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ON

EARLY ENGLISH PRONUNCIATION,

WITH ESPECIAL REFERENCE TO

SHAKSPERE AND CHAUCER,

CONTAINING AN INVESTIGATION OF THE CORRESPONDENCE OF WRITING WITH SPEECH IN ENGLAND FROM THE ANGLOSAXON PERIOD TO THE PRESENT DAY, PRECEDED BY A SYSTEMATIC NOTATION OF ALL SPOKEN SOUNDS BY MEANS OF THE ORDINARY PRINTING TYPES.

INCLUDING

A RE-ARRANGEMENT OF PROF. F. J. CHILD'S MEMOIRS ON THE LANGUAGE OF CHAUCER AND GOWER, AND REPRINTS OF THE RARE TRACTS BY SALESBURY ON ENGLISH, 1547, AND WELCH, 1567, AND BY BARCLEY ON FRENCH, 1521.

BY

ALEXANDER J. ELLIS, F.R.S.,

FELLOW OF THE CAMBRIDGE PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY, MEMBER OF THE LONDON MATHEMATICAL SOCIETY, MEMBER OF THE COUNCIL OF THE PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY, FORMERLY SCHOLAR OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE, B.A. 1837.

PART I.

ON THE PRONUNCIATION OF THE XIVTH, XVITH, XVIITH, AND XVIIITH CENTURIES.

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SPEAKE THE SPEECH I PRAY YOU, AS I PRONOUNC'D IT TO YOU.

Shakspere, Tragedies, p. 266, fo. 1623.

LEGENDI SEMPER OCCASIO EST, AVDIENDI NON SEMPER. PRAETEREA, MVLTO MAGIS (VT VVLGO DICITVR) VIVA VOX AFFICIT. NAM, LICET ACRIORA SINT, QVAE LEGAS, ALTIVS TAMEN IN ANIMO SEDENT, QVAE PRONVNTIATIO, VVLTVS, HABITVS, GESTVS ETIAM DICENTIS AFFIGIT: NISI VERO FALSVM PVTAMVS ILLVD AESCHINIS, QVI, CVM LEGISSET RHODIIS ORATIONEM DEMOSTHENIS, ADMIRANTIBVS CVNCTIS, ADIECISSE FERTVR, TI ΔΕ. ΕΙ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΘΗΡΙΟΥ ΑΚΗΚΟΕΙΤΕ; ET ERAT AESCHINES, SI DEMOSTHENI CREDIMVS, ΛΑΜΠΡΟΦΩΝΟΤΑΤΟΣ: FATEBATVR TAMEN, LONGE MELIVS EADEM ILLA PRONVNTIASSE IPSVM QVI PEPERERAT.

C. Plinii Caecilii Secundi Epist. ii. 3.

VERVM ORTHOGRAPHIA QVOQVE CONSVETVDINI SERVIT, IDEOQVE SAEPE MVTATA EST. NAM ILLA VETVSTISSIMA TRANSEO TEMPORA, QVIBVS ET PAVCIORES LITERAE, NEC SIMILES HIS NOSTRIS EARVM FORMAE FVERVNT, VT VIS QVOQVE DIVERSA . . . . FORTASSE SICVT SCRIBEBANT, ETIAM ITA LOQVEBANTVR . . . . EGO (NISI QVOD CONSVETVDO OBTINVERIT) SIC SCRIBENDVM QVIDQVE IVDICO, QVOMODO SONAT. HIC ENIM EST VSVS LITERARVM, VT CVSTODIANT VOCES, ET VELVT DEPOSITVM REDDANT LEGENTIBVS; ITAQVE ID EXPRIMERE DEBENT, QVOD DICTVRI SVMVS.

M. Fab. Quinctiliani, Inst. Orator. i. 7.

NOTICE.

THE first portion of the Chaucer Society's publications being ready for delivery to its members, it has been thought advisable to issue at the same time the first four chapters of the present work, which contain an investigation of Chaucer's pronunciation and Prof. F. J. Child's Memoir upon his language. The MS. of the remainder of the work, which will be of about the same extent as the present part, is so far advanced, that it will possibly be ready for issue before the close of the present year; but as the revision at press and the construction of the indices will be very laborious, it may have to be delayed beyond that time. A brief summary of the contents of both parts, and an outline index, is here annexed. Complete Indices will be added to make reference to the great variety of matters treated upon, ready and convenient, as the work is intended to give in a small space the greatest possible amount of information upon a subject hitherto almost untreated.

This treatise also replaces the paper on the Pronunciation of the Sixteenth Century, etc., which was read by the Author before the Philological Society, on 18 January and 1 February, 1867.

A. J. E

KENSINGTON,
1 FEB., 1869.

CORRIGENDA IN PART I.

*** *Readers observing any misprints in Part I. are respectfully requested to communicate with the author, 25, Argyll Road, Kensington, W.*

p. 5. *under* Grh, *read* A. غ

p. 7, l. 5, *for* ʌæʌ *read* væʌ.

p. 53, l. 6, *for* auk*w*k *read* auk*w*h.

p. 57, line 9 from bottom, for *oo*'w read *oo*'*w*.

p. 60, l. 17, *for* [1] *read* [2]

p. 70, l. 18 *for* ut it *read* ut in.

p. 80, l. 20, *for* inclined suspect *read* inclined to suspect.

p. 85, l. 12, *for* that he *read* than he.

p. 89, n. 1, l. 2, *for* he a *read* he is a.

p. 106, l. 18, *for* refuse so say *read* refuse to say.

p. 113, l. 21, *for* does seem *read* does not seem.

ADDENDA.

p. 12. *After the paragraph commencing ** add :*

⌊ evanescent, made from [, before a single letter or combination, denotes that it is scarcely audible, although the speaker is conscious of placing his organs in the proper position for speaking it.

⌊⌉ evanescents, made from [ ], enclose more than one evanescent element, or entire evanescent words, as (⌊'n *i*t⌉ k*ee*m ⌊t' paahs,) = *and it came to pass.*

p. 12. *After the paragraph commencing ~~~ add :*

(′) prominent, the acute accent may be placed over any element of a diphthong or triphthong, when it is considered desirable, to shew that it has the chief stress of the inter-gliding vowels, but not necessarily the chief stress in the whole word, as, for example, to distinguish the pairs of diphthongs (íu iú, úi uí, éa eá).

p. 273. *Add to note* 2. Compare also : whitlow, whitsour, whitster, whitsul ; Whitacre, Whitbarrow, Whitburn, Whitchurch, Whitfield, Whitgift, Whithorn, Whitland, Whitley, Whitmore, Whitney, Whitstable, etc. etc.

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A
14. 259,
16. 59,
17. 65,
18. 74.

AI, AY
14. 263,
16. 118,
17. 124,
18. 129.

AU, AW
14. 263,
16. 136, 141,
17. 147,
18. 149.

B
14. 308,
16. 17. 18. 203.

C
14. 308,
16. 17. 18. 203, 214.

CH
14. 308,
16. 17. 18. 203.

D
14. 308,
16. 17. 18. 203.

E
14. 260, 318,
16. 77,
17. 81,
18. 88.

EA
14. 260,
16. 77,
17. 81,
18. 88.

EE
14. 260,
16. 77,
17. 81,
18. 88.

EI, EY
14. 263,
16. 118,
17. 124,
18. 129.

EO
14. 260.

EU, EW
14. 301,
16. 136, 137,
17. 139,
18. 141.

F
14. 308,
16. 17. 18. 219.

G
14. 308,
16. 17. 18. 203.

GH
14. 310,
16. 17. 18. 209.

GN
14. 308.

H
14. 314,
16. 17. 18. 220.

I, Y
14. 270,
16. 104,
17. 116,
18. 117.

IE
14. 260,
16. 104,
17. 116,
18. 117.

J
14. 314,
16. 17. 18. 203.

K
14. 315,
16. 17. 18. 203.

L
14. 315,
16. 17. 18. 193.

M
14. 315,
16. 17. 18. 188.

N
14. 315,
16. 17. 18. 188.

NG
14. 315,
16. 17. 18. 188.

O
14. 266,
16. 93,
17. 99,
18. 103.

OA
14. 266,
16. 93,
17. 99,
18. 103.

OE
14. 260.

OI, OY
14. 268,
16. 130,
17. 133,
18. 135.

OO
14. 266,
16. 93,
17. 99,
18. 103.

OU, OW
14. 303,
16. 136, 149,
17. 156,
18. 160.

P
14. 316,
16. 17. 18. 203.

PH
14. 316.

Q
14. 316,
16. 17. 18. 203.

R
14. 316,
16. 17. 18. 196.

S
14. 317,
16. 17. 18. 214.

SH
14. 317,
16. 17. 18. 214.

T
14. 317,
16. 17. 18. 203.

TH
14. 317,
16. 17. 18. 219.

U
14. 298,
16. 160, 163.
17. 171,
18. 184.

UI, UY
14. 269,
16. 17. 18. 135.

V
14. 317,
16. 17. 18. 219.

W.
14. 317,
16. 17. 18. 184.

WH
14. 317,
16. 17. 18. 184.

X
14. 317,
16. 17. 18. 214.

Y vowel, see I

Y consonant.
14. 310, 317,
16. 17. 18. 184.

Z
14. 310, 317,
16. 17. 18. 214.

INTRODUCTION.

Palaeotype, or the Systematic Notation of All Spoken Sounds by means of the Ordinary Printing Types.

In order to write intelligibly on speech sounds, some systematic means of representing them must be adopted. In order to understand the mode in which speech sounds change, delicate physiological actions of the vocal organs must be indicated. In order to be generally intelligible, the letters of the Roman Alphabet in their original Latin senses, as nearly as may be, should form the nucleus of the system of symbolisation. In order to be convenient to the Printer and Writer, the old types, *παλαιοὶ τύποι* (paleiˑ tiiˑpi), should be used, and no accented letters, few turned, and still fewer mutilated letters should be employed. The system of writing here proposed to fulfil these conditions will, in consequence of the last, be termed Palaeotype (pælˑiotəip). It is essentially a makeshift scheme, adapted solely to scientific, not popular use, not pretending to supersede any existing system of writing, but sufficing to explain all such systems, and to indicate the pronunciation of any language with great minuteness and much typographical convenience.[1]

The reader will have no occasion to study the whole of the following list before beginning to read the book. The nature of the symbols allows by far the greater number of them to be arranged alphabetically, so that the reader can immediately discover the meaning of any symbol or usual combination, and any unusual symbol is generally explained when it first occurs in the following pages. It is only necessary to bear in mind that the Roman vowels (a, e, i, o, u,) are pronounced as in Italian, and (y, œ) as the German ü, ö, that

[1] A full account of the principles of the notation is given in the *Transactions of the Philological Society* for 1867, Supplement, Part I. The subsequent appearance of Mr. Melville Bell's *Visible Speech*, and the elaboration of the following pages, have occasioned a few modifications and improvements. As now presented, Palaeotype is believed to contain characters for all the sounds considered by Rapp, Lepsius, Brücke, Max Müller, Haldeman, Merkel, and Melville Bell, and hence to be the most complete series of phonetic symbols which has been published.

the italics and small capitals indicate certain modifications of these sounds, that (h, j, *w*) are *always* diacritical, having no meaning of their own but serving to modify the meaning of the preceding letter, and that (ɪɪ, ɹ, w, q, ə, əi, əu) represent the sounds in (*h*ay, *y*ea, *w*ay, si*ng*, b*u*t, b*i*te, h*ow*). Long vowels are indicated by reduplication, as (aa, ee, ii); repeated vowels are separated by a comma as (a,a, e,e, i,i). The other common symbols are well known.

The explanation is given by keywords, the letters expressing the sounds in question being italicised, and by the symbols (* ˈ ˌ † ǂ ‡ *w* 0 –) which shew how some of the letters are formed from others, (*) by attempting to pronounce simultaneously the two letters between which it is placed, by taking the contact (ˈ) nearer the mouth, or (ˌ) nearer the throat, (†) by protruding, or (ǂ) by inverting the tongue, (‡) by clicking, (*w*) by 'rounding' or labial modification, (0) by 'widening' or distending the pharynx and oral passages, (–) by removing the effect of the diacritic before which it is placed, and which is inherent in the preceding letter, as (–*w*) with opened lips, (–0) with narrowed pharynx, etc. For all English sounds, numerous other examples will be found in Chapter VI, § 2. On p. 15, there is furnished a complete comparison of Palaeotype with Visible Speech, whence the exact value of the former can be determined by a reference to Mr. Melville Bell's work. Diagrams of the positions of the tongue and lips during the pronunciation of the vowels, are given on p. 14.

In the course of the following pages many explanations and discussions of phonetic subjects become necessary. See the nature of glides, diphthongs, and combined speech sounds explained in Chapter III, § 2, the principal vowels and diphthongs in the same chapter, § 3, especially under the heading U, the nature of palatisation (j) and labialisation (*w*) in the same chapter, § 4, under P, B; T, D; C, K, Q; CH, J, and GH, and the nature of aspiration under H. The Tables in Chapter VI, §§ 1 and 2, and the footnotes to Chapter VIII, § 1, may also be consulted.

Examples of the use of Palaeotype in continuous writing will be found in Chapter V, §§ 1, 2, 3, 4; Chapter VII; Chapter VIII, §§ 3, 4, 5, 6, 8; Chapter IX, §§ 1, 3; Chapter X, §§ 1, 2, Chapter XI, §§ 1, 2, 3. In this Chapter XI will be found examples of modern English and Scotch, forming a convenient exercise for those who wish to study the nature of this system of writing, and allowing of a direct comparison with Visible Speech.

The mode of writing the "turned" or inverted letters is explained in each particular case. Italic letters have *one* horizontal line below them, as ɪ; small capitals have either *two* horizontal lines, or *one* short oblique line, as ɪ, below them, tailed letters as g, j, p, q, y, when they have to be printed as small capitals, may have a horizontal stroke *above* them, like ɪ̄. The letter ʜ may be also written with its stem crossed like *t*, and *f* with *two* cross bars.

For the purposes of alphabet arrangement, æ, œ are considered to be the same as ae, oe, and the turned letters

ə ɘ ɜ ɞ ɹ ʌ ɔ ɶ ɻ ɺ ɽ modifications of

e *e* ᴇ e ʟ ɴ o œ ʀ *ʀ* ʀ respectively.

Isolated letters, words, and phrases in palaeotype occurring in the midst of ordinary spelling are enclosed in a parenthesis ( ) to prevent confusion.

KEY TO PALAEOTYPE.

Abbreviations.—A. arabic, C. chinese, E. english, F. french, G. german, I. italian, P. provincial, S. sanscrit. occ. occasional, = interchangeable with.

I. Letters.

A	a	= (ɜ0), I. m*a*tto, F. ch*a*tte, (mat·to, shat)
A	*a*	= (œ0), G. m*a*nn, F. matel*a*s, (m*a*n, matl*a*)
:A	ʌ	= (œ*w*), E. w*a*nt, wh*a*t, *a*ugust, (wʌnt, whʌt, ʌgɔst·), see (ɔ)
A꞉	a꞉	Gaelic m*a*th, good, (ma꞉); nasal twang
Aa	aa	long of (a), E. f*a*ther, I. m*a*no, (faadh·ɪ, maa·no)
Aa	*aa*	long of (*a*), G. m*ah*nen, (m*aa*·nen)
:Aʌ	ʌʌ	long of (ʌ), E. *aw*n, (ʌʌn), see (ɔɔ)
Aa꞉	aa꞉	long of (a꞉)
Aah	aah	long of (ah)
*Aa*h	*aa*h	long of (*a*h)
Aaʌ	aaʌ	long of (aʌ), see (ʌ)
Æ	æ	= (ɛ0), E. m*a*n, c*a*t, s*a*d, (mæn, kæt, sæd)
Ææ	ææ	long of (æ), P. E. B*a*th, (Bææth)
Ææh	ææh	long of (æh)
Æh	æh	= (æ*w*) = (əh0) labially modified (æ) or widened (əh)
Ah	ah	= (ɔ0), occ. E. *a*sk, st*a*ff, gr*a*nt (ahsk, stahf, grahnt)
*A*h	*a*h	= (əh*w*), Irish s*a*r, Austrian m*a*n (s*a*hr, m*a*hn)
Ai	ai	E. *aye*, G. h*a*in, (ai, hain), see (ɔi)
Aʌ	aʌ	F. *an*, *temps*, *cent*, (aʌ, taʌ, saʌ), see (ʌ)
Au	au	G. h*au*s, (haus), see (ɔu)
Ay	ay	theoretical G. *euch* (ay*k*h)

B	b	E. *b*ee, (bii)
B	*b*	sonant of (*p*), which see, ? = (b*w*)
:B	ʙ	= (b‡), lower lip against teeth, Brücke's b^2
‘B	‘b	= (b*p), flat Saxon *b*, Rapp's π
Bh	bh	G. *w* in the middle and south, (v) without the teeth
Bj	bj	= (b*ɹ)
Brh	brh	= (bh*), lip trill, G. *brr* for stopping horses, Brücke's κ
B*w*	b*w*	=(b*w), F. *b*ois, (b*wa*)
C	c	= (s†) ? nearly (th), Spanish *z*, and *c* before *e*, *i*, Badajoz, (Baadaaxooc·)
C	*c*	= (z†) ? nearly (dh), Spanish *d* (?), ciu*dad* (ciucaac·)
D	d	E. *d*o, (duu)
D	*d*	= (d*g), usually accepted A. ض, Lepsius's A. ط
:D	ɒ	= (d‡), S. ङ
.D	.d	= (d†), tip of tongue on gums
‘D	‘d	= (d*t), flat Saxon (d), Rapp's τ
Dh	dh	E. *th*ee, Danish ve*d*, (dhii, vedh), Welsh *dd*
*D*h	*d*h	(dh*gh), Newman's A. ض, Lepsius's A. ظ
:Dhh	ɒhh	Lepsius's Dravidian sound, nearly (ɒzh)
Dj	dj	= (d*ɹ), Hungarian *gy*, E. ver*d*ure, (vɹ·djɹ)
D*w*	d*w*	= (d*w), F. *d*oit (d*wa*)
Dzh	dzh	E. *j*u*dg*ing, (dzhɔdzh·iq)
E	e	= (*e*0), E. m*e*t, G. f*e*tt, F. j*e*tte, (met, fet, zhet), see (ɛ)
E	*e*	= (e–0), E. *a*erial, F. *été* (*e*er·iɹl, *e*te), I. *e* chiuso
:E	ɛ	= (æ–0), I. *e* aperto, occ. E. m*e*t, G. f*e*tt, (mɛt, fɛt)
Ɜ	ɔ	= (ah–0) turned e, written *ɔ*, E. b*u*t (bɔt), see (ɜ)
Ɜ	*ɔ*	= (*ew*) = (œ–0), turned *e*, F. qu*e* *je* m*e* r*é*p*e*nte (*kɔ* zhɔ mɔ repaʌtɔ)
:Ɜ	ɜ	= (a–0) turned ɜ, occ. E. b*u*t (bɜt)
Ɵ	ɐ	= (*œ*0) = (*u*–*w*), turned a, written ɐ, E. mentio*n*, re*a*l, (men·shɐn, rii·ɐl)
Ee	ee	long of (e), E. m*a*re, M*a*ry, (meeɹ, Meeɹ·ri)
Ee	*ee*	long of (*e*), E. *a*i*l*ing (*ee*·li*l*q), see (eei, *ee*'j)
:Eɛ	ɛɛ	long of (ɛ), like a bleat
Ɜɔ	ɔɔ	long of (ɔ), replaces (ɹ, ɔɹ, œɹ) in South E.
Ɜɔ	*ɔɔ*	long of (ɔ)
:ɜɜ	ɜɜ	long of (ɜ)
Ɵɐ	ɐɐ	long of (ɐ)
Ɜɔh	ɔɔh	long of (ɔh)
*Ɜɔ*h	*ɔɔ*h	long of (ɔh)
Eei	eei	occ. E. th*ey*, (dheei), for (dh*ee*)
Ee'j	*ee*'j	occ. E. f*a*te, (f*ee*'jt), for (f*ee*t)
Eeʌ	eeʌ	long of (eʌ), see (ʌ)
Ɜɔʌ	ɔɔʌ	long of (ɔʌ), see (ʌ)
Ɜh	ɔh	= (*a*h–*w*), West E. s*i*r, f*i*rst (sɔhr, fɔhrst)
*Ɜ*h	*ɔ*h	= (ɛ*w*), occ. F. *eu*
Ei	ei	Scotch t*i*me (teim), Portuguese *ei*

Ɜi	ɔi	usual E. *eye*, t*i*me, (ɔi, tɔim)
Eʌ	eʌ	F. v*in* (veʌ), see (ʌ)
Ɜʌ	ɔʌ	F. *un* emprun*t*, (ɔʌn-aʌprɔʌ), see (ʌ)
Eu	eu	I. *Eu*ropa, (Euroo·pa), Cockney and Yankee t*ow*n (teun
Ɜu	ɔu	usual E. h*ou*se, sh*ou*t (ɦɔus, shout)
F	f	E. *f*oe, (f*oo*), gentle hiss
F	*f*	= (fɬ), upper lip against lower teeth
.F	.f	violently hissed (f)
Fh	fh	= (f*kh)
F*w*	f*w*	= (f*wh), the back of the tongue in the (u) position, F. *f*ois, (f*w*a)
G	g	E. *g*o, (g*oo*)
G	*g*	= (gj) = (g*ɹ), occ. E. *gu*ard, (*g*ɑɹd), F. *gu*eux, (*g*œ)
:G	ɢ	sonant of (ĸ)
‘G	‘g	= (g*k), flat (g), Rapp's *κ*
Gh	gh	G. ta*g*e, (taagh·*e*), Dutch *g*, S. ह
*G*h	*g*h	= (gjh) = (gh*ɹ), G. wie*g*e, (bhii*g*h·*e*)
:Gh	ɢh	buzz of (ĸh)
.Gh	.gh	violently buzzed (gh)
Gj	gj	= (*g*), which see
Gjh	gjh	= (*g*h), which see
Grh	grh	= (gh*ɾ*), A. ع, heard in gargling
G*w*	g*w*	= (g*w), F. goître, (g*w*atr')
:G*w*	ɢ*w*	= (ɢ*w)
G*w*h	g*w*h	= (gh*w), G. au*g*e, (au·g*wh*e)
:G*w*h	ɢ*w*h	= (ɢh*w)
H	ɦ	E. *h*e (ɦii), S. भ ध घ, (bɦ, dɦ, gɦ), jerked utterance
H‘	ɦ‘	jerked whisper
	h	with no capital, diacritic, with no meaning by itself, but modifying the meaning of the preceding letter in any manner that is convenient, see (ah, th, sh, 'h), &c.
H	*h*	A. ح (*haa*)
	'h	a scarcely audible (ɔ) as Cockney pa*ɾ*k, (paa'hk)
	hh	with no capital, diacritic, variety of (h), see (lhh)
H*w*	ɦ*w*	a voiced whistle
H*w*h	ɦ*w*h	an ordinary whistle, distinct from (wh, k*w*h)
I	i	= (*i*–ɷ), E. *e*vent, F. f*i*ni, f*i*che, (ivent·, fini, fish)
I	*i*	= (iɷ), E. r*i*ver, f*i*nn*y*, f*i*sh, (r*iv*·ɹ, f*in*·*i*, f*i*sh)
:I	ɪ	=(i*w*), occ. G. ü, Swedish *y*
Ii	ii	long of (i), E. *ee*, (iiv)
*I**i*	*ii*	long of (*i*), E. happy... (ɦæp·*ii*), in singing
:Iɪ	ɪɪ	long of (ɪ)
Iu	iu	E. f*u*tility, (fiut*il*·*i*t*i*)
*I**u*	*iu*	American variety of (iu)
Iuu	iuu	E. f*u*tile, (fiuu·t*il*)

J	ɹ	E. *y*et, G. *j*a, (ɹet, ɹ*aa*)
	j	with no capital, diacritic, palatal modification of preceding letter.
	'j	faint sound of (ɹ, i) into which E. (*ee*) occasionally tapers, see (*ee*'j)
Jh	ɹh	occ. E. *h*ue (ɹhiuu), occ. G. *j*a (ɹh*aa*), occ. F. œ*il* (əɹh)
K	k	E. *k*ey, *c*an, *c*oal, (kii, kæn, k*oo*l)
K	*k*	= (kj) = (k*ɹ), occ. E. *c*art (*k*art), F. *qu*eue (*k*œ)
:K	ʞ	= (k†), A. ق (ʞ*aa*f)
Kh	kh	G. da*ch*, Scotch lo*ch*, (d*a*kh, lɔkh)
*K*h	*k*h	= (kjh) = (kh*ɹh), G. sie*ch*, (szii*k*h)
:Kh	ʞh	related to (ʞ) as (kh) to (k)
Kʜ	kʜ	S. ख, upper G. *k*omm, (kʜom)
.Kh	.kh	violently hissed (kh)
kj	kj	= (*k*), which see
Kjh	kjh	= (*k*h), which see
Krh	krh	= (kh¿), Swiss *ch*, A. خ (krh*aa*)
K*w*	k*w*	= (k*w), E. *qu*een, F. *qu*oi, (k*w*iin, k*w*a), Latin *qu*
K*w*h	k*w*h	= (kh*wh), G. au*ch*, (auk*w*h), Welsh *chw*, Scotch *quh*
:K*w*h	ʞ*w*h	= (ʞh*wh)
L	l	E. *l*ow, (l*oo*)
L	*l*	Polish barred *l*
:L	ʟ	= (l‡), S. ळ
⅃	⅃	turned ᴛ, written as *l* with ~ below, lisped (l)
.L	.l	= (l†)
Lh	lh	whispered (l), breath escaping on both sides the tongue, E. fe*l*t = (fellht) at full, occ. F. tab*le*, (tablh)
*L*h	*l*h	whisper of (*l*)
:Lh	ʟh	according to Lepsius, Dravidian *l* in (TamiʟH)
⅃h	⅃h	whisper of (⅃)
Lhh	lhh	= (l§h), breath escaping on the right side of the tongue only, Welsh *ll*
Lj	lj	= (l*ɹ), I. *gl*i (lji)
Ljh	ljh	whisper of (lj)
L*w*	l*w*	= (l*w), F. *lo*i (l*w*a), Anglosaxon *wl*-
Lw	*lw*	= (*l***w*)
L*w*h	l*w*h	= (lh*wh)
*Lw*h	*lw*h	= (*l*h*wh)
M	m	E. *m*e, (mii)
	m	no capital, diacritic, = (ʌ), which see
Mh	mh	voiceless (m), E. te*mp*t (temmht) at full
M*w*	m*w*	= (m*w), F. *moi*, (m*w*a)
N	n	E. *n*ap (næp)
N	*n*	= (n*q), see (*d*)
:N	ɴ	= (n‡), S ण

	ʌ	= no capital, written *η* not joined to the following letter, diacritic, French nasality, the four French nasals, v*in*, *an*, *on*, *un*, are written for convenience (veʌ, aʌ, oʌ, əʌ), though perhaps more properly (ʌæʌ, *a*ʌ, *o*ʌ, əʌ), according to Mr. Melville Bell (væʌ, *a*hʌ, *o*hʌ, əʌ)
.N	.n	= (n†), see (.d)
Nh	nh	voiceless (n), E. tent = (tennht) at full
:Nh	ɴh	according to Lepsius, Dravidian nasal before (ɒh)
Nj	nj	= (n*ɹ), F. and I. *gn*, Spanish ñ, Portuguese *nh*
Njh	njh	whispered (nj)
N*w*	n*w*	= (n*w), F. *no*ix, (n*wa*)
O	o	= (a*w*) = (*o*ɵ), I. *o* aperto, F. h*o*mme (om)
O	*o*	= (ɜ*w*) = (o–ɵ) E. *o*mit, American st*o*ne, wh*o*le, (*o*m*i*t·, st*o*n, ʜ*o*l)
Ɔ	ə	= (*aw*) = ʌɵ), turned e, written ǫ, being used for small capital o which is not sufficiently distinct from the small o, E. *o*n, *o*dd, (ən, əd)
Œ	œ	= (e*w*) = (*ə*ɵ), F. j*eu*ne, G. böcke, (zhœn, bœk·*e*), Féline writes (zh*ə*n, zhœœn), for F. j*eu*ne, j*eú*ne
Œ	*œ*	= (u–*w*), Galic l*ao*gh, (*lœ*gh)
:Œ	ɶ	= (*a*–ɵ) = (ʌ–*w*), Rumanian or Wallachian 'a, 'e, 'i, 'o, 'u
Ɔ̃	ɔ̃	= (əhɵ), written ɔ̃, E. f*i*rst, (fɔ̃ɹst), see (ɹ)
Œi	œi	= occ. F. *œ*il, (œi, œiɹh, œilj) or (*ə*i), occ. Dutch *uy*
Œœ	œœ	long of (œ), F. j*eú*ne, (zhœœn)
Œœ	*ɶɶ*	long of (*œ*)
:Œɶ	ɶɶ	long of (ɶ)
Ɔ̃ɔ̃	ɔ̃ɔ̃	long of (ɔ̃)
Œy	œy	occ. Dutch *uy*
Oh	oh	= (ah*w*) = (*o*hj), (o) modified by raising the tongue
*O*h	*o*h	= (ə*w*), (*o*) modified by raising the tongue
:Oh	ɔh	= (ɔ̃*w*) = (*a*hɵ), (ɔ) modified by raising the tongue
Oi	oi	North G. n*eu*, (noi), see (ay, oy)
*O*i	*o*i	P. E. b*oy*, (b*o*i)
:Oi	ɔi	usual E. *oy*ster, (ɔist·ɹ)
Oʌ	oʌ	F. b*on* (boʌ), see (ʌ)
Oo	oo	long of (o), I. u*o*mo, (uoo·mo), P. E. h*o*me, (ʜoom)
Oo	*oo*	long of (*o*), E. h*o*me, (ʜ*oo*m), see (*oo'w*)
:Oɔ	ɔɔ	long of (ɔ), drawled E. *o*dd, G*o*d, (ɔɔd, Gɔɔd), different from E. *aw*ed, g*aw*d (ʌʌd, gʌʌd)
Ooh	ooh	long of (oh)
*Oo*h	*oo*h	long of (*o*h)
:Oɔh	ɔɔh	long of (ɔh)
Ooʌ	ooʌ	long of (oʌ), see (ʌ)
Oou	oou	occ. E. kn*ow*, (noou)
*Oo*u	*oo*u	more usual E. kn*ow*, (n*oo*u)
Oo'w	*oo'w*	occ. E. n*o*, (n*oo'w*), for (n*oo*)
Ou	ou	Dutch *ou*, P. E. *ou*t, (out), see (ɔu)

Ou	*ou*	P. E. h*ou*se, (n*ou*s)
Oy	oy	occ. upper G. *eu*ch, (oy*k*h)
P	p	E. *p*ea (pii)
P	*p*	= (p*k)? = (p*w*)?, Lepsius's Peruvian or (Khetsh·wa) *p*
:P	ᴘ	= (p†), lower lip against teeth
Ph	ph	whisper of (bh), an old sound of ϕ?
Pн	pн	S. फ, Bavarian *pf*erd, (pнeerd), Schmeller Gr. p. 137.
Pj	pj	= (p*ɹ)
Prh	prh	= (ph¿), whisper of (brh), which see
P*w*	p*w*	= (p*w), F. *p*ois, (p*wa*)
Q	q	E. si*ng*er, li*ng*er, si*n*ker, (s*i*q·ɹ, l*i*q·gɹ, s*i*qk·ɹ), S ङ
Q	*q*	= (qj) = (q*ɹ), distinct from (nj), S. ञ
:Q	ᴑ	= (q†)
Qh	qh	= voiceless (q), E. sink = (s*i*qqhk) at full
Qj	qj	= (*q*) which see
R	r	E. *r*ay (r*ee*), breath passes over the tip of the tongue which trembles slightly, Spanish *r suave*.
R	*r*	uvula trill, F. *r* provençal or grasseyé, Pa*r*is, (Pa*r*i)
:R	ʀ	= (r‡), S. र
ꞁ	ɹ	turned r, written as r with ˜ above, E. vocal *r* when not preceding a vowel, ea*r*, ai*r*, a*r*e, oa*r*, poo*r*, (iiɹ, eeɹ, aaɹ, ooɹ, p*uu*r), hea*r*ing, ai*r*ing, moo*r*ing, (hiiɹ·r*i*q, eeɹ·r*i*q, m*uu*ɹ·r*i*q,) p*er*v*er*t, m*ur*m*ur* = (peɹveɹt·, məɹ·məɹ) or (pɹvɹt·, mɹ·mɹ), or (pɹvɹt·, mɹ·mɹ), see (*ɹ*)
ꞁ	*ɹ*	turned *r*, written as *r* with ˜ above, E. palatal vocal *r* when not preceding a vowel, ea*r*, ai*r* = (ii*ɹ*, ee*ɹ*) more accurately than (iiɹ, eeɹ), and (serf, surf) may be distinguished as (se*ɹ*f, səɹf) or (s*ɹ*f, sɹf), this distinction is frequently neglected in speech.
ꞁ	ꞁ	turned ʟ, written as r with ˜ below, glottal low German trill, nearly (g)
.R	.r	= (r¿) strongly trilled Italian, Spanish, Scotch *r*
Rh	rh	whisper of (r)
*R*h	*r*h	whisper of (*r*)
:Rh	ʀh	whisper of (ʀ)
:Rhh	ʀhh	Lepsius's Dravidian sound, nearly (ʀzh)
ꞁh	ꞁh	whisper of (ꞁ)
Rj	rj	= (r*ɹ)
Rsh	rsh	Polish p*r*zez, (prshez), (r) very brief, (sh) distinct
R*w*	r*w*	= (r*w), F. *r*oi, (r*w*a), Anglosaxon, and early E. *wr*-
ꞁ*w*	ɹ*w*	= (ɹ*w), occ. E. (əɹ*w*) in place of (əuɹ) = *our*
Rzh	rzh	Polish *r*zaz, (rzhaz), (r) brief
S	s	E. *s*o, (*s*oo)
S	*s*	= (s*kh), Lepsius's and usually received A. ص
Sh	sh	= E. *sh*e, F. *ch*ant, G. *sch*ein, (shii, shaʌ, shain)

Sh	sh	= (sh↓), S. ष
Shj	shj	= (sh*ɹh), occ. G. *s*tellen, *sp*rechen, (shjtel·*e*n, shjpre*k*h·en)
Sj	sj	= (s*ɹh), Polish *ś*
S*w*	s*w*	= (s*wh), F. *s*oi = (swa) or (sua), not (s*w*a)
S*w*h	s*w*h	= (sh*wh), F. *ch*oix = (shw*a*) or (shu*a*), not (s*w*h*a*)
Sz	sz	= G. initial *s*, *s*o, (sz*oo*)
T	t	E. *t*ea, (tii)
T	*t*	= (t*k), Newman's and usually received A. ط
:T	ᴛ	= (t↓), S. ट
.T	.t	= (t↑), tip of tongue on gums
Th	th	= E. *th*in, (thin), modern Greek *θ*
*T*h	*t*h	= (th*kh), Newman's A. ص
:Thh	ᴛhh	Lepsius's Dravidian sound, nearly (ᴛsh)
Tj	tj	= (t*ɹ) whisper of (dj), occ. E. vir*t*ue, (vɹ·tjiu)
Tsh	tsh	E. *ch*est, ma*tch*, ca*tch*ing, (tshest, mætsh, kætsh·*i*q)
T*w*	tw	= (t*w), F. *t*oi, (t*w*a)
U	u	= (*æw*), F. po*u*le, E. Lo*u*isa, (pul, Lu,ii·za), see (*u*)
U	*u*	= (ʊ*w*) = (u0), E. p*u*ll, co*o*k, (p*u*l, k*u*k), generally confused with (u)
:U	ʊ	= (ʏ*w*), Swedish *u* short
*U*h	*u*h	= (*yw*) = (ʊ0), I. *o* chiuso, (*o*) verging into (*u*)
Ui	ui	F. *oui* = (ui), F. *oü* = (u,i)
Uu	uu	long of (u), E. p*oo*l, (puul)
Uu	*uu*	long of (*u*)
:Uu	ʊʊ	long of (ʊ)
*Uu*h	*uu*h	long of (*u*h)
V	v	E. *v*eal, (viil), F. v, North G. *w*, see (bh)
V	*v*	= (v↑), buzz of (*f*), which see
.V	.v	buzz of (.f), which see
Vh	vh	= (v*gh), buzz of (fh), which see
V*w*	v*w*	= (v*w), F. *v*oix, (v*w*a)
W	w	E. *w*itch, (w*i*tsh)
W	*w*	diacritic, labial modification of preceding letter
Ɯ	ɯ	turned m, written *ɯ*, defective lip trill, occ. E. ve*w*y t*w*ue, (vew·*i* tɯɯ)
Wh	wh	whisper of (w), E. *wh*ich, (wh*i*tsh)
X	x	Spanish *x*, *j*, Qui*x*ote, Me*x*ico, or Qui*j*ote, Me*j*ico, (Kiixoo·tee, Mee·xiikoo)
X	*x*	buzz of (x)
Y	y	= (*iw*) = (ɪ0), F. h*u*tte, G. l*ü*cke, (yt, lyk·e)
Y	*y*	= (ʏ0), Welsh *u*, and final *y*, p*u*mp, ewyll*y*s, (p*y*mp, ewɜlhh·*y*s), E. house*s*, goodne*ss*, (ʜɔuz·*yz*, gu*d*·n*ys*)
:Y	ʏ	Polish, Bohemian, Hungarian *y*, Russian (jerʏ)

Yi	yi	F. l*ui*, enn*ui*, (lyi, aanyi)
Yy	yy	long of (y), F. flûte, G. gemüth, (flyyt, gemyyt·)
Ÿÿ	ÿÿ	long of (ÿ)
:Yy	yy	long of (y)

Z	z	buzz of (s), E. zeal, miser, (ziil, məi·zɹ)
Ƶ	ƶ	buzz of (s), Newman's and usually received A. ظ, Lepsius's A. ض
Zh	zh	buzz of *sh*, E. vision, F. *g*ens, (vizh·ən, zhaa)
Ƶh	ƶh	= (zh↓), buzz of (sh)
Zhj	zhj	= (zh*ɹ), buzz of (shj)
Zj	zj	= (z*ɹ), buzz of (sj)
Zs	zs	final E. *s*, *z*, when fully pronounced, day*s*, flie*s*, buz*z*, (de*e*zs, floizs, bozs)
Zw	zw	= (z*w), see (sw)
Zwh	zwh	= (zh*w), see (swh)

2. Signs.

(') turned comma, when final, simple whisper, as E. bi*t*, (bit'); before a vowel, diacritic, attempt to whisper the vowel, as ('a), whispered (a); before a sonant, diacritic, semivocalise, see ('b, 'd, 'g)

(') apostrophe, simple voice, F. abl*e*, (abl'), E. little, rhythm, open =(li*t*·'l, ri*th*·'m, *oo*·p'n), often written (li*t*·l, ri*th*·m, *oo*p·n), S. ऋ ॡ = ('r, 'l)

('') double apostrophe, long of ('), S. ॠ ॡ = (''r, ''l)

(-) hyphen, read words or letters that are written apart as if they were written close, opposed to (,), letter elided, as F. nous avons un ami, dit-il à l'homme, (nuz- avoaz- oan-ami, dit- il a l- om)

(–) minus, before a diacritic, remove its effect from the preceding letter in which it is inherent, thus (æ=u–w means that the sound of æ is heard, when (u) is first pronounced and then the lips opened

(ı) turned 1, A. ا (;aa·lef), Hebrew א, Greek soft breathing (?)

(,) comma, diæresis, begin the following letter as if it had no connection with the preceding, E. minutiæ = (mi*n*iuu·-shi,i), E. unerring, unowned =(on,er·iq, on,*oo*nd·)

(,,) double comma, commence the following letter so gently that its commencement is difficult to determine, spiritus lenis (?)

(.) period, pronounce the following letter emphatically

(.,) period and comma, commence the following letter with great abruptness, strongly marked hiatus

(;) semicolon, open the glottis suddenly, A. ء (ham·za), A. أَلْ قُرْآن (;al kur;*aa*nu)

(ˑ) turned semicolon, close the glottis suddenly as in stammering, or suddenly cease any sound, as when startled, leaving a sound half uttered; (hˑ) is a suddenly checked emission of breath, strongly resembling a click (ǂ), as in Zulu (ik.hˑwa), *Visible Speech*, p. 126.

ɞ turned 3, A. ɞ, bleat *baa* = (bæɞæɞ)

(ʻ) turned comma and apostrophe, speak the following word in a subdued tone or *voix voilée*.

(ˌ) turned apostrophe, nasalize the preceding letter, but not as in F. nasalisation (ʌ)

(ˌ¡) turned !, attempt to pronounce the preceding letter with inspired breath, (fˌ¡, phˌ¡), calling a bird

(ǂ) attempt to pronounce the preceding letter with the air in the mouth without inspiring or expiring, click, E. tut = (tǂ), E. el'ek (tjʃǂ)

ɖ turned 5, Caffir dental click, Appleyard's *c*, = (tǂ), or (t|ǂ), as in (iqɖbha·t*i*), *Visible Speech*, p. 126.

ƈ turned 2, Caffir cerebral (Lepsius) or palatal (Appleyard) click, Appleyard's *q* = (t‡ǂ), as in (Eguƈalee·n'), *Visible Speech*, p. 126.

ɻ turned 7, Caffir (uni-) lateral click, Appleyards *x*, = (tjʃǂǂ) with prolonged suction, as in (gaqɻan·ɹi), *Visible Speech*, p. 126.

ɬ turned 4, Hottentot palatal click, Boyce's *qc*, = (tjǂ) probably, Lepsius's Standard Alphabet, 2nd ed., p. 79.

ȣ turned 8, Waco click = (kǂ), Haldeman, *Analytic Orthography*, p. 120.

ɵ turned 0, distend the pharynx and cheeks, 'widen' the sound.

ꜛ made from †, take the preceding letter nearer the throat and further from the lips, inner position.

ꜜ made from †, take the preceding letter further from the throat and nearer to the lips, outer position.

ɭ turned †, invert the tongue so that the under part strikes the palate, when pronouncing the preceding letter, see (d, l, n, r, *s*h, t)

† protrude the tongue when pronouncing the preceding letter.

ʃ bi-lateral, allow the breath to escape on both sides of the tongue or mouth, but not over the tip of the tongue or through the middle of the mouth.

ʃ made from ʃ, uni-lateral, allow the breath to escape on one side of the tongue or mouth only.

ʔ turned ?, trill any free part during the utterance of the preceding consonant.

* link, form a new position by attempting to pronounce the two letters between which it is placed, at the same instant, but giving prominence to the first letter named, see (lj) = (l*ɟ)

(**) governor, placed between two letters at the beginning of a phrase, shews that the first is to be pronounced like the second throughout, indicating a defect of utterance, as (l**l), (l) pronounced with a nasal twang; when no letter precedes, it indicates that the effect of the following letter is heard in all letters, (**.p) close lips, (**t†) protruded tongue, (**‚) general nasal quality, (**.') strained voice, etc., *Visible Speech*, p. 81.

(·) turned period, before a word, speak the word emphatically as (·nii d*i*d *i*t, nii ·d*i*d *i*t); after a letter, (·) shews that it occurs in an accented syllable, as (bii·*i*q, m*ee*k·*i*q, rip*oo*z·)

(:) colon, before a capital letter, (in which case it is written below it, as o,) shews that it is the capital of a small capital letter, see (:E) capital of (ᴇ); after a letter, shews that it occurs in a secondarily accented syllable, as (*i*nkɔm:prinen:sɔb*i*l·*i*ti, nɔi·w*ee*:mæn:)

~~~ *written* under a word indicates spaced letters, used to give prominence to a word in palaeotype, answering to *italics* in ordinary printing.

Following a Word.

(..) low level tone, C. high (pɪiq)
(··) high level tone, C. low (pɪ*i*q)
(.·) rising tone, C. high (shaq)
(..·) tone rising from low pitch, C. low (shaq)
(.·.) rise and fall, circumflex, C. (fu-kjen shaq)
(·.) falling tone, C. high (kɪœœ, kniu, kɪi)
(·..) falling tone to low pitch, C. low (kɪœœ)
(·.·) fall and rise, inverted circumflex
(:·) stop voice in high pitch, C. high (shu:, zhi:, njip:)
(:.) stop voice in low pitch, C. low (shu:, zhi:, njip:)

Preceding a Word.

(·:·) speak in a high key
(.:.) speak in low key

PALAEOTYPE AND VISIBLE SPEECH COMPARED.

The diagrams on p. 14, transferred by Mr. Melville Bell's permission from p. 8 of his *English Visible Speech*, will be the best guide to the pronunciation of the vowels. Each of the first nine diagrams represents the position of the tongue for the four vowels written below it. For the first and third vowels in each diagram, the passages behind the narrowest part of the channel formed by the tongue are in the usual condition, but for the second and fourth vowel in each diagram, they are distended, making the vowels 'wide.' For the first and second vowel in each diagram, the lips are open. For the third and fourth vowel in each diagram, the lips are more or less rounded,—namely, for Nos. 1, 2, 3, as in No. 10, for
~~~

Nos. 4, 5, 6, as in No. 11, and for Nos. 7, 8, 9 as in No. 12. As the principal interest in the following investigation attaches to changes in the vowel system, a careful study of these diagrams will be of material assistance. If any reader pronounce the key words with a vowel requiring a different position from that here pointed out, his pronunciation differs from the author's, and the value of the symbol is to be determined from the diagram in preference to the key word.

In order to fix the value of the palaeotypic letters, they are on p. 15 compared with those of Mr. Melville Bell's *Visible Speech*, by means of his "Cosmopolitan Telegraphic Table," which has been here reprinted by his permission. The figures indicate the columns and the letters the lines. The following is Mr. Bell's classification, which will be frequently alluded to.

Columns 1, 2, 3, 4 contain *consonants*, lines *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*, *e*, *f* are *voiceless*, lines *g*, *h*, *i*, *k*, *l*, *m*, are *voiced;* lines *a*, *g* are *primary*, lines *b*, *h* are *mixed*, lines *c*, *i* are *divided*, lines *d*, *k*, are *mixed divided*, lines *e*, *l* are *shut*, lines *f*, *m* are *nasal*.

Column 5 consists of *glides*, which are represented in palaeotype on a different principle, see below, Chapter III, § 2. The letter (H), 5*f*, is considered as the true English aspirate in palaeotype, but Mr. M. Bell considered (H‘), or 9*a*, to be the more correct form.

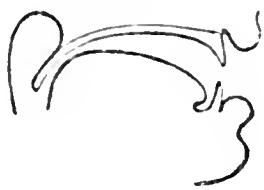
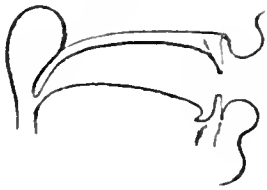
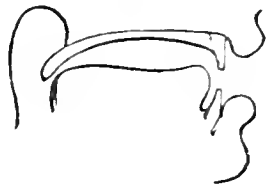
Columns 6, 7, 8 are *vowels*, column 6 *back vowels*, column 7 *mixed vowels*, column 8 *front vowels*, and in each column lines *a*, *b*, *c*, are *primary*, lines *d*, *e*, *f* are *wide*, lines *g*, *h*, *i* are *round*, lines *k*, *l*, *m* are *wide round*, lines *a*, *d*, *g*, *k* are *high*, lines *b*, *e*, *h*, *l* are *mid*, and lines *e*, *f*, *i*, *m* are *low* vowels.

Columns 9, 10 contain the aspirates and modifiers.

GLOSSOTYPE.

An investigation of historical English spelling in Chapter VI, § 3, suggested the possibility of enlarging the alphabet required for writing the theoretically received pronunciation of literary English, so as to meet the requirements of writers of our provincial dialects, who endeavour to preserve the analogies of ordinary spelling. It was found necessary to deviate from these slightly for the representation of our complicated diphthongal system, and some foreign sounds, which occur provincially, but are unrecognized in our orthography. The use of the short mark (˘) to indicate the provincial shortening of vowels generally long in the literary dialect, and of the long mark (¯) for the lengthening of vowels generally short, is hardly a deviation from ordinary usage. The principles of this scheme are explained in Chapter VI, § 3, where the exact value of the letters is explained, and its use is exemplified in Chapter XI. But for convenience, a very brief key is given on p. 16. The name Glossotype refers to the chief use for which it was intended—the writing of provincial Glossaries. It is hoped, however, that such a scheme, although designedly incomplete, may be found useful to all who may occasionally wish to indicate pronunciation with some degree of exactness, but do not care to enter upon general phonetic investigations.

LINGUAL POSITIONS OF THE VOWELS.

No. 1.  *œ*, ʊ, u, *u*.	No. 2. Y, *y*, U, *u*h.	No. 3. i, *i*, I, y.
No. 4. ɜ, a, *o*, o.	No. 5. ə, ah, *o*h, oh.	No. 6. *e*, e, *ə*, œ.
No. 7.  Œ, *a*, A, ɔ.	No. 8.  əh, æo, *a*h, ɔh.	No. 9. E, æ, *ə*h, æh.

LABIAL POSITIONS OF THE VOWELS.

No. 10. u, *u* ; U, *uh* ; I,y.	No. 11. *o*, o ; *o*h, oh ; *ə*, œ.	No. 12. A, ɔ ; *a*h, ɔh ; *ə*h, æh.

Mr. MELVILLE BELL'S VISIBLE SPEECH LETTERS.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0	
a											*a*
b											*b*
c											*c*
d											*d*
e											*e*
f											*f*
g											*g*
h											*h*
i											*i*
k											*k*
l											*l*
m											*m*
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0	

PALAEOTYPIC EQUIVALENTS OF VISIBLE SPEECH LETTERS.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0	
a	kh	ɟh	rh	ph	ˈ	œ	ʏ	ɪ	ʰ	·	*a*
b	k*w*h	s	sh	wh	*r*	ɜ	ə	*c*	‘	doub ling.	*b*
c	*l*h	ljh	lh	f	i,ɹ	œ	əh	ɛ	;	,	*c*
d	*l*w*h*	th	*t*h	f h	ɹ	ʉ	*y*	*i*	ˌ	,,	*d*
e	k	tj	t	p	ɯ	a	ah	e	ʌ	:	*e*
f	qh	ɲjh	nh	mh	ʜ	*a*	ɷ	æ	ʰ*w*h	¡	*f*
g	gh	ɟ	r	bh	ʼ*w*	ɯ	ʊ	ɪ	ˌ	ʰ:	*g*
h	g*w*h	z	zh	w	*r*w	*o*	*o*h	ɔ	ˈˈ	‡	*h*
i	*l*	lj	l	v	y	ʌ	*a*h	ɔh	†	ǂ	*i*
k	*l*w	dh	*d*h	vh	ɹw	*u*	*u*h	y	†	†	*k*
l	g	dj	d	b	ɯ,w	o	oh	œ	.	§§	*l*
m	q	ɲj	n	m	ʼh	ɔ	ɔh	æh	,,	※	*m*
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0	

Key to Glossotype.

See p. 13. Isolated letters and words in glossotype should be inclosed in ( ). (E) is never mute; all vowels and combinations having (˘) or (¯) over them, except (u), are the short or long sounds of the vowels and combinations without these marks, which should not be used for any other letters, thus: (ā) is the long sound of (a); (ĕe) the short sound of (ee); (u) is to be used whenever it is thought that the proper form (ou) might create confusion.

C. Cockney, *D.* Dutch, *E.* English, *F.* French, *G.* German, *I.* Italian, *P.* Provincial, *S.* Scotch, *Sw.* Swedish, *W.* Welsh.

Vowels.

a *gnat* — i *knit*
ā *P.* — ī *S.*
aa *ask* — ih,ĭih *P.G.u*
ăa *ask* — o *not*
ae *ware* — ō *P.*
ăe *S. e* — oa, ŏa *I.* ȯ
ah *father* — oe, ŏe *G.* ö
ăh *F.G.S. a* — oh *rose*
ai *wait* — ŏh *S.*
ăi *S. ai* — ox *F. on*
ax *F. an* — oo *pool*
ao *S.* — ŏo *S. book*
ăo *S. man* — ou, ŭ *could*
au *all* — ōu *P.*
ău *want* — u *nut*
e *net* — ū *P.*
ē *S.* — ue, ŭe *Sw. u*
ee *meet* — uh *worth*
ĕe *S.I.F.* — ūh *P.*
ex *F. in* — ui, ŭi *F. u*
eu *F. eu* — ux *F. un*
ĕu *F. eu* — (') *murmur*

When more than two vowels come together and the first two form one of the preceding combinations, read them as such, as (recent'er (=ree-ent'er) = *re-enter*.

Diphthongs.

aiy *may*	aiw *C.*
ay *S.C.*	aw *C.*
aay *high*	aaw *how*
aey *S.*	aew *C.*
ăhy *G. ai*	ăhw *G. au*
ahy *aye*	ahw *P.*
auy *P.*	auw *P.*
ey *S. tide*	ew *I. eu*
.....	eew *I. iu*
.....	iw *mew*
oy *boy*	ow *P.*
ōy *P.*	ōw *P.*
ohy *P.*	ohw *know*
ooy *I.F.P.*	.....
uy *high*	uw *how*
uiy *F. ui*	.....
euy *F. eui*	euw *D.*

In all these diphthongs the first element has the sound assigned in the preceding column, which is run on quickly, with a glide, to a following (ee) or (oo) written (y) or (w).

Diphthongs are also formed *P.* by affixing (') as (roh'd) almost (rohud) = *road*, and by affixing (ui), which should then be written (ūi), as *D.* (neuūis) = *huis*, theoretical *G.* (froūind) = *freund*.

Consonants.

b *bee*	n-g *ingrain*
ch *chest*	nk *think*
d *doe*	n-k *in-come*
dh *the*	p *pea*
f *fee*	r *ray*
g *go*	'r *air*
gh *D.G.*	*r I.S. r*
h *he* (written *ḥ*)	rh *P.F. r*
j *jay*	s *see*
k *coo*	sh *she*
kh *G.C. ch*	t *tin*
l *lo*	th *thin*
'l *little*	v *vale*
lh *W. ll*	w *wail*, or
m *me*	-w (after vowels)
'm *rhythm*	wh *why*
n *no*	y *yet*, or
'n *open*	-y (after vowels)
x *F. n* (written *ṇ*)	z *zeal*
ng *thing*	zh *vision*

Foreign and Oriental sounds represented by Italics and small capitals, by special convention.

Accent the first syllable, unless (') or (·) is written after some other syllable, as: august, august·, august'.

CHAPTER I.

On Pronunciation and its Changes.

Thought may be conveyed from mind to mind by various systems of symbols, each of which may be termed language. A real, living, growing language, however, has always been a collection of spoken sounds, and it is only in so far as they indicate these sounds that other symbols can be dignified with the name of language. But a spoken sound once written ceases to grow. Even when an orthography is chosen which varies with the sounds from day to day, each written word is, as it were, but an instantaneous photograph of a living thing, fixing a momentary phase, while the organism proceeds to grow and change till all resemblance to the old form may in course of time be obliterated. The systems of writing which have been generally adopted, far from acknowledging this fact, force us, as it were, to recognize mature or ancient men from the portraits of youths or children, and ignore the ever-active irrepressible vitality of language. We speak of the "dead" languages of Rome and Athens, unconscious that our own English of a few years back has become as dead to us, who can neither think in the idiom nor speak with the sounds of our forefathers.

Spoken language is born of any two or more associated human beings. It grows, matures, assimilates, changes, incorporates, excludes, developes, languishes, decays, dies utterly, with the societies to which it owes its being. It is difficult to seize its chameleon form at any moment. Each speaker as thought inspires him, each listener as the thought reaches him with the sound, creates some new turn of expression, some fresh alliance of thought with sound, some useful modification of former custom, some instantaneous innovation which either perishes at the instant of birth, or becomes part of the common stock, a progenitor of future language. The different sensations of each speaker, the different appreciations of each hearer, their intellectual growth, their environment, their aptitude for conveying or receiving impressions, their very passions, originate, change, and create language.

Without entering on the complex investigation of the idiomatic alterations of language, a slight consideration will shew that the audible forms in which these idioms are clothed will also undergo great and important changes. The habit of producing certain series of spoken sounds is acquired generally by a laborious and painful process, beginning with the first dawn of intelligence, continued through long stages of imperfect powers of appreciation and imitation, and becoming at last so fixed that the speaker in most cases either does not hear or does not duly weigh any but great deviations from his own customary mode of speech, and is rendered incapable of any but a rude travesty of strange sounds into the nearest of his own familiar utterances.

We may apparently distinguish three laws according to which the sounds of a language change.

First, the *chronological law*. Changes in spoken sounds take place in time, not by insensible degrees, but *per saltum*, from generation to generation.

Second, the *individual law*. A series of spoken sounds acquired during childhood and youth remains fixed in the individual during the rest of his life.

Third, the *geographical law*. A series of spoken sounds adopted as the expression of thought by persons living in one locality, when wholly or partly adopted by another community, are also changed, not by insensible degrees, but *per saltum*, in passing from individual to individual.

At any one instant of time there are generally three generations living. Each middle generation has commenced at a different time, and has modified the speech of its preceding generation in a somewhat different manner, after which it retains the modified form, while the subsequent generation proceeds to change that form once more. Consequently there will not be any approach to uniformity of speech sounds in any one place at any one time, but there will be a kind of mean, the general utterance of the more thoughtful or more respected persons of mature age, round which the other sounds seem to hover, and which, like the averages of the mathematician, not agreeing precisely with any, may for the purposes of science be assumed to represent all, and be called the language of the district at the epoch assigned. Concrete reality is always too complex for science to grasp, and hence she has to content herself with certain abstractions, and to leave practice to apply the necessary corrections in individual cases. Thus, if we descended into every minute

shade of spoken sound, the variety would be so interminable, each individual presenting some fresh peculiarities, that all definite character would be lost. In actual life this necessary abstraction is replaced by the second law which gives fixedness of utterance to the individual, regardless of surrounding change. Indeed, few persons of mature years, even in the most civilized communities, think of the sounds they utter. They speak to communicate thought, not to examine the instrument which they employ for that purpose, and they would be constantly checked, and irritated by thinking of how they speak, rather than of what they speak.

It is this individual fixity of habit, and powerlessness of adaptation that operates in producing the *per saltum* geographical changes, in which must be included, not only the changes made in foreign words, but also those resulting from any society within a society,—schools, colleges, cliques, coteries, professions, trades, emigrations,—in short any means of isolating some companies of speakers from others. Slang is only a form of dialect.

One marked result of the third law is that a uniform system of spoken sounds cannot extend over a very large district. All the speakers must have frequent opportunities of hearing the sounds from youth up, or they will be unable to appreciate and imitate them. Education, which sends teachers as missionaries into remote districts to convey the required sounds more or less correctly, but, more safely and certainly, rapid communication of individuals, such as railroads now effect, does much to produce uniformity of speech. How far, however, even in small, educated and locomotive England we are yet removed from uniformity of speech, may be learned by a very slight attention to the sounds heard in different districts, each of which has its own characteristic burr or brogue, less marked perhaps than it was in Higden's and Caxton's time, but still unmistakable.[1]

The results of emigration and immigration are curious and important. By emigration is here specially meant the separation of a considerable body of the inhabitants of a country

[1] Treuisa in his translation of Higden's Polychronicon, 1385, says "alle þe langages of þe norþhumbres & specialich at 3orke is so scharp slittinge & frotynge & vnschape; þat we souþeren men may þat langage vnneþe vnderstonde." And Caxton (Prologue to *Eneydos*) complains that "comyn Englysshe that is spoken in one shyre varyeth from a nother," and goes on to relate how when "certayn merchaun*t*es . . . . taryed atte forlond . . . and axed for mete, and specyally . . . axyd after eggys . . . the goode wyf answerde that she coude speke no frenshe . . . . and thenne at last a nother sayd that he wolde haue eyren, then the good wyf sayd that she vnderstod hym." See Chapter XI for existing varieties of pronunciation.

from the main mass, without incorporating itself with another nation. Thus the English in America have not mixed with the natives, and the Norse in Iceland had no natives to mix with. In this case there is a kind of arrest of development, the language of the emigrants remains for a long time in the stage at which it was when emigration took place, and alters more slowly than the mother tongue, and in a different direction. Practically the speech of the American English is archaic with respect to that of the British English, and while the Icelandic scarcely differs from the old Norse, the latter has, since the colonization of Iceland, split up on the mainland into two distinct literary tongues, the Danish and Swedish. Nay, even the Irish English exhibits in many points the peculiarities of the pronunciation of the XVIIth century.

By immigration, on the other hand, is meant the introduction of a comparatively small body into a large mass of people, with whom they mix and associate. This may be commercially (as when German emigrants settle in the United States), or by conquest (as when the Norsemen settled first in the north of France, and secondly in England, or when the Goths ruled in Italy). In these cases the immigrant language is more or less lost and absorbed, especially if it is not so developed as the language among which it enters, and into which it introduces comparatively little change. The French element of our language, for example, is only indirectly traceable to the Norman Conquest, for we find it very slightly marked, even in the XIIIth century. The Roman occupation of England and the English domination in India have produced very little effect upon either the immigrant or receiving language, principally from the want of association. The languages have remained practically unmixed. The Roman language in France and Spain *de facto* ousted the Celtic of the inhabitants, and, after natural changes, altered by the absorption of the Frankish and Moorish immigrations.

The alterations thus introduced into a language produce but little effect on the idioms (that is, the expression of the relations of conceptions), but principally affect the words employed. Thus English has remained a Low German dialect through all the introductions of French, Latin, and Greek elements, and French, Spanish, and Italian remain Latin notwithstanding the Frankish, Moorish, and Gothic additions which they have received. But in all these languages great changes have fallen upon the forms of the

words used. We are apt to regard (b*i*sh·əp, bish·of, bis·po, ves·kovo, ə*v*EEk, obhiis·po, epiis·kop, epis·kopus, epis·kopos) as entirely different words, and to call (br*ee*k briik, k*ee*z kiiz, *o*bləidzh· *o*bliidzh·) etc., different pronunciations of the same words. But the latter are really only less marked examples of the same phenomenon as is exhibited in the former. If the latter pairs of words are to be regarded as the same, the former nine must also be classed as one. In the latter we have chiefly chronological, in the former we have chiefly geographical changes. In both cases we have examples of the variation of one sound as it passes through various mouths—*rolitat* VIVU' *per ora virûm.*

Even without reference to written forms, the conception of altered forms of one original sound (that is, of various pronunciations of the same word), naturally arises in men's minds, but when languages come to be written as well as spoken, this is more strongly forced upon them—at least in those cases which the writing notices. Writing, that wonderful method of arresting sound which has made human memory independent of life, and has thus perpetuated knowledge, was necessarily at first confined to the learned alone, the priest and the philosopher. These fixed, as nearly as they could appreciate, or their method of symbolisation, which was necessarily insufficient, would allow, the sounds of their own language as they heard them in their own day. Their successors venerating the invention, or despairing of introducing improvements, trod servilely in their steps and mostly used the old symbols while the sounds changed around them. Within the limits of the powers of the old symbols some changes were made from time to time, but very slowly. Then in quite recent days, the innovation of diacritical signs arose as in French and German, whereby a modern modification of an ancient usage was more or less indicated. Occasionally, whole groups of letters formerly correctly used to indicate certain sounds came to be considered as groups indicating new sounds,—not in all cases, but in many perhaps, where the sounds had changed by regular derivation. Before the invention of printing, writers, become more numerous, had become also less controlled by the example of their ancestors, and endeavoured as well as they could, with numerous conventions, inconsistencies, imperfections, and shortcomings, rendered inevitable by the inadequacy of their instrument, to express on paper the sounds they heard. When we are fortunate enough to find the real handywork of a thoughtful writer, as Orrmin, we see

how much might have been done to clear our mode of writing from inconsistencies. But with the invention of printing, came a belief in the necessity of a fixed orthography to facilitate the work of the compositor and reader. The regulation of spelling was taken from the intellectual and given to a mechanical class. Uniformity at all hazards was the aim. And uniformity has been gained to a great extent in late years, but at a sacrifice which uniformity is far from being worth—loss of a knowledge of how our ancestors spoke, concealment of how we speak at present, innumerable difficulties to both reader and writer, and hence great impediments to the acquisition of knowledge. The numerous societies for printing old English books which are now at work, and especially the *Early English Text Society*, have, by conscientiously printing manuscripts *literatim*, done much to restore our knowledge of ancient sounds as well as ancient sense. But the veil of our modern spelling lies over our eyes, and it is not easy to gain the key to the mystery which these texts are calculated to display.

"Nobody," says Archdeacon C. J. Hare,[1] "who has a due reverence for his ancestors or even for his own spiritual being, which has been mainly trained and fashioned by his native language,—nobody who rightly appreciates what a momentous thing it is to keep the unity of a people entire and unbroken, to preserve and foster all its national recollections, what a glorious and inestimable blessing it is to 'speak the tongue that Shakspere spake,' will ever wish to trim that tongue according to any arbitrary theory." But the English of to-day do not know 'the tongue that Shakspere spake.' They may be familiar with the words of his plays according to their own fashion of speech, but they know no more how Shakspere would have uttered them than they know how to write a play in his idiom. The language of Shakspere has departed from us, and has to be acquired as a new tongue, without the aid of a living teacher. What this means can only be justly appreciated by observing how foreigners, after most laborious study of our own modern language from books and grammars, proceed to write and speak it. You will read and hear whole sentences in which every phrase shall be in accordance with grammar, and yet perhaps not a single sentence so composed as an Englishman would have penned it, or so uttered as an Englishman would have spoken it. A language can only be learned by ear.

But how did our glorious old writers speak? What

[1] *On English Orthography*, Philological Museum, Vol. 1, p. 645.

sounds did Goldsmith, Pope, Dryden, Milton, Shakspere, Spenser, Chaucer, Langland, call the English language? Or if we cannot discover their own individual peculiarities, what was the style of pronunciation prevalent at and about their time among the readers of their works? The inquiry is beset with difficulties. It would be almost impossible to determine the pronunciation of our contemporary laureate, but surely with our heap of pronouncing dictionaries, it would seem easy to determine that of his readers. Yet this is far from being the case. It is difficult even for a person to determine with accuracy what is his own pronunciation. He can at best only give an approximation to that of others.

In the present day we may, however, recognize a received pronunciation all over the country, not widely differing in any particular locality, and admitting a certain degree of variety. It may be especially considered as the educated pronunciation of the metropolis, of the court, the pulpit, and the bar.[1] But in as much as all these localities and professions are recruited from the provinces, there will be a varied thread of provincial utterance running through the whole. In former times this was necessarily more marked, and the simultaneous varieties of pronunciation prevalent and acknowledged much greater. In the XIII th, XIV th, and XV th centuries it is almost a straining of the meaning of words to talk of a general English pronunciation.[2] There was then only a court dialect of the south, and the various "upland," northern, eastern, and western modes of speech. And hence we can only seek to discover the court dialect, and then, having partly ascertained the value of the letters, endeavour to ascertain the pronunciations meant to be indicated by such writers as Dan Michel and Orrmin.[3]

But how are we to arrive at a knowledge of the court dialect? Molière ridicules the notion of having a master to teach pronunciation, and certainly the analysis of speech sounds, was at no time, and is not even at the present day, notwithstanding the appearance of so many treatises in quite recent times, down to that of Mr. Melville Bell, 1867, a favorite subject of investigation. It is voted tiresome or unnecessary, and the greater number of even those who

[1] The pronunciation of the stage is inclined to be archaic, except in the modernest imitations of every day life.

[2] Thus in 1440 the author of the *Promptorium Parvulorum* says, "Comitatus Northfolcie" or, according to another reading, "Orientalium Anglorum modum loquendi solum sum secutus, quem solum ab infancia didici, et solotenus plenius perfectiusque cognovi."

[3] The subject of a standard pronunciation is specially considered below, Chap. VI, § 6.

touch upon it incidentally, in grammars and orthoepical treatises, are profoundly ignorant of the nature and mechanism of speech, and the inter-relations of the sounds which constitute language.[1] The consequence is that writers being unaware of the mechanism by which the results are produced, were constrained to use a variety of metaphorical expressions which it is extremely difficult to comprehend, and which naturally have different meanings in the works of different authors. Thus sounds are termed thick, thin, fat, full, empty, round, flat, hard, soft, rough, smooth, sharp, clear, obscure, coarse, delicate, broad, fine, attenuated, mincing, finical, affected, open, close, and so on, till the reader is in despair. For example, in English, German, Italian, Spanish, 'hard *c*' is (k), but 'soft *c*' is (s) in English, (ts) in German, (tsh) in Italian, (ɵ), that is, nearly (th), in Spanish. The Germans call (g) the 'soft' of (k), and (*gh*) the 'soft' of (g). But the English call (g) 'hard g,' and (dzh) 'soft g,' and 'soft g' is (x), or nearly (kh), in Spanish. Most writers term (s, th) hard sounds, and (z, dh) soft, but Dyche[2] finds (s, th) soft, and (z, dh) hard. One writer calls *o* obscure when it sounds as (ə) or (ɯ), no matter which, but *y* final obscure when (*i*), and sharp and clear when (əi).

Some writers, again, content themselves with using key words. This is indeed the easiest method for the writer, and conveys very fair notions to contemporary readers. It has been adopted in the description of Palaeotype to avoid prolix explanations. But the publication of Mr. Melville Bell's *Visible Speech* has enabled me by referring to his symbols to fix the sounds with accuracy, for *Visible Speech* contains an exact account of the disposition of the organs for producing the sounds, and hence by carefully studying that work at any time—centuries hence—the exact sound could probably be recovered. Not so with key words, for they involve the

[1] The beautiful phonetic short-hand invented by Mr. I. Pitman, under the name of *Phonography*, and developed by the assistance of many co-workers, gave rise to a desire to print phonetically, in consequence of which a phonetic English alphabet was invented by Mr. I. Pitman and myself, which, with various subsequent modifications, has been extensively used in England and America. From the first I endeavoured (in my treatises on the *Alphabet of Nature*, 1845, and *Essentials of Phonetics*, 1848,) to make this alphabet a means of extending a knowledge of the inter-relations of speech sounds, but with very small success, even among those who were most earnest in the use of phonetic types as an educational appliance. The subject was not sufficiently attractive. At present Mr. Melville Bell's recent treatise on *Visible Speech*, renders a study of the whole subject comparatively easy. And he has supplemented it by a system of shorthand writing which will be applicable with almost equal facility to all languages in the world, rendering his system extremely easy to write even at full.

[2] *Guide to the English Tongue*, 1710.

very riddle which we have to solve. Only those who, like the present writer, have spent hours in endeavouring to discover what was meant by a simple reference to a key word given three hundred years ago, can fully appreciate the advantage of an exact description like that furnished by *Visible Speech*.[1] There is some relief when many key-words are given, or when contemporary languages are cited. But here the imperfect appreciation of the citer is painfully conspicuous, and allowances have always to be made on that account. Many writers, too, content themselves with references to the Latin, Greek, or Hebrew sounds, apparently forgetting that the older pronunciation of these languages is a matter of dispute, and that the modern pronunciation varies from country to country and century to century. Let any one begin by studying Sir T. Smith, Hart, Bullokar, Gill, and Butler, in order to determine the pronunciation of Shakspere from these sources alone,—or even with the assistance of Palsgrave,—and he will soon either find himself in the same slough of despond in which I struggled, or will get out of his difficulties only by a freer use of hypothesis and theory than I considered justifiable, when I endeavoured to discover, not to invent,—to establish by evidence, not to propound theoretically,—the English pronunciation of the XVI th century.

The first ray of light came to me from a corner which had hitherto been very dark. While searching for information, some book or other led me to consult William Salesbury's Welsh and English Dictionary, 1547. The introduction contains a very short and incomplete introduction to English pronunciation, written in quaint old Welsh. My imperfect knowledge of the language was sufficient for me to perceive the value of this essay, which mainly consisted in the transcription of about 150 typical English words into Welsh letters. Now the Welsh alphabet of the present day is remarkably phonetic, having only one ambiguous letter, *y*, which is sometimes (ə), or (ɜ), and at others (*y*). Did Salesbury pronounce these letters as they are now pronounced in North

[1] At the latter end of his treatise Mr. Melville Bell has given in to the practice of key words, and assigned them to his symbols. Let the reader be careful not to take the value of the symbol from his own pronunciation of the key words, or from any other person's. Let him first determine the value of the symbol from the exact description and diagram of the position of the speech organs,—or if possible also from the living voice of some one thoroughly acquainted with the system —and then determine Mr. Bell's own pronunciation of the key word from the known value of the symbol. This pronunciation in many instances differs from that which I am accustomed to give it, especially in foreign words. Both of us may be wrong.

Wales? Most fortunately he has answered the question himself in a tract upon Welsh pronunciation written in English, and referring to many other languages to assist the English reader. The result was that with the exception of *y*, the sounds had remained the same for the last 300 years. Here then we have a solid foundation for future work,—the pronunciation of a certain number of words in the XVI th century determined with considerable certainty; and from this we are able to proceed to a study of the other works named, with more hope of a satisfactory result. These tracts of Salesbury are so rare, and one of them so little intelligible to the mass of readers, that at the suggestion of the Philological Society, they will be transferred to the pages of this essay,—the English treatise almost entire, the Welsh treatise complete with a translation.[1]

The pronunciation of English during the XVI th century was thus rendered tolerably clear, and the mode in which it broke into that of the XVII th century became traceable. But the XVII th century was, like the XV th, one of civil war, that is of extraordinary commingling of the population, and consequently one of marked linguistic change. Between the XIV th and XVI th centuries our language was almost born anew.[2] In the XVII th century the idiomatic changes are by no means so evident, but the pronunciation altered distinctly in some remarkable points. These facts and the breaking up of the XVII th into the XVIII th century pronunciation, which when established scarcely differed from the present, are well brought to light by Wallis, Wilkins, Owen, Price, Cooper, Miège, and Jones, followed by Buchanan, Franklin, and Sheridan. It became therefore possible to assign with considerable accuracy, the pronunciation of Spenser, Shakspere, Milton, Dryden, and Pope, or rather of their contemporaries.

This was much, but it was not enough. No treatise on Early English pronunciation could be satisfactory which did not include Chaucer. But here all authorities failed. Palsgrave is the earliest author from whom we learn distinctly how any English sound was pronounced, and then only through the analogy of the French and Italian. Two principles, however, suggested themselves for trial. In tracing the alteration of vowel sounds from the XVI th through the XVII th to the XVIII th century a certain definite line of change came to light, which was more or less confirmed by a comparison of the changes, as far as they can be traced, in

[1] See Chapter VIII, §§ 1 and 2. [2] See Chapter IV § 1.

other languages. Hence the presumption was that from the XIV th to the XVI th centuries, if the sounds had altered at all, they would have altered in the same direction. But a second principle was necessary to make the first available. This was found in the fact that since writing was confined to a comparatively small number of persons, the majority of those who heard and enjoyed poetry would be ignorant of the spelling of the words. Hence the rhymes to be appreciated at all must have been rhymes to the ear, and not the modern monstrosity of rhymes to the eye. If we could have a manuscript in Chaucer's own handwriting, we should therefore expect to find all the rhymes perfect. Hence we might conclude that when two words rhymed together in one of Chaucer's couplets, they also rhymed together in his pronunciation, and if they would not have rhymed together in the XVI th century, one of them must have altered in the definite line of change already discovered. In conformity with these principles the whole of the rhymes in Chaucer's Canterbury Tales as exhibited in the best available manuscript, together with those in all his other poems as edited by Mr. Morris, and those in Gower's Confessio Amantis, have been carefully examined, and a system of pronunciation deduced for the XIV th century.[1]

Much uncertainty must necessarily prevail concerning the pronunciation of English from 1400, the death of Chaucer, to 1530, the date of Palsgrave's French Grammar, as the changes were numerous and rapid, both in language and pronunciation. Similarly if we had lost the XVII th century books on English pronunciation, it would have been impossible to restore it, from a knowledge only of the pronunciations in the XVI th and XVIII th centuries. But standing on the secure ground of the XIV th century we can, without much doubt penetrate into still more remote regions, especially with the help of Orrmin's orthography, which lands us into Anglosaxon.

Before proceeding to the detailed investigation, it may be convenient to present the main results in a tabular form. This has been attempted in the merest outline, on the two following pages. An explanation of the construction of the table is added on p. 30.

[1] For a detailed account of this investigation, see Chapter IV.

Modern Spelling	Chaucer XIV	Spenser XVI	Shakspere Milton Dryden XVII	Pope Goldsmith XVIII
a short	a	a	æ	æ
a long	aa	aa	ææ	ee
ai, ay	ai	ai, aai	ææi, ee	eei, ee
au, aw	au	au, aau	AA	AA
e short	e	e	e	e
e long	ee	ee, ii	ee, ii	ii
ea	ee, e	ee, e	ee, e	ii, e
ee	ee	ii	ii	ii
ei, ey	ai	ei, eei, ai	eei, ee	eei, ee, ii
eu, ew	eu, yy	yy, eu	iu, eu	iu
gh	kh	kh, ʜ‘	ʜ‘ –	– –
i, y short	*i*	*i*	*i*	*i*
i, y long	*ii*	ei, əi	əi	əi
o short	o, u	o, u	A, ɔ, ə	ɔ, ə
o long	oo	oo	*oo*	*oo*
oa	oo	oo	*oo*, AA	*oo*, AA
oi, oy	ui	oi, ui	Ai, ɔi ; ui, əi	ɔi
oo	oo	uu, u	uu, ə	uu, ə
ou, ow	uu, oou	ou, oou	əu, *oo*u	əu, *oo*
u short	u ; *i*, e	u ; *i*, e	u, ə ; *i*, e	u, ə ; *i*, i
u long	yy	yy	yy, iu	iu

Modern Spelling	Chaucer XIV	Shakspere Milton Spenser XVI	Pope Dryden XVII	Goldsmith XVIII
hand	нand	нand	нænd	нænd
tale	taal·e	taal	tææl	teel
rain, way	rain, wai	rain, waai	rææin, wææi	reen, weei
saw, awe	sau, au	sau, aau	SAA, AA	SAA, AA
egg	eg	eg	eg	eg
these, we	dheez, wee	dheez, wii	dheez, wii	dhiiz, wii
mean, head	meen, нeed	meen, нed	meen, нed	miin, нed
seen	seen	siin	siin	siin
obey, they, vein, receive	obai·, dhai, vain, resaiv·	obei· dheei, vain, reseeiv·	obeei·, dheei, veen, reseev·	obee·, dheei· veen, risiiv·
few, stew	feu, styy	feu, styy	feu, stiu	fiu, stiu
night	n*ik*ht	n*ik*ht, n*i*н't	niн't, nəit	nəit
bit	b*i*t	b*i*t	b*i*t	b*i*t
bite	b*ii*·te	beit	bəit	bəit
holly, wonder	нol·*i*, wun·der	нol·*i*, wun·der	нəl·*i*, wən·der	нəl·*i*, wən·der
hope	нoop	нoop	н*oo*p	н*oo*p
soap, broad	soop, brood	soop, brood	s*oo*p, brAAd	s*oo*p, brAAd
joint, boil	dzhuint, buil	dzhoint, buil	dzhəint, buil; dzhəint, bəil	dzhəint, bəil
fool, blood	fool, blood	fuul, blud	fuul, bləd	fuul, bləd
now, know	nuu, knoou	nou, knoou	nəu, n*oo*u	nəu, n*oo*u
pull, but, busy, bury	pul, but, b*iz*·*i* ber·*i*	pul, but, b*iz*·*i*, ber·*i*	pul, bət, b*iz*·*i*, ber·*i*	pul, bət, b*iz*·*i*, ber·*i*
muse	myyz·e	myyz	myyz, miuz	miuz

Taking the principal *modern* combinations of vowels, and the one consonant combination, *gh*, for which the pronunciation of successive centuries have mainly differed, I have arranged them in the first column of the preceding table. It must be borne in mind that these spellings are modern, and in many cases replace at present other spellings which were current in the XIV th to the XVI th centuries. In the four next columns I give in palaeotype, as explained in the introduction, the pronunciations prevalent during the XIV th, XVI th, XVII th, and XVIII th centuries. For this rough and general view of the subject there is no perceptible difference between the XVIII th and XIX th centuries. It must not be supposed that the pronunciation here indicated prevailed throughout the centuries to which they are attributed. The XIV th century pronunciation refers only to the latter half of that century. The XVI th century is represented rather in its former half and middle than in the latter part when it was verging to the XVII th century pronunciation. The XVII th century pronunciation represents the fully established pronunciation of the time in the middle and latter part of the century. And the XVIII th century pronunciations is that of the latter part. Hence we may roughly term the pronunciations exhibited those of Chaucer, Spenser, Dryden, and Goldsmith. Shakspere and Milton are transitional between Spenser and Dryden, while Pope lies between Dryden and Goldsmith. These names are therefore placed at the top of the columns, and between the columns, as an assistance to the reader. As single letters are more difficult to appreciate than entire words, examples of each mode of speech are given. The same combination of letters was not always pronounced in the same way in all positions, even in the XIV th century; hence it is sometimes necessary to give two sounds and two examples, and in this case the more usual (not the older) sound is put first. In the latter part of the XVI th, in the XVII th and later centuries, anomalies of pronunciation became more common, and nothing but detailed lists of words, such as will be furnished hereafter, will serve to explain them. The reader must therefore remember that this table gives merely a general view to serve as a guide in studying the subsequent details.

CHAPTER II.

Authorities for the Pronunciation of English during the Sixteenth, Seventeenth, and Eighteenth Centuries.

§ 1. *Sixteenth Century.*

1530, 22 Henry VIII. *Palsgrave,* John.

Lesclarcissement de la Langue Francoyse ; compose par maistre Jehan Palsgraue Angloys natyf de Londres, et gradue de Paris, London, 4to.

19 folios unmarked, 473 folios numbered, the English in black letter, the French in Roman characters. The book is written in English although the title is French. It was reprinted by the French Government, and edited by F. Génin, in 1852.

Palsgrave graduated at Cambridge as well as in Paris, and was appointed French tutor to the princess Mary, sister of Henry VIII, when a marriage was negociated between her and Louis XII of France in 1514. He was made a royal chaplain, and on going to live at Oxford in 1531, there took the degrees of M.A. and B.D. He is supposed to have died in 1554. He must consequently have spoken the educated southern and court dialect of the latter part of the xv th, and the early part of the xvi th century.

This work contains a very elaborate account of French pronunciation, frequently elucidated by reference to contemporary English and Italian. The pronunciation of several English words is thus incidentally established with more or less certainty.

To the French reprint is added a reprint of

An Introductorie for to lerne to rede, to pronounce and to speke French trewly, compyled for the right high, excellent and most vertuous lady The Lady Mary of Englande, doughter to our most gracious soverayn Lorde Kyng Henry the Eight.

By Giles du Guez or du Wes, with no author's name, except as shewn by an initial acrostic, and no date, but apparently about 1532. The rules for pronunciation are few and insufficient, extending over three quarto pages.

1545, 37 Henry VIII. *Meigret,* Loys.

Traité touchant le commvn vsage de l'escritvre francoise, faict par Loys Meigret, Lyonnois: auquel est debattu

des faultes, & abus en la vsage, & ancienne puissance des letres. Auecqpriuilege de la court. Paris, 12mo, in Italics, pp. 128 unnumbered.

This little book incidentally enters into a discussion of the pronunciation of the French language, and thus renders Palsgrave's English analogues more certain. Where Meigret differs from Palsgrave, it is difficult to decide whether Palsgrave is in fault through want of appreciation and English habits, or Meigret from being a Lyonnese instead of a Parisian. See another work by Meigret described under its date 1550. This little work is also remarkable as having in some way suggested Hart's English work on Orthography, 1569, subsequently described. Hart says, translating his phonetic spelling into modern English orthography: "You may see by this little treatise I have been a traveller beyond the seas, among vulgar tongues, of which that small knowledge I have, hath been the cause of this mine entreprize. And therewithal the sight of a treatise set forth in print at Paris, Anno 1545, by a worthy man, well learned both in Greek and Latin, named *Leuis Meigret* of *Lyon*, touching the abuse of the writing of the French tongue, whose reasons and arguments I do here before partly use, as he did Quintilian's, whom it appeared he had well studied. And I have seen divers French books put forth in print in that his manner of Orthography, of some well liked of, and received, and of others left and repugned. But what good & notable thing can take a speedy root, amongst a multitude, except the princes & governors, (by the grace which God may give them) do favour & somewhat countenance it."

1547, 38 Henry VI & 1 Edward VI. *Salesbury*, W.
A Dictionary in Englyshe & Welshe . . . . . London, 4to, black letter.

The complete title is given below, Chapter VIII, § 2, which contains a transcript of the preliminary Welsh essay on English pronunciation, with a translation.

From Anthony a Wood's Athenae Oxonienses by Philip Bliss, London, 1813, vol. i, p. 358, we learn that Salesbury was born of an ancient family in Denbighshire, studied at Oxford, and was entered at Thavies Inn, Holborn, London. In his latter days he lived with Humph. Toy, a bookseller in St. Paul's Churchyard. He translated the New Testament into Welsh, and obtained a patent for printing it, from Queen Elizabeth, 1567. He wrote also other works, see under 1567.

As a Welshman, Salesbury was of course liable to mispronounce English, but he was so early removed to England, and had so long an opportunity of studying the Southern English pronunciation to which his treatises shew that he was fully alive, that any assertion of his must carry great weight with it, however much opposed it might be to theory. His pronunciation is evidently more modern than Palsgrave's.

1550, 4 Edward VI; 4 Henri II of France. *Meigret*, Loys. Le trETté de la GrammERe FrançoEZe fET par Louís MeigrET, LíonoES. Paris, 4to of a folio shape.

This very curious French Grammar, (which is not noticed by M. Génin in his introduction to Palsgrave, although it was so nearly contemporary,) is entirely printed phonetically, apparently to carry out the suggestions of Meigret's little book already described, better than he had done in a former work, which he alludes to thus: "l'ecritture qe j'ey obsERué (combien q'Elle ne soET pas du tout selon qe reqeroET la rigeur de la prononçíaçíon) EN la translaçíon du MEnteur de Lucían," (fo. 10*b*.) His alphabet consists of the letters "a, E ouuERt, e clós, i Latin, o ouuERt, ou clós, u, y GrEc de méme puissance qe l'i, b be, p pe, f ef, ph phi, u conso., c ca Latin, k ca GrEc ou kappa, q qu, g ga ou gamma, ch cha aspiré, d de, t te, th the aspiré, f, ç, s, es, z zED, çh çhe, l EL, L EL molle, m EM, n EN, N EN molle, r ER, i ji consonante, x, es, ks, gs, ix," (fo. 15*b*) where I have used E for an e with a tail like ç, L for an l with a short mark over it like ĭ, and N for an n with the second stroke produced and terminating in a backward hook, which resembles the letter e, and with a short mark over it like ŭ. The powers of these letters, taken in order, appear to have been, (a, E, *e*, i, o, u, y, i; b, p, f, f, v, k, k, k, g, k, d, t, t, s, z, sh, l, lj, m, n, nj, r, zh, ks, gz).

La Grammaire Française et les Grammairiens au XVIe siècle, par *Ch.- L. Livet*, Paris, 1859, gives an abstract of all Meigret's works and of his controversies with G. des Autels, and J. Pelletier, from which it appears that Meigret lived in Paris, and had been an assiduous frequenter of the court of François I, (p. 139). The dispute principally affects Meigret's E, e, (pp. 127, 132, 140), o, ou, (p. 139), ai, (p. 130), ao, (p. 122), eu, (p. 130), and shews the transitional state of French pronunciation at the time. M. Livet's book also contains notices of Jacques Dubois (Jacobi Sylvii Isagoge, 1531), J. Pelletier (Dialogv*e* d*e* l'orthograf*e* et prononciacion françoes*e*, 1555, a year after Meigret had been forced by his publisher to use the ordinary orthography), Pierre Ramus ou de la Ramée (Grammaire, 1 ed. 1562, 2 ed. 1572, last 1587,) Jean Garnier (Institutio gallicæ linguæ, 1558), Jeæn Pillot (Gallicæ linguæ institutio, 1581), Abel Mathieu (Devis de la langue françoyse, 1559), Robert Estienne (Dictionnaire franç.-lat., 1539, Traicte de la Gram. franç. without date), Henri Estienne (H. Stephani Hypomneses, 1582, Traicté de la conformité, Deux Dialogues, without date, 1578 ?, Précellence, 1579), Claude de Saint-Lien (Claudii à Sancto Vinculo de pronunciatione ling. gall. 1580), Théodore de Bèze (De Francicæ linguæ recta pronunciatione tractatus, Theod. Beza auct. 1584). If to these we add Palsgrave & du Guez, neither of whom are abstracted by M. Livet, we can trace the change of French pronunciation from the earlier to the later part of the XVI th century, till it subsided into a form practically the same as the present, by a course remarkably similar to that pursued by the contemporary English pronunciation.

1555, 3 Mary. *Cheke*, Sir John.

Joannis Cheki Angli de pronunciatione Graecae potissimùm linguae disputationes cum Stephano Vuintoniensi Episcopo. Basle, 24mo.

In this work several illustrations of Greek sounds are drawn from English words which are printed phonetically in Greek letters, to give a conception of the author's theoretical pronunciation of Greek. Adolph Mekerch of Bruges, in H. Stephanus's collection *De vera pronunciatione Graecae et Latinae Linguae*, 1587, adopts in many places the very expressions of Cheke, but changes his illustrative words from English to Flemish, which he again prints phonetically in Greek letters. In this way a comparison of English and Flemish in the XVIth century is instituted. Cheke born at Cambridge in 1514, moved in the best literary society, was secretary of state 1552, and died 1557.

1567, 10 Elizabeth. *Salesbury*, W.

A playne and familiar Introduction, teaching how to pronounce the letters in the Brytishe tongue, now commonly called Welsh .... London, 4to, English in black letter, Welsh in Roman.

All the portions of this rare book which are useful for the present investigation are reprinted, with illustrative notes, below, Chap. VIII, § 1. See 1547, suprà p. 32.

1568, 11 Elizabeth. *Smith*, Sir Thomas.

De recta et emendata lingvæ anglicæ scriptione, dialogus, Thoma Smitho Equestris ordinis Anglo authore. Lutetiæ. Ex officina Roberti Stephani Typographi Regij. Paris, folio, 44 folios. Date of colophon, 13 Nov 1568.

A beautifully printed book in large Roman letters with tables of illustrative words printed according to a phonetic alphabet, without the ordinary spelling, Smith's object being to improve the orthography not explain the pronunciation. The value of his 34 letters in the order of his alphabetic table (fo. 41) is apparently as follows, (a, aa, b, tsh, d, dh, e, ee, ii, f, v, g, dzh, ʜ, *i*, ei, k, l, m, n, o, oo, p, k, r, s, z, sh, t, th, u, uu, yy, ks.)

Smith uses *e* for (tsh), which has occasioned many misprints, ȣ for (dh), a letter like the Anglosaxon ҽ with a diæresis for (ii), an inverted ⊿ or ▽ for v, the Anglosaxon ȝ for (dzh), a reflected z for (sh), *θ* for (th), *v* for (yy). The long vowels he has represented by a diæresis, and as he considers (ei) to be the long of (*i*), he prints it *ï*. Since then (ee) is *ë*, and (ii) is a character almost identical in appearance, misprints occasionally occur. In all cases of phonetic writing when diacritic accents are employed, misfortunes of this kind are frequent. Hence the importance of indicating length by reduplication, as in palaeotype, or by some constant additional sign, as in *Vis. Speech.*

Sir Thomas Smith was born at Saffron Walden, Essex 1515, was fellow of Queen's College, Cambridge 1531, public orator

1536, provost of Eton, master of requests to Edward VI, secretary of state 1548, privy councillor and assistant secretary of state 1571, succeeded Burleigh, and died 1577. Hence his pronunciation must be accepted as the most literary and courtly of a time somewhat subsequent to Palsgrave's. He was not much acquainted with French,[1] or probably with any other living language, and consequently without the assistance of Salesbury great doubts would be felt as to many of his pronunciations.

1569, 12 Elizabeth. *Hart*, John.

An Orthographie, conteyning the due order and reason, howe to write or painte thimage of mannes voice, most like to the life or nature. Composed by J. H. Chester, Heralt. The contents whereof are next folowing. Sat citosi (sic) sat bene. Anno. 1569. London, 12mo.

The first part in black letter, the latter part in italics with new letters for (sh, dzh, tsh, dh, th, 'l,) and a dot under a short vowel sign to lengthen it. Reprinted in lithography by I. Pitman, 1850, the first part in the phonography or phonetic shorthand of that date, the latter part in a longhand writing imitating the italic original.

The name John Hart is taken from the British Museum catalogue. Dr. Gill calls him "e fecialibus vnus, qui eorum more ex gradu officii nomen sibi *Chester* assumpsit." He is cited as "Master Chester" by Bullokar. It seems probable that he was a Welshman, as he writes (uuld) for (would), that is, he did not pronounce (wuu) as distinct from (uu).

This is a most disappointing book. The writer knew several languages, as French, German, Italian, Spanish, and there is little or no doubt as to the general value of his symbols, but in the words of Dr. Gill, "sermonem nostrum characteribus suis non *sequi* sed *ducere* meditabatur." He has in fact chosen a pronunciation then coming in, heard by few, and distasteful to the old school. See below, Chapter III, § 3, EI, AI, and Chapter VIII, § 3. One of the causes of the writing and publication of this work, was Hart's acquaintance with Meigret's book of 1545, see above p. 31.

It appears that this book of Hart's was twenty years older than its real date, which would bring it up to 1549, for he says (fo. 5*b*): "The liuing doe knowe themselues no furthir bounde to this our instant maner, than our predecessors were to the Saxon letters and writing, which hath bene altered as the speach hath chaunged, much

[1] This he informs us of in the beginning of his treatise *De recta et emendata, linguæ Græcæ pronunciatione Epistola*, 1568, in which also several passages occur which are useful in the determination of English pronunciation. The two treatises are bound in one volume in the British Museum Library. He introduced Erasmus's system of Greek pronunciation, which is similar to that now used at Eton, and would have been unintelligible most probably to Aristophanes, as it certainly would be to any modern Greek. While he was in Paris he met with a modern Greek, who was furious at the notion of introducing "tam vastos sonos et absonas diphthongas in Græcam linguam," but the two disputants could not argue the point, "quoniam ego Gallicè parum admodum, ille non ita multò plus, Latinè nihil callebat," fo. 5*b*.

differing from that which was vsed with in these fiue hundreth, I maye say within these two hundreth yeares: which I considered of about .xx. yeares passed, and thought it worth my labour, if I coulde finde the meane of remedie, of our present abuse. And so framed a treatise thereypon, and would then it had bene published, but I am the gladder it hath bene stayed vntill this time, wherein so well a learned gentilman, in *the* Gréeke & Latine tongues, & trauailed in certain vulgares sir *Thomas Smith* knight, hath written his minde, touching this matter, in hys booke of late set forth in Latin, entituled, *De recta & emendata linguæ Anglicæ scriptione.* Whereof and of this my treatise the summe, effect, and ende is one. Which is, to vse as many letters in our writing, as we doe voyces or breathes in our speaking, and no more; and neuer to abuse one for another, and to write as we speake: which we must needes doe if we will euer haue our writing perfite."

1570, 13 Elizabeth. *Levins,* Peter.

Manipulus Vocabulorum: a Rhyming Dictionary of the English Language by Peter Levins. 4to.

This book has been reprinted by the Early English Text Society, under the able editorship of Mr. Henry B. Wheatley. The words are arranged according to their orthographies, so that very little assistance is given towards determining the pronunciation. The place of the accent, however, is generally marked, but as evident errors are committed, no reliance can be placed on it. It is chiefly valuable for shewing the received orthography of that period, and as such will be frequently cited.

1573, 16 Elizabeth. *Baret,* John.

An Alvearie or Triple Dictionarie, in Englishe, Latin and French: very profitable for all such as be desirous of any of these three languages. . . . . London, fo.

The introductory remarks upon each letter afford some slight assistance. John Baret, was fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and graduated in 1554. His pronunciation belongs therefore to the middle of the xvi th century, and to the educated class, but his county is not known.

1580, 23 Elizabeth. *Bullokar,* William.

Bullokars Booke at large for the *Amendment* of *Orthographie* for English speech: wherein, a most perfect supplie is made, for the wantes and double sounde of letters in the olde Orthographie, with Examples for the same, with the easie conference and vse of both Orthographies, to saue expences in Bookes for a time, vntill this amendment grow to a generall vse, for the easie, speedie, and perfect reading and writing of English, (the speech not changed, as some vntruly and maliciously,

> or at the least ignorantlie blowe abroade,) by the which amendment the same Authour hath also framed a ruled Grammar, to be imprinted heereafter, for the same speech, to no small commoditie of the English Nation, not only to come to easie, speedie, and perfect vse of our owne language, but also to their easie, speedie, and readie entrance into the secretes of other Languages, and and easie and speedie pathway to all Straungers, to vse our Language, heeretofore very hard vnto them, to no small profite and credite to this our Nation, and stay therevnto in the weightiest causes. There is also imprinted with this Orthographie a short Pamphlet for all Learners, and a Primer agreeing to the same, and as learners shall go forward therein, other necessarie Bookes shall spedily be prouided with the same Orthographie. Herevnto are also ioyned written Copies with the same Orthographie. Giue God the praise, that teacheth alwaies. When truth trieth, errour flieth. Seene and allowed according to order. Imprinted at London by Henrie Denham 1580. London 4to.

In black letter, the new characters being also in black letter, with divers points, hooks, etc., placed above and below. His object was to keep as closely as possible to the existing orthography, and mark the pronunciation, and also certain grammatical forms. The union of these two objects serves greatly to complicate his orthography, which perhaps no one but the inventor could have used. He reckons 37 letters, most of which have duplicate forms "for help in eqiu'oc'y." These 37 letters in order apparently represent the sounds (a, b, s, k, tsh, d, e, ii, f, dzh, g, ʜ, *i*, l, 'l, m, 'm, n, 'n, o, uu, p, k*w*, r, s, sh, t, dh, th, yy, u, v, w, wh, ks, ȝ, z) Bullokar admits seven diphthongs (ai, au, eei, eu, oi, oou, uui) with *ui* "seldom in use," and rather uncertain in his text. The reduplicated forms and the fineness of the diacritical strokes, render his book troublesome to the reader, but the above interpretation, founded on Salesbury's information, furnishes a tolerably consistent account of English pronunciation. There are some long vowels not included in the scheme, namely (aa, ee, oo) which are generally represented by accents, as á, é, í, ý, ó, although æ is commonly employed for (ee). In the case of long *i* and *ou*, he seems to have retained the ancient sounds (*ii*, uu,) in place of the (ei, ou) given by Salesbury and Smith, see Chapter III, § 3, I, but he unfortunately generally neglects to write the accent on *i*.

The pronunciation of Bullokar was certainly antiquated in some particulars, agreeing better with Palsgrave's than with that of any intermediate author, and proceeding in a direction contrary to Hart's. Hence Gill looked upon him with favour, and says, "*Bulokerus* vt paucula mutavit, sic multa fideliter emendavit." Altogether the

book is very valuable for determining the pronunciation of the early part of the XVI th century. See Chap. VIII, § 4.

1611, 9 James I. *Cotgrave*, Randle.
A Dictionarie of the French and English Tongues, London imprinted by Adam Islip. Fo.

There is a short account of French pronunciation which incidentally gives some assistance towards the determination of English sounds. Although this book appeared in the XVII th century, its pronunciation belongs to the XVI th.

1611, 9 James I. *Florio*, John.
Queen Anna's New World of Words, or Dictionarie of the Italian and English tongues, collected, and newly much augmented by J. F., Reader of the Italian vnto the Soueraigne Maiestie of ANNA, crowned Queene of England, Scotland and Ireland, &c., and one of the Gentlemen of hir Royall Priuie Chamber. Whereunto are added certaine necessarie rules and short obseruations for the Italian tongue. Fo.

The first edition appeared in 1598, and of course had no reference to James's queen, Anne of Denmark. It also did not contain any account of the pronunciation. This second edition, in treating of the Italian pronunciation of *e*, *o*, discriminates their open and close sounds, which are marked throughout the book, and exemplifies them, together with some of the consonants by a reference to English, which, allowing for Italian errors, is useful.

1619 first ed., 1621, second ed., 17–19 James I, *Gill*, Alexander.
Logonomia Anglica. Quâ gentis sermo faciliùs addiscitur Conscripta ab Alexandro Gil, Paulinæ Scholæ magistro primario. Secundò edita, paulò correctior, sed ad vsum communem accommodatior. Small 4to.

This second edition differs from the first mainly in the characters employed; there are, however, a few verbal differences in the text. The pronunciation exhibited, with perhaps two exceptions, that of long *i* and of *au*, was that of the middle of the XVI th century, although the book appears in the XVII th, for Dr. Gill evidently resisted all modern mincing and effeminacy of speech, as the new fashions appeared to him. He was born in Lincolnshire, 1564, the same year as Shakspere, became a student of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and graduated in 1583, and was made head master of St. Paul's school in 1608. He died 1635. Milton is said to have been one of his pupils. Dr. Gill had several fancies besides old pronunciations, thinking it best to speak "ut docti interdùm"—anglicè, pedantically—rather than like the "indoctus," although if the latter followed his ears in phonetic spelling the doctor says: "susque deque habeo."

Dr. Gill's alphabet of 40 letters will be rendered in order by the following palaeotypic symbols,—(a aa AA b tsh d dh e ee f v g dzh H kh *i* ii əi k kw l m n q o oo p r s sh t th yy u uu w wh ks ɹ z).

Dr. Gill's book enters at great length on the subject of pronunciation, without, however sufficiently describing the sounds, and is peculiarly valuable in giving numerous passages from Spenser and the Psalms written phonetically. See below Chapter VIII, § 5.

1633, 9 Charles I. *Butler*, Charles.

The English Grammar, or the Institution of Letters Syllables, and Words in the English tongue. Whereunto is annexed an Index of Words Like and Unlike. Oxford. 4to.

Printed phonetically with new characters for (ii, uu, dh, tsh, kh, gh, ph, sh, wh) and a mark of prolongation. There is great difficulty in determining the value of his vowel system. He was of Magdalen, Oxford, an M.A. and a country clergyman. His pronunciation belongs to the end of the XVI th century, as he clearly fights against many of the new pronunciations which were starting up, and the true XVII th century pronunciation seems not to have developed itself till the civil war had fairly begun. Butler published a work on the management and habits of bees, *The Feminine Monarchy or History of the Bees*, Oxford, 1634, both in the ordinary and in his phonetic character. These are the first English books entirely printed phonetically, as only half of Hart's was so presented. But Meigret's works were long anterior in French. See below Chapter VIII, § 6.

§ 2. *Seventeenth Century.*

1640, 16 Charles I, *Jonson*, Ben.

The English Grammar. Made by Ben. Johnson. For the benefit of all Strangers, out of his observation of the English Language now spoken, and in use. Fo.

This was published two years after Jonson's death, and the text is known to have been altered from his MS. in some parts. Jonson's pronunciation ought to have belonged to the XVI th century, as he was born 1574, only ten years after Shakspere, but he seems to have inclined towards the XVII th century use.

1646, 22 Charles I. *Gataker*, Thomas.

De Diphthongis Bivocalibus, deqe Literarum qarundam sono germano, naturâ genuinâ figurâ novâ, idoneâ, scripturâ veteri verâqe. London, 24mo.

This is useful for a few diphthongs, but is not of much value generally.

1651, 3 Commonwealth. *Willis*, Thomas, of Thistlewood, Middlesex.

Vestibulum Linguae Latinae. A Dictionarie for children consisting of two parts: 1. English words of one syllable alphabetically with the Latine Words annexed. 2. Words of more syllables derived from the Latine words adjoined.

This first part consists of a vocabulary of more than 4000 monosyllables, professedly arranged in order of rhyme, but with very few exceptions arranged only according to the spelling. In some of these exceptions we find real rhymes with differing spelling, but on the other hand we have words classed together which do not rhyme, so that there is by no means so much to be learned from it, as was to be hoped. The following are the only rhymes which are noticeable throughout the whole vocabulary. The initial syllable in italics as *-affe* is that under which these words and others having the same termination are arranged. It is to be understood that only such words in each list are given in this extract as were in some respect curious or irregular, and that all other monosyllables having the prefixed termination are to be supplied by the reader.

-affe, laugh, chafe, safe, Raphe
-aie, = *-ay*, treie, weigh, whay
-ain, reign
-air, heir, major
-ait, eight, height, sleight, straight
-arre, = *-ar*, far, tar, warre
-arfe, dwarfe, scarfe, wharfe
-arm, swarm, warm
-arn, warn
-arp, warp
-art, heart, thwart
-ash, quash, wash
-aste, the waste *meditullium*
-atte, Wat, what
-atch, watch
draught, naught
fault, vault
-ea, keie, the, yea
-ead, bead, knead, lead *plumbum*
-eam, dream, phleagm, realm
-ear, blear, pear
-eas, ceas, greas, leas, peace
-eef, beef, brief, chief, grief, theef
-eeld, yeeld, field, shield
-end, friend
-ere, here, there, where
-ew, dew, due, few, glue, Jew, lieu, rue, sew *suere*, sue, shew, shrew, view, yew
-i = *-ie* = *-y*, eie, buy, by, high, my, nigh, vie, skie, why, wry
-ile, guile, style
-ilt, guilt
-imme = *-im*, hymne
-ime, climbe
-ine, signe
-irre, firre, myrrhe, sir
-ir, giv, liv, seiv
-o = *-owe* = *-oe*, bowe, blowe, crowe, glowe, growe, knowe, lowe, mowe, rowe, slowe, sowe, snowe, towe, throwe
-oad, broad, goad, load
-oh, chough, cough, dough, though, trough, rough, through
-owle = *-oal* = *-ole*, bowle *crater*, jowle, powle *tondere*, prowl, rowle *rotula*, sole, soul, scrowle *schedula*, toll, towle *sonus*, trowle *advolvere*
-on = *-onne*, John
-one = *-oan*, bone, groan, Joan
-o, = *-oe*, to, toe, doe *agere*, woe *proeare*
-oom, loom, Rome, toomb
-oos, goose *anser*, loos, noos *nodus*
-oov, moov, move, proov, prove
-ord, cord, foord, horde, sword
-orce, hors *equus*
-ose, prose, rose, those, whose
-oath, oath, both, frothe, growth, loath, mothe, slothe
-othe, bothe, cloathe
-ov, dov, glov, lov, shov
-ow, bough, bow, brow, cow, how, mow *fœnile*, mow *struere*, now, plough, prow, sow, thou, trow, vow
-ous, a hous
-ouse, to house
-um = *-umme*, some, summe, thumb
-urs, burs *emporium*, curs, nurs, purs, to purs *reponere*
-urst, burst, cnrst, worst
-use, bruise.

1653–1699, 1 Protectorate—11 William and Mary. *Wallis*, John.

Joannis Wallisii Grammatica Lingvuae Anglicanae Cvi praefigitur De Loqvela; sive de sonorum omnivm loquelarivm formatione: Tractatvs Grammatico-Physicvs. Editio Sexta. Accessit Epistola ad Thomam Beverley; de Mvtis Svrdisqve informandis. Londini, excvdebat Gvil. Bowyer, prostant apvd A. Millar, 1765. First edition 1653, second 1664, sixth 1699, the Oxford reprint of this edition 1765. The latest edition shews no variation in pronunciation from the second.

Wallis was born at Ashford in Kent 1616, and died in 1703. In 1649 he was appointed Savilian Professor of Geometry at Oxford. During the civil war he made himself useful to the parliamentary party by decyphering letters in secret characters. His chief fame rests on his mathematical powers.

The introductory treatise on sound is of great importance, and establishes with much certainty the meaning of every symbol used. He did not attempt an alphabet, and consequently did not write out complete passages according to the pronunciation, which is greatly to be regretted. This work is the chief authority for the middle of the XVII th century.

1668, 9 Charles II. *Wilkins*, John.

An Essay towards a Real Character, And a Philosophical Language. Folio.

Wilkins was born in Northamptonshire 1614, and was therefore older than Wallis, although his work was not published till much later. His father was a goldsmith at Oxford. He graduated at Oxford 1631, and was made warden of Wadham College, Oxford, in 1648, just before Wallis came to Oxford. The two must have been well acquainted, and were among the original promoters of the Royal Society. In 1668 he was made Bishop of Ripon. He died 1672.

In this curious work, there is a very good English treatise on phonetics. He used a complete phonetic alphabet, and wrote the Lords prayer and Creed in his character, reproduced in palaeotype, below Chapter IX, § 1.

The alphabetical scheme on p. 358 of his work when translated into palaeotype will read thus—

(k	g	qh	q	kh	gh									ʜ	ɔ				
t	d	nh	n	th	dh	lh	l	rh	r	sh	zh	s	z	ɹh	i	e	a	ʌ	
p	b	mh	m	f	v									wh	u	*o*	y)		

The short sound of (*o*) is not recognized in English. Long vowels are imperfectly represented by accents. Confusing, as so many have done, (ɹ w) with (i u) he writes (i-i i-u u-u u-i) for (ɹi ɹu wu wi).

1668, 9 Charles II. *Price*, Owen.

English Orthographie or *The Art of right spelling, reading, pronouncing, and writing all sorts of English Words.* WHEREIN Such, as one can possibly mistake, are digested in an Alphabetical Order, under their several, short, yet plain Rules. ALSO some Rules for the points, and pronunciation, and the using of the great letters. TOGETHER WITH The difference between words of like sound. All which are so suited to every Capacitie, that he, who studies this Art, according to the Directions in the Epistle, may be speedily, and exactly grounded in the whole Language. Oxford 4to. The author's name is given on the authority of the British Museum copy in which it is pencilled.

As interpreted by Wallis and Wilkins, this book is of great use in discriminating the exact sounds of the different vowel digraphs in the XVIIth century, furnishing almost a pronouncing vocabulary of the period. The author was probably a Welshman.

1669, 10 Charles II. *Holder*, William, D.D., F.R.S.

Elements of Speech, an Essay of Inquiry into the natural production of Letters with an appendix concerning persons Deaf and Dumb. 8vo.

Reprinted by Isaac Pitman, 1865. Not a very important treatise for our purpose, but useful in helping to fix some of the vowel sounds.

1677, 18 Charles II. *Poole*, Josua.

The English Parnassus: Or a Help to English Poesie. Containing a Collection of all the Rhythming Monosyllables, &c. 8vo.

Not much confidence can be placed on the classifications of words, though they are not so purely orthographical as Willis's. Thus *base, bays, blaze, case*, are made to rhyme; *calf, half, Ralph* are entered both under *afe* and *alfe; Alice, else, ails, balls*, which certainly never rhymed, are placed together; similarly *ant, aunt, pant, vaunt, want;* words with *ee* and simple *e* are separated from words with *ea*, so that the different uses of *ea* are not shown; and so on. The list seems to be rather one of allowable, than perfect rhymes, and consequently is of little service.

1685, 1 James II. *Cooper*, C., A.M.

Grammatica Linguæ Anglicanæ. *Peregrinis* eam addiscendi cupidis *pernecessaria*, nec non *Anglis* præcipuè *scholis*, plurimùm *profuturu*. CUM *Præfatione* & *Indice*, in quibus, quid in hoc libello perficitur, videatur. London, 16mo.

The first 94 pages, out of the 200 which this book contains, are devoted to a consideration of the sounds of speech, and peculiarities

of orthography and pronunciation, with long lists of words containing the several vowel sounds, which render it of great use for the determination of the pronunciation of the XVIIth century. I am indebted to Mr. J. Payne, of the Philological Society, for my acquaintance with this valuable work.

1688, 3 James II. *Miege*, Guy, gent.

The Great French Dictionary. In Two parts. The first French and English; the second English and French; according to the Ancient and Modern Orthography. Fo. London.

There is much valuable information prefixed to each English letter and digraph, concerning the customary pronunciation, written in French.

1700, 12 William and Mary. *Lane*, A.

A Key to the Art of Letters; or, English a Learned Language, Full of Art, Elegancy and Variety. Being an Essay to enable both Foreiners, and the English Youth of either Sex, to speak and write the English Tongue well and learnedly, according to the exactest Rules of Grammer . . . . London, 24mo, pp. xxiv, 112.

A meagre treatise on Grammar by way of question and answer, in which 16 pages are devoted to spelling. The vowels are six, *y* being admitted and *w* excluded, although it is said that "we usually sound *w* like the vowel *u*, and for the most part we write it instead of *u*, in the middle and end of words, as in *Vowel, Law, Bow*, etc.," and "when *y* begins a syllable, we sound it as in the word *yea*, and then it is a real *Consonant;* everywhere else it is a vowel, and is sounded like *i;* and is always written at the end of words instead of *i*, as in *my, thy*, &c." The liquids are three, *m* being excluded "because a *Mute* before it cannot, without force, be sounded with it in the same Syllable with the *Vowel* after it." This should imply that *n* can be so sounded, and hence that *k, g* were pronounced in *knot, gnat*. The change of *ti-* before a vowel into (sh) is not recognized; "we sound *ti* before a *Vowel*, like *si*, as in the word *Relation*." The following assertion and its justification are curious: "E *Servile* is of great use in the *English* Tongue; for by its help we can borrow the most significant and useful Words from other Languages, to inrich our own; and so far disguise and transform them into good *English*, that others cannot lay claim to them as theirs; as for *Example*, these Latin words, *Candela, Vinea, Linea, Brutum, Centrum*, are made good *English*, by the help of *e Servile*, thus; a *Candle*, a *Vine*, a *Line*, a *Brute*, a *Centre*. Q. *What need is there to disguise words borrowed from other* Languages? A. It is necessary to disguise Words borrowed from other *Languages*, because no free People should have a Foreign Face on their current Words, more than on their current coin, both being Badges of *Conquest* or *Slavery*." The following is a curious

conceit: "E *Subjunctive* is written at the end of a word after a single *Consonant*, to make the single *Vowel* before it long. . . . . E *Subjunctive* is really sounded with the single *Vowel* before the *Consonant*, and so makes the *Subjunctive* or latter *Vowel* of a *Diphthong;* otherwise it could not make the *Syllable* long, as in the words, *Fire*, *more*, *pale*, read, *Fier*, *moer*, *pael*." This leads us to suppose that he said (foiər, mooər, peeəl); the two former are common, the last is adduced by Cooper (p. 42).

This author is cited by the Expert Orthographist (p. 46). In the title he is called, "M.A. late Master of the Free-School of *Leominster* in *Herefordshire*, now Teacher of a private School at *Mile-end-green* near *Stepney*." There is a certificate at the back of the title from the Masters of Merchant-Taylors, Charterhouse, Christ's-Hospital, and Westminster, in favour of the use of this book to "all who desire to learn, pronounce, and write the *English* Tongue exactly." It is, of course, dedicated to the young Duke of Gloucester, and is of extremely little use as regards pronunciation, but belongs, like the following, to the XVII th century, whereas the Expert Orthographist who cites it, belongs entirely to the XVIII th century.

1701, 13 William and Mary. *Jones*, John, M.D.

Practical Phonography: or, the New Art of Rightly Speling (sic) and Writing Words by the Sound thereof. And of Rightly Sounding and Reading Words by the Sight thereof. Applied to The English Tongue. Design'd more especially for the Vse and Ease of the Duke of Glocester, (sic). But that we are lamentably disappointed in our Joy and Hopes in him. By J. Jones, M.D. You may read the Preface, where you have an account of what the Book performs; which ('tis hoped) will not only answer Men's Wishes, but exceed their Imaginations; that there could be such mighty Helps contrived for Reading, Spelling, and Writing English, rightly and neatly; with so much Ease. London. 4to.

The above title is transcribed from a copy I have in my possession. The Duke of "Glocester" referred to, died 29th July, 1700, aged 11. In the copy in the British Museum, dated 1704, of which the whole text is identical with mine, the title runs thus—

"The New Art of Spelling. Design'd chiefly for Persons of Maturity, teaching them how to spell and write Words by the sound thereof, & to sound & read words by the sight thereof, rightly neatly and fashionably. I. It will instruct any person that can read & write to spell & write most languages that he can speak & uses to read in a few hours by a general rule contained in two or three lines, & the use of a spelling alphabet, which may be written on the 12th part of a sheet of paper to carry about them. II. Short & easy directions whereby any

one may be taught to spell tolerably well in a few days, & in half a year's time may be perfected in the art of true spelling. III. A child or any person who can read or write may by the help of this book learn to spell & write perfectly in a small time. IV. Rules for foreigners by which they may sweeten their language, & directions how to invent a universal one. Applied to the English Tongue by J. Jones, M.D."

Notwithstanding the prolixity of the title it gives but a very inadequate conception of the book, which is a sort of pronouncing dictionary arranged under the simple sounds and their various representations, in the form of a dialogue. Thus he asks "*when is the sound of* a *written* aa, ah, ae, ad, ada, ae, ae, ag, agh, ah, aha, ai, aia, aie, aig, aigh, al, alf, ana, ao, ap, ath, au, ave, aw, ay, ayo, e, ea, ei, ena, exa, ey, ha, i, ia, ina, ioa, o, oa, ua, wa, wha?" And to each of these questions he gives an answer, often containing a long list of words, from which may be inferred, not always the pronunciation generally received as best, but certainly the different pronunciations which were more or less prevalent. This is in fact the peculiar value of the book to those who seek to know how people actually pronounced at the time when Dryden died (1700) and Pope (b. 1688) was in his teens.

His single rule for spelling is as follows:—*All Words which can be sounded several ways, must be written according to the hardest, harshest, longest, and most unusual Sound.* And the Spelling Alphabet, spoken of on his second title, runs thus:—

The *easier* and *pleasanter* Sounds *spoken*		The *harder* and *harsher* Sounds *written*	A Spelling ALPHABET.		
a	somewhat like to	*e, o* . . .	as in *Clerk, Wagon*	which are sounded as	a
b		*p* . . .	as in *Cupid, Deputy*		b
d		*t, th* . . .	as in *Hatton, Murther*.....		d
e		*i, o, ū* . .	as in *Girl, Fagot, injure*		e
ee		*e, i, o* . .	as in *he, Shire, Women*		ee
g		*c, ch* . .	as in *Clyster, Norwich*.....		g, ge
m		*n* . . .	as in *Banbury*		m
ng		*n* . . .	as in *Ink, sink*		ng
oo		*o, ŭ* . . .	as in *to, Bull*.....		oo
sh		*ch, s* . .	as in *Bench, Issue*.....		sh
t		*th* . . .	as in *Thomas*.....		t
v		*f, ph* . .	as in *Face, Nephew*		v
ŭ		*a, e, i, o* .	as in *Evan, even, Sir, Son* ...		u
z		*s* . . .	as in *Ease, cause*		z

Then upon the principle of the grammarian

Visum est Grammaticæ *metricis* lenire laborem Præceptis,

he proceeds "for *Memory's sake*" to reduce the above to verse. Afterwards come long explanations of the use of this alphabet in teaching spelling, the last of which is, as he says, "more a *Shift* than a *Rule*," and is simply this:

"When you are (notwithstanding all that is directed) in *Doubt* of spelling a *Word* rightly, the last *Shift* will be to change the

Word or *Expression*, so as to preserve the *Sense* or *Meaning*; as *suppose* that you cannot, or are in *Doubt* of spelling the Word *Affection*, write *Kindness*, *Love*, *Favour*, &c. instead thereof;" . . . .

This was the "shift" employed in speaking by the deafmute Dr. Kitto, when he wished to use words that he knew well by sight but had never heard during his youth before the accident which made him stone deaf.—See Kitto's *Lost Senses*.

This book closes the XVII th century and trenches on the XVIII th, because the Author was compelled by his plan to introduce all the most altered forms of speech as well as the least unaltered.

§ 3. *Eighteenth Century.*

1704, 3 Anne. Anonymous.

The Expert Orthographist: Teaching To Write True English Exactly, By Rule, and not by Rote. According to the Doctrine of Sounds. And By such Plain Orthographical Tables, As Condescend to the Meanest Capacity. The Like not Extant before. For the Use of such Writing and Charity Schools which have not the Benefit of the Latin Tongue. By a Schoolmaster, of above Thirty Years Standing, in London. Persons of Quality may be attended at their Habitations; Boarding Schools may be taught at convenient times. London: Printed for, and Sold by the Author, at his House at the *Blue-Spikes* in *Spread-Eagle-Court* in *Grays-Inn-Lane*. Where it is also Carefully Taught.

This little book, 8vo, 112 pages, for a knowledge of which I have been indebted to Mr. Payne of the Philological Society, is full of tables, but does not enter with sufficient minuteness into the "Doctrine of Sounds" (which is paraded in capital letters in the title page) to render delicate points at all appreciable. The great peculiarity of the work is, that though it bears date 1704 the same year as that on Jones's second title page, it belongs exclusively to the XVIII th century, and differs as much from Jones, as Hart from Smith in the XVI th century. Thus Jones only allows eighteen words containing *ea* to be pronounced with (ii), this author (whom I shall call the Orthographist) gives a list of 255 such words, and allows only four words in *ea*, to have the sound of (ee), viz. *bear* s. and v., *swear*, *tear* v., *wear*. Again, Jones distinctly asserts that *ei* is "never" pronounced (ii), the Orthographist gives ten words in which *ei* is so spoken. These shew totally different systems of pronunciation. Dr. Jones was a physician, and hence we may better trust his pronunciation than that of a visiting schoolmaster living in a court turning out of Grays-Inn-Lane, who, attending "persons of quality" would naturally adopt the thinnest pronunciation for fear of being thought vulgar. The curious thing, however, is, that though Dr. Jones endeavoured to collect, and did actually collect

a great variety of even ridiculous pronunciations, for the purpose of assisting pronouncers of all kinds to spell, he seems to be entirely unconscious of these sweeping innovations, which are valuable as the foreshadows of coming events.

1710, 9 Anne. Anonymous.

A Short & easy Way for the Palatines to learn English. Oder eine kurze Anleitung zur englischen Sprache zum Nutz der armen Pfälzer, nebst angehängten Englischen und Teutschen A B C. London, 8vo. pp. 64 and 18.

A little tract in which the pronunciation of several words is approximatively given in German letters. The Upper Palatinate was wasted by Louvois, general of Louis XIV. in 1688, and 5000 of the distressed people for whom this tract was intended emigrated to England in 1709.

1710, 9 Anne. *Dyche*, Thomas.

Guide to the English Tongue, London 12mo.

The pronunciation of nearly 200 words is imperfectly indicated by re-spelling them. E. Coote's English Schoolmaster 1673, which is bound up in the same volume in the British Museum, and is often referred to, contains no information on pronunciation. The fourteenth edition of Dyche's *Guide*, 1729, also in the British Museum, contains a few alterations, and has been chiefly followed.

1713, 12 Anne. Anonymous.

A Grammar of the English Tongue. With the Arts of Logick, Rhetorick, Poetry, &c. Sixth edition. 8vo.

There is no date throughout the book, but as it is dedicated to the Queen, and as the example given for finding "the Moon's Age at any time," refers to 1 Jan. 1713, it was probably published about that time. The first part, consisting of 52 pages is devoted to Spelling and Pronunciation. The latter agrees almost exactly with that of the Expert Orthographist (1704), but in the notes and especially from p. 43 to 52, there is a translation of many of Wallis's observations on phonetics and on English pronunciation, generally without acknowledgement, and evidently in happy ignorance of the fact that they belonged to a different stage of pronouncing English, and in several cases directly contradicted the rules which the author himself had previously given. It is a mere compilation, but corroborates other accounts of the XVIIIth century pronunciation.

1766, 7 George III. *Buchanan*, James.

Essay towards establishing a standard for an elegant and uniform pronunciation of the English Language, throughout the British Dominions, A Work entirely new; and whereby every one can be his own private

teacher. Designed for the Use of Schools, and of Foreigners as well as Natives, especially such whose Professions engage them to speak in Public. Extera quid quærat sua qui Vernacula nescit? As practised by the Most Learned & Polite Speakers. London, 8vo.

This almost amounts to a pronouncing dictionary, and like it, aspires rather to lead than follow general usage. The pronunciation it exhibits does not materially differ from that now heard, except in admitting many usages as "learned and polite," which would probably be considered much the contrary by modern Orthoepists. The XVIIIth century pronunciation is fully established in this work. But allowances must be made for certain Scotticisms, which will be more particularly pointed out in Chapter X, § 3.

1768, 9 George III. *Franklin*, Benjamin.

A Scheme for a New Alphabet & reformed mode of Spelling, with Remarks & Examples concerning the same, and an Enquiry into its Uses, in a correspondence between Miss Stephenson & Dr. Franklin written in the Characters of the Alphabet.

From the Complete Works in Philosophy, Politics, & Morals of the late Benjamin Franklin; now first collected and arranged, with memoirs of his early life, written by himself, 3 vols, London 8vo. Johnson, 1806. Vol. ii. p. 357.

The preceding works from the time of Wilkins, exactly 100 years previously, have furnished us with no connected specimen of English speech. They have generally contented themselves with giving lists of words illustrating particular usages. By this means the whole pronunciation of a word had to be collected from different lists, and some parts of it remained doubtful. This is not the case in Buchanan's book, because he gives the pronunciation of every part of the word. But even then the isolated words do not seem to convey the same idea as connected sentences. The paper of Dr. Franklin therefore, is very acceptable, and will be printed at length in Chapter X, § 2. Being the pronunciation of a man of 62, who had passed his life among colonial English, it has necessarily rather an old appearance, and, notwithstanding the actual date, must be considered as belonging to the earlier part of the XVIIIth century.

1780, 21 George III. *Sheridan*, Thomas.

A General Dictionary of the English Language, One main Object of which, is, to establish a plain and permanent Standard of Pronunciation. To which is prefixed a Rhetorical Grammar. London, 4to.

This is the first of the modern army of pronouncing dictionaries, and indicates a pronunciation which only differs in isolated instances from that now in use. It is therefore unnecessary to pursue the list further.

CHAPTER III.

On the Pronunciation of English in the Sixteenth Century, and its Gradual Change during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries.

§ 1. *Introduction.*

The authorities enumerated in the preceding chapter, enable us to form a tolerably correct conception of the pronunciation of English during the XVI th century, and to note the principal changes which it underwent in the XVII th and XVIII th centuries. It is the object of this chapter to shew as precisely as possible—although of course far from as precisely as desirable—what the pronunciation indicated for each period really was. The results which have been given by anticipation at the end of Chapter I, are arranged alphabetically. But it will be far more convenient to adopt a different order in the present chapter, and revert to the alphabetical in a subsequent recapitulation. See Chapter VI.

The principal authorities described in the last chapter will be better appreciated by arranging them chronologically in connection with the names of the contemporary sovereigns and the chief contemporary writers. Any statement can thus be immediately referred to its proper political and literary epoch.

It must be remembered that the authorities for a period are necessarily somewhat more recent in date than the period itself, for the account which an elderly man gives of pronunciation refers in general to that which he acquired as a youth. It is in most instances safe to assume that a man's system of pronunciation is fixed at twenty to twenty-five years of age. The first ten years of his life are spent in acquiring sounds from his nurse, his mother, and his family. In the next ten, he is jostled with his schoolmates or workmates, and he will probably adapt his mode of speech to his environment. After the mental faculties have matured, the acquired habits have become settled, and the environment fixed at twenty to twenty-five, little change may be expected, except under rare and peculiar circumstances. It is probable, therefore, that each of the authorities on the next page, refers to a pronunciation prevalent twenty or thirty years before the actual date.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF AUTHORITIES.

Date of Work	Authority.	Writers.	Sovereigns.
		For the XVI th Century.	
1530	Palsgrave, London	Lord Surrey, 1516–46	1509 Hen. VIII
		Tyndale's Bible, 1535	
1545	Meigret, Lyons	Sydney 1544–86	
1547	Salesbury, Wales	Spenser 1553–98	1547 Edw. VI.
1550	Meigret, Lyons		
1555	Cheke, Cambridge		1558 Elizabeth
1567	Salesbury, Wales	Shakspere 1564–1616	
1568	Smith, Essex		
1569	Hart		
1570	Levins		
1573	Baret	Ben Jonson 1574–1638	
1580	Bullokar	Massinger 1584–1640	
		Milton 1608–1674	1603 James I
1611	Cotgrave	Authorized Version	
1611	Florio, Italy	[1611	
1621	Gill, Lincolnshire	Butler 1612–80	1625 Charles I
1633	Butler		
		For the XVII th Century.	
1640	Jonson, Westminster	Dryden 1631–1700	
1646	Gataker		1649 Common-
1651	Willis, Middlesex		[wealth
1653	Wallis, Kent		1660 Charles II
1668	Wilkins, Oxford		
1668	Price		
1669	Holder		
1685	Cooper		1685 James II
1688	Miege, France	Pope 1688–1744	1688 Wm. III
1701	Jones, Wales		1702 Anne
		For the XVIII th Century.	
1704	Expert Orthographist		
1710	Dyche	S. Johnson 1709–84	1714 George I
		Goldsmith 1728–74	1727 George II
1766	Buchanan, Scotland		1760 George III
1768	Franklin, U.S.		
1780	Sheridan, Ireland		

§ 2. *Combined Speech Sounds.*

It is a favourite, and occasionally convenient theory, to suppose that there are three principal vowels (a, i, u), as that there are three principal colours, or rather pigments, blue, red, and yellow, whence the rest are formed by mixture. Neither theory must be taken literally, or be supposed to represent a fact in nature. Both partake of the same degree of partial truth and complete error, as the still older theory of the four elements. But as earth, water, air, fire, still represent solids, liquids, gases and chemical action, so the (a, i, u) represent the most open position of the mouth with respect both to tongue and lips, and the two most closed positions with respect to tongue and lips respectively through which a vowel sound can be produced. A vowel sound is properly a musical tone with a definite quality or *timbre*,[1] and, to be distinctly heard and recognized, the position of the vocal organs must be kept fixed for an appreciable duration of time, the longest time being really a small fraction of a second.[2] But vocal sounds may be also heard through changing positions. These are the "glides,"[3] which are naturally generated in passing from any position of the organs of speech to any other, while the vocal ligaments of the glottis continue to act. The best mechanical illustration of this effect is obtained by sliding the finger down a violin string, while the bow is kept in action. This glide is the essence of all combination of vocal elements; the cement, as it were, which binds them into masses. In diphthongs, as (ai, au), the action is most clear, and Mr. Melville Bell has introduced a series of glide signs for exclusive use in diphthongs. But the same action is audible in (pa, ka), the glide commencing with the loosening of the contact, and continuing until the full sound of (a) is produced. It is this glide which alone gives sound and meaning to the (p, k). In palaeotype the isolated letters all mark fixed positions, whether initial or final, and their combination indicates the glide occurring between them, in addition to their own value, unless a comma (,) be interposed, which cuts out the glide, and thus distinguishes the dissyllable (u,i) French *oüi*, from the monosyllable (ui) French *oui*, which again must be dis-

[1] This is Sir Charles Wheatstone's theory, subsequently verified by Prof. H. Helmholtz, Die Lehre von den Tonempfindungen, 2nd ed. 1865, p. 163.

[2] The word *eat*, although containing a long vowel, can be pronounced deliberately three times, and rapidly, four times in a second.

[3] This phonetic term was introduced and explained by myself, *Universal Writing and Printing*, 1856, p. 6, col. 2, and *English Phonetics*, 1854, p. 8, § 61.

tinguished carefully from the monosyllable (wii), English *we*, where the first element is a buzz and not a vowel. This convention in notation will be strictly carried out and should be carefully observed by the reader. As a necessary consequence (aa, nn, ss) represent *prolonged* (a, n, s), but (a,a, n,n, s,s) *repeated* (a, n, s). The prolongation of consonantal sounds may appear strange, but if *unowned* is compared with *unknown*, or *missile* with *missent*, it will be readily perceived that the (n, s) in the second of each pair is really prolonged, thus (ən,*oo*nd· ənn*oo*n·, m*i*s·*i*l m*i*ssent·), and that the orthography (ən,n*oo*n·, m*i*s,sent·) would not quite meet the latter case, as there is no cessation of sounds, no ending of the one (n, s) and beginning of the following. Again, in comparing *open opening*; *stable stabling*, *schism schismatic* (*oo*p·nn *oo*p·niq; st*ee*b·ll st*ee*b·liq, s*iz*·mm s*iz*mæt·*i*k), the greater length of sound of (n,l,m) in the first three words over that which it has in the second three, will be apparent. Generally, however, it is sufficient to mark (*oo*p·n, st*ee*b·l, s*iz*·m), because the effort to pronounce (n, l, m) independently of any following vowel will necessarily lengthen the sound. But that some attention to this difference is occasionally necessary, is shown by such French words as *stable*, *schisme*, which French orthoepists also mark (stabl, shizm), although their sound is not at all (stabll, shizmm), but either (stabl', shizm') with the faintest vowel murmur following, thus making (l, m) initial and consequently shortening the sound, or (stablh, shizmh) with an entire remission of the vocal murmur. In palaeotype the distinction will often be made thus: English (st*ee*b'l, s*iz*'m), French (stabl', shizm'), so that ('l, 'm, 'n) = (ll, mm, nn).

The glide which connects two vocal elements has a tendency to draw those elements into nearer relation than they would have had if pronounced apart; that is, as in the course of speech it is necessary to pass rapidly from one position of the vocal organs to the other without intermitting the voice, the two positions naturally draw nearer to each other. It has long been observed that certain vowels affect certain consonants. Thus, in Polish, it is laid down as a rule in language, that "hard consonants when brought by inflection or derivation before high vowels are changed into softer or weak consonants."[1]

The other Sclavonic languages have similar rules. In the Gaelic language there is also a division of vowels into *broad* a, o, u, and *small* e, i—"*leathan* agus *caol*"—with the celebrated rule which so singularly influences their orthography, "broad

[1] *J. Biernacki.* Theoretisch-praktische Grammatik der polnischen Sprache,

to broad and small to small,—leathan ri leathan, an 'us caol ri caol."[1] Of course, this rule only indicates a change of the intermediate consonant in actual speech. In German we find *ach, loch* with one sound of *ch* (kh), *ich, ächt, euch, löcher, tücher* with another (*k*h), and *auch, tuch* with a third (k*ch*), thus (akh, lokh; i*k*h, e*k*ht, oi*k*h, lœ*k*h·er, tyy*k*h·er; auk*ch*, tuuk*ch*); so that the Germans find a natural character in this change. But no such change occurs in Dutch, or in Swiss patois, which do not possess (*k*h). Again, a modern Greek informs me that (kh) is always replaced by (*k*h) in his language, whatever be the adjacent vowel. This seems also to have been the case in old Sanscrit, where (*k*h) has given way to (sh), just as most Englishmen hear a Saxon say (*ir·ish*-mi*sh*ni*sh*t) for (ir i*k*h mi*k*h ni*k*ht) *irr' ich mich nicht*, (du*ɑ*sh) for (dur*k*h). The old Germans had also a feeling of attraction in the vowel sounds in succeeding syllables, as *zahn zähne, fusz füsze, bock böcke, mann männer*, (tsaan tsEE·n*e*, fuus fyy·s*e*, bok bœk·*e*, man mEn·er) which the moderns have lost, and which is simply unintelligible in the modern English *tooth teeth, foot feet, man men*, (tuuth tiith, f*ʊ*t fiit, mæn men).

The initial consonant is in European languages mostly altered to suit the following vowel. We are familiar with the change of sound of *c* in the first and second syllable of *cancel* = (kæn·sel), and are accustomed to regard it as a mechanical rule of pronunciation, whereas it is the modern product of an action of a vowel on the preceding consonant. Sometimes the action takes place by an apparent desire to avoid this attraction. Most persons are familiar with (*k*aaɹd, *g*aaɹd) for *card, guard*, but few are aware that it was through a precisely similar change that Latin *cantus, campus* fell through (*k*ant, *k*amp) into French *chant, champ*, both being now (shaʌ). In Arabic, however, the vowel yields to the consonant, and it is chiefly by the "widening" of the following vowel, properly due to extending the pharynx for the

1837, p. 8. The division of vowels and consonants referred to is, in palaeotype

deep vowels	(a,	aʌ,	*e*,	o,	*ɑ*h,	ʏ,	ʉ)								
high vowels	(e,	eʌ,	e,	e,	o,	i,	..)								
hard consonants	(b	d	g	ʜ	kh	k	*l*	m	n	p	r	s	t	lh	z)
softer	(..	dz	dz	zh	sh	ts	..	..	..	..	rz	sh	ts	..	zh)
weak	(bj	dzj	zh	sj	sj	tsh	lj	mj	nj	pj	..	sj	tsj	ljh	zj)

Such a combination as (*l*i) is impossible to a Pole, who is compelled to say either (*l*ʏ) or (lji).

[1] This is thus explained in J. Forbes's Double Grammar of English and Gaelic, 1843, p. 28: "In words of more than one syllable, the *last* vowel of each preceding syllable, and the *first* of each succeeding one must be of the same class, *i.e.* both broad or both small; as ca*i*leag, *a girl*, feo*a*rag, *a squirrel*. It would be false orthography to write words thus: ca*a*lag, feo*i*-eag, cu*i*-lag, l*a*r-eag, c*i*r-adh, b*a*rreadh."

pronunciation of the consonant, that an Englishman distinguishes Arabic ط ض ص ظ, whatever sounds Arabic scholars may finally agree that the latter symbols represent, from (t d s z).[1] The rounding of the lips has often a similar effect in English, as in *war*, *wan*, *what*, *wash*, *squall*, = (wAAr, wan won, what whot, wash wosh, skwAAl).

A final consonant may yield to the vowel, or force the vowel to consort with it. Both cases are common, the French *fait* as derived from Latin *factum* shews both effects.[2] In English, and also in French, (l, r, ɾ, ɹ) have had very disturbing effects on the preceding vowel. But the greatest changes ensue when two vowels come together, first as pure diphthongs, and afterwards degenerating into a single derived vowel sound. It is precisely because (l, ɹ) are so vowel-like in sound that they react so strongly on the preceding vowel.

Glides and mutual actions do not occur only between two vowels or vowel and consonant, but are also frequent between two consonants, and are especially marked where one is a mute (p t k), or sonant (b d g), and the other continuous. In German the sound (ts) initial is a true diphthong, like (tsh) initial in English. Many writers have considered (tsh, dzh) initial to be simple sounds in English, while (tsh, dzh) final as in *watch*, *grudge*, are generally recognized to be compounds. This is explained by a consideration of the nature of a syllable.

When a number of pure vowels come together with glides between them, it may so happen that there is a gradual change from a close to an open, an open to a close, or a close to an open and thence to another close position, as in (ia, ai, iai), or (ua, au, uau), or (iau, uai), etc. In all these cases the ear recognizes one undivided group (*συλλαβή*) or syllable. But if the transition be from open to close and thence to open, as (aua, aia), the ear immediately recognizes two groups or syllables, and the division between them is felt to be the moment of the smallest opening of the vocal organs, thus in (aua) the syllable does not divide before or after (u), but during the pronunciation of the pure (u) as held fixed without any precedent or subsequent glide from or to the (a). There is in this case a decided interval between the two glides. In attempting to make the separation of the groups more evident, a speaker would either simply prolong (u), thus (auua), or prolong it with a cessation of force in

[1] See (*t th d dh s z*) in the palaeotypic alphabet.

[2] Omitting the last syllable, the forms seem to have been (fakt, fa*k*t, fai*k*t, fait, feet). The form (fai*k*t) probably originated the old spelling *faict*.

the middle, which might be expressed by (au-ua), or would absolutely pause and thus repeat the (u), as au,ua). In this way orthographers, by separating the glides, arrive at the conception of doubling the letter which indicates the smallest opening. This, however, becomes more strongly marked when the division of the two glides is a mere buzz, as (ava), or sonant as (aba), or mute as (apa), for in these cases prolongation being either difficult or impossible, the orthographer, trying to ascertain the letters, says (av,va, ab,ba, ap,pa), and by thus separating the glides, actually alters the whole character of the word. In the English and other Teutonic languages real cases of prolonged medial consonants, or really separated glides, are rare, not occurring except in compound words or connected words, compare *soappot*, *boot-tree*, *bookcase*, *penknife*, *till late*, *till eight*, *Miss Smith*, *yes sir*, etc.[1] Hence these nations readily adopted a system of doubled consonants for those cases where the first glide was unmistakeable; that is, where the first vowel being short and accented, it was difficult to leave out the glide and pronounce it independently of the vowel; for example (a,ba) is more difficult than (ab,a).[2] The doubling of consonants came finally to be considered the mark of a short accented vowel, and is so consistently applied by Rapp,[3] who, adopting the usual German grammatical term, calls this effect a "sharpening" (*schärfung*) of the vowel. But Orrmin had used the same means of indicating short vowels even in unaccented syllables, in the first attempt at a regular English orthography, and lays the greatest stress upon this mode of marking short vowels.[4]

To continue the theory of the syllable. The separation can be made, as we have seen, by a buzz, whisper, sonant, or mute, as well as by a vowel, and several of these being interposed, the syllable divides on the least vocal or narrowest aperture. Thus in *watching* (wʌtsh*i*q), the syllable divides

[1] Many speakers say (pen·*if*) for (pen·nəif), waiters are apt to fall into (jes·a) for (jes·sa), and few care to distinguish *Miss Smith* from *Miss Myth* (m*i*ssm*i*th·, m*i*s,m*i*th·). In such a common name no mistake is likely, but would *Miss Sterry* be distinguished from *Miss Terry*, or *Miss Stent* from *Miss Tent*, real names from the London Directory?

[2] Mr. Melville Bell finds the division (a,ba) quite as easy as (ab,a), and hence always considers so much of the consonantal group which precedes any vowel as could be used at the beginning of a word,—except in the case of manifest compounds—to belong to the syllable containing that vowel, thus *discipline beging*, he would divide di,si,-pl*i*n be,g*i*q). Such divisions are mere matters of practice, and are beside the scientific investigation of the natural division of words into groups of sounds.

[3] *M. Rapp.* Versuch einer Physiologie der Sprache, 1836-1841.

[4] See the passage from the Orrmulum quoted in Chapter V, § 2.

between the glide from (ʌ) to (t), and the glide, in this case non-vocal, from (t) to (sh). The orthographer dividing the syllables then says (wʌt,tshiq), and hears first a (t) and then his presumed simple sound (tsh); whence the orthography *tch*, which never occurs initially. Between *ch* in *chin*, and *tch* in *watching*, there is this difference, that in (tshin) there is only the glide from (t) to (sh), but in (wʌtshiq) there is also the glide from (ʌ) to (t). The palaeotypic orthography (wʌtshiq) implies all this, for to remove the last named glide in the last word we must write (wʌ,tshiq).

In (wʌtsh) we have the same effect of the (t) with its double glide, but as the second glide is entirely unvocal, the ear does not recognize a distinct group, and hence receives (wʌtsh) as a single group or monosyllable. Indeed so little is a final whisper accounted, that it is generally introduced in English after final mutes, to give them the double glide and make them more audible; thus *Wat!* would be uttered (Wʌt'!) not (Wʌt!) as we should be almost forced to write if we wished to imply the absence of the ('). In the word *act* (ækt') we have first a mute (k) with only a precedent glide, so that the (t) would be inaudible without the ('). But to say (æk't') would be unpleasant and affectedly pedantic. This mode of overcoming a difficulty, which is so common and natural in Teutonic nations, is unknown in the Romanic or Semitic. The French say (akt'), or in poetry (aktə), and are inclined even to (ak't'). The Italians assimilate the (k) to the (t), and dividing the glides say (at,to). The consequence is that consonants have more weight in Romanic than in Teutonic tongues, and not only cannot so many be pronounced in succession, but when two consonants that cannot be pronounced as an initial combination follow a vowel, they necessarily lengthen the syllable—not the vowel, as grammarians erroneously assert.

The hisses are never felt to produce new groups, and hence are added on with the greatest liberality before as well as after close positions. Thus wrists, scrips, (rists, skrips), and in Polish *szczkać* (shtshkatsj), to hiccough, in which we have a frequent combination (shtsh) containing one stop (t), preceding the stop (k) with the same ease to a Pole, as the simple (sh) before (t) and (p) in *stehen, sprechen*, (shtee,en, shprekh'en) presents to a German or Englishman, who are unaware of the difficulties which such combinations offer to Frenchmen and Italians, and to Arabs, whose easy sounds are in turn a very shibboleth to Europeans.

The division of syllables to the eye is therefore a great

difficulty, unless some mark be placed over or under the letter of division, or unless this mark, placed for convenience of printing before or after the letter of division, is to be understood as merely pointing that letter out. Thus writing the hyphen as usual for this purpose, (wa-tsh*i*q) or (wat-sh*i*q) might be used, but the latter is objectionable as it divides a very close glide. In palaeotype it is not necessary to divide syllables, and when they are divided in speech, the consonants are really doubled, as already mentioned, thus (wat,tsh*i*q). When the accent mark is written in palaeotype it is generally placed where it is convenient to the printer or writer, but as it forms a break to the eye it should not be interposed between close glides, so that either (wa·tsh*i*q) or (watsh·*i*q) is preferable to (wat·sh*i*q).

Unaccented short vowels do not generally glide on to the following consonant; but this follows them *legato* (smoothly) and not *staccato* (abruptly), to use musical terms. Thus in *event, society*, (i,vent·, so,sə̈i·,e,t*i*) we have in English no glides —although it is seldom necessary to indicate their absence as above. On the other hand, the absence of marked accent in French makes the glide distinct, as in *événement, société* (*e*ven'maa, sosi,*et*e). Grammarians, as usual, do not recognize these distinctions.

A short accented vowel is in English always followed by a consonant on to which it glides, almost before it begins to be heard; whereas a long accented vowel can be distinctly heard before the glide to the consonant. Consequently the glide with us affects the short more than the long vowel. One result of this is that English long and short accented vowels do not form precise pairs. Thus *peat pit, gate get, father gather, sought sot, pool pull* = (piit p*i*t, ge*e*t g*e*t, faadh·ɪ gædh·ɪ, saat sɔt, puul p*u*l). The distinction is here made clear to the eye. The vowel (*oo*) does not occur as a short vowel in closed syllables in recognised English, but *hole whole* are not unfrequently distinguished as (h*oo*l, h*o*l). The long vowels (*ee, oo*) are also very frequently pronounced (*e*i, *oo*u) or (*ee*'j, *oo*'w) with a faintly indicated (i, u), following them with the utmost rapidity just as the sound is expiring. It is only before the letter *r* (ɪ) that this effect is generally avoided, and then the vowel sounds are changed, thus *more, Mary, door, glory* are properly (meeɪ, Meeɪ·r*i*, dooɪ, glooɪ·r*i*), although (m*oo*'ɪ, M*ee*·'r*i*, d*oo*'ɪ, gl*oo*·'r*i*) and even (M*ee*·r*i*, gl*oo*·r*i*) are sometimes heard. This diversity of long and short vowels, similar to that which probably prevailed in Greece when the distinctions η ϵ, ω o were introduced, while no written

difference was made between *a ι υ* long and short, serves to mark the difference between syllables with long and short vowels very clearly. If a foreigner neglects the distinction we, in the ignorance of our ears, often accuse him of lengthening the vowel, thus we write his *pity* (pit·i) as *peetee*, confounding it with (pii·tii), and we make a Scotchman speak of his *meenister* and his *bōōk* (mii·n/ste.r, buuk) when he only says (min·/ste.r, buk) in place of our (m*i*n·/stɪ, b*u*k). Most of the old English writers thought that the vowel sounds in *bite bit* formed a pair, and we shall find Sir T. Smith completely puzzled with the English *ee* (ii) of which he knew no short sound. In languages like the Italian, where the short and long vowels exist in perfect pairs (ii i, *ee e*, EE E, aa a, oo o, *uu u*, uu u) the distinction of long and short vowel is not much perceived, except before separated glides or doubled consonants, as they are termed, and consequently no necessity for indicating them orthographically has been felt. In Italian also, final short accented vowels occur unprotected by a following consonant, as *città amò ciò* (tshit,ta· amo· tsho·) which however take a doubled consonant when followed by an enclitic syllable as *amorri* (amov·,vi).

These different usages are important to be allowed for, when we derive the pronunciation of any language through the observations of one who is not a native. He necessarily hears the sounds incorrectly and imitates them at first, if not always, with more or less reference to those with which he is familiar. Those Englishmen who hear a Scot or German say (man, m*a*n), hear the words as either (mæn) or (mɔn), sounds which being unfamiliar to the Scot and German are liable to sound in their ears as (mɛn, mon).[1] It is this difficulty in appreciating foreign sounds which renders the use of any universal system of writing so difficult. Yet indistinct and imperfect as a foreigner's accounts must necessarily be, it is almost entirely by their means that we are able to arrive at a conception of the old sounds of our language. It

[1] An amusing instance of the difficulty of hearing foreign sounds is quoted in Max Müller's Lectures on the Science of Language, 2nd series, 1864, p. 169, from Marsh's Lectures, and taken by him from "Constantinople and its Environs, by an American *long resident*," New York, 1835, ii. 151. The writer is certain that he spells at least one word correctly, for it had been so impressed on his mind; this word is *hactshtasch!* letters which ought to mean (hæktshtæsh), but were intended to mean (bakhshiish·), itself an error for (bakrhshiish·). This letter (krh) ☪ is almost invariably confounded with (k) by Englishmen. Similarly, if an Englishman asks a Saxon to repeat after him *I had a hat on my head*, instead of (ai hæd ə hæt ɔn m·ai hed) he will probably obtain (ai hɛt a hɛt on mai hɛt), where the three English unusual sounds (hæd hæt hed) are reduced to the one common German (hɛt) = *hätt'*.

is the foreigner who generally wants to have the sounds explained, and we find the writers of pronouncing dictionaries of English to be mainly Welsh, Scotch, Irish, American, French, and German. Those early English writers who gave an account of our pronunciation had not studied the nature of spoken sounds sufficiently to refer them to any fixed positional scale, such as we now possess in *Visible Speech*. Hence they illustrated them as they best could by reference to other tongues; frequently indeed by Latin and Hebrew, which being very differently pronounced in different countries gave but an indifferent clue. It is only by making allowances for old habits, that we can hope to arrive at an approximate conception of the sounds they had in their mind.[1] It is not therefore to be expected that we can assign the older pronunciation of our language with anything like the minute accuracy with which the modern pronunciation of English can be indicated by means of Palaeotype and *Visible Speech*. We can, however, approximate to the sounds so nearly that one who thus pronounced them would appear to utter familiar words in perhaps rather a singular manner, but not so strangely by far as a foreigner's attempts at modern English, or as the modern English would have sounded in the ears of our ancestors.[2]

§ 3. *The Vowels.*

A — XVI TH CENTURY.

1530. PALSGRAVE says: "The soundyng of a, whiche is most generally vsed through out the frenche tonge, is suche as we vse with vs, where the best englysshe is spoken, whiche is lyke as the Italians sounde a, or they with vs, that pronounce the latine tonge aryght."

The Italians at present always say (a), and never (*a*). The French at present generally say (a) but sometimes (*a*). The reference to Latin, as pronounced "aryght" ought to imply the existence of another English pronunciation in common use, which was not (a). This wrong pronunciation we have no means of eliciting. Then again the English pronunciation referred to is a theoretical standard, "where the best

[1] The key-words in *Visible Speech*, p. 94, are pronounced differently by Mr. Melville Bell and myself, (p. 25, n. 1.)

[2] While writing this I saw the words "One touch of nature," placarded on the streets of London, as the name of a drama. Most of those who saw them would have read (wan totsh ov neetsha), sounds which would have probably been unintelligible to their author (Shakspere, T. & C. iii, 3, 175), who would have certainly understood (oon tutsh ov naatyyr), strange as this may now seem to our ears.

englysshe is spoken," implying that there was another pronunciation which Palsgrave did not approve of. The only clear result we obtain is negative,—the long sound was certainly *not* that now in use in England, "where the best englysshe is spoken," that is *not* (ee, ɛɛ, ɛɛi). But could we trust Palsgrave to have heard the difference between (æ, a, *a*), or if he had heard it, to have thought it worth noting? In the next century at least Wallis heard the French *a* as (ʌ), and we know that even at the beginning of the present century the French *émigrés* heard the English *a* in *a*ll as their *a*, and gave that as the French sound in their Grammars. Walker gives (iiklʌʌ') as the pronunciation of *éclat*, though Smart writes (ɛɛklaa'), the Frenchmen Féline[1] and Tarver giving (ɛkla).

The sound (*a*) is more marked and was probably more ancient than the finer sound (a), for which the tongue has to be raised from a "low back" to a "mid back" position.[1] It is very possible that the French may have used (*a*) and have subsequently refined it into (a). It is very probable that the Anglosaxons used (*a*), as the present Germanic nations, and the Scotch, have still a great tendency so to do. Perhaps one of the sounds (*a*, *a*h, ʌ) was the faulty pronunciation of the Latin *a*, to which Palsgrave objected. Either (*a*) or (ʌ) is still used in Scotch Latin. It is not likely that at so early a period the very thin (æ),—a sound which Englishmen from historical tradition connect with (a), but which foreigners consulting their ears, refer to (e, ɛ)—was recognized as the use of those who spoke English best. It seems safest to conclude that Palsgrave, living in the latter part of the XV th and early part of the XVI th century, recognized (aa) long and (a) short as the best pronunciation of English *a*, and that he would at any rate have accepted that pronunciation. This view is confirmed by Gilles du Guez's account of French pronunciation, probably printed in 1532, and reprinted at the end of the French reprint of Palsgrave. He says: "Ye

[1] Walker's *Pronouncing Dictionary*, and Smart's *Walker Remodelled*, are well known. *Adrien Féline*, Dictionnaire de la prononciation de la langue Française, indiquée au moyen de caractères phonétiques précédé d'un mémoire sur la réforme de l'alphabet. Paris, 1851. This and *Tardy's* Explanatory pronouncing dictionary of the French language in French and English, wherein the exact sound and articulation of every syllable are distinctly marked, according to the principles of the French pronunciation, developed in a short treatise by J. C. *Tarver*, French Master, Eton, London, (Longman) 1847, *C. G. Jobert's* Colloquial French, London, (Whittaker) 1854, and *Thériat's* Le Phonographe ou la Prononciation Française rendue facile à tous les étrangers, Paris, (chez les auteurs, rue de l'Ouest, 11,) 1857, are the best guides to modern French pronunciation that I have seen.

[2] These technical terms are explained in the introduction p. 13.

shal pronounce your *a* as wyde open mouthed as ye can," which ought to make French *a* = (*a*); "your *e*, as ye do in latyn, almost as brode as ye pronounce your *a* in englysshe." This makes French *e* = (ɛ), and proves that English *a* was not (æ), because Gilles du Guez, as a Frenchman, would not have distinguished (ɛ, æ). Neither du Guez nor Palsgrave separate the close from the open French *e* (*e*, ɛ) which Meigret has found necessary to distinguish by two signs. Gilles du Guez was French master to Henry VIII. and his daughter, afterwards Mary I.

1567. SALESBURY says of the Welsh sound of *a* that "it hath the true pronunciation of *a* in Latin," meaning of course *his* pronunciation of that letter, and that it is never sounded "so fully in the mouth as the Germaynes sound it in this word *wagen*." He also distinguishes it clearly from (a) with a following (u) or (i). This distinction, hereafter considered, leads me to suppose that his Welsh *a* was neither (*a*) nor (æ), and consequently that it was then true (a). The conclusion is not very safe, because certainly, in the next century, Wallis makes the Welch *a* very "thin," that is closer than (a), and probably (æ), a sound said to be often heard in Wales to this day.[1]

1547. Salesbury heard no difference between the English and Welsh *a*, whether long or short. He says :—

"A in English is of the same sound as *a* in Welsh, as is evident in these words of English ALE, *aal*, cervisia, PALE, *paal*, SALE, *sal*."

It is not usual in Welsh orthography to distinguish the long and short vowels, although Grammarians say that the former have an acute accent mark. In his account of English pronunciation, Salesbury does not always discriminate the long vowel, though, as here, he occasionally doubles the vowel sign to represent length, and doubles the consonant sign to imply the brevity of the preceding vowel. We must not suppose, however, that where he has neglected to double either, the sound was necessarily either long or short. No doubt *sale* was (saal), if *ale*, *pale* were (aal, paal). Again he writes *narrw* and *sparw* for *narrowe*, *sparrowe*, although no doubt the consonant was not

[1] During a short residence in Anglesea about ten years ago, I did not recognize (æ) as in general use in Welsh, although I was familiar with the sound, both long and short, from having resided two years in Bath, where (æə) is the regular sound of *a* long, as (Bæəth, kæəd). I have since been informed that it is commonly heard in Monmouthshire, just bordering on those Western English counties where (æ) prevails. A gentleman from Cardigan when asked to name the first letter in the Welsh alphabet, naturally called it (æə), though three other Welsh gentlemen present at the same time said (aa).

really doubled in either and the vowel was short in both. Numerous examples of such carelessness occur in the short list of words with which Salesbury has favoured us.[1]

SALESBURY'S EXAMPLES OF A.

OLD SPELLING.	MEANING.	WELSH LETTERS.	PALAEOTYPE.
ale	cervisia	aal	aal
pale		paal	paal
sale		sal	saal
babe	infans	baab	baab
face	facies	ffas	faas
gracyouse	comis	grasiws	graa·si,us
able		abl	aa·b'l
sable		sabl	saa·b'l
bake	coquere panem	baak	baak
galaunt		galawnt	gal·aunt
plage	pestis	plaag	plaag
have	accipere	haf	ɦaav
lady	domina	ladi	laa·di
papyr		papyr	paa·p*i*r
mase	stupor	maas	maaz
shappe	forma	ssiapp	shaap
ape	simia	ap	aap
narrowe	angustus	narrw	nar·u
sparrowe	passer	sparw	spar·u
laddre	scala	lad-dr	lad·er
bladd'	vesica	blad-der	blad·er
nagge	mannus	nag	nag
pappe	mamma vel infantium cibus	papp	pap
quarter	quarta pars	kwarter	kwar·ter
hand	una manus	hande	ɦand
handes	duae v.plures manus	hands	ɦandz
Thomas		tomas	tom·as
flaxe	linum	fflaes	flaks
axe	securis	ags	aks
man		man	man
that		ddat	dhat
kappe	pila	cap	kap
Agnus		angnus	aq·nus

[1] A complete alphabetical list of all these words will be found in Chapter VIII, § 2, at the close of the translation of his tract.

The preceding are all Salesbury's words containing *a*, in his English spelling, Welsh transcription, and my palaeotypic translation of the last. The meaning is given in Latin where he has given it in Welsh, but not otherwise. The long *a*, so far as I can conjecture from other sources, is placed first. Words with the combinations *al*, *au*, *ash*, etc., which will be considered hereafter, are omitted. This long list of words in which the long and the short sound of *a* is represented by the same letter, occasionally doubled for the long sound, is conclusive in shewing that long *a* and short *a* were to Salesbury's ears, sounds differing only in duration. And as there could be no reasonable doubt that short *a* was then, as it still is generally in the provinces, and is admitted to be by some of our orthoepists in a great number of words,[1] the true Italian (a), so we are led to conconclude that the long *a* was also the true Italian (aa), to Salesbury.

1568. Sir T. Smith says: "A igitur Latinum Angli habent tam breue quàm lo*n*gum," and after giving some examples, adds: "et alia sexcenta, vbi nullius literarum sonus auditur in lingua nostrati nisi *a* vocalis Romanæ longæ breuisque."

This ought to be decisive, but unfortunately we shall find that Smith considered the Latin *i* long to be the English *i* long, that is (ei) according to Salesbury, and hence he might have considered the Latin *a* long to be (*ee*) as in England to this day. Hence it is only by comparison with Salesbury and others that we can interpret his examples thus:—

"*A breuis* (man) homo, (far) longè, (nat) petaso aut galerus, (mar) corrumpere, (pas) superare, (bar) vectis, (bak) dorsum.

"*A longa* (maan) juba equi, (faarwel) vale bene, (naat) odisse, (maar) equa, (paas) passus, (baar) nudus, (baak) in furno coquere."

The words (man, baak) being given in Salesbury interpret all the rest. Smith does not give the ordinary spelling, but always adds the Latin signification.

1569. Hart, in describing the "due and auncient soundes" of the five vowels, says of A, "the first, with wyde opening the mouth, as when a man yauneth," and he identifies it with the German, Italian, French, Spanish, and Welsh *a*.

This identification has the misfortune of being too wide and again leaving us in doubt as to (*a*, a, æ). But (aa, a) seems the most probable. Still Gill's censure of Hart, which we shall find justified for *ai*, would make us doubtful of *a*, were not Hart confirmed by Palsgrave and Salesbury.

[1] Those of which *staff*, *bath*, *bask*, *demand*, are types. Other orthoepists, however, prefer (ah) in these words.

1580. BULLOKAR says, "that there be eight vowels of differing sounds in Inglish spéech: may appéere by these wordes following, wherein are eight notes in voice differing one from another as diuers notes in musicke."

The words are given in his phonetic orthography and are arranged in this order, "to lack, to leak, a leek, to lick, a lock, to look, luck, Luke," which, for reasons which will appear hereafter, I believe are meant for (tu lak, tu leek, a liik, tu lik, a lok, tu luuk, luk, Lyyk). The long *a*, the short *e*, and the long *i*, all of which Bullokar uses, are not noted in this list. Bullokar's sign for (ii) is a modification of (e), and hence there is no security that he should have considered (aa) to be the long of (a), although he so notes it. Perhaps his observation that *a b d f k* are the only "perfectly perfect" letters, that is, used according to their alphabetic names on all occasions, is meant to imply that long *a* is the sound of short *a* produced.

1621. Gill says, "In *e* et *o*, duplicatis, sonus à proprio aliquantulum distat: vt in GRIN laqueus,[1] et GREENE viridis, sonus vnus est, sed in voce priori correptus, in altera longus. Sic in BUCKE hic dama, et BOOKE liber: neque in his vlla soni differentia est, præter illam quæ in quantitate percipitur."

As then he has a proper feeling for vowel pairs, we may feel sure that, when he says—

"A, est tenuis, aut lata: tenuis, aut brevis est vt in (taloou) TALLOWE sebum, aut deducta, ut in (taal) TALE fabula aut computus: lata, vt in (TAAL) TALLE procerus—"

the two first sounds really only differ in length, but the last differs in quality. We cannot, however, feel sure that the two first sounds were (a, aa) as written above. In fact, the sounds (æ, ææ) must have begun to be prevalent at the time Gill wrote, and it is only because he decidedly opposed innovations that I consider he really pronounced (a, aa) as was probably customary in the days of his youth.[2]

1633. BUTLER (translating his phonetic spelling) says: "A is in English, as in all other languages, the first vowel, and the first letter of the Alphabet; the which, like *i* and *u*, hath two sounds, one when it is short, an other when long, as in *man* and *mane*, *hat* and *hate*."

[1] In Levins, 1670, we have "Grinne, *pedica*," on which Mr. Wheatley cites Cotgrave, "Lags. a snare, ginn or grinn."

[2] Shakspere's rhyme at the close of *Taming the Shrew*, according to the folio 1623,—

Pet. Why there's a wench: Come on, and kisse mee *Kate*.
Luc. Well go thy waies olde Lad for thou shalt *ha't*.

indicates the pronunciation (kaat, haa-t).

I cannot find any confirmation of this even in later writers, until the time of Cooper, 1685, who admits a double use of *a* long, pairing *can cast, ken cane,* as will be presently considered. What Butler's pair was, whether (ææ, a) or (aa, æ) I cannot guess. But as his book was published about the time when *a* began to change from (a) to (æ), he probably did not adopt either of the true pairs (aa, a) or (ææ, æ).

The effect of the L, N, Nge, Sh upon a preceding A, changing it to (au, ai) or (AA, ee) will be most conveniently considered under Au, Ai and the above consonants. Omitting these from consideration, the best conclusion I have been able to draw from a consideration of the preceding authorities after repeated examination of all their passages bearing even remotely on the subject, is that—

A long and A short during the XVI th century had in general the sounds of (aa, a); but (*aa, a*) may have been frequent at the beginning and (aah, ah) towards the close of that period.

A — XVII TH CENTURY.

1640. BEN JONSON says: "*A*, with us, in most words is pronounced lesse, then the *French à*, as in, *art. act. apple. ancient.* But, when it comes before *l.* in the end of a syllable, it obtaineth the full French sound, and is utter'd with the mouth, and throat wide open'd, the tongue bent backe from the teeth, as in *al. smal. gal. fal. tal. cal.*"

The description of French *à* would answer for either (*a*) or (A). Although the sound had perhaps not broadened more than to (*a*) during Jonson's lifetime, it would not be safe to assume any other sound than (A) for Ben Jonson's conception of the French sound, which must have been opener than the English. The precise value of the latter, however, is not fixed; but as Jonson was born in 1574, his pronunciation was probably that of the close of the XVI th century, and he therefore perhaps retained (aa, a).

1653-1699. WALLIS is the great authority for the fully developed pronunciation of the XVII th century. He recognizes nine vowels, being, according to my interpretation, three guttural (A, œ, ə), three palatal (æ, e, i), and three labial (*o*, u, y), so that the sounds of (*a*, a) are both lost. The sound (A) occurs only in the combinations *al, au, aw*, under which it will be considered. Of the palatal vowels he says:

"Vocales Palatinae in Palato formantur, aëre scilicet inter palati et linguae medium moderate compresso: Dum nempe concavum

palati, elevato linguae medio, minus redditur, quàm in gutturalibus proferendis. Suntque in triplici gradu, prout concavum magis minusve contrahitur. Quae quidem diversitas duobus modis fieri potest; vel fauces contrahendo, manente lingua in eodem situ; vel faucibus in eodem situ manentibus, linguae medium altius et ad interiores palati partes elevando: utrovis enim modo fiat, vel etiam si utroque, perinde est.

"Majori aperturâ formatur Anglorum *a*, hoc est *á* exile. Quale auditur in vocibus, *bat*, vespertilio; *bate*, discordia; *pal*, palla Episcopalis; *pale*, pallidus; *Sam* (Samuelis contractio); *same*, idem *lamb*, agnus; *lame*, claudus; *dam*, mater (brutorum); *dame*, domina; *bar*, vectis; *bare*, nudus; *ban*, exsecror; *bane*, pernicies; etc. Differt hic sonus a Germanorum *â* pingui seu aperto; eo quod Angli linguae medium elevent, adeoque[1] aerem in Palato comprimant; Germani vero linguae medium deprimant, adeoque aërem comprimant in gutture. Galli fere sonum illum proferunt ubi *e* praecedit literam *m* vel *n*, in eadem syllaba ut *entendement*, etc. Cambro-Britanni. hoc sono solent suum *a* pronunciare." Here the paragraph ends in the editions of 1653, 1664, 1674, which are all I have been able to find that were published during Wallis's life time; but the Oxford reprint of 1765 adds the words: "Italique suum." Again he says in another place "A plerumque pronunciatur sono magis exili quam apud alias plerasque gentes: eodem fere modo quo Gallorum *e* sequente *n* in voce *entendement*, sed paulo acutius et clarius; seu ut *a* Italorum. Non autem ut Germanorum *â* pingue; quem sonum nos plerumque exprimere solemus per *au* vel *aw*, si producatur; aut per *ŏ* breve si corripiatur."

Now if we omit the reference to the Italian, and confine ourselves to the description, it certainly ought to give (æ) rather than (a). The tongue is, of course, more raised for (a) than for (ɑ) or (ʌ). The two latter are low vowels, the former is a mid vowel, but all are *back* vowels, that is, the nearest approach of the tongue and palate is made with the *back* not the *middle* of the tongue, as Wallis strictly points out. The three vowels made with the middle of the tongue, disregarding the effect of widening, are (æ, e, i), or, taking the widening into effect, the three normal (ɛ, *e*, i) and the three wide (æ, e, *i*). Of these (æ) has the greater opening, "majori apertura formatur." With this view agrees the pairs of words he gives, which must have been either (aa, a) or (ææ, æ). That a change was taking place we have seen by the citation from Butler, (p. 64) and it will appear by Miege, (p. 71) that the sounds (ææ, æ) were fully established in 1688, before the death of Wallis, and this view agrees with all the following accounts. At the present day the sounds (a, aa) are almost unknown in the pronunciation of many per-

[1] The Oxford reprint erroneously inserts *in*.

sons,[1] and except in a few classes of words they are unknown among those who pride themselves on exact speaking. Hence we need not feel surprised that the fashion of (a, aa) had entirely gone out in Wallis's time, and had been supplanted by (æ, ææ.) Nor is there any other period to which the change, which certainly occurred, can be distinctly traced.

It is a remarkable fact that in Somersetshire where the sound of (ææ) is very common, replacing all sounds of (aa) in use in the east of England, as (Bææth, bææs·ket, ææsk, kææɹd, hææɹd) = *Bath*, *basket*, *ask*, *card*, *hard*, the sound of (ʌʌ) or (ɔɹ) degenerates into (aa) or (aaɹ), as (laa, draa, kaaɹd) = *law*, *draw*, *cord*.[2] But in Wallis's time the true sound of (ʌʌ) and not (*aa*) is guaranteed by his vowel pairs, "fall folly, call collar, cause cost, aw'd odd, saw'd sod."

The reference to the French *entendement* is of very little assistance. We know how the present English stumble over the French nasals. We may hear now (ɔntɔndmɔn, ɔqtɔqdmɔq, æqtæqdmæq), and it is very difficult to determine what is the oral basis of the orinasal vowel, so strangely is it modified by the nasal vibration. Most French writers refer the sound to (a), thus (aʌ), but English people refer it to (ɔ), thus (ɔʌ), very few keeping it distinct from *on* (*o*ʌ, oʌ ?) As frequent allusions will be made to the four French nasals in *vin*, *an*, *on*, *un*, which are palaeotypically represented by (eʌ, aʌ, oʌ, ɔʌ), it may here be stated that Dr. Rapp writes (eʌ, aʌ, oʌ, œʌ ɔʌ), M. Féline seems to mean (eʌ, aʌ, oʌ, *ɔ*ʌ), Mr. Melville Bell uses (æʌ, ɔhʌ, *o*hʌ, ɜʌ), M. Favarger, a Swiss gentleman, who has carefully studied the relation of French and English sounds, gives as the normal sounds (eʌ, aʌ, oʌ, *o*hʌ). The differences are here more apparent than real, and probably all sets may be heard coexisting in France at the present day.

The reference to Welsh indicates certainly a very thin palatal (a) which must have closely approached to the (æ), if not exactly reached it, (p. 61 n.). The final reference to the Italian may have arisen from Wallis's mispronouncing the Italian long *a*, making it as thin as the English long *a*.

[1] Walker, 1732-1807, says that "the second sound of a ... answers nearly to the Italian *a* in *Toscano*, *Romana* &c., or to the final *a* in the naturalized Greek words *papa* and *mamma*; and in *baa*; the word adopted in almost all languages to express the cry of sheep. We *seldom find the long sound of this letter in our language*, except in monosyllables ending with *r*, as *far*, *tar*, *mar*, &c., and in the word *father*."—Principles, 77.

[2] The fact was first forced on my attention by being asked in Bath for a piece of *card* as I imagined, when a piece of *cord* was really wanted. Other old pronunciations in use at Bath, are (fair) *fair*, (keez) *keys*, (beek·n) *beacon*, but (bæek·n) *bacon*; while (ʌʌ) almost reappears in (nɔɔu) *know*.

In Ireland, where we shall see that the English pronunciation consorts in many other respects also with that of the XVII th century, the name sound of the first letter of the alphabet is (æɛ), as was spontaneously pointed out to me by an Irish clergyman, the five vowels *a e i o u* being called (æɛ, ee, ɔi, *oo*, JUU), instead of (*ee*, ii, ɔi, *oo*, JUU). A Danish lady informed me that the sound of (æɛ) in lieu of (aa) was fashionable in Copenhagen. That the transition is easy and is not much perceived by the generality of speakers is evident from the present scarcely noticed co-existence of both sounds.[1] But the transition from the XVI th century (aa) to the XVIII th and XIX th century (ee, *ee*) is scarcely intelligible without the intermediate (æɛ).

1668. WILKINS, after describing the vowel (AA) as formed with the tongue in "a more concave posture and removed further from the palate," says that "the Vowel *a* is framed by an emission of the Breath, betwixt the tongue and the concave of the palate; the upper superficies of the tongue being rendered less concave, and at a less distance from the palate," and he does not allow of any convexity of the tongue till he reaches (ee).

Now it is only for some very unusual mixed vowels that there is any approach to a concavity of the tongue, with respect to the palate, so this may be regarded as a theoretical error. His description must be considered to leave the question of (æ, a) in doubt. Although it will be seen that Wilkins and Wallis occasionally disagree, I am inclined to interpret Wilkins in this case by Wallis, and to consider that Wilkins's examples *batt bate, val-ley vale, fatt fate, mat mate, pal pale, Rad-nor T-rade*, implied the pairs (bæt bæɛt, væl·i, væɛl, fæt fæɛt, mæt mæɛt, pæl pæɛl, Rædnur træɛd).

1669. HOLDER writing at the same time says "We may imagine the vowel *ɑ* to be made by the freest and openest passage of the throat through the mouth and so to have a kind of natural articulation without art, only by opening the mouth; *a* to be a little straitened by the boss of the tongue near the throat, and therefore if you try to pass from *ɑ* to *a* you will find you thrust the end of your tongue something forward to raise the boss of the tongue towards the palate to straiten the passage." "In *ɑ* the mouth is more open, in *a. e. i.* the straitenings of the concavity of the mouth between the tongue and palate are gradual, both forward & nearer the roof."

By actual trial, I find that this would serve just as well to distinguish (*a*, æ), (AA, aa), or (AA, æɛ). It is therefore not decisive. The illustrative words for *ɑ* are *fall folly*, for *a* are *fate fat*.

[1] The words *class, staff, demand*, are pronounced with (aa, a, ah, aah, æ, æɛ), by different careful speakers, and even (ah, ɔh) are in occasional use by others.

1685. COOPER seems to mark the beginning of a change which was not complete till the next century, and does not appear to be noticed by Miege or even Jones, for he gives two sounds to *a* long, generally (ææ) as I conjecture, and occasionally (ee). In this respect Cooper bears a resemblance to Hart, who anticipated the general pronunciation of *ai* as (ee) by a century. Cooper says:

"*A* formatur à medio linguæ ad concavum palati paululùm elevato. In his *can* possum, *pass by* prætereo, *a* corriptur; in *cast* jaceo,[1] *past* pro *passed* præteritus, producitur. Frequentissimus auditur hic sonus apud *Anglos*, qui semper hoc modo pronunciant *a* latinum; ut in *amabam*. Sic etiam apud *Cambrobritannos;* quandoque apud *Gallos;* ut in *animal, demande*, rarò autem aut nunquam apud *Germanos*. Hunc sonum correptum & productum semper scribimus per *a;* at huic characteri præterea adhibentur sonus unus & alter: prior, qui pro vocali ejus longâ habetur ut in *cane*, definitur sect. sequenti; posterior ut in *was* sect. septimâ sub *o* gutturalem."

He here implies that *cane* although considered the long of *can* is not so. He also for the first time makes *was* = (WAZ), whereas Wilkins wrote ꞩaz = (uæz) meaning (wæz). These are both anticipations. He implies that though short (æ) was common, long (ææ) was uncommon, and identifies the sound with that of the Welsh *a*, which he must have taken as (ææ). He allows that it "sometimes" is in use in French, in which language it is to be supposed he called *a* generally (AA). The two examples *animal, demande* are insufficient to give assistance. He says that it never occurs among the Germans. The present German sound in great part of Germany is (*aa*, *a*), and in Austria it becomes (*aah*, *a*) or perhaps (AA, A). But throughout North Germany the sounds (aa, a) are constantly heard from the more educated and refined speakers, and though Schmeller distinguishes the Italian from the common German *a*, neither Rapp nor Lepsius notice the difference.[2] Yet in the XVIIth century the general impression seems to have been that the French and Germans said (AA). Was this really the case? I think not.[3] I would rather trace

[1] Misprint for *jacio*?

[2] *Schmeller*, Die Mundarten Bayerns, München 1821, Nos. 62. 66. *Rapp*, Physiologie der Sprache, passim. *Lepsius*, Standard Alphabet, London and Berlin, 1863, especially p. 50, where the English sounds are taken into consideration.

[3] Mr. Blackie, the Professor of Greek in the University of Edinburgh, when lecturing on the pronunciation of Greek before the Royal Institution, 3rd May, 1867, said that it had been established by the researches of Seyffarth, Liscov, etc., that long α in Greek had the sound of Italian *a* in *amare*, that is, (aa). And then he immediately said, "the long α should always be pronounced like the English *aw* or *au*, as in *cawl*, *maul*, etc.," that is, (AA). (Proceedings of the Royal Institution, vol. v. p. 149.) Here then we have a recent example of a lecturer upon pronunciation, confusing the two sounds (aa, AA). We must not expect our ancestors to have been much more particular.

it to the loss of the pure (aa, a) in refined English, and its separation into (ʌa) on the one hand, and (ææ, æ) on the other. To those accustomed to say (ææ, aa) the intermediates (aa, *aa*) would both be referred to (ʌa) rather than (ææ).

The opinion that *a* long had become (ææ) seems to derive additional force from the fact, first mentioned by Cooper, that *a* long had in many words become (ee). He says—

"*E* formatur à linguâ magis elevatâ et expansâ quàm in *a* propriùs ad extremitatem, unde concavum palati minus redditur & sonus magis acutus; ut in *keu* video. Sic apud *Germanos menschen* homines. Apud *Gallos* rarò at in *excês*, *proteste*, *session*, & *Benjamin* obsoleto. Hunc sonum correptum *Angli* semper exprimunt per *e* brevem; & *e* brevem nunquam aliter pronunciant nisi ante *r*, ubi propter tremulam ipsius motionem, & vocalis subtilitatem subitâ correptione comitatam, vix aliter efferri potest quam *ur*; ideo *per* in *pertain* pertineo, & *pur* in *purpose* propositum ejusdem sunt valoris. Vera hujusce soni productio scribitur per *a*, atque *a* longum falso denominatur; ut it *cane* canna, *wane* deflecto; & ante *ge* ut *age* ætas; in cæteris autem vocabulis, (*ni fallor*) omnibus ubi *e* quiescens ad finem syllabæ post *a*, adjicitur; *u* gutturalis ... inseritur post *a*; ut in *name* nomen, quasi scriberetur *na-um* dissyllabum." He proceeds to say that this sound is usually written *ai* or *ay*, sometimes *ey* and rarely *ea*.

Here we have two curious facts, first the clear recognition of an (ee) sound of long *a*, and secondly the insertion of (ə) after (ee) in all but a certain class of words. Thus *cane*, *name* = (keen, neəm). The peculiarity here is, that so far from inserting (ə) in modern times, the tendency is to palatize the sound still more by inserting (i) thus (n*ee*im). Cooper returns to this point again, saying—

"Post *a* in omnibus, nisi in *cane* canna, *wane* deflecto, *stranger* advena, *strange* alienus, *manger* præsepe, *mangy* scabiosus, & ante *ge*; ut *age* ætas; inseritur *u* gutturalis, quæ nihil aliud est quàm continuatio nudi murmuris postquam *a* formatur, nam propter exilitatem, ni accuratiùs attenditur; ad proximam consonantem, sine interveniente *u* non-facilè transibit lingua. Differentia auribus, quæ sonos distinguere possunt, manifestò apparebit in exemplis sequenti ordine dispositis.

a brevis.	*a* longa.	*a* exilis.
Bar vectis	*Barge* navicula	*Bare* nudus
blab effutio	*blast* flatus	*blazon* divulgo
cap pileum	*carking* anxietas	*cape* capa
car carrus	*carp* carpo	*care* cura
cat catus	*cast* jactus	*case* theca
dash allido	*dart* jaculum	*date* dactylus
flash fulguro	*flasket* corbis genus	*flake* flocculus
gash cæsura	*gasp* oscito	*gate* janua

a brevis	a longa	*a* exilis
grand grandis	*grant* concedo	*grange* villa
land terra	*laneh* solvo	*lane* viculus
mash farrago	*mask* larva	*mason* lapidarius
pat aptus	*path* semita	*pate* caput
tar pix fluida	*tart* scriblita	*tares* lolia

Si quid amplius ad hanc veritatem confirmandam velles, accipe exempla sequentia; in quibus *ai* leniter pronunciata sonum habet *a* puræ; ut in *cane*, *a* verò post se admittit *u* gutturalem ut,

Bain balneum	*Hail* grando	*Maid* virgo
bane venenum	*hale* traho	*made* factus
main magnus	*lay'n* jacui	*pain* dolor
mane juba	*lane* viculus	*pane* quadra
plain manifestus	*spaid* castratus	*tail* cauda
plane lævigo	*spade* ligo	*tale* fabula."

Here I interpret a brevis = (æ), a longa = (ææ), *a* exilis = (ee), thus (bær, bæærdzh, beer), and in the last list I read (been beeən, meen meeən, pleen pleeən) or (been be'n), etc.

1688. Miege says: Dans la langue Anglaise cette voyelle A s'appelle et se prononce *ai*. Lors qu'elle est jointe avec d'autres Lettres, elle retient ce même Son dans la plupart des Mots; mais il se prononce tantôt long, tantôt bref. L'*a* se prononce en *ai* long generalement lorsqu'il est suivi immediatement d'une consonne, et d'une *e* final. Exemple *fare*, *tare*, *care*, *grace*, *fable*, qui se prononcent ainsi, *faire*, *taire*, *caire*, *graice*, *faible* . . . . . D'ailleurs, *a* se prononce en *ai* bref ou en *e* ouvert, lorsqu'il se trouve entre deux Consonnes, au milieu des Monosyllabes; comme *hat*, *cap*, *mad*. Mais il approche du Son de nôtre *a*, à la fin des Noms en *al*, *ar*, & *ard* qui ont plus d'une syllabe. Exemple *general*, *special*, *animal*, *Grammar*, *altar*, *singular*, *particular*; *mustard*, *custard*, *bastard*, *vizard*, & autres semblables. Excepté *regard*, qui se prononce *regaird*; *award* & *reward* où il sonne comme en Français . . . . . Dans le mot de *Jane* l'*a* se prononce on *e* masculin, *Dgéne*."

To understand this we must remember that English *hat*, *cap*, *mad* were never, and are not now, called (het, kep, med) but that Frenchmen, and even Germans, do not distinguish them from these sounds. Indeed the true sounds (hæt, kæp, mæd) only differ from the former by the widening of the pharyngal aperture. My own pronunciation of (æ) has been constantly misunderstood, and considered as (e) or (ɛ). As to the long sound (ææ) it is now so little known in the East of England and on the continent, that it would be invariably taken for (ee) or (ee). When then Miège distinguishes *Jane* = Dgéne (Dzheen) from *grace* = graice (grees, grees), we may feel pretty sure that, since in modern English (grees) is as difficult to English organs as (grææs) would be to

French organs, the words containing *a* to which he assigns *ai* long and short, were really pronounced with (ææ, æ).

As to those words in which he considered the *a* to be pronounced as in French, we know they had the sound (ɑɑ) and not (aa) and we also know that at present most Frenchmen pronounce our (ɑɑ) as (aa) or (*aa*), neglecting the labial effect. The exception *regard*, was probably (re*g*ærd·), with the palatal (*g*) which is still so prevalent in this word, and which may have caused the pure sound of (ææ) to be preserved. Whether the sound of (aa) occurred in *mustard*, *custard*, etc., we cannot tell. At any rate, this notice is not sufficient to establish the fact.

1701. JONES's book is so curiously arranged that it is difficult to determine the sound of *a* long from it except by inference. It is certain that at this time *ai* was sounded (ee) or (*ee*), probably the former. When Jones therefore gives a list of words in which *ai* has the sound of *a*, but may be sounded as *ai*, he certainly distinguishes the two sounds. That is although in some words *ai* was by some people sounded as *a*, this was not universal or considered best, even in those words. They are *Abigail*, *aid*, *bargain*, *captain*, *certain*, *chair*, *complaisant*, *fair*, *glair*, *hair*, *laid*, *maid*, *pain*, *pair*, *plaister*, *stairs*, etc., (32 examples are given) of which *plaister* is now generally pronounced (plaas·tɪ). Then he adds this note:

"The capacity of being sounded *ai* distinguishes them from such as are written with an *a*; because these cannot be sounded *ai*, as *are*, *chare*, *fare*, *glare*, *hare*, *lade*, *made*, *pane*, *pare*, *stares*, etc."

Again, the question, "when is the sound of *ai* written *a*?" is not asked, and the answer to the question, "when is the sound of *e* written *a*?" is only answered by the cases of unaccented *-ar* as *altar*, *beggar*, *emissary*, *bastard*, etc. As then Jones could not have said (ee) or (aa), I conclude that he said (ææ), and this agrees with the fact that Jones only recognizes two sounds of *a* as in *an*, *as*, *at*, and as in *all*, *ball*, so that his sound of *a* long, when evidently not (ɑɑ), should be the long sound of his *a* in *at* which was certainly (æ).

From all these considerations I conclude that

> *a* short was (æ) very early in the XVII th century, and that it has retained that sound to this day, except in the provinces, and also that *a* long was generally (ææ) from at least the middle of the XVII th century to its close, although about the close it began to degenerate into (ee) in many words. It is possible, however, that the sound of (aa) may have remained unrecognized before *r* when

not followed by a vowel, and even in several of those words, as *bath*, *ask*, *grant*, etc., because it may still be so heard in the XIX th century.

Rhymes at the latter end of the XVI th and during the XVII th centuries are not of much use in determining sound, unless they are frequent usual normal rhymes. Thus from Shakspere's rhymes in—

Venus and Adonis v. 47, broken open, 134 voice juice, 419 young strong, 592 neck back, 773 nurse worse; and in *Lucrece* v. 13 beauties duties, 62 fight white, 72 field killed, 78 tongue wrong, 113 hither weather, 303 ward regard heard, 408 blue knew, 554 dally folly, *Sonnet* 20 created defeated; *Lover's Complaint* 302 matter water; *Passionate Pilgrim* 308 talk halt,

nothing could be inferred. But when on looking through the whole of his poems (exclusive of his plays) I find only the following examples of long *a* rhyming to *ai*, *Venus* v. 271 mane again, 529 gait late, *Lucrece* v. 6, waist chaste, *Sonnet* 128 state gait, of which *gait* and *waist* are only modern forms for *gate waste*,[1] so that there is only *one* real example left (mane again), we may safely conclude that Shakspere pronounced the sounds differently, that is, as I believe (aa, ai). When in the XVII th century, *a* long and *ai* altered, as I think, to (ææ, æi) and in the latter part of the century *ai* became (eei) or (ee), we may well expect to find these rhymes more abundant. In Milton's rhymed poems I find only—

Lycidas care hair, raise blaze praize, *L'Allegro* maid shade, fail ale, cares airs, *Il penseroso* cares airs, state gait, fail pale, *Arcades* blaze, praise, *Sonnets* 8 spare air bare, 15 praise amaze raise displays, 19 state wait, 20 air spare, *Nativity*, near the end, pale jail, *Fair Infant* air care, *Solemn Music* made sway'd, *Anno Ætatis* xix (1627) aid made, *Psalm* 2 made sway'd, 4 spare prayer, 80 declare prayer, laid made, 83 said invade, strays blaze, 88 prayer are.

These cannot be considered numerous in such a large collection of verses. But Milton's contemporary Waller has, in some 130 pages of his works which I have examined, 21

[1] In *Merry Wives*, act i., sc. 3. l. 41 (Globe edn.) according to the old quarto of 1619, supposed to be the first sketch, we have the following orthography of *waist*: "*Fal.* Well my honest lads, Ile tell you what I am about. *Pis.* Two yards and more. *Fal.* No gibes now *Pistoll*; indeed I am two yards in the *waste*, but now I am about no *waste*: briefly, I am about thrift you rogues you." In the quarto of 1630 the two words are *wast*, *waste*. The Promptorium has "*waste* of a mannys myddyl," and Palsgrave "*wast* a myddle;" the word is not in Levins in this sense. In the same 4to. of 1630, act 1, sc. 4, l. 31 (Globe edn.) and act 3, sc. 3, l. 68, we have first "I should remember him, do's hee not hold vp his head (as it were?) and strut in his *gate?*" and secondly "the firme fixture of thy foote, would give an excellent motion to thy *gate* in a semicircled farthingale." I do not find the word in this sense in Promptorium, Palsgrave, or Levins.

cases of a similar kind. Dryden has 27 instances in his Fable of Palamon and Arcite alone, which belonged to the close of the XVII th century.

Now (æə) and (ee) are not very unlike, and before (ɹ) it is difficult to distinguish them, as *care*, *air* (kæəɹ, eeɹ), especially if the (ee) be deepened into (EE) as is sometimes done.[1] Hence we must not be surprised that poets to whom, as Byron confesses

"sometimes
Monarchs are less imperious than rhymes,"

should take the liberty of considering these sounds as identical. If they had been (ææ, æəi) they would have passed for rhymes, just as few of those who now insert an (i) after (ee) as in (weeit, streeit) *wait*, *straight*, are even aware of the fact, much less would feel that the rhyme were injured, if others said (steet, greet) or even (steet, greet) for *state*, *great*. The German habit of rhyming (œ, e) and (y, i) although justified by the pronunciation of the unlettered, is yet admitted by the best poets. In this case the vowels differ by the important distinction of labialisation, whereas (EE, æə) as they may have been sounded, differ only by the effect of widening, which is constantly disregarded.

A — XVIII TH CENTURY.

1704. The EXPERT ORTHOGRAPHIST talks of the "short and long sound common to all the vowels in *rat* & *rate*." This ought to mean that these words were (ræt, ræət), but with a person so destitute of real phonetic feeling, (ræt, reet) might have been thought to have a "common sound." His expression also might not have meant that the long sound and the short sound were the same. The following passage is noteworthy.

"Take special notice that the Dipthong *ai* and the Vowel *a* are very apt to be mistaken," *i.e.*, confused one for the other, "the Londoners, affecting (as they think) a finer pronunciation, would quite lose the sound of the proper diphthong *ai*, as too broad and clownish for their fine smooth Tongues; but the honest Countryman, not to say our Universities will (by no means) part with authentick Custom, time out of mind, according to its natural sound; however, to reconcile this difference, you must be sure to keep close to the

[1] The story that King James I., wishing to bestow the bishopric of either Bath or Wells on a west country divine, asked him which he would have, and on being told Bath (Bæəth), replied "Baith (beeth) say ye, then baith ye sall hae," and united the bishopries, although it labours under the historical difficulty of uniting the sees 500 years after their union, serves to shew the near coincidence of the sounds.

orthography, which that you may the better do; always remember that the single *a* must end no English word; but if *they* will speak *fine*, yet be sure that *you* write true, by adding *y*, not *da* but *day*. Observe that tho' many times this Diphthong *ai* is parted in proper names, as *Ja-ir*, *La-ish*, *Sepharra-im* &c. yet *i* is usually swallowed up, in the sound of the forgoing *a*, especially when the word ends in *ah* as *Benai-ah*, *Serai-ah* &c. the *i* is not sounded."

This feeble attempt to keep long *a* and *ai* apart seems to be dictated by theoretical grounds. He had previously said there were 15 sounds: "five short and five long sounds belonging to the vowels, besides five such proper diphthongs as make five other distinct sounds, differing from the foregoing ten sounds." And he assigns as his first reason for admitting none other but *ai*, *au*, *oi*, *oo*, and *ou* to be *proper* diphthongs, that "none but these five have such a plain distinct sound, different from the five vowels." Hence it was important for him to distinguish long *a* and *ai*, though in pronunciation, the utmost difference which I can suppose him, with his palatal tendencies, to have made, is to have called long *a* (ee) and *ai* (eei). The first conclusion is strengthened by his identifying his long *a* with the vowel in *there*, *were*, *where*, which was certainly (ee).

1710. Dyche distinctly says *ai*, *ay* = *a* in *care*, and as Cooper in 1685 had given the pairs *sell sail*, *sent saint*, *tell tail*, *tent taint*, there ought to be no doubt that at this time the change of the sound of long *a* from (aa) to (ee) was fully established, notwithstanding that Jones only nine years before would not allow that long *a* was pronounced as *ai*. At the same date as Dyche, the anonymous instructor of the Palatines writes the words *I make*, *I have*, *care* in German letters *ei mähk*, *ei hähf*, *kähr* which should mean (əi meek, əi heef, keer), but would have been written even if the real sound had been (ææ). Here *have* is made to have long *a*, as it used to have; it is now (næv) and the pronunciation, (heev), indicated by the German letters is very doubtful.

1766. Buchanan always uses *ai* to represent the long sound of *a*.

1768. Franklin simply gives *men*, *lend*, *name*, *lane* as examples of the same sound, and this is nearly the modern practise.

This change of (a) into (e) has also occurred in French. Chevallet[1] says: "Le changement de *a* en *é* est fréquent dans le langage du peuple de Paris: .... dès le commencement

[1] Origine et formation de la langue Française. Paris, 1853-7, vol. i., part 3, p. 59.

du xve siècle Geoffroi Tory observe chez les dames de Paris la tendance que je viens de signaler. . . . 'Les dames de Paris au lieu de *a* prononcent *e* bien souvent, quant elles disent: 'Mon *mery* est à la porte de *Peris* où il se faict *peier*' . . . telle maniere de parler vient d'accoustement de jeunesse;' Geoffroi Tory, Champfleury, fo. xxxiii, V^1." The same writer quotes (vol. i, part 2, p. 55) from various imitators of popular pronunciation, érière, trémontane, terrir, douainier, errhes, ouète, plaine, clérinette, épaigneul, for arrière, tramontane, tarir, douanier, arrhes, ouate, plane, clarinette, épagneul.

1780. SHERIDAN seems altogether to ignore the sound of (aa) in English, allowing only (ææ) to the English *a* in *far*, *bar*, *psalm*, *balm*. Being an Irishman who had devoted his attention for years to English pronunciation, while his frequent residences in Ireland kept his ear alive to the Irish pronunciations of English then current in educated society, his remarks upon Irish pronunciation are of considerable importance. They serve to shew generally that the Irish peculiarities arose partly from the persistence of XVII th century pronunciations, and partly from an endeavour to correct that pronunciation by the then current English usage, which, learned rather by rule than custom, was carried to an excess. There will be frequent occasion to notice this as we proceed. With respect to *a*, long *a* is frequently (ææ) in Irish where it is (ee) in English, and sometimes (ææ) in Irish against (æ) in English. He instances *patron*, *matron*, *rather*, which in England were (pee·trən, mee·trən, rædh·ɹ) and in Ireland (pæt·rən, mæt·rən, ræædh·ɹ). These were evidently the older, XVII th century sounds, which have again become current in England, where even the older (raa·dhɹ) is common. The pronunciation (rædh·ɹ), may be heard from Americans, among whom there is also a great tendency towards the pronunciation of the earlier settlers, 1628. Thus the true sound (HÆrt) may be heard in America, which is very rare in England.

As a general rule the words in *-alm*, which Sheridan pronounced (-ææm), were according to him, called (-AAm) in Ireland, as (bAAm, sAAm, kwAAm, kAAm, kAAf) for *balm*, *psalm*, *qualm*, *calm*, *calf*, and this was a distinct XVII th century sound. In the following words, which he cites, there is sometimes an "overcorrection" of the kind above alluded to: *gape*, *gather*, *catch*, *quash*, *clamour*, *wrath*, *wroth*, *farewell*, *squadron*, were then pronounced in England (gææp, gædh·ər, kætsh, kwæsh, klæm·ər, rAAth, rAth, fær·wel, skwAd·rən) and in Ireland (geep, gedh·ər, kEtsh, kwAsh, klææ·mər,

rææth, ræth, feer·wel, skwææ·drən). The received usage of the XIX th century varies between the two, and may be taken as (gēēp, gædh·ɹ, kætsh, kwash, klæm·ɹ, raath, rɑɑth, feɑ·wel·, skwɑd·rən.)

The recognized pronunciation in the XVIII th century seems then to have been, short *a* = (æ) in all cases, long *a* generally = (ee), the exact quality (*ee*, ee, EE) being doubtful, and in those cases in which (aa) is now frequently heard, as in *dart, father*, etc., long *a* was = (ææ), as it always was in the XVII th century.

E, EE, EA — XVI TH CENTURY.

1530. PALSGRAVE says: "*E* in the frenche tong hath thre dyverse sowndes, for somtyme they sownde hym lyke as we do in our tonge in these words, *a beere, a beest a peere, a beene* and suche lyke .... The sowndyng of *e*, whiche is most generally kepte with them, is suche as we gyve to *e* in our tong in these wordes aboue rehersed, that is to say, lyke as the Italianes sounde *e*, or they with vs that pronounce the latine tonge aright: so that *e* in frenche hath neuer suche a sownde as we vse to gyue hym in these wordes, *a bee* suche as maketh honny, *a beere* to lay a deed corps on, *a peere* a make or felowe, and as we sounde dyuers of our pronownes endynge in *e*, as *we, me, the, he, she*, and suche lyke, for suche a kynde of soundynge both in frenche and latine, is allmoste the ryght pronunciation of *i*, as shall here after appere."

Here are laid down two sounds of English *e* long, as (ee) in *bear, beast, pear, bean*, and as (ii) in *bee, bier, peer; we, me, thee, he, she*, but the spelling of the two sets of words is not distinguished. We shall see that in the XIV th century all these words were pronounced with (ee) and that they were spelled indifferently with *e* or *ee*, sometimes with *ie*, and rarely, if ever, with *ea*. In Palsgrave's text *ea* is very rare, but in his vocabularies he uses it freely. The following words taken from his vocabulary of substantives will illustrate his confused use of *e, ee, ea*. To shew a further advanced state of spelling I add Levins's orthography 1570 of the same words preceded by two dots, after Palsgrave's explanations.

"*Bee* a flye .. bee, *beche* tree .. bech, *beed* of stone or wode .. bead, *beane* corne .. beane, *befe* meate .. beefe, *beakyn* fey au guet .. beacon, *beame* of an house .. beame, *beare* a he beest .. beare, *beere* for deed men .. beare, *beest* .. beast, *beatyng* .. beate, *dede* acte .. deede, *deed* body .. dead, *deane* of a church, *defnesse* lacke of heryng .. deafe, *demyng* judgying .. deeme, *derenesse* chierté .. deare, *derlyng* a man *mignon* .. darling, *eare* of a man or beeste .. eare, *ease* rest .. ease, *easter* a hye feest .. easter feast, *feanyng* faincte .. fain, *feate* of arms

.. feate, *fedyng* place .. feede, *felyng* .. feele, *fearyng* .. fear, *fesant* coke *faisant* .. fesant, *feest* .. feast, *fether* plume .. fether, *gere* clothing .. geare, *geet* a blake stone, *heed* pate or nob .. head, *hepe* of money .. heape, *heale* of body .. heale, *heele* of the fote .. heele, *helthe* .. healthy, *heape* a great quantite .. heape, *heer* of the heed *cheuel* .. heyry, *herce*, a deed body .. herse, *heerryng* a fysshe .. herring, *hearyng* the place whereby we here *orye* .. heare, *hert* of any beest *ereur* .. heartie, *herthe* of a chymney .. herth, *heate* .. heate, *heryn* ciel .. heaven, *ielousy* .. jelouse, *keppyng* obseruation .. keepe, *leche* a surgion .. leche, *leed* a metall .. leade, *lees* pasture, *leafe* of a tree .. leafe, *lefenesse* chereté .. liefer, *leage* two mile .. league, *leaning to* .. leane, *leke* an herbe .. leeke, *lenenesse* maigreté .. leane, *lepe* or start *sarlt* .. leape, *leaue* lycence .. leave, *leven* for bredde .. leven, *leauer* to lyfte with .. lever, *meale* of meate .. meale, *meane* of a songe *moyen* .. meane, *measure* of two gallons .. measure, *mede* drinke, *mede* rewarde .. meede, *medowe* felde .. medowe, *mekenesse* humilité .. meeke, *nede* besoing .. neede, *nedyll* to sowe with .. needil, *neare* of a beest *roignon*, *nesyng* with the nose *esternuement* .. sneeze, *neates* ledder *cordorayn*, *peace* .. peace, *pece* or parte of a thyng .. pece, *peache* a frute .. peache, *pevocke* a byrde, *peake* of a ladyes mournyng heede .. peake, *peele* of belles, *pele* for an ovyn .. peale, *peerle* a stone .. pearle, *pese* frute *poys* .. pease, *pescodde*, *quene* lady .. queene, *queane* garse .. queane, *realme* roiaulme, *rede* to playe or pype with .. rede, *reed* herryng .. redde, *reed breest* a byrde .. brest, *reednesse* rovgevr, *redy* money .. reddy, *rele* for yarne .. reele, *reherser* .. reherse, *release* forgyvenesse, *reame* of paper .. reame, *rere banket* ralias, *rerewarde* of men *arriere garde* .. rerewarde, *resonableness* .. reasonable, *reason* .. reason, *season* tyme .. season, *see* water *mer* .. sea, *seeole* charbon de terre, *sede* of herbes .. seede, *sege* before a castell .. sege, *sekenesse* maladie .. sicknesse, seeke, *sekyng* or *serchyng* .. seeke, *seale* a fysshe .. seale, *seame* of sowyng .. seame, *seme* for to frye with *seyn de povreeau* [saindoux], *semelynesse* .. semely, *see breame* a fysshe, *serche* enquyre .. searche, *seate* a place .. seate, *teching* lerning .. teache, *tediousnesse* .. tedious, *teele* a byrde *plignon* .. teale, *tele* a byrde *plinget* .. teale, *teme* of a plough or oxen .. teame, *teere* of wepyng .. teare, *tete*, pappe or dugge, a womans brest .. teate, *tethe* dens .. teethe, *veele* flesshe .. veale, *wede* clothyng .. weede, *weke* for candels .. weak, *weykenesse* flebesse .. wayk, *weke* a senyght .. weeke, *welthe* .. welth, *wepyng* pleur .. weepe, *were* to take fysshe, *werynesse* or grefe .. wearie, *wesant* the pype .. weysand, *wesyll* a beest .. wesyll, *weryng* frame .. weave, *whele* of a carte .. wheele, *whete* corne .. wheate, *yere* xii monethes .. yeare, *yest* or barme for ale, *zele* love or frenshyp .. zeele, *Zealande* a countrey.

This long list will shew that in Palsgrave's time no definite rule had been laid down for the spelling of these words, and hence the reader could not discriminate the sounds. It was not till after the middle of the XVI th century that anything like a rule appeared, and then *ee* was used for (ii), and *ea* for (ee). But Levins shews that the rule was by no means consistently

applied so early as 1570. And even at a later period *ea* was often used for (e) the short vowel, and simple *e* often represented (ee) and sometimes perhaps, but not often, (ii). We often find *hee*, *mee* written like *thee* to give the full sound of (ii) and prevent the pronunciation (ee), which was given to *the*. The introduction of the difference *ee*, *ea* was therefore a phonetic device, intended to assist the reader. Great difficulty again arose as many words in *ea* came to be pronounced (ii) without any change being made in the spelling, and we find orthoepists obliged to give long lists of words with *ea* as (ee), as (e) and as (ii). If it had only been recognized that *ea* was a modern innovation, introduced with a phonetic purpose,[1] writers and printers might not have hesitated to replace *ea* by *e*, *ee* in the two last cases. It is now perhaps too late to write *feest*, *beest*, *reep*, *beem*, etc., but there is no reason but habit against this spelling, and abundance of historical authority in its favour.

Palsgrave in saying that *e* was sounded as in Italian, takes no notice either in French or Italian of the double sound (*e*, E) into which (e) splits, although Meigret, 1550, finds it necessary to use two distinct vowel signs for the two sounds. In modern English we distinguish *ail*, *air*, = (e*e*l, ee*a*), but in some parts in the north of England I find this distinction unknown, and (ee) alone pronounced. Hence I suspect that the older English sounds were (ee, e). The short sound (e) has remained, apparently unchanged, from the earliest English times to the present day.

1547. Salesbury gives the two sounds (ee, ii) and also notices the mute or unpronounced *e*. He scarcely ever uses *ee* or *ea*. As examples of (ee, e) he gives in his Welsh pronunciation A WERE, WREKE, BREKE, WRESTE = a weir, wreak, break, wrest, and calls attention to the difference of meaning in BERE, PERE, HELE, MELE according as they are pronounced with (ii) = bier, peer, heel, meel (to meddle?), or with (ee) = bear, pear, heal, meal. Omitting mute *e* and *ea*, the following are all the words containing *e*, of which he gives the sounds; the old spelling is in small capitals, and the Welsh transcription in italics :—

BREDE *bred* (bred) panis, LADDRE *lad-dr* (lad·er), EUERMORE *efermwor* (ev·ermoor) in aeternum, THONDRE *thwndr* (thund·er), WONDRE *wndr* (und·er = wund·er), CHESE *tsis* (tshiiz) caseus, FRENDES *frinds*

[1] This was so little suspected that we find Wallis imagining that *ea* was properly pronounced as (e·a) or (ee') "per *é* masculinum, adjuncto etiam si libet exilis *á* sono raptissimo pronunciato," and when he says it was then "nunc dierum" pronounced (ee) he adds "sono ipsius *a* penitus suppresso," as if it ever had been sounded since the XIIIth century, except in provincial dialects.

(friindz) amici, TREES *trivs* (trii·iz) *arbores*, SUFFRE *sufffre* (suf·er) sinere, GELDING *gelding* (geld·iq), GYLBERT *Gilbert* (Gil·bert), GYNGER *tsintsir* (dzhin·dzher) zinziber, BEGGYNGE *begging* (beg·iq), EGGE *eg* (eg) ovum, JESV *tsiesuw* (Dzhee·zyy), QVENE *kwin* (kwiin) regina, RENT *rent* (rent), TRESVRE *tresuwr* (trez·yyr) thesaurus, VELVET *velfet* (vel·vet) holosericum, VERTVE *vertuw* (ver·tyy), THE *dde* (the), together with the Latin EGO *egu* (eg·u), DEI *deei* (dee·i).

Of these the words *chese, frendes, quene* have the sound of (ii). It should be observed that Bullokar also gives (friindz), and so does Wallis, and so late as 1701 Jones admits this sound, thus making the new spelling *ie* indicate (ii) in "Algier, bier, canonier, friend, fusilier, grenadier, Tangier," and harmonizing *friend, fiend,* both formerly (freend, feend), but then (friind, fiind), and now (frend, fiind).

As respects *ea* Salesbury agrees with others in giving SEA *see* (see) mare, YEA *ie* (Jee), SEASON *seesyn* (seez·in) tempestas vel occasio, but he is peculiar in EASE *ies* (Jeez) otium, LEAVE *lief* (Ljeev) licentia, since Hart gives *easy* (ee·zi), and Gill writes *leave* (leev). I can find no authority for the insertion of *i* = (J), and am inclined suspect a misprint, because the four words EASE, LEAVE, SEA, YEA are given together and transcribed *ies, lief, see, ie,* so that the last *ie* may have occasioned the two former, and he introduces them by saying: "In certain words they place A sometimes, as we should consider it, rather carelessly according to our custom, out of its own power and rather metamorphosed into the vowel *e*," this should merely imply that *ea* was written for *ee,* meaning prolonged *e* (ee), and not that in two of the words *e* was also altered into the Welsh *i,* meaning English *y*. If then we read *ees, leef* for *ies, lief,* in Salesbury's Welch transcription, we shall reconcile it with his observation and with the usages of other orthoepists.

1568. SMITH, agreeing generally with Salesbury, calling the English *e* "*e Latina*," pronounces *yet, yes* (Jit, Jis), but gives also the pronunciation (Jet, Jes), though by introducing it with an "alii vocant," he clearly prefers the former.

1569. HART says, describing this vowel: "The seconde with somewhat more closing the mouth," than for *a*, "thrusting softlye the inner part of the tongue to the inner and vpper great téeth, (or gummes for want of teeth) and is marked *e*." He writes (dheez) for *these*, and (mii·terz, Hier) for *metres, here*. In 1580, Bullokar writes both (Heer) and (Hiir) for *here*,[1] and has also (siil·dum) for *seldom*.

[1] Henry IV., part 1, act i., sc. 2, l. 65, Quarto 1613): "were it not heere apparant that thou art heire apparant," ought to have been pronounced (wer *it*

1621. Gill says, "E, breuis est hac formâ (e), vt in (net) rete: et longa sic, (ee), vt in (neet) NEATE. i. nitidus adiectiuum: Substantiuum NEATE significat omne genus bouum."

The pronunciation in the XVI th century is therefore tolerably certain. All words now spelled with *ee* had (ii), a few final *e* as *he, me, she, we,* had also (ii), almost every word now written with *ea,* or words written with *ea* in the latter part of the century had (ee) though some had (e). All simple *e* long were (ee). Exceptions were *here* (HIir) occasionally, *hear, year* (HIir, JIir) in Bullokar, *appear* is marked (apiir·) in Butler 1633, who also distinguishes (teer) lacerare, (tiir) lacryma, and wishes *dear, weary, hear* to be called (deer, wee·ri, HEer) instead of (diir, wii·ri, HIir) which he therefore implies to have been the more usual pronunciation.

E, EE, EA.—XVII TH CENTURY.

It would be waste of time to establish that through the XVII th century and down to our own times short *e* has remained (e) and *ee* has been (ii). The difficulty only turns upon the pronunciation of long *e* and of *ea.*

1653. WALLIS says: "*e* profertur sono acuto claroque ut Gallorum *é* masculinum," except before *r* as will be hereafter considered; "*ea* effertur nunc dierum ut *é* longum: sono ipsius *a* penitus suppresso, et sono literæ *e* producto. Nempe illud solum præstat *a* ut syllaba reputetur longa. Ita *met* obviam factus, *meat* victus, *set* sisto, sedere facio, *seat* sella, etc., non sono differunt nisi quod vocalis illic correpta, hic producta intelligatur."

He however gives the exceptions *near, dear, hear* = (niir, diir, HIir). Wilkins has (ii·vil) for *evil,*[1] but he writes *Jesus* as (Dzhee·səs), where the first (s) is probably a mere oversight for (z).

1668. PRICE says: "E soundes like, ee, (ii, i) in *be, even, evening, England, English, he, here, me, she, we, ye,*" probably the complete list at that time. He also says: "*ea* soundes e, d-r-a-w-n out long as lead, weak." And then subjoins the following list:—

Appeal, appease. Bean, bear, beast, beat, beneath, breach, break,

not HEer apar·ent, dhat dhou art HAir apar·ent), but for the sake of the joke we may suppose Falstaff to have pronounced in Hart's way, and called *heir* (HEer), a pronunciation certainly well known in Shakspere's time, although censured by Gill so late as 1621. Again, in the same play, act ii., sc. 4, l. 264: "If reasons were as plenty as blackeberries," was (if reez·nz wer az plen·ti az blak·beriz), and the joke consisted in alluding to *raisins,* pronounced in the usual but unrecognized manner (reez·nz), a pronunciation given by Price 1668 as the correct sound, and, as we see by Hart, well known at the time.

[1] The ags. forms *yfel, eofel,* point to the sounds (yy·vel, ee·vel), at a very early period, and consequently to a concurrent (ii·vl, ee·vl) in old English. The contracted form *ill* shews that the (ii) sound had the preference.

to break. Cease, cheat, clean, cleave, compleat, conceal, congeal. Deal, decrease, defeat, displease, dream. Eager, ean, ear, earn, easie, Easter, endeavour, estreat, eat, eaves. Feature, forswear. Glean. Heal, heap. Jealousie. Meal, mean. Reach, reveal. To sheath, speak, spear, spread, squeak, seam, seamstress, streak, surcease, swear. Teach, teazils, treatise. Weave, weaver. Zeal." Of these the following are still either (ee, *ee*) or (e), *bear, break, earn, endeavour, forswear, jealousie, spread, swear*, while the rest have become (ii). "*Ea* sounds short (e) in head, dead, ready. Bedstead, beard. Earl. Feather. Heaven. Measure. Pearl, pleasure. Search, stead, sweat. Thread, threaten, treasurie, treasure. Wealth, weary, weather," of which only *beard, weary* have now changed.

John Kemble used to be laughed at for speaking of his *bird*, meaning *beard*; we have here old authority for the sound.[1] Price makes *ea* sound as *a* and there is considerable probability that he meant (æ) and neither (a) nor (aa), in *heard, heart, hearken, searge*. Jones said both *hard* and *herd* for *heard* (p. 86); *serge*, is borne out by the modern (klaaɹk, saaɹdzhɐnt) for *clerk, sergeant*. The only words in which Price admits *ea* to sound as *ee* (ii) are *dear, appear*; *blear-eyed, chear, clear, hear, near, read, year*, which short list also embraces all Wallis's exceptions.

1685. COOPER has not named any instances in which *e* long is (ii), but he enters fully into *ea*.

First *ea* = (e) in *already, behead, bread, breadth, breakfast, breath, cleanse, deadly, dearth, death, dread, earth, endeavour, feather, head-y, health, heaven, heavy, leather, leaven, leaver*[lever] *leaveret* [leveret], *pageant, reachles* [reckless], *ready, realm, spread, stealth, threaten, treachery, tread, wealth*. Here *endeavour* has (e) instead of (ee) as in Price; *breakfast* is shortened as at present, and *lever* has now become (ii).

Second *ea* = (*ee*), of which more presently. This is a long list beginning with *appeal, appease, beacon*, etc. Most of the words now have (ii), except *break, forswear, great, sweat, wear*. The words *ean* = yean, enitor, *ears* = eaves, subgrunda, *leam* lampas, *lease* formula locationis, deserve note.

Third *ea* = (EE), of which more presently. With the single exception of *scream* clamo, all the words have the combination *ear*, as *bear, beard, earl, early, earn, earnest, learn, rehearse, searce* cribrum, *search, shear, potsheard, swear, tear, wear*.

[1] Sheridan, 1780, giving a list of Irishisms, notes (biird) as the Irish and (bɛɹd) as the English pronunciation of *heard*. Most probably (biird) was at that time one of the mistakes made by Irishmen, who, wishing to imitate the English (ii) pronunciation of *ea*, carried it too far, as Sheridan points out in some other cases, (p. 92).

Fourth *ea* = a, which we have identified with (æ), (p. 71), in *heartles, hearten, hearth.*

Fifth *ea* = (ii) in *arrear, besmear, blear-ey'd, dear, ear-wig, fear, gear, hear, near, sear, shears, spear, tear* lacryma, *weary,* whereas Price speaks *weary* with (e). Here *arrear, ear-wig, fear, gear, sear, shears, spear, tear* s., *weary,* are in addition to Price's list, which also contains words not here found. It is clear that the (ii) sound was beginning to assert its claims to the domain which it has since almost entirely conquered, and from which the orthography *ea* was intended to drive it, so powerless is the artificial barrier of spelling, to arrest the natural flow of speech.

Cooper's vowel system is peculiar, and is clearly founded upon a careful analysis of his own pronunciation. His list of exact pairs of long and short vowel sounds is as follows:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
can	ken	will	folly	full	up	meet	foot
cast	cane	weal	fall	foale	—	need	fool.

Now there can be little doubt that the series of short vowels in the upper line was meant for (æ, e, *i*, ʌ, *u*, ɔ, i, u), although (ɛ, ɜ), may have been used for (e, ɔ). Hence the long vowels should be (ææ, ee, *ii*, ʌʌ, *uu*, —, ii, uu). The second may of course have been (ɛɛ), and the third may have been (*ee*) rather than (*ii*). The two sounds are closely enough allied for even a careful analyzer to confuse. In order to bring a Frenchman to the sound of (*i*) it is necessary to exaggerate the sound into (*e*). Persons endeavouring to prolong (*i*) are very apt to fall into (*ee*). Other orthoepists seem to have confused Cooper's second long vowel with (ææ) when it was spelt *a* as in *cane*, and with (ee) in other cases. It is to be remarked also that Cooper finds his second long vowel expressed by *ea* almost only before *r*. This rather points to (ææ, ɛɛ, *ee*) as his first three vowels, which others reduced to two (ææ, ee). There is no evidence, beyond Cooper, for (*ii*) occurring long, or (*e*) short, in English. The inference is that Cooper had either a peculiar pronunciation, or that vowel sounds appeared to him exact pairs, which do not so appear to us. He seems not to have been satisfied with the pair (ii, *i*), which is even now commonly adopted, and hence he tried to find (ii, i) in the English (need, meet), although he owns that in this case "minima datur differentia inter correptionem et productionem," and indeed the difference is rather due to the consonants than to the vowels, the sonant (d) having a sound of its own in addition to the glide from (ii). Again he strove to find a proper long vowel to

(*i*), and, observing a difference then between w*ea*l and w*ea*r, corresponding to the modern difference between *ai*l and *ai*r (*ee*l, eeɹ), he assumed that the finer sound was the real long of (*i*), and thus paired (*ee*, *i*). Acting upon this conclusion I shall transcribe Cooper's vowels accordingly. He seems, precisely in the same way, to have heard the difference (uu, *u*) and refusing to consider them as pairs, endeavoured to hear (u) in f*oo*t as distinct from f*oo*l and f*u*ll, and then, not finding the real long sound of his (*u*), took (*oo*) in f*oa*l as its nearest representative. This would reduce his vowel scale to the following, which I shall adopt in future citations.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
kæn	kɛn	w*i*l	fʌl*i*	f*u*l	əp	mit	fut
kææst	kɛɛn	w*ee*l	fʌʌl	f*oo*l	—	niid	fuul

The distinction between the words in *ea* which Cooper pronounces (*ee*), and those in *ea* which he pronounces (ee), may have been a step in the direction of change from (ee) to (ii) which may have been commencing at his time in the long list of words to which he assigns (*ee*), although it was not accomplished till much later.

Holder, 1669, does not make these distinctions, contenting himself with *fate fat*, *seal sell*, *eel ill* (fææt fæt, seel sel, iil *i*l), but admits that some vowel may lie between (æ) and (ee). In comparing Cooper with his contemporaries we must then consider his (*ee*, ee) as represented by their single (ee).

1688. Miege after laying down the rule that *e* long is (*ee*), the French *é aigu*, and *e* short is (e), the French *è ouvert*, excepts the following which have the sound of (ii, i), *be*, *he*, *she*, *me*, *we*, "qui s'écrivaient autrefois avec deux *e*," *yes*, *besom*, *evil*; *eve*, *even*, *evening*, *here*; the termination *-eous*; *employment*, *enquiry*, "qui s'écrivent indifféremment avec un *e* ou avec un *i*," *ten*, *linnen*, *penny*, *hence*, *then*, *thence*, *when*, *whence*, which he transcribes in French letters "tinn lininn, peny, hinnce, denn, dence, hoinn, hoinnce," so that he gives *e* and not *i* in three of the words (by mistake?). This last list is peculiar to this author.

Miege gives long *é masculin*, (*ee*), as the general pronunciation of *ea*, but says that the *a* counts for nothing in the following words, for which *ea* therefore = (e), *beard*, *bread*, *breakfast*, *breath* s., *dealt*, *dearth*, *death*, *Earl*, *early*, *to earn*, *earnest*, *earth*, *feather*, *head*, *health*, *heard*, *hearken*, *hearth*, *heaven*, *heavy*, *leap*, *learn*, *leather*, *leaven*, *leaver*, *meadow*, *pageant*, *peasant*, *pillow-bear*, *potsheard*, *read* "le Prétérit et Participe," *ready*, *realm*, *to rehearce*, *searce*, *search*, *stead*, *stealth*, *threaten*, *treachery*, *tread*, *wealth*, *weather*; of which *beard*,

leap, lever, pillow-beer, have now (ii). It is observable that he gives *hearken* to (e), and also that the vowel in *breakfast* was shortened at so early a period.

Miege makes *ea* = (ii) in these words only, *besmear, blear-eyed, clear, dear, gear, hear, near, shears, spear,* in which we miss some of Price's words, though the list is increased by *besmear, gear, shears, spear.*

"*Bear* un ours et *pear* une poire, se prononce *bair, pair.*" There is a modern American pronunciation, probably (bæəɹ), but generally heard by Englishmen as (baaɹ), which may date from this time, for as Miege evidently means *bear* to have a broader sound that he heard in other words, the real sound *may* have been (bæær). See Cooper's third list as noted above, (p. 82).

1701. JONES says that the sound of *e* (ee) is written *ea* "in all words or syllables, that are, or may be sounded long," except a certain number of words where it is written *e* only, and it is perhaps worth giving these lists as shewing many words in *e, e-e,* now mostly pronounced with (ii), which had all (ee) so lately as the end of the XVII th century, because the fact is little known, and its announcement is generally received with incredulity. Those marked (*) have still (ee) or (e).

1) eke, *e're (ever), *e're (before), mere, rere, the, *there, these, *were, *where; glebe, Medes, mete, nepe, scene, scheme, sphere, Swede, Thebe, Theme.

2) adhere, antheme, austere, blaspheme, *cherub, cohere, complete, concede, *credit, discrete, *felo, female, *ferule, frequent, Hebrew, impede, negro, *nephew, obscene, *pedant, pedee, poeme, serous, sincere, supreme, systeme, *tenet, terrene, *treble, *venew; —*crevice, crewel, menow, *nether, *plevin, *whether.

3) "all Scripture names and proper names from other languages, as *Belus, Jehu, Jesus,* &c."

4) "all that begin with the sound of *ce, de, e, per, pre, re, se.*"

With these we must contrast the words in which *e* had the sounds (ii, *i*);

1) the termination *-eous.*

2) initial *be-* as *become, bedew, before,* &c.

3) the six words, *be, he, me, she, we, ye.*

4) the ten words, *chesel* [chisel], *crete, England, English, here, mere, metre, Peter, saltpetre, Tweede.*

5) the six words, *Evan, Eve, Eveling, even, evening, evil.* To which in another place he adds *devil.*[1]

In the following list *e* is said to be sounded as *a,* which

[1] Jones says that *devil* is "sounded *dill* sometimes." This, and the Scotch *de'il,* are curious in connection with the derivation of *ill* from *evil.*

was most probably short (æ): *Berks, clerk, eleven, Herbert, merchant, mercy, Owen, phrentick, verdict, yellow,* etc.; of which *phrentick* has asserted itself in the orthography *frantic; mercy, yellow,* and sometimes *verdict* are known as vulgarisms; *eleven, Herbert* are now unknown, *merchant* is known as an archaism, and *Berks, clerk* are very common. This list seems to shew that Miege's *service, bear, pear* in which he makes *e* = *ai* French, had the same sound, especially as (saaɹ·vis) is a well-known vulgarism at the present day.

The only words in which Jones allows *ea* to be like *a* (æ) are *heard, heart* "to distinguish them from *hard* (not *soft*), *Hart* (or *Stag*)," but he also gives *heard* the sound of (HERD).

Jones makes *ea* short = (e), in *beard, bread, breadth, breast, breath, cleanse, dead, dealt, dear, dearth, death, dread, earl, earn, earth, head, heard, hearth, lead, leap, meant, meash, pearce, pearl, reach, read, reath, realm, scarce, search, searge, sheard, shread, slead, spread, stead, stealth, sweat, thread, threat, tread, wealth, yearn;—bedstead, bestead, heaven, heavy, leacher, leather, leaven, measure, peasant, pheasant, pleasant, steady, treasure, weapon, weasand, weather;* most of which have preserved their sounds, though some have changed their spelling.

The only words in which Jones allows *ea* to have the sound (ii) are *chear, clear, dear, ear, gear, hear, mear, near, year;—appear, beadle, beaw* (biu) now (boo), *instead, stead, steam, team, yea, yeast.*

Collecting together all the words spelled with *ea* and pronounced with (ii) as given in the preceding lists, we find them limited to the following—all others in *ea* having (ee) or (e).

appear	dear	mear[1]	steam
arrear	ear	near	team
beadle	earwig	read	a tear
besmear	fear	sear[1]	weary
blear-eyed	gear	shears	yea[3]
chear[1]	hear	spear	year
clear	instead[2]	stead[2]	yeast[2]

Those marked (1) are now spelled *cheer, mere, sere*; those marked (2) had often the sound (e) at that time, and perhaps more regularly; (3) the word *yea* is not marked (JII) except by Jones.

This list must be borne in mind in judging of rhymes in the XVIIth century. In Croker's Johnson, ed. 1848, p. 57, it is said respecting Rowe's couplet

> As if misfortune made the throne her *seat,*
> And none could be unhappy but the *great,*

which Dr. Johnson in his Plan of a Dictionary in 1747 had

adduced to shew that *great* had sometimes the sound (griit), that Lord Chesterfield remarked it was "Undoubtedly a bad rhyme, tho' found in a great poet,"—an observation which shewed first that Lord Chesterfield did not know the pronunciation of English when Rowe was young, and secondly that he was so little aware of the habits of great poets (at least if he reckoned Shakspere and Dryden among them) that he looked to their greatness as a guarantee for the perfection of their rhymes. Now Rowe lived from 1673 to 1718. We may therefore expect to gather his pronunciation from Cooper, Miege, and Jones. The first gives (*seet*, *greet*), the rules of the others would imply (seet, greet). The rhyme was therefore perfect. While Pope's couplet, adduced by Johnson to shew the other sound of great,

> For Swift and him despis'd the farce of *state*
> The sober follies of the wise and *great*,

would have been to Rowe a somewhat imperfect rhyme (æe, ee), and one which I have but rarely found when examining the rhymes of this period.

As the point has been so much disputed, the orthoepical accounts have been given at great length, and it will be interesting to add the result of an examination of Dryden's rhymes in his Absalom and Achitophel, Annus Mirabilis, Palamon and Arcite, Wife of Bath, Good Parson, Theodore and Honoria, Religio Laici, Flower and Leaf, Cymon and Iphigenia, with respect to the pronunciation of the long *e* and *ea*. Rejecting those in which both spelling and sound were, as far as is known, identical in the rhyming terminations, the following are the results.

1) Regular rhymes, (ee, ee); ease *with* these seize, sea *with* survey prey weigh key lay way sway, wear despair, reveal frail, leave *with* deceive receive, mean obscene, congeal hail, remain'd gleam'd, there hair, please these, theme dream, bear heir;

2) Nearly regular rhymes, a long with its corresponding short vowel (ee, e); feast *with* breast guest address'd rest, set *with* great retreat, increase less, heat *with* sweat threat, beat threat, conceal *with* tel dispel, appeal rebel *v.*, zeal dwell, please *with* grievances images, yet great, extreme stem, supreme them;

3) Regular rhymes (ii, ii), cheer *with* clear year, years ears, appear *with* year ear tear *s.* steer gear cheer clear, near *with* clear ear, dear here, clear ear, career spear, fear *with* leer cheer near steer tear *s.* ear;

4) Possibly regular rhymes owing to variety of pronunciation, (ii, ii); rear *with* fear appear, to bear *with* hear year tear *s.* hear appear spear, *but also* bear *with* heir hair fair were, *and* were *with* career spear appear; where *with* clear near, there *with* spear appear

disappear clear fear; for we still hear *were, where, there* pronounced (wiiɹ wiiɹ dhiiɹ) as vulgarisms;

5) Rare irregular rhymes (ee, ii) now become regular as (ii, ii); heap sweep, retreat feet, deal wheel, disease degrees (?), severe bier, plead freed, repeat sweet, unclean seen;

6) Faulty rhymes, (e, ii) petitioners years, pensioners fears, steed *with* fled head, feet sweat, field beheld, kneel'd compell'd, unseen men, reed head,—(e, i) contest resist, sense prince, but civil devil, does not belong to this place, for the rhyme was perfect (*i, i*);—(ee, ææ) wear care, tears *v.* spares.

These rhymes, notwithstanding an occasional laxity which Dryden seems to have preferred as a relief,[1] serve to shew the general correctness of the rules laid down by the orthoepists on this point.

E, EE, EA — XVIII TH CENTURY.

1704. The EXPERT ORTHOGRAPHIST dashes at once into the full sounds of the XVIII th century. "Tho' *ee* be reckoned among the Dipthongs," says he, "yet what difference is there in the sound of *meet* to come together, and *mete* to measure, in *proceed* and *intercede*?" Hence making the exceptions that *there, were, where*, "though they have *e* at the end, yet it serveth only to lengthen the foregoing *e* into *a* long," that is (ee), he gives the following 17 monosyllables and 26 polysyllables as having the sound (ii), which may be contrasted with Jones's lists, (p. 85: *Bede, Crete, ere* even now (eeɹ), *glebe, glede* a kite, *here, Mede, mere, mete, Pede, rere* now *rear, scene, scheme, sphere, these, Vere; adhere, apozeme, austere, blaspheme, cohere, complete, concede, concrete, convene, extreme* which Jones spelled *extream, grere* "or Lord," *impede, intercede, interfere, interrene, Nicene, obscene, portgreve, precede, recede, replete, rèvere, severe, sincere, supercede, supreme.*

Jones gives only 18 words out of the 28, (p. 86), in which he and preceding orthoepists allow *ea* to have the sound of (ii),

[1] Besides the faulty rhymes named in the text the following have been noted: (ææ, AA) prepare war, — (e, ææ) possess, place,—(ɔ, u) blood *with* good wood, — (*u*, A) took, flock, — (*u*, *oo*) shook *with* broke spoke, poor *with* more swore;—(ɔ, A) strung wrong, return scorn, turn born,—(A, *oo*) lost *with* boast coast; god abode;—(ɔ, ɔu) won *with* town crown, son *with* crown, —(uu, ɔu) swoon *with* drown'd sound. We also twice find (*oo*n, AM) none Absalom. Notwithstanding the diversity there is always some point of resemblance between the vowels; thus Dryden could not have rhymed son *with* seen pain cane, or beat *with* coat, etc. Some even of the above may be referred to peculiar or archaic pronunciations, so that Dryden's rhymes are not, properly speaking, the monsters of modern times, known as rhymes to the eye, as move love grove, has was gas, seat great, pour flour, changed hanged,

That keep the word of promise to our *eye*
And break it to our *ear*.

See a further examination of Dryden's rhymes in Chap. IX, § 3.

59 others having short (e) and all the rest having long (ee) for *ea*. The orthographist only admits 4 words in which *ea* is sounded like *a* long, that is (ee); viz. *bear* s. and v., *swear*, *tear* v., *wear*; 3 words in which *ea* "is sounded like *a* short," that is (æ), viz. *hearken*, *heart* and its derivatives, *hearth*; but gives 95 examples of *ea* sounded as (e) short including *beard*; and then no less than 255 in which "*ea* is sounded *ee* or *e* long" that is (ii). This last list of *ea* = (ii), includes the words *break, deaf, deafen, great, indeavour*,—but *endeavour* is in the list of *ea* = (e),—*leassee, pear, shear, yea, yearn*, in all of which, except *shear* which is often (shiiɹ), and *yearn* which is (jɹn), the old long (ee) is still preserved; and though (briik, griit) may still be heard from a very few, I have not been so fortunate as to hear (diif, indii·vɹ, liisii·, piiɹ, jii, jiiɹm). We can imagine a Gill of the period exclaiming again: "Non nostras hîc voces habes, sed Mopsarum fictitias!" It is impossible to believe that this represented the generally-received pronunciation of the time.

1710. DYCHE, so far as I can understand his notation, agrees with Jones, but between him and Buchanan 1766, were fifty years, which seem to have had a great effect on our pronunciation, in settling long *a* to (*ee*) and long *e* and *ea* to (ii). They were years in which there was a remarkable tendency to thinness and meagreness of sound owing to a predilection for the higher lingual or palatal vowels. The change from (ee) to (ii) was attempted to be carried much further than actually succeeded. Thus *chair*,[1] *steak, break, great* were (tshiiɹ, stiik, briik, griit), *oblige* was (*o*bliidzh·)[2] and (k, g) before (aa), where the sound of (aa) really remained, were palatalised into (*k, g*) as in (*k*aaɹd, *g*aaɹd). All these sounds might have been heard from elderly speakers some thirty years ago, and those which have remained to the present day, are accounted *old* pronunciations. In the XVII th century however, they were modernizms which did not set through, and our present pronunciations (tsheer, steek, breek, greet, *o*bləidzh·) were older, although not all of them the oldest forms. In the provinