mit,
bud or ət a went wi, ən left ti wed Dʒi'en.

ʃə wu'ər ə bru:n ɔ:ris, ən ə neklit ə skin,
ət tMa:tnməs statis i Niubərə ʃtri:t,
ən liukt dzust əz friʃ əz ʃə liukt θri: ʃi'ə sin,
ʃə kut mə əz di'əd əz ə snuft kanl-lit,
a no: ʃə did rit, ən a felt mi'en əz sin.

A sed ti mi'sen wen a si:d ər 'Di'ənt bi'əl'
(in tMa:tnməs statis i Niubərə ʃtri:t)
'θu mud a wed Sali ət ti'ətʃiz it ski'əl,
ən θu:z wedid ə pli'en ən ə twa:ni ɔ:d frit
fət bras ʃə kd briŋ θi. θu:z bi:n ə gri'ət fi'əl.'

ən θronz ə bru:n fa:m-ladz kam bai iv ə swa:m.
a wantid ə ʃipət, ən twi'ə ladz ti pluz.
nu:, if ad wed Sali, ad nut ə ed tfa:m,
əz mi'əd mi ɔ:n bed, bud al lig on it nu:.
eftər ɔ:l,—ʃi'əz ɔ:l'rit,—ən θez ni'ə gri'ət a:m.

26

Wen skaiz iz bliu ez suðræn si·ez,
 ən ju:θ iz ful ə sap,
 its grand ti strut i Sundə kli·ez
 ən liuk ə sma:tif tʃap.

Bud wen janʒ ɔ:d, ən li·əm, laik mi:
 ən la:tl ilz si:mz sti:p;
 janʒ fə·ən ti tak θiŋz kwaiətli,
 ən sit ət jam ən sli:p.

25

Ðə mi·ən iz up ouət kro:wud slak,
 ən tfezn malz it wud,
 ənt ʃrodz iz sle·əp, ənt ɔrai twigz krak
 ez wi ʃramp tiv u·ər i·əvnin fud.
 Fər ɔ: ! its ə ki:n blak frost, mi ladz,
 ənt mi·ər l bi·ə ti·nit,
 si·ə lets ə'ws·ə, eftə t mi·ez iz fed,
 ti ske·ət i ðə wan mi·ənli:t.

Ðə mi·ən fə iŋz laik ə ɔ:k ə'li·ən
 ez fə fri:ziz t tonəps θru: [θruf];
 ən ə li:t iz ez kɔ:d ez ə silvə sti·ən,
 bud its le·ək fər uz ən t plu: [pli·əf].
 Fər ɔ: ! its ən il blak frost, mi ladz,
 fə ðem ət mən lig int fi:ld,
 bud wi:v gotn bedz, ən l wa:m əm tu: [ti·ə],
 wen wiv getn u·ə runəz sti:ld,
 wen wiv fetld u·ə bli·edz on teis, ladz,
 ət riŋz, ən siŋz, ən gli·əmz.
 Wen wiv glidn ə mɑ:l iv ə ʃreis, ladz,
 bi'ni·əθ ðə pɛ·əl mi·ənbi·əmz.

WORD-LIST

Dialect words are given after their literary English equivalents. Verbs are given under their infinitives, and the parts can be found therefrom in §§ 455-489; but some verbal parts which were used to illustrate vowel-development are included separately.

- abate (inf.) **bɛ·ət**, 270, 314
 able **jaʊl**, 269
 about **ə·bʊt**, 164, 300
 above **ə·bʊn**, 123, 300
 absurd **əb·zəd**, 266
 accordingly **əku·ədɪn·lɑɪ**, 299
 account **ə·kʌnt**, 287
 ache (inf.) **twɪŋ**, 107; **wɑ:k**, 203, 400
 acorn **ʤəkɹən**, 127
 acre **ʤəkə(x)**, 127
 across **ə·krɔs**, 211
 afford (inf.) **ə·fəd**, 119, 376
 afraid **ɑ:f**, 97
 after **ɛf·tə(x)**, 4, 198, 362
 after-grass **fɔg**, 211, 403
 again **ə·ɡɪ·ən**, 14, 187, 300
 age **ɛ·ədʒ**, 44, 391
 ail **ɛ·əl**, 168
 aim **ɛ·əm**, 13
 ale **ʤəl**, 126, 127
 alight (inf.) **lɪt**, 473 a; (pret.) **lɪt**, 148
 alive **wɪk**, 5, 205, 296; **ə·lɑ:v**, 155, 300
 all **ɔ:l**, 11, 96
 allotment **lɔtment**, 310, 314
 allow (inf.) **ə·lu:**, 287
 allowance **lʌ·əns**, 288, 314
 almost **ɔməst**, 96, 302
 alone **ə·li·ən**, 8, 128, 300
 along **ə·lɔŋ**, 300
 also **ən ɔ:l**, 448 c
 always **ɔ:ləz**, 11, 96, 303, 321
 among **ə·mɔŋ**, 34, 94, 343
 amount **ə·mʌnt**, 287
 anchor **əŋkə(x)**, 34
 annoy (inf.), **nɑ:k**, 197
 any **əni**, 33, 94
 anything **ənt**, 184, 447
 ape **nɛ·əp**, 340
 apply oneself (inf.) **frɛ·əm**, 32
 apprentice **prentɪs**, 255, 314
 April **əprɪl**, 250
 apron **əpren**, 250, 340
 argue (inf.) **ɑ:ɡɪ**, 297 c, 309
 argument **ɑ:gɪment**, 310
 arm **ɛ·əm**, 97
 army **ɛ·əmi**, 254
 as **əz**, 42
 ash-tree **ɛʃ**, 43, 98
 ashes **əz**, 41, 91, 401
 ash-pit **mɪdɪn**, 206
 ask (inf.) **ɑ:kə**, 30, 41, 92, 399
 assemble (inf.) **ə·sɛml**, 350
 ate (pret.) **ɪt**, 150, 462
 aunt **ɑnt**, 253
 awake **ə·wɑkn**, 300
 awaken (inf.) **wɑkn**, 93, 474
 away **ə·wɛ·ə**, 8, 168, 300
 awkward **ɔ:kəd**, 244, 302; **ɡɔ:ki**, 246, 403
 axle **ɛpɪnl**, 107; **ɑsɪ·trɪ**, 192, 396
 babble (inf.) **ɔtə(x)**, 362
 back **rɪɡ**, 107, 405
 backwards **bəkəd·wɛ·ə**, 321

- bacon **bɛːəkɪn**, 249, 270
 bag **puːək**, 231, 394
 bairn **bɛːən**, 97
 bait (inf.) **bɛːət**, 239
 bake (inf.) **bɪːək**, 463 *d*
 ball (of wool) **kli:n**, 20, 180
 bank **kam**, 192
 baptise (inf.) **bab'ta:z**, 348
 bargham **bu:fɪn**, 104, 408
 barley **bu:lɪ**, 9
 barn **lɛːəʃ**, 40, 217
 barrel **bu:rɪl**, 249
 barrow **bare**, 302
 bask (inf.) **bask**, 398
 basket **skep**, 198, 380, 398
 bass **bæs**, 250
 bast **bæs**, 91
 bastard **bastet**, 250
 baste (inf.) **bɛːəst**, 240
 bath **bu:θ**, 91
 be (inf.) **biː**, **bi**, 487; (pret.) **wæ**, 487;
 (pp.) **bi:n**, **bin**, 487
 beak **neb**, 101, 337
 beam **bɔ:k**, 27
 bean **biːən**, 137
 bear (inf.) **biːə(r)**, 132, 461
 bear prematurely (inf.) **pɪk**, 107
 beast **biːəst**, 275; (pl.) **biːəs**, 275, 363
 beastings **bɪslɪnz**, 150
 beat, surpass (inf.), **kæp**, 192
 beat (pret.) **bet**, 138, 464 *d*
 beat (inf.) **biːət**, 464 *d*; **tæn**, 28; **dɪŋ**,
 202, 457; **twɪlt**, 36, 402; **wælep**, 318
 beating (n.) **ɛfɪn**, 98; **benslɪn**, 101
 beauty **bɪntɪ**, 20, 297
 because **ɛːkɔe**, 292, 301; **kɔz**, 292, 314
 bedroom **tʃɛːmə(r)**, 43
 beer **biːə(r)**, 136
 before **ɛːfʊə(r)**, 157, 301
 begin (inf.) **bɪːgɪn**, 457
 behave **bɪːtəv**, 127
 behind **bɪːjɪnt**, 46, 112, 448 *a*; **ɔbake**,
 448 *a*
 belch (inf.) **rɪft**, 352
 belief **bɪːlɪəf**, 137
 bellow (inf.) **bɛlə**, 101; **bɛːəl**, 458
 bellows **bɛləz**, 101
 belly **bɛli**, 101; **wɪːəm**, 130
 bench **bɪŋk**, 400, 102
 bend (inf.) **bend**, 469
 beside **ɛːnɛst**, **bɪːsɪd**, 449
 besom **bɪːzɪm**, 32
 bestow (inf.) **bɪːstɔn**, 190
 beyond **bɪːjɔnt**, 46
 bid (inf.) **bɪd**, 462
 bide (inf.) **bɑːd**, 155, 455
 big **bɪg**, 209
 bilberry **bɪːbɛrɪ**, 219
 bind (inf.) **bɪnd**, 112, 457; (pret.) **bæn**,
 457; (pp.) **bʌn** 121, 370, 457
 birch **bɔrk**, 45, 114, 400
 bird **bɔd**, 114
 birth **bɔθ**, 115
 bitch **bɪtʃ**, 107
 bite (inf.) **bɛɪt**, 152, 455
 bladder **blædɛ(r)**, 92
 blade **blɪːəd**, 127
 blame **blɪːəm**, 269
 blast **blæst**, 130
 bless **blɪːəʃ**, 133
 bleed (inf.) **bliːd**, 469 *b*
 blemished (with rust) **pɪtɪd**, 108
 bless (inf.) **blɪs**, 142
 blessing **blɪsɪŋ**, 142
 blew (pret.) **blɪn**, 180
 blight **kæŋkɛ(r)**, 343
 blind **blɪnd**, 112
 blister **blɛb**, 101
 blood **blɪːəd**, 160
 bloom **blʌm**, 159
 blow (inf.) **blɔː**, 175, 464 *a*
 blue **blʌ**, 297
 board **buːəd**, 118
 boat **buːət**, 158
 body **bɔdɪ**, 116
 boil (subst.) **bɔ:l**, 156, 296
 boil (inf.) **boɪl**, 18, 293
 hole **bʊːəl**, 231
 bolster **bɔʊstɛ(r)**, 117
 bolt **bɔnt**, 117
 bone **bɪːən**, 128
 book **bʊk**, 20, 161
 boot **bɪːət**, 286
 bootlace **fɪbɪn**, 160

- bern **bu'en**, 118
 berough **bore**, 124
 borrow (inf.) **bore**, 116
 both **bi'eθ**, 128, 219
 bother (inf.) **boθe(r)**, 116
 bottle **botl**, 28, 35
 bottom **botm**, 29, 32 116, 313
 bough **bi'əf**, 160, 408
 bought **bout**, 185, 407, 468
 bounce (inf.) **buns**, 164
 bound (forced) **bun**, 234
 bound **bun**, 234, 371
 bowl **bovl**, 117, 263
 braces **galesiz**, 91
 bracken **brakn**, 192
 brain **bræ'en**, 167
 brand-new **bræn-niu**, 91
 bread **bri'əd**, 137
 breadth **bri:d**, 140
 break (inf.) **bri'æk**, 132, 461
 breast **bri'st**, 144
 breath **bri'eθ**, 134
 breathe (inf.) **bri'eθ**, 40, 134
 breeches **brifiz**, 5; **briks**, 143
 brew (inf.) **briu**, 180, 456 c
 briar **bri'e(r)**, 134
 bride **bra:d**, 156
 bridge **brig**, 27, 108, 405
 bridie **bra:d**, 155
 bright **brɪt**, 148, 393
 brimstone **brɪstə**, 110, 313
 bring (inf.) **brɪŋ**, 468; (pret.) **brɪnt**, 186, 407, 468
 broad **bri'əd**, 128; **bru'əd**, 158
 broken **brokn**, 45, 116
 brooch **bru'ətʃ**, 15, 284
 brood **kletʃ**, 198, 389
 brook **bek**, 198, 394
 breem **bri'em**, 160
 breth **broθ**, 39; **podɪʃ**, 262, 365
 brother **bruθe(r)**, 163, 375
 brought (pret.) **brɒt**, 186, 407
 brow **bru:**, 164
 brown **brʌn**, 164
 build (inf.) **bi:ld**, 146, 327, 469
 building **bi:ldɪŋ**, 146
 burden **bo:dən**, 115
 burdock **bo:dək**, 124
 burly **bo:li**, 45, 124
 burn (inf.) **bo:n**, 6, 105, 475 a
 burr **bo:r**, 124
 burst (inf.) **brʌst**, 208, 333, 460;
 (pret.) **brʌst**, 460; (pp.) **brʌsn**, 41, 361, 460
 bury (inf.) **beri**, 109, 330
 bushel **bʊʃl**, 295
 business **bɪznes**, 107
 busk (inf.) **bʌsk**, 234, 398
 hustle (inf.) **bʌsl**, 214
 busy **bɪzi**, 107; **θraɪ**, 194, 343
 but **bʌd**, 29, 164, 348
 butter **bʌtə(r)**, 120, 303
 buttermilk **kenmilk**, 210
 buy (inf.) **baɪ**, 468; (pret.) **bɒt**, 185, 407, 468

 cabbage **kəbɪʃ**, 43, 250, 308, 388
 cage **kæ'edʒ**, 44
 cake **ki'æk**, 218
 calf **kɔ:f**, 96
 came (pret.) **kam**, **kom**, 461 a
 can **kən**, 478; (pret.) **kʌd**, 478
 candle **kənl**, 91, 313
 canker **kəŋkə(r)**, 343
 card **kɑ:əd**, 254
 carling **kɑ:lɪŋz**, 203
 carrion **kət**, 4, 198
 carry (inf.) **ɹɪ**, 31, 215, 403
 cart **kɑ:t**, 197
 cast (inf.) **kɑst**, 473; **swe:əl**, 458
 castle **kɑsl**, 91
 castrate (inf.) **gɛld**, 201
 catch (inf.) **keɪ**, 198, 394, 475 a; **kætʃ**, 475 a
 cattle **bi'es**, 363
 causeway **kɔ:z**, 292
 celery **sæləri**, 256
 chaff **kɔ:f**, 37, 91, 352
 chaffer (inf.) **ɹɪ** 403
 chaffinch **wɪ:tɪ**, 318
 chamber **tʃeɪmbe(r)**, 253, 350
 chamois **ʃæmi**, 250
 champ **tʃævi**, 38, 389
 change (inf.) **tʃe:ŋɪ**, 271

- chap tʃap, 3
 charge (inf.) tʃeːədʒ, 254, 389
 charlock braʒək, 91, 302
 chase tʃæs, 3, 79
 cheap tʃiːp, 137
 cheat (inf.) didl, 108; tʃiːt, 273, 472
 cheese-cake tʃiz-kiːk, 140
 chemise ʃift, 107; ʃiːmi, 256, 282, 385
 chemist kimist, 256
 chest kist, 41, 205, 400
 chew tʃəu, 189, 389
 child bɛːən, 97; pl. tʃildə(r), 389
 chincough kiŋkɔf, 107, 400
 chirp (inf.) tʃɔrɛp, 114, 316
 choke (inf.) tʃuːk, 157; skrag, 192
 chose (inf.) tʃiːz, 456; (pret.) tʃeːz, 128, 456; (pp.) tʃɔzn, 313, 456
 christen (inf.) kezn, 41, 114
 Christmas kesmes, 114, 302
 church tʃɔtʃ, 114, 388; kɔrk, 400
 churn ken, 210
 cinder sində(r), 107
 claim (inf.) klæːm, 290
 clamp klam, 91
 claw klɔː, 173
 clay klɛː, 169
 clean kliːn, 133
 cleave (inf.) kliːv, 456
 climax uptak, 193
 climb (inf.) klim, 112, 457; (pret.) klam, 350, 457
 cling (inf.) klinʒ, 457
 clip klip, 205
 cloak kluːk, 284
 close (subst.) kluz, 157; (inf.) kluz, 284
 close (of weather) mugl, 215, 403
 cloth kliːθ, 128
 clothes kliːz, 14, 128
 cloud kluːd, 164
 clout kluːt, 164
 cluster klustə(r), 120
 clutch (inf.) klik, 108, 326, 400
 coach kuːtʃ, 284
 coals kuːlz, 157
 coarse kuːs, 288
 coat kuːt, 284
 cold kɔːd, 96; staːvd, 355
 collect (inf.) sam, 91
 colt kɔt, 117
 coltsfoot kil:t, 394
 comb kiːm, 130, 350
 come (inf.) kam, 120, 461a
 company kumpni, 315
 complain (inf.) twaːn, 229; pliːn, 274, 314
 conceit bums, 12
 conceited tʃuf, 389
 concern konˈsɜːn, 257
 confound (inf.) fʌmɔks, 352
 confuse (inf.) moɪdə(r), 293; fudl, 352
 contradict (inf.) θriːp, 137
 contrary konˈtrɛːəri, 270, 299
 cook (inf.) kiuk, 161
 cool kiːl, 160
 cord kuːd, 264
 corn kuːn, 15, 118, 264
 cornflower kuːn-kokl, 116
 corn-stack pɛlk, 152
 cost (inf.) kɔst, 473a
 couch kʊtʃ, 287
 couchgrass wike, 205, 396
 cough (inf.) uːst, 232; pɛf, 408
 cough (subst.) uːst, 232; kɔf, 408
 could kud, 478
 coulter kɔtə(r), 117
 count (inf.) kuːnt, 287
 course kuːs, 288
 court kuːt, 264, 287
 cover kuvə(r), 265
 cow kuː, 30, 164; driːp, 127
 cowardly aːfʃ, 97, 307
 cow-dung kɔzn, 192, 337
 cows kɔ, 16, 154
 cradle kredl, 99, 313
 crawl (of fowl) krop, 116
 creature kriːtə(r), 274, 302
 creep (inf.) kriːp, 456
 crew (pret. of crow) kriu, 180
 cricket krekɪt, 107, 260
 cringe (inf.) kring, 44

- crook **kriuk**, 233
 crooked **kriukt**, 233, 394
 crop **krop**, 30
 cross **krabi**, 307
 crow (inf.) **krō:**, 175, 464 *a*; (subs.)
 kri-ək, 219
 crowd **θraj**, 94
 crown **krun**, 287
 cruel **kriul**, 297
 cucumber **ku:kume(r)**, 287
 cud **kud**, 120, 394
 ouldle (inf.) **kudl**, 313
 cuff (inf.) **nevil**, 223
 oupboard **kubed**, 48, 308, 347
 cur **kor**, 124
 ourb **korb**, 266
 curds **krudz**, 120, 334, 435 *vi*
 cure **kiue(r)**, 22
 current **koren**, 266
 curse (inf.) **kos**, 124, 475 *a*
 curtain **kotn**, 264
 custard **kustet**, 265, 303
 out (inf.) **kut**, 473 *a*
 cyst **wakakenl**, 109
- dairy **dē-əri**, 239
 daisy **dē-əzi**, 167
 dale **dī-əl**, 127
 damage **damiŋ**, 249, 308, 385
 dance **dans**, 253
 dandle (inf.) **dandl**, 250
 dare (inf.) **dā:(r)**, 97, 479
 darling **dā:lin**, 104
 daub (inf.) **kis-əm**, 239
 daughter **doute(r)**, 19, 185, 407
 dawdle (inf.) **sis-este**, 13
 day **dē-ə**, 167
 daytale **dē-ətl**, 367
 dazed **dī-əzd**, 218
 dead **dī-əd**, 137
 deaf, **dī-əf**, 137
 deal **dī-əl**, 133; (inf.) **dī-əl**, 469 *b*
 dear **dī-ə(r)**, 136
 death **dī-əd**, 137
 debt **dēt**, 255
 decency **mens**, 198, 401
 deed **dī:d**, 141
- deliver (inf.) **live(r)**, 259, 314
 dell **slak**, 41, 192
 depth **dəbθ**, 101, 348
 devil **divl**, 150
 diarrhoea **skitəz**, 398; to have — (inf.)
 sku-ə(r), 284
 did (pret.) **did**, 489
 die (inf.) **dī:**, 10, 29, 149, 226, 393
 difficult **a:d**, 97; **kittl**, 205, 394
 dig (inf.) **grī-əv**, 127, 463
 dill-water **dil-waʔe(r)**, 205
 ding (inf.) **diŋ**, 457
 disease **diz-i-əz**, 274
 diseased **demikt**, 255
 dishevel (inf.) **tuzl**, 381
 displeasure **uf**, 408
 dither (inf.) **dīðe(r)**, 368
 dive (inf.) **dā:v**, 156
 dizzy **swimi**, 107
 do (inf.) **dī-ə**, 14, 160, 489; **dī**, **div**,
 489; (pret.) **did**, 489
 dook **dokin**, 116, 309
 does **diz**, 143, 489
 doff (inf.) **dof**, 116
 don (inf.) **don**, 116, 337
 door **dū-ə(r)**, 157; **dī-ə(r)**, 160
 doubt **daut**, 287
 dough **dī-əf**, 128, 408
 down (subst.) **dō:n**, 236, 367
 down **dun**, 164
 drab **drab**, 348
 drag (inf.) **snig**, 33, 380; **trē-əl**, 290
 drain **drē-ən**, 13, 168
 drake **drī-ək**, 127
 draw (inf.) **drō**, 172, 463 *b*
 drawl (inf.) **drē-ət**, 217, 368
 dread (inf.) **drī-əd**, 134
 dream (inf.) **drī-əm**, 475 *b*
 dreary **drī-əri**, 136; **drī:**, 368
 dregs **drægz**, 200
 dress **dris**, 256
 drew **drin**, 161
 drink (inf.) **drīŋk**, 457; **bu:z**, 381
 drip (inf.) **drī:p**, 144
 drive (inf.) **drā:v**, 155; (pret.) **drē-əv**,
 368
 droop (inf.) **drup**, 29, 234

- drove (subst.) **dr̄i·ev**, 128; **dra·ev**, 158
drove (pret.) **dr̄s·ev**, 128, 368
drown (inf.) **dr̄umd**, 234
drowsy **dr̄uxi**, 164
drunk **dr̄unk**, 29
drunken **dr̄unkn**, 120
dry **dr̄ai**, 16, 154; (inf.) **dr̄ai**, 469 b
dull **dul**, 120; **douli**, 245
dumb **dum**, 120
dung **duŋ**, 120
dung (cow-) **kazn**, 192, 337
durst (vb) **doστ**, 124
dwarf **dwa:f**, 408
dwindle (inf.) **dwa:m**, 155, 318
dye (inf.) **di**, 149
dyke **diik**, 152
- each **i·etf**, 133; ***ilk**, 447
ear **i·e(r)**, 137
ear lug, 215
early **a:li**, 97
earn (inf.) **a:n**, 104; **adi**, 192
earnest **a:nist**, 104; **jenist**, 104
earth **jeθ**, 104; **oθ**, 105; **muk**, 208
earwig **twitfbel**, 318
ease **i·ez**, 274
east **i·eστ**, 137
eat (inf. it, 462; (pret.) it, 150; (pp.)
itn, 106
edge **edg**, 44, 391
educate (inf.) **edi'ke·et**, 299
eel **i:l**, 141
egg **eg**, 200
egg of louse, **nit**, 107, 410
eight **sit**, 177
eighteen **sit'tin**, 177
eighth **sitt**, 177
either **ε·oθe(r)**, 169; **ouθe(r)**, 184
eleven **o'li·evn**, 132; **levn**, 440
eleventh **levnt**, 374
elm **om**, 196
embolden (inf.) **a:dn**, 9, 97
embrace (inf.) **kudl**, 120
empty (inf.) **ti·em**, 222, 474
empty (adj.) **emti**, 347
endure (inf.) **ba:d**, 9; **ari**, 149
engine **ingn**, 44, 256
- enjoy **in'dgoi**, 44
enlist (inf.) **list**, 259, 314
enough **i'ni·ef**, 160, 306, 408
entangle (inf.) **anji**, 194
entice (inf.) **teis**, 279, 314
entrails **guts**, 120
envelope **en'velep**, 299
envy (inf.) **bi'gratf**, 265, 389
epidemic **demik**, 314
epistle **pi:stil**, 314
errand **i·erend**, 133
evening **i·evain**, 134
ever **iv·e(r)**, 140
every **ivri**, 140; ***ilk**, 447
evil **ivil**, 147
ewe **ju**, 19, 188; **gime(r)**, 32, 206,
350, 408
except (prep.) **septin**, **sept**, 449
exchange (inf.) **swap**, 93
exhaust (inf.) **belee**, 101
explain **in'sens**, 255
eye **i:**, (pl.) **in**, 149, 393
- face **fi·es**, 269; **tji·e(r)**, 276
fail (inf.) **fi·el**, 290
fair **fi·e(r)**, 167
faith **fi·eθ**, 13, 290
fake (inf.) **fi·ek**, 239
fall (inf.) **fo:l**, 464 c
fallow land **fo:f**, 96, 408
fan (inf.) **fan**, 350
farm **fa:m**, 104
farthing **fa:di:n**, 104, 344
fast **fa:st**, 91; (of speed) **ai'de'rali**,
p. 168
father **fa:de(r)**, 91, 304; **fi·oθe(r)**, 127,
368
fathom **fadm**, 91, 313
fault **fo:t**, 11, 292
fear **fi·e(r)**, 134; (inf.) **du:t**, 287
feast **fi·eστ**, 275
feature **fi·eθe(r)**, 274
feel (inf.) **fi:l**, 469 b
feet **fi:t**, 142
fellow **fele**, 225
fetch (inf.) **fetf**, 350
feverfew **feθeθul**, 101, 297

- fickle *gidl*, 107
 fidget (inf.) *flk*, 205, 352
 field *fld*, 10; *kroft*, 116
 fieldfare *felfe(r)*, 352
 fifth *flt*, 37, 152, 352
 fight (inf.) *flt*, 148, 459
 file *fa:l*, 155
 fill (inf.) *fl* 469
 filter (inf.) *sa:l*, 229
 filth *muk*, 208
 find (inf.) *flnd*, 112, 457; (pret.) *fan*,
 37, 457; (pp.) *fun*, 370, 457
 fine *fa:n*, 281
 finger *flŋe(r)*, 24, 79, 107, 345
 fire *flŋe(r)*, 21, 153
 firewood *kinlŋ*, 205, 370; *eldŋ*, 201,
 327
 first *fo:st*, 115
 fist *ni:ef*, 38, 223, 337, 352
 five *fa:v*, 155
 flagstone *flagstŋ*, 31; *flag*, 195
 flame *lou*, 248; *fl:em*, 269
 flatter (inf.) *gr:ŋez*, 274
 flattery *gr:ŋes*, 380
 flax *la:m*, 155
 flea *lop*, 26, 211
 fledged *flgd*, 5, 108, 405
 fledgling *goll*, 116
 flew *flu*, 161
 flight *fl:t*, 148
 flitch *flk*, 107
 float (inf.) *flu:et*, 157
 flog (inf.) *skelp*, 4, 198; *walŋp*, 251;
twilt, 259, 402
 flood *flud*, 163
 floor *fl:e(r)*, 160
 flour *flu:e(r)*, 288
 flow (inf.) *flou*, 190
 flower *flu:e(r)*, 288
 flown *floun*, 185
 fluctuate (inf.) *kwe:ve(r)*, 318
 due *flu*, 297
 flutter (inf.) *flake(r)*, 91
 fly (inf.) *fl:*, 149, 456 *b*
 fly (subst.) *fl:*, 149
 foal *fu:el*, 15, 157
 foam *fu:em*, 158
 fodder *fo:de(r)*, 29, 368
 fold *fo:d*, 11, 96; (inf.) 464 *f*
 folke *fu:eks*, 117
 follow (inf.) *fole*, 474
 food *fu:d*, 163
 fool *fu:el*, 37, 286
 foolish *du:ft*, 91; *g:omles*, 246; *sakles*,
 91
 foot *fu:et*, 160
 footpath *tro:d*, 116
 footprints *fl:tnz*, 143
 force *fu:es*, 264
 forced *fu:est*, 264; *bu:n*, 234
 foreign *fo:rn*, 262, 309
 forelock *top:ŋ*, 116
 forge *fu:edŋ*, 264, 391
 fork *fo:k*, 45, 119
 fortnight *fo:tniθ*, 6, 189, 148
 fortune *fo:tn*, 264, 297 *d*
 forty *fo:ti*, 28, 189
 forward *fo:red*, 302, 321
 fought (pret.) *fo:ut*, 183
 found (pret.) *fu:n*, 37, 457; (pp.) *fun*,
 121, 370, 457
 four *fu:ə(r)*, 24, 189
 fourteen *fu:ə'ti:n*, 189
 fourth *fo:u:et*, 189, 374
 fowl *fu:l*, 161
 fresh *fr:ʃ*, 106
 fret (inf.) *fr:et*, 132, 472
 friend *fr:nd*, 150
 friendship *fr:ndʃ:ʃp*, 307
 fright *fr:it*, 148, 333
 frighten (inf.) *fr:tn*, 148; *fr:e*, 240,
 352, 474
 from *fr:e*, *fr:*, *fr:ev*, 359, 449
 frozen (pp.) *frozn*, 6, 33, 42, 116
 fruit *fr:ut*, 297
 frumenty *frum:eti*, 352
 fuel *eldŋ*, 201, 327; *kinlŋ*, 205, 370
 fungus *fuz:bo:l*, 42
 fur *fo:r*, 352
 furnish (inf.) *fo:nʃ*, 266
 furniture *fo:nʃe(r)*, 266, 362
 furrow *fo:re*, 45, 124
 further *fo:ʃe(r)*, 40
 furze *wi:n*, 205, 318

fusty **foisti**, 294

gable **gi·əvi**, 218

gad (inf.) **gad**, 192

gadfly **kleg**, 200

gait **gi·ət**, 218

gaiters **gamaŋiz**, 250, 435 vɪ

gamble (inf.) **gami**, 350

gambrel **kəmeril**, 253

game **gam**, 32, 91

gander **steg**, 200; **gandə(r)**, 368

gantry **gantri**, 250

gape (inf.) **gi·əp**, 218

garden **ga·din**, 254

garter **ga·tə(r)**, 254

gasp (inf.) **pef**, 408

gate **jat**, 3, 127

gather (inf.) **gedə(r)**, 99

gavelook **gavlek**, 192, 403

gay **gə·ə**, 290

gelding **geldin**, 201

generally **dgenrəli**, 315

gentry **kwaletɪ**, 251

get (inf.) **git**, 199, 204, 462

ghost **gi·əst**, 128

giddy **dizi**, 108

gilt **gilt**, 206, 403

gimmer **gime(r)**, 32, 206, 350, 403

gin **dgin**, 44

girl **las**, 3

girth **gəθ**, 372

give (inf.) **gi**, **giv**, 199, 462; (pret.) **gav**, 462; (pp.) **gin**, 357, 462

glad **glad**, 31

glanders **glandəz**, 250

glass **glas**, 91

glide (inf.) **glad**, 455

gloomy **glu·mi**, 164

glow (inf.) **gləu**, 190

glow-worm **gləu-worm**, 190

glove **gli·əv**, 160

gnat **nat**, 404

gnaw (inf.) **tʃavi**, 38; **nə:**, 172, 404

go (inf.) **gan**, 194, 476

goat **gu·ət**, 158

gold **gəud**, 117

gone **gi·ən**, 128

good **gud**, 31, 163

goose **gi·əs**, 41, 160

gooseberries **beriz**, 101

gorae **wɪn**, 205, 318

gosling **gealin**, 221, 344

gossip **kalit**, 250

gossip (inf.) **kal**, 250

got (pp.) **getn**, 198

gown **gun** 287

grandmother **granmude(r)**, 250

grass **swaθ**, 39, 197, 372; **ges**, 105

gray **grə·ə**, 169

graze (inf.) **grə·əz**, 13

grease(subst.) **gri·əs**, 380; (inf.) **gri·əz**, 381

great **gri·ət**, 137

grew (pret.) **griu**, 180

grime **grə·m**, 229

grin (inf.) **gen**, 33, 105

grind (inf.) **grind**, 112

grindstone **grunstp**, 121

gripe (inf.) **gri:p**, 152

gristle **grizl**, 107

groan (inf.) **gri·ən**, 128

grope (inf.) **gri·əp**, 128; **klə:m**, 394

ground **grund**, 121, 403

grounde **grunz**, 121

groundsel **grunsl**, 121, 321

grove **gru·əv**, 158

grow (inf.) **grəu**, 190, 464 b

grudge (inf.) **br'grudʃ**, 265, 389

gruel **griu:l**, 297

grumble (inf.) **naʃə(r)**, 192, 404

gulp (inf.) **goləp**, 116

gumption **gumʃn**, 247

gutter (inf.) **swi·əl**, 41, 134, 318

gutter (subst.) **grip**, 205

hack (inf.) **əgi**, 195, 403

had **əd**, 99, 470

hail **ɛ·əl**, 167, 217

hair **ɛ·ə(r)**, 290

hale **ɛ·əl**, 239

half **ə:f**, 96; **ɛ·əf**, 96, 440 c

halfpenny **ə·pni**, 309

halfpennyworth **ə·pəθ**, 302

halter **əltə(r)**, 99, 354

hames **ɪ·əmz**, 127

- hammer **a:me(r)**, 91
 handkerchief **oŋkotʃe(r)**, 34, 343
 handle **aft**, 91; **ani**, 91, 313
 hang (inf.) **ɪŋ**, 5, 202 457
 hang! **deŋ**, 202
 hank **aŋk**, 194, 343
 happen (inf.) **a:pɪ**, 91, 337
 harbour **a:be(r)**, 203
 harden (inf.) **a:dn**, 9, 97
 hardly **a:dli:nz**, 97, 448 c
 harrow **a:re**, 45
 harsh **a:sk**, 197
 has **ex**, 99; (pret.) **ed**, 99, 470
 hasp **esp**, 198, 380
 hate (inf.) **ɛ:et**, 13
 haunt **ɔ:nt**, 253
 have **e**, **ev**, 357, 470, 486
 hawk **ɔ:k**, 176, 358
 hawthorn-berries **ɔ:z**, 172
 hay **ɛ:e**, 170
 hay-cock **kok**, 211
 hay-rack **ek**, 101
 hazel **exl**, 99
 he **i**, **i**, 145
 head **nodl**, 116, 395; **i:ed**, 137
 heal (inf.) **i:el**, 469 b
 health **eɪθ**, 138
 healthy **su:nd**, 121
 heap **i:ep**, 137; **dolep**, 346
 hear (inf.) **i:e(r)**, 135, 469 b
 heard **i:ed**, 135, 469 b
 heart, **a:t**, 104
 hearth **a:θ**, 104
 heat **i:et**, 133
 heather **ɪŋ**, 206, 343
 heaven **evn**, 101, 355
 hedge **edʒ**, 44, 391
 hedgehog **otʃn**, 266
 heed (inf.) **i:d**, 10
 heifer **efe(r)**, 138; **wai**, 229, 396
 height **sɪt**, 177
 held (pp.) **odn**, 96, 464 c
 help **elp**, 4
 hemlock **umlək**, 110
 her **or**, 114, 442
 herb **a:b**, 104, 257
 here **i:e(r)**, 135
 heron **erensu**, 255
 hidden (adj.) **felt**, 198
 hide (inf.) **felt**, 352, 472
 high **i:**, 149, 393
 hill **bru:**, 12; **ɔu**, 245
 hinder (inf.) **ɪndə(r)**, 107, 368
 hinge **eng**, 44, 101
 hips (of wild rose) **ɪpe**, 150
 hire **ɛ:ie(r)**, 21, 153
 hiring-fair **statis**, 250
 hiring-fee **fes**, 198
 his **ɪz**, 42
 history **ɪstɪ**, 259
 hit (inf.) **ɪt**, 473 a
 hive **a:v**, 156
 hoard **u:ed**, 118
 hoar-frost **a:ndi-frost**, 155
 hoarse **u:es**, 158
 hoary **u:eri**, 158
 hoe **ɔ:**, 237
 hoe (inf.) **skuf**, 214
 hoist (inf.) **ɛ:st**, 296
 hold (inf.) **od**, 96, 464 c
 hole **u:el**, 15, 157
 holiday **olɪde**, 303
 holly '**olɪn**, 35, 116, 309
 holy **ɔ:l**, 126
 home **ɟam**, 3, 128; **i:em**, 128
 honey **uni**, 7
 hood **ud**, 163
 hoof **u:f**, 159
 hook **ɟuk**, 161
 hope **u:ep**, 157
 horn **u:en**, 118
 horse **os**, 41, 119
 horse-collar **ba:fn**, 104, 408
 horse-race **ɔe-ri:es**, 133
 hot **i:et**, 128
 hough **uf**, 408
 honnd **und**, 121, 370
 hour **u:e(r)**, 288
 house **u:s**, 164
 how **u:**, 164
 however **u:ive(r)**, 164
 hundred **undəd**, 120, 303
 hunger **u:ŋe(r)**, 120
 hungry **u:ŋed**, 120

- hunt (inf.) **unt**, 120
 hunting **untin**, 342
 hurl (inf.) **ori**, 124
 hurry (inf.) **ori**, 124; **busi**, 361; **busk**, 234, 398
 hurt (inf.) **ot**, 266, 473 *a*
 husband **uzbn**, 370, 381
 husk (of peas, etc.) **cod**, 116; (of barley) **on**, 194, 242
 hussif **usi**, 164

 ice **eis**, 152
 if **if**, **gif**, 323
 ill temper **ig**, 108
 ill tempered **ma:ngi**, 253
 imagine (inf.) **kon'se'et**, 291
 immaterial **ma:teles**, 250, 305
 improve (inf.) **im'pri'ev**, 286, 474
 impudence **gab**, 192
 impudent **bra:zn**, 91
 in **i**, **iv**, 38, 338
 incite (inf.) **eg**, 200; **a:dn**, 313
 insect (inf.) **smit**, 205, 472
 infection **smit**, 205
 infectious **smitl**, 205, 313
 instant **twi:klin**, 107
 instead **e'sti'ed**, 132, 301
 invite (inf.) **bid**, 107, 150
 iron **sleren**, 21, 152
 island **allend**, 151
 ivy **a:vin**, 155, 309

 jackanapes **ne'ep**, 340
 jamb **dgo:m**, 258
 jaundice **dgo:nis**, 292, 391
 jerk (inf.) **juk**, 46, 161
 jog **fog**, 262
 joint **djoint**, 18
 joist **dgeis**, 44, 279, 296
 journey **dgoni**, 266
 judge **dgdz**, 265
 just **djust**, 265

 kale **ki'el**, 219
 keep (inf.) **kip**, 469 *b*
 key **kei**, 17, 30, 177, 394
 kick (inf.) **pe:z**, 263, 329; **bunf**, 390

 kill (inf.) **kil**, 468
 kiln **kil**, 108, 338
 kind **ka:nd**, 113
 kindle (inf.) **kinl**, 205, 206
 king **ki:n**, 108
 kingdom **kindm**, 313
 kiss (inf.) **kis**, 469
 kite **keit**, 153
 kitten **kitlin**, 5, 204
 knead (inf.) **ni'ed**, 472
 kneel (inf.) **ni:l**, 475 *b*
 knew **niu**, 180
 knife **neif**, 152; **gull**, 265
 knit (inf.) **nit**, 469
 knock on the head (inf.) **no:p**, 96
 know (inf.) **no:**, 11, 175, 395, 464 *a*

 lace **li'es**, 269
 ladder **sti:**, 41, 226
 ladle **ladi**, 91
 lady **li'edi**, 133
 lamb **lam**, 180
 lame **li'em**, 127
 lane **lu'em**, 157
 languishing **dwa:ni**, 155
 lard **se'em**, 41, 290
 latch **snek**, 101, 394
 late **li'et**, 127
 lath **lat**, 28, 91, 360
 laugh **laf**, 35, 408; **tfukl**, 43
 laughter **la:fe(r)**, 95, 408
 law **lo:**, 195, 242
 lay (inf.) **le'e**, 168, 469
 lead (metal) **li'ed**, 137
 lead (inf.) **li'ed**, 133, 469 *b*
 leaf **li'ef**, 137
 leak (inf.) **li'ek**, 228
 lean **li'en**, 133
 leap (inf.) **leup**, 245, 410, 464 *f*
 learn (inf.) **la:n**, 104, 475 *a*
 least **li'est**, 133
 leave (inf.) **li'ev**, 133, 469 *b*
 leech **li'etf**, 134
 left-handed) **galek**, 250, 316, 403
 leisure **li'ege(r)**, 274
 lend (inf.) **len**, 138, 371, 469 *b*
 length **lenθ**, 101, 344

- let (inf.) **let**, 464 *e*, 469
 lettuce **letis**, 255, 309
 lever **pra:z**, 281
 lice **lets**, 153
 lie (inf.) (= to tell a lie) **li:**, 149, 393
 lie (inf.) **lig**, 31, 209, 403, 462
 lief **lif**, 144
 life **lif**, 37, 152
 light **lit**, 35, 148, 393
 lightning **litnin**, 148
 like (inf.) **lik**, 152
 liking, **likin**, 342
 lilac **le:lek**, 394
 lime **la:m**, 155
 linger (inf.) **liŋe(r)**, 102
 linnet **lenit**, 260, 307
 little **la:tl**, 156
 live (inf.) **liv**, 470
 lively **wik**, 30, 36, 205, 396
 living **wik**, 30, 36, 205, 396
 load **li:ed**, 128; (inf.) **li:ed**, 463 *d*
 loaf **li:ef**, 128
 loan **li:en**, 134
 loft, **loft**, 211
 long **lan**, 34, 94
 longer **lanje(r)**, 345
 look (inf.) **luk**, 161, 467
 loose **laus**, 19, 245
 loose (inf.) **los**, 116, 475 *a*
 loosen (inf.) **louz**, 245, 474
 lord **lo:d**, 176, 359
 loss (subst.) **los**, 116
 loud **lu:d**, 164
 louse **lusa**, 164
 love **luv**, 120; (inf.) **luv**, 474
 low **lo:**, 11, 243
 loyal **lo:el**, 23
 lubber **lube(r)**, 214
 luck **luk**, 326
 lump **lump**, 214; **dolep**, 346
 lungs **lits**, 148
 mad **wi:ed**, 160
 made (pret.) **mi:ed**, 127, 396
 maggot, **mæk**, 244, 378
 main **me:en**, 167
 make (inf.) **mæk**, 192, 475 *a*
 mallet **mel**, 255
 malt **mæt**, 96
 man **man**, 32; **ka:l**, 203
 manage **man'if**, 250, 385
 mane **mi:en**, 127
 mange **mo:ng**, 44, 253, 391
 manure **manifment**, 43, 250, 308, 385;
 mig, 209, 336, 405
 many **moni**, 6, 94
 mar (in carving) (inf.) **akl**, 30, 195,
 403
 mare **mi:e(r)**, 14, 132
 marrow **mare**, 45, 302
 marry (inf.) **wed**, 101, 473 *a*
 marsh **ka:(r)**, 203
 martingale **ma:tings:el**, 341
 master **me:este(r)**, 13, 290; **bos**, 211;
 gafe(r), 250
 mat **bas**, 91
 may **me:e**, 167, 480; (pret.) **mud**,
 480
 maybe **mebi**, 167
 me **mi:**, **me**, 145
 meadow **swaŋ**, 194; **mede**, 302; (pl.)
 itz, 202
 meal **mi:el**, 14, 134
 mean **a:f**, 97; **mi:e(r)**, 137
 mean (inf.) **mi:en**, 133, 469 *b*
 measles **meziz**, 255, 435 *vr*
 measure **mi:ge(r)**, 44, 274, 297 *d*, 384
 meet (inf.) **mit**, 469 *b*
 meeting **mitin**, 28
 melt (inf.) (of fat) **rende(r)**, 198
 merels **meriz**, 255, 336
 merrythought **skoperil**, 211
 mice **meis**, 153
 might **mit**, 148
 mild **ma:ld**, 32; **so:mi**, 380
 mildew **meldin**, 101
 mile **ma:l**, 9, 155
 milfoil **ja:re**, 91, 320
 milk **milk**, 107
 milk (first from the cow) **bialinz**, 150
 milk (last from the cow) **stripinz**,
 142
 milk-sieve **sa:l**, 229
 mince **minf**, 259, 385

- mind **ma:nd**, 113
 mine **ma:n**, 155
 mingle (inf.) **mitŋl**, 102, 345
 minnow **mene**, 109
 mire **mie(r)**, 228
 mischievous **mi'stʃi:vəs**, 259
 misfortune **mi'sfotn**, 264
 mist **ru'ek**, 231
 mistake **mi'stʌk**, 306
 mistress **mi'sis**, 259
 mite **mit**, 152
 mix (inf.) **mi:k**, 399
 moan (inf.) **mu'en**, 158
 moisture **moistə(r)**, 293
 molar **asl-ti-əθ**, 192
 mole **mou'diwa:p**, 117
 Monday **munde**, 163, 303
 money **brəs**, 3, 91
 month **munθ**, 39, 163
 moon **mi'en**, 160
 moor **mu'ə(r)**, 162, 232
 more **me'ə(r)**, 129, 439 c; **me'ə**,
 439 c
 morning **mu'en**, 118
 mortar **mo'te(r)**, 264
 most **me'est**, 128
 mother **maðe(r)**, 7, 163
 moult (inf.) **maut**, 329
 mount (inf.) **mu:nt**, 287
 mourn (inf.) **mon**, 124; 460
 mourning **monin**, 124
 mouse **mu:s**, 164
 mouth **mu:θ**, 164
 move (inf.) **fi:t**, 107; **mi'ev**, 286
 moving **e'gi-et**, 218
 mow (inf.) **mo:**, 175, 464 a
 mowed **miu**, 180
 much **mitʃ**, 107, 389
 mud **mud**, 120; **kle:t**
 muddle **ma'le:k**, 302
 mud-scraper **keule(r)**, 263
 murder **moðe(r)**, 119
 muscle **mu:səl**, 396
 must **mu:n**, 7, 214, 481; **mud**, 481
 mustard **mu'stət**, 303
 mustard (wild) **brazek**, 91, 302
 muzzle **mu:zl**, 42
 nag (inf.) **nag**, 195, 404; **na'te(r)**, 192,
 404
 nail **ne'el**, 167
 naked **ni'ekt**, 127
 name **ni'em**, 127
 nape **skuf**, 214, 398
 nasty **na:sti**, 3
 nation **ne'eʃn**, 43
 nature **ne'te(r)**, 270, 297 d, 302
 naught **naut**, 184, 407
 nave (of wheel) **na:f**, 192
 near **ni'ə(r)**, 137; **ni'e'rand**, 137;
ge'en, 200, 238
 neatherd **nautet**, 245, 305
 neatness **mene**, 198, 401
 need **ni:d**, 142
 needle **ni:dl**, 141
 neigh (inf.) **nei**, 177
 neighbour **neibe(r)**, 17, 177
 neighbourhood **neiberud**, 177
 neither **ne'eðe(r)**, 169; **nouðe(r)**, 184
 nephew **nevi**, 38, 101, 255, 297 c, 309
 never **nive(r)**, 140, 303
 new **niu**, 20
 newt **ask**, 92, 378
 next ***ni:st**, 412
 nick-name **nik-ni'em**, 340
 nigh **ni:**, 149
 night **ni:t**, 10, 33, 148, 393
 nine **ni:n**, 147, 148, 393; **na:n**, 149 note
 nip (inf.) **twiŋ**, 107
 nit **nit**, 107, 410
 no **ni'ə**, 128
 nobody **ni'ebodi**, 14, 312
 none **ni'en**, 128
 nonsense **blaðe(r)**, 192
 nook **niuk**, 161
 noon **ni'en**, 160
 north **noθ**, 119
 northern **noðren**, 119
 nose **ni'ez**, 127; **nu'ez**, 157
 nostril **nosθril**, 372
 not **nut**, 7, 184; **ni'en**, 447
 notch **notʃ**, 389
 notice **nu'etif**, 15, 284, 385
 nought **naut**, 19
 now **nu:**, 12, 164

- nuncheon, **driŋkinz**, 107
 nurse **nos**, 266
- oak **jak**, 126, 128
 oath **u·əθ**, 158
 oats **wuts**, 158
 oblong **i·əvliŋ**, 218
 obstinate **stunt**, 120
 occasion **kɛ·əzn**, 44, 314
 of **əv**, 38
 offer (inf.) **bid**, 107
 often **ofnz**, 37, 116, 361
 oil **oil**, 18
 old **ɔ:d**, 11, 96
 once **jons**, 128
 one **ju:**, **jan**, 126, 128, 338
 only **nobet**, 6, 184, 351; **onli**, 158
 ooze (inf.) **əcip**, 17, 152, 380
 open **əpn**, 116
 opposite **ə'neɪst**, 357
 oration **nɛ'r·ə'ejn**, 340
 orohard **wutfət**, 110
 other **nðə(r)**, 163
 otter **oʔə(r)**, 116
 ought **əut**, 184, 482
 ounce **u:nə**, 287
 our **u·ə(r)**, 165
 out **u:t**, 12, 164
 oven **ju:n**, 161, 358
 overturn (inf.) **wəml**, 318
 overturned **rig·weltid**, 198
 owe (inf.) **ɔ:**, 174
 owl **u:lət**, 164, 303
 own (inf.) **bɪ'ɔ:**, 11, 174
 own (adj.) **ɔ:n**, 174
 ox ***əus**, 412
- pail **pɛ·əl**, 167
 pain **pɛ·ən**, 291
 paint **pɛ·ənt**, 291
 palm **pɔ:m**, 292
 pamper **kɔdɪ**, 262
 paper **pɛ·əpə(r)**, 249
 parents **eldə(z)**, 101
 part **pɛ·ət**, 254
 particular **nɛɪs**, 17
 partition **skel·bɪ·əə**, 275
- partner **pɛ·ətne(r)**, 254
 partridge **pɑ:trɪtʃ**, 389
 passenger **pɑ:sɪndʒə(r)**, 341
 paste **pɪ·əst**, 268
 pasture **pɑ:stə(r)**, 250, 297 *d*, 302
 path **pɑθ**, 91
 pay (inf.) **pɛ·ə**, 290
 peace **pɪ·əs**, 274
 pear **pɪ·ə(r)**, 14, 45, 132
 peel (inf.) **pɛ·ər**, 270; **pɪ·əl**, 273
 peevish **ʒenɪ**, 105
 peewit **pɪwɪt**, 36
 pennyworth **peneθ**, 302, 321
 perhaps **mebi**, 4, 448 *d*; **əpn**, 337,
 448 *d*
 perilous **pɑ:ləs**, 257, 302
 pheasant **fezn**, 274
 pick (inf.) **pɪk**, 152
 picture **pɪktə(r)**, 297 *d*, 302
 pigeon **pɪdʒɪn**, 391
 pillow **pɪlə**, 108
 pincers **pɪnfɛz**, 385
 pine-cone **tʃɑ:t**, 91
 pip **pɪpɪn**, 259
 pipe **pɪp**, 152
 pipe-lighter **epɪl**, 41
 pipkin **pɪnkɪn**, 30, 91
 pitch **pɪk**, 107, 400
 pitchfork **pɪk·fɔrk**, 107, 400
 plain **pɪ·ən**, 290
 plaster **pɪ·əstə(r)**, 290
 plate **pɪ·ət**, 269
 play (inf.) **ɪ·ək**, 35, 239
 plead (inf.) **pɪ·əd**, 274
 please (inf.) **pɪ·əz**, 274; (imper.) **pɪʃɪ**,
 291
 pleased **ʃɪmd**, 108
 pleasure **pɪʒə(r)**, 44, 274, 384;
pɪ·əʒə(r), 274, 384
 pleasure **ɪtɪkɪn**, 342
 plight **pɪ:t**, 148
 plough **pɪ·əf**, 160, 408
 plough crosswise (inf.) **kwa:t**, 397
 plum (wild) **buleə**, 265
 poach **pʊ·ətʃ**, 15, 284
 poacher **pʊ·ətʃə(r)**, 284
 point **pɔɪnt**, 18

- pole **pou**l, 19, 26, 158
 policeman **polismen**, 299
 pond **pou**nd, 121
 pony **pu'eni**, 284
 poor **pu'e(r)**, 15, 288
 poorly **dou**l, 29; **pu'e**ll, 288
 poppy **pop**i, 116
 pork **pork**, 45
 porridge **pod**if, 262, 308, 365
 post **post**, 116; **stou**p, 212, 327
 potato **te'e**t, 270, 314
 pot-hook **re**kn, 198
 poultice **pult**ie, 265, 309
 poultry **pul'tri**, 265
 pound **pou**nd, 121, 346, 435 v
 pound (for cattle) **pou**nd, 121
 pour **pou**e(r), 297 a
 powder **pu'de(r)**, 287
 power **pu'e(r)**, 288
 praise (inf.) **pr'e**z, 291
 prate (inf.) **bla'de(r)**, 192
 pray (inf.) **pr'e**, 291
 preach (inf.) **pri'e**tj, 273
 precocious **o:d'fa**end, 250
 pretty **pre**t, **prati**, 99; **bon**i, 262
 pretty **vi**ull, 297, 439
 price **pr**ie, 279
 pride **pra**:d, 45, 156
 proof **pri**:f, 286
 protestant **prod**istent, 365
 proud **pru**:d, 234
 prove (inf.) **pri**:ev, 286, 474
 provide (inf.) **fend**, 255, 314
 psalm **so**m, 252
 pudding **pu**din, 29
 pull (inf.) **lu**g, 215
 pungent **ra**m, 121
 punish (inf.) **puni**f, 388
 pure **pi**e(r), 22
 purse **po**s, 41, 266
 pustule **po**k, 116
 put (inf.) **pu**t, 473 a

 quart **kwa'e**t, 254, 318, 397
 quarter **kwa:te(r)**, 254
 quench (inf.) **slo**kn, 211
 quick **wi**k, 5, 205, 396

 quilt (inf.) **twi**lt, 259, 402
 quilt (subst.) **kw**ilt, 36
 quitch **wi**ke, 205, 396
 quoit **ko**it, 18

 ragged **rag**i, 307
 rail **re'e**l, 168
 rain **re'en**, 13, 168
 rainbow **re'en-bou**, 185
 rake (inf.) **ri'e**k, 127 a; **ko**ul, 263
 ram **tup**, 214
 ramble (inf.) **ra**ml, 350
 ransack (inf.) **ra**nsaek, 193
 rascal **rag**il (=rake-hell)
 rat **ra**tn, 250
 rather **re'e'de(r)**, 127, 368
 ravine **gil**, 205
 raw **ri**e, 137
 reach (inf.) **ri'e**tj, 43, 133, 468
 read (inf.) **ri'e**d, 133, 464 f
 ready **rit**, 205; **rid**i, 140
 real **ri'e**l, 274
 reason **ri:zn**, 42, 274
 reckling **re**klin, 198
 red **ri'e**d, 137
 red ochre **ru**d, 120
 register **redze:te(r)**, 260
 regret (inf.) **ri**u, 20
 regular **reg**le(r), 315
 rein **re'en**, 291
 related **e'kin**, 108
 remove (inf.) **re**men, 101; **rit**, 206,
 352, 472
 resemble (inf.) **bre**:ed, 168
 rest (inf.) **ri**et, 106, 380
 retch (inf.) **ri'e**tj, 133
 rhubarb **ri**ubub, 27
 ride (inf.) **ra**:d, 155
 ridge **rig**, 107, 108, 405
 right **rit**, 10, 148, 393
 rind **ri**nd, 112
 ring (inf.) **ri**ŋ, 457
 rinse (inf.) **ren**f, 107, 260, 291, 385
 ripe **re**ip, 152
 rise (inf.) **ra**:z, 155, 455
 rive (inf.) **ra**:v, 229, 455
 rived **re**:ev, 128

- rivet **revit**, 260, 307
 road **ri·əd**, 128; **ru·əd**, 158
 roar (inf.) **be·əl**, 103; **ru·ə(r)**, 158;
 rou, 245
 roast (inf.) **ru·əst**, 285
 robe **ru·əb**, 284
 rock (inf.) **weml**, 318
 rode **re·əd**, 128
 rogue **ru·əg**, 284
 roll (inf.) **roul**, 263; **troul**, 263
 roof **ri·əf**, 160, 352
 room **rum**, 164, 337
 root **ri·ət**, 45, 160
 rose (pret.) **re·əz**, 128
 rose (subst.) **ru·əz**, 157
 rotten **mə·mi**, 196; **pə·fi**, 337
 rottenness **pə·f**, 387
 rough **ruf**, 164, 408
 round **ru·nd**, 287
 row (inf.) **rou**, 464 *b*
 rowan-tree **roun·tri**, 245
 royal **roi·əl**, 23
 rub (inf.) **fridg**, 352
 rue (inf.) **riu**, 180, 456 *c*
 ruin **riu·n**, 297
 rule **ri·ul**, 297
 rump **a·s**, 104
 run (inf.) **run**, 457; **sku·tə(r)**, 398
 run (subst.) (at cricket) **notf**, 389
 rush **ref**, **si·əf**, 109, 223

 sack **sek**, 198
 safe **si·əf**, 269
 said (pret.) **sed**, 167
 sail **se·əl**, 168
 sake **si·ək**, 127
 sale, **si·əl**, 127
 salt **sət**, 11, 96
 salve **sə·v**, 96
 same **si·əm**, 127, 218
 Saturday **se·tə·de**, 28
 save (inf.) **si·əv**, 269
 saw (saying) **so·**, 172
 saw **so·**, 172
 say (inf.) **se·ə**, 168, 470
 scald (inf.) **sko·d**, 252
 scales **ski·əlz**, 219

 scalp **sko·p**, 196
 scatter (inf.) **skæ·əl**, 217
 school **ski·əl**, 160, 394
 scold (inf.) **re·ət**, 270
 scoop **sko·p**, 245
 scour (inf.) **sku·ə(r)**, 288, 394
 scramble (inf.) **skra·f**, 192
 scrape (inf.) **skri·əp**, 218
 scratch (inf.) **skrat**, 192, 380, 398, 472
 scream (inf.) **skri·əm**, 221
 scurf **skorf**, 213
 scuttle **scuti**, 214
 search (inf.) **sə·tʃ**, 257
 season **si·əzn**, 274
 seat **si·ət**, 221
 sedge **seg**, 101, 405
 sediment **grunz**, 370
 see (inf.) **si·**, 462
 seed **si·d**, 141
 seek (inf.) **si·k**, 142, 468; **le·ət**, 239
 seldom **seldn**, 448 *b*
 sell (inf.) **sel**, 468; (pret.) **seld**, 96,
 468
 selves **senz**, 101
 send (inf.) **send**, 469
 senna **si·əne**, 273
 sermon **se·mən**, 257
 serve (inf.) **sə·v**, 257
 service **sə·vis**, 257
 set (inf.) **set**, 469
 settle (inf.) **setl**, 91
 seven **si·əvn**, 132; **sevn**, 440
 sew (inf.) **seu**, 189, 474
 shaft **stə·f**, 194
 shake (inf.) **ʃək**, 43, 91, 463 *c*; (pret.)
 ʃiuk, 463 *c*; (pp.) **ʃakn**, 394, 463 *c*
 shall **sal**, 91, 380, 483; (pret.) **sud**, 483
 shame **ʃəm**, 91, 387
 shape **ʃəp**, 43, 91, 387; (inf.) **ʃe·əp**,
 475 *a*
 sharpen (inf.) **wet**, 101
 she **ʃi·ə**, **ʃe**, 160
 sheaf **ʃəf**, 92, 387
 shear (inf.) **ʃi·ə(r)**, 461
 shearling (once-shorn sheep) **ʃi·əlin**,
 132, 387
 shed **ʃe·əd**, 43, 127, 387

- sheep **og**, 116, 403; **fip**, 141
 sheep-louse **tik**, 107
 sheep-wash **dip**, 108
 shell (inf.) **ʃil**, 106, 387
 shepherd **ʃipet**, 141, 305, 387
 shine (inf.) **ʃa:n**, 155, 455
 shirt **sa:k**, 203; **ʃet**, 105 *b*
 shoe **ʃi'e**, (pl.) **ʃi'en**, 160
 shook (pret.) **ʃink**, 161
 shoot (inf.) **ʃut**, 163, 456
 shorn (pp.) **ʃu'en**, 118
 short **ʃot**, 119
 should **sud**, 7, 380, 483
 shoulder **ʃu:de(r)**, 122
 shout **ma:l**, 193
 shout **ʃut**, 12; **stevn**, 41, 101
 shove (inf.) **ʃuv**, 355
 show (inf.) **ʃou**, 187, 474
 show ability (inf.) **ʃre'em**, 127, 474
 shower **ʃu'e(r)**, 166
 shriek (inf.) **ʃkri'ek**, 221
 shrink (inf.) **ʃriŋk**, 457
 shroud **ʃru:d**, 164
 shut (inf.) **ʃut**, 469
 side **sa:d**, 155
 sieve **siv**, 107; **sa:l**, 380
 sight **sit**, 148, 393
 sile **sa:l**, 380
 silence! **wift**, 107
 silly **sakles**, 8; **fond**, 116
 simpleton, **naf-i'ed**, 192; **numekul**,
 214; **noutet**, 245
 sin **sin**, 41
 since **sin**, 107
 sinew **ʃiksaks**, 352
 sing (inf.) **siŋ**, 457
 singe **seŋz**, 101
 singed, to be (inf.) **swizn**, 205
 single **siŋl**, 343
 sink (subst.) **slapstŋ**, 192; (inf.) **siŋk**,
 457
 sit (inf.) **sit**, 462
 skein **aŋk**, 194
 skirt **aket**, 109, 207
 sky **skai**, 16
 slain (pp.) **sl'e'en**, 167, 463 *b*
 slake (inf.) **slək**, 101
 slaughter **slafte(r)**, 95, 408
 slay (inf.) **sl'e'a**, 217, 463 *b*; (pret.)
slia, 161
 sledge **sləd**, 198
 sleep (inf.) **slip**, 141, 464 *e*; (pret.)
sləp, 101, 464 *e*
 slice **koləp**, 116, 303
 slide (inf.) **ʃol**
 slight **slit**, 148
 sling (inf.) **sliv**, 457
 slink (inf.) **slivk**, 457
 slip (inf.) **slute(r)**, 304
 slippery **sl'e'ep**, 239; **slipi**, 307
 slops **slaps**, 192
 slough **sluf**, 408
 slow **slə**; 175
 slow-worm **sl'i'e-worm**, 219
 smite (inf.) **smetit**, 152
 smoke (inf.) **rik**, 142; **smiak**, 161
 smooth **smi'eš**, 160
 snail **snai**, 229
 snare **gilde(r)**, 205, 403; **sniki**, 205, 380
 snipe **snəip**, 228
 snow **sno**; 175; (inf.) **sno**; 464 *a*
 snowed **snia**, 180
 snub (inf.) **sn'e'ep**, 240
 so **sl'e**, 128, 319; **ʃat**, 448 *d*
 soak **su'ək**, 157
 soap **sl'e'ep**, 128
 sodden **sodn**, 116
 soft **fuzi**, 42
 sold (pret.) **seld**, 96, 468
 solder **sođe(r)**, 29, 263, 329
 soldier **souđe(r)**, 263
 sole **sl'əl**, 160
 some **sum**, 7, 120
 somebody **sumbodi**, 312
 something **sumet**, 120, 303, 447
 son **sun**, 120
 soon **sl'e'en**, 14, 160, 448 *b*; **i'nu**; 164,
 448 *b*
 soot **sl'et**, 160
 sore **st'ər**, 129
 sorrowful **glumpi**, 403
 sorry **sori**, 6
 sough (inf.) **suf**, 319, 408
 sought **sənt**, 186

- soul **soul**, 158, 175
 sound **əund**, 287
 sour **tɑ:t**, 97; **sʊə(r)**, 165
 source **sʊəs**, 288
 south **sʌθ**, 164
 sow **sɪu**, 161 *b*; **ɡilt**, 206, 408
 sow (inf.) **sɔ:**, 175, 464 *a*
 sowed (pret.) **sɪu**, 180
 spade **spiəd**, 127
 spark **spɛək**, 97
 spark (a gay fellow) **spɑ:k**, 197
 speak (inf.) **spiək**, 462
 spectacles **speks**, 255
 speech **spi:etʃ**, 134
 speed **fulek**, 120, 302
 spell (inf.) **spel**, 475 *a*
 spend (inf.) **spend**, 469
 spew (inf.) **epiʊ**, 181
 spigot **spikit**, 259
 spike **prod**, 26, 116; **tɑ:n**, 112
 spill (inf.) **spɪl**, 475 *a*
 spirit **spɛrit**, 261
 spittle **slave(r)**, 192
 splash **blaʃ**, 91
 split (inf.) **splet**, 107, 473 *a*
 spoken **spokn**, 116
 spoon **spiən**, 160
 spot **spot**, 116
 spout (inf.) **spu:t**, 164
 sprawl **sprɔ:l**, 173
 spread (inf.) **spriəd**, 133, 462, 469 *b*
 spring **runl**, 110; **keld**, 201
 sprout (inf.) **spru:t**, 164
 spur **spor**, 124
 spurn (inf.) **spon**, 460
 stable **sti:əbl**, 269
 stack **stak**, 192
 stackyard **stagesθ**, 47, 303
 stagger (inf.) **stake(r)**, 192, 394
 stairs **ste:z**, 169
 stand (inf.) **stænd**, 463
 staple **stapl**, 26, 91
 stare (inf.) **ɡluə(r)**, 232
 starling **fɪpste(r)**, **dʒɪpl**, 141
 starve **stɑ:v**, 355
 statue **stæti**, 250, 297 *c*
 statute **stæti**, 250, 297 *c*
 stead **stiəd**, 132
 steady **stidi**, 5
 steak **steək**, 239
 steal (inf.) **sti:əl**, 461
 steam **eti:əm**, 137
 steep **brænt**, 91
 steeple **sti:pl**, 10
 steer **sti:ə(r)**, 136
 stick (inf.) **kɪg**, 30, 195, 394
 stile **eti:l**, 147, 148; **stæ:l**, 149 note
 sting (inf.) **teŋ**, 34, 94, 343; **stiŋ**,
 457
 stingy **stiŋi**, 107; **nɪgɪ**, 205
 stink (inf.) **stiŋk**, 457
 stinking **ɾam**, 45
 stir (inf.) **stɔ:r**, 115
 stirrup **storep**, 114
 steat **fumet**, 164; **klɪbste(r)**, 214
 stolen (pp.) **stoun**, 117, 461
 stone **sti:ən**, 128, 435 *v*
 stood (pret.) **stiəd**, 160, 463
 stool **sti:əl**, 160
 steep (inf.) **oke(r)**, 211
 storm **stɔ:m**, 119
 story **stʊ:əri**, 284; **istri**, 249; **ne'rre:ʃn**,
 340
 stove **stʊ:ev**, 157
 straight **stɾait**, 177
 strangle (inf.) **θrotl**, 116
 straw **stɾi:ə**, 137
 stream **stri:əm**, 137
 strength **stɾenθ**, 344
 stretch (inf.) **stɾitʃ**, 106, 468
 strew (inf.) **stɾɔ:n**, 188, 474
 stride (inf.) **stɾa:d**, 155, 455; (pret.)
 stɾɛəd, 128
 strike (inf.) **plɛ:t**, 26; **nevɪl**, 355
 strike (inf.) **ɔwɪp**, 228; **stɾɛik**, 455
 strip **stri:p**, 141; **altɪp**, 228
 strode (pret.) **stɾɛəd**, 128, 455
 stroke (inf.) **stɾu:ək**, 158
 strong **stɾaŋ**, 34, 94
 stronger **stɾaŋe(r)**, 345
 struggle (inf.) **ɾɪk**, 205, 352
 stubble **stubl**, 265
 stump **stʌb**, 214
 stupid **ɡæmlɛs**, 246

- such **sɛik**, 30, 152, 228, 319, 400
 suck (inf.) **suk**, 164
 sugar **singe(r)**, 41, 297
 suit (inf.) **siut**, 472
 sulphur **brunsta**, 110, 313
 sultry **mugi**, 215, 403
 sun **sun**, 120
 Sunday **sunde**, 303
 sup (inf.) **sup**, 164
 supper **supe(r)**, 265
 sure **si-e(r)** 297 b
 surprising **kapiu**, 192
 suspect (inf.) **mis'dut**, 306
 swamp **sump**, 319
 swampy **sumpi**, 319
 swan **swan**, 93
 swarm (inf.) **swam**, 155
 swathe (subst.) **swi-ēð**, 375
 sway (inf.) **swē-e**, 239
 swear (inf.) **swi-e(r)**, 132, 463
 sweat (inf.) **swi-ot**, 36, 128, 133, 318,
 469 b
 sweep (inf.) **swi-p**, 228; **swip**, 464 c,
 469 b
 swell (inf.) **swē-el**, 458
 swelling (on head) **ku-1**, 234
 swim (inf.) **swim**, 457
 swing (inf.) **swiŋ**, 457
 swinge (inf.) **swing**, 391
 swingle-tree **swiŋl-tri**, 345
 sword **su-ēd**, 125, 319
 sworn **swu-en**, 118
 syrup **serop**, 261

 table **ti-ēbl**, 269
 tail **ts-ēl**, 167
 tailor **ts-ēle(r)**, 290
 take (inf.) **tak**, 193, 463 c; (pp.) **ts-en**,
 217, 396, 463 c
 tale **ti-ēl**, 14, 127
 taper **spel**, 101
 tar **pik**, 107, 400; **ta:(r)**, 104 a
 taste **ti-ēst**, 268
 taught (pret.) **tout**, 183, 184
 teach (inf.) **ti-ēts**, 133, 468; (pret.) **tout**,
 183, 184, 468
 team **ti-ēm**, 137; (inf.) **ti-ēm**, 222, 474

 tear (inf.) **ra-v**, 38, 329; **ti-er**, 132,
 461
 tease (inf.) **ti-ēz**, 133
 teat **tit**, 107
 tedious **tri**, 149
 tell (inf.) **tel**, 468; (pret.) **teld**, 96, 468
 ten **ten**, 33
 terrier **tarie(r)**, 258
 tight **ti:t**, 225
 time **ta:m**, 155, 337
 that **jon**, 46
 thatch (subst.) **θak**, 91, 192, 372, 400
 thatch (inf.) **θi-ək**, 223, 400, 468
 thaw (inf.) **θa**, 173
 the **t**, 28, 48, 379, 438 b; **θe**, 379,
 428 c
 thee **θi**; **θe**, 145
 their **θe-er**, 239
 then **θen**, 40, 99
 there **θi-e(r)**, 134
 they **θe-e**, 239
 thick **θik**, 206
 thigh **θi**; 149, 372, 393
 thimble **θiml**, 108, 350
 thin **θin**, 39; **skragi**, 192
 thine, **θa:n**, 155
 think (inf.) **θiŋk**, 468; (pret.) **θout**,
 186, 407, 468
 third **θod**, 114
 thirst **θost**, 115
 thirsty **klamd**, 91
 thirteen **θot'tin**, 28, 114
 thirty **θotti**, 28, 114
 this **θis**, 40
 thorn **θu-en**, 118
 thou **θu**; 12, 164, 441
 though **θof**, 116, 408
 thought (pret.) **θout**, 186, 407, 468
 thousand **θu:zn**, 164, 370
 thrash (inf.) **θref**, 4, 101, 460
 thread **θri-ēd**, 134
 threaten **θri-ētn**, 137
 threepence, **θripns**, 150
 threshold **θrefwud**, 101, 321
 threw (pret.) **θriu**, 180
 thrive (inf.) **θra-v**, 229, 455
 throat **θru-ot**, 15, 157

- throng (subst.) **θraŋ**, 94
 throng (adj.) **θraŋ**, 194, 343
 through **θru:f**, 7, 39, 120, 408
 throw **θrɔ:**, 175, 464 a; **tʃuk**, 265;
 swɛ:əl, 458
 thrush **θroʊl**, 41, 116, 361
 thrust (inf.) **θrust**, 208, 460; (pp.)
 θrusn, 361
 thumb **θʊm**, 164
 thunder **θʊnə(r)**, 371
 Thursday **θɔ:zde**, 232
 tickle (inf.) **kitl**, 35, 205
 tidings **tai:diŋz**, 229
 tie (inf.) **ti:**, 149
 tighten (inf.) **twitʃ**, 107
 tire (inf.) **ti:**, 28
 to **tiv**, 38; **ti**, 160; **ti'e**, 160
 toad **ti'əd**, **tu'əd**, 128, 158
 toast **tu'est**, 285
 tobacco **bake**, 314
 toe **ti'e**, 128
 together **t'i:ɡiðə(r)**, 106
 token **tɔ:kən**, 126
 told (pret.) **teld**, 96, 468
 toll (inf.) **tɔ:l**, 117; (subst.) **tɔ:l**, 327
 to-morrow **ti-mu'ən**, 118
 to-morrow night **ti-mu'ən tni:t**, 118
 tongs **teŋz**, 94
 tongue **tʊŋ**, 120
 too **ti'e**, 160; **ʊə(r)**, 448 c
 took (pret.) **tiuk**, 20, 161
 tool **tul**, 159
 tooth **ti'əθ**, 160
 toroh **tu'ətʃ**, 264
 torn **tu'ən**, 118
 tottering **wɑŋkl**, 318
 tough **ti'əf**, 37, 160, 408
 tower **tu'ə(r)**, 288
 town **tʊ:n**, 12, 164
 trail (inf.) **trɛ:əl**, 290, 362
 trapez (inf.) **trɛ:əps**, 362
 travel (inf.) **trævɪl**, 250
 treacle **tri'əkl**, 274
 tread (inf.) **tri'əd**, 132, 462
 treasure **trɛ:ʒə(r)**, 274, 297 d, 384
 treat (inf.) **tri'ət**, 274, 473 b
 tree **tri:**, 144
 tremble **trɪml**, 256, 350
 trim **trɪŋ**, 209
 trouble **trʊbl**, 265
 trough **trɔ:f**, 116, 408
 trousers **slo:p**, 211; **trʊ:zɪz**, 287
 true **tru:**, 28, 45, 180
 trust **trʊst**, 28, 247
 truth **truθ**, 78, 180
 tuft **tuft**, 365
 tumble (inf.) **tʊml**, 120
 tumour **wen**, 101
 turf **to:f**, 124, 352
 turn (inf.) **tu:n**, 124
 turnip **tonəp**, 266, 303
 twain **twɛ:ən**, 168
 twelve **twelv**, 38
 twice **twɪs**, 152
 twine **bʌnd**, 91
 twine (inf.) **twɪ:n**, 155
 twist **krik**, 107
 two **twi'e**, 128, 318
 tyke **teik**, 228
 udder **ju'ə(r)**, 235
 under (prep.) **ʊndə'ni'əθ**, 449
 understand (inf.) **skɪl**, 205
 underwood **skrub**, 214
 unstable **wɑŋkl**, 94, 318
 uproot (inf.) **stʌb**, 27, 110
 upset (inf.) **skel**, 198
 upstart **ʊpstɑ:t**, 203
 use (subst.) **ju:s**, 20, 46, 297
 use (inf.) **ju:z**, 20, 46, 297, 488
 vain **vɛ:ən**, 290
 value **vʌl**, 250, 309
 van **vʌn**, 38
 vat **fət**, 359
 veal **vi'əl**, 274
 verjuice **vɑ:dʒes**, 257
 vermin **vɜ:mɪn**, 257
 very **vəri**, 3, 38, 258; **pɑ:ləs**, 257
 veterinary-surgeon **fɜ:riə(r)**, 352
 vex (inf.) **fə:ʃ**, 250
 viper **ə'gwo:zm**, 195
 vixen **fɪksn**, 359
 voice **stevn**, 101

- vow **vu:**, 287
- waist **wi'est**, 130
- waistcoat **weskɪt**, 48, 309
- wait (inf.) **wæ'ət**, 290
- waken (inf.) **wakn**, 474
- walk (inf.) **wɔ:k**, 96, 464*f*; **pa:zl**, 254
- wander (inf.) **ræ'ək**, 239
- want (inf.) **want**, 194
- war **wu:(r)**, 257
- ward **wɑ:d**, 97
- warm **wɑ:m**, 36, 97
- warm (inf.) **ʃɔ:m**, 196
- warp (inf.) **wɑ:p**, 197
- wart **wɑ:t**, 97
- was **wɔ:r**, 93, 487
- wash (inf.) **wɛʃ**, 4, 98, 387, 463*c*
- wasp **wesp**, 255
- waste **wi'est**, 268
- watch **watʃ**, 43, 93
- water **watə(r)**, 28, 45, 93
- water-tight **θɪ:t**, 225
- way **wɛə**, 168
- we **wi**, **wi**, 145, 441
- weak **wɛ'ək**, 239
- wean (inf.) **spɪ'en**, 223; **wi'en**, 474
- weaned **spɪ'end**, 127
- wear (inf.) **wi'ər**, 132, 461
- weary (inf.) **ti:**, 179
- weary **wi'əri**, 135
- weasand **wɪzn**, 106
- weasel **re:zɪ**, 101, 319
- weather **wede(r)**, 101
- wed (inf.) **wed**, 101, 473*a*
- weed corn (inf.) **li:k**, 233
- weep (inf.) **blu:b(r)**, 120; **wɪ:p**, 464*e*;
grɪ'ət, 134, 461
- weigh (inf.) **wai**, 16, 149
- weight **wɛɪt**, 149, 177
- well **wɪ:l**, 10
- wend (inf.) **wend**, 469
- wet (inf.) **wet**, 473*a*
- wether **wede(r)**, 101
- whack (inf.) **wak**, 373
- what **wat**, 36, 93, 318, 445
- wheat **wi'ət**, 133
- whelk **wɪlk**, 106
- when **wen**, 36, 99
- where **wi'ə(r)**, 134
- whether **wede(r)**, 99, 445
- whetstone **wetstɒn**, 101
- which (of two) **wede(r)**, 99, 445
- while **wɑ:l**, 155
- whin **wɪn**, 205, 318
- whip **wɪp**, 36
- whisper (inf.) **wɪspə(r)**, 107
- white **wɛɪt**, 152
- Whitsuntide **wɪtsn-ta:d**, 155
- whittle **wɪtl**, 373
- who **wi'ə**, 128, 318, 445
- whole **ɔ:l**, 128, 325; **i'əl**, 128
- whooping-cough **kiŋkɒf**, 107, 400
- whore **u'ə(r)**, 232
- why **wat fɔ:**, 119, 448*c*
- wide **wɑ:d**, 9, 155
- widow **wɪdɔ:**, 302
- wife **wɪf**, 152
- wild **wɑ:ld**, 112, 327
- will **wɪl**, 35, 484; (pret.) **wəd**, 484
- willow **wɪlə**, 106
- willow catkins **pɔ:mz**, 96
- wind **wɪnd**, 112
- wind (inf.) **wɪnd**, 112, 457
- window **wɪndə**, 302, 320
- windpipe **wɪzn**, 42
- wing **wɪŋ**, 202
- winnow (inf.) **fɑ:n**, 352
- winter **wɪntə(r)**, 107
- wipe (inf.) **wɪp**, 152
- wire **wɪə(r)**, 21, 152
- wise **kɑ:nɪ**, 91
- wish (inf.) **wɪʃ**, 469*b*
- wisp **wɪsp**, 107
- with **wɪ**, **wɪv**, 359, 373
- wither (inf.) **wɪzn**, 107
- withhold (inf.) **wɪ'əld**, 306
- without **ə'ðaʊt**, 164, 301, 449
- Wolds **wɔ:dz**, 96
- woman **wʊmən**, 120; (pl.) **wɪmɪn**, 336
- wonder **wʊndə(r)**, 121
- woo (inf.) **ku'ət**, 264, 287
- wood **wʊd**, 7, 120
- wooing **ku'ətɪn**, 264, 287
- word **wɔ:d**, 119

- work (inf.) **work**, 6, 45, 115, 468; wrong **raŋ**, 194, 319, 343
 (pret.) **rouŋ**, 468 wrote **re-et**, 128
 work (subst.) **wa:k**, 9, 104 wroth **raθ**, 319
 world **wold**, 6, 105; **wald**, 104 wrought (pret.) **rouŋ**, 185, 468
 worm **worm**, 115
 worn **wu'en**, 118
 worry (inf.) **wori**, 115
 worse (adj.) **wos**, 104, 439 *c*
 worse (adv.) **wa:s**, 203, 448
 worst (adj.) **wost**, 439 *c*
 worst (adv.) **wa:st**, 448
 worth **woθ**, 114
 would **wad**, 3, 319, 484
 wound **wu:nd**, 121
 wrap (inf.) **lap**, 475 *a*
 wreath **ri'eθ**, 133
 wreck **ra:k**, 319
 wrestle (inf.) **ra:sl**, 380
 wriggle (inf.) **ɹik**, 352
 wright **ri:t**, 148
 wrinkle (inf.) **kriŋkɹl**, 107
 write (inf.) **reit**, 17, 152, 455

 yard **ga:θ**, 9, 197
 yard (3 feet) **jed**, 105, 323
 ye **ji**; **je**, 145, 441
 year **ji'e(r)**, 134
 yeast **jest**, 101
 yell (inf.) **je-el**, 103, 458; **joul**, 245
 yellow **bl'e:k**, 27, 239; **jale**, 101
 yes **jis**, 107
 yesterday **jistede**, 8, 106, 303
 yet **jit**, 107
 yew **ju:**, 181
 yoke **ju'ek**, 157
 yon **jon**, 116
 you **je**, 441
 young **junj**, 46, 120
 youth **ju:θ**, 20

INDEX

The figures refer to paragraphs, not to pages.

- a*, 51, 90, 192, 250
ā, 57, 126, 216, 267
ai, 64, 166, 237, 289
au, 65, 171, 241, 292
Adverbs, 448
Articles, 438
b, 73, 349
c, 74, 395
ch, 86, 389
Comparison of adjectives, 439
Conjunctions, 450
d, 73, 367
e, 300
e, 52, 53, 100, 198, 255, 310
ē, 58, 131, 220, 272
ē, 59, 139, 224, 277
ei, 177
eu, 66, 178, 297
f, 76, 352, 408
g, 75, 404
gh, 81, 394, 407
h, 82, 409
i, 54, 107, 205, 259, 306
i, 60, 151, 227, 278
Interjections, 451
j, 87, 391
k, 74, 395
l, 83, 313, 326
m, 83, 313, 336
n, 83, 313, 337
ng, 83, 343
Nouns, 435
Numerals, 440
o, 55, 116, 211, 262, 312
ō, 61, 157, 231, 283
ō, 62, 159, 233, 286
oi, 67, 293
ou, 68, 182, 245
p, 73, 346
Plural, 71, 435
Possessive case, 436
Prefixes, 70
Prepositions, 449
Pronouns, 441
qu, 88
r, 83, 326
s, 79, 380
sh, 80, 387
Subjunctive mood, 454 *b*
t, 73, 360
th, 78, 372, 375
ü, 297
u, 56, 120, 214, 265, 311
ū, 63, 164, 234, 287
ui, 67, 293
Unstressed vowels, 298
v, 77, 355
Verbs: Auxiliary, 486; Reduplicating,
464; Strong, 452; Strong-Weak, 477;
Weak, 465
w, 85, 318
y, *yh*, 84, 323

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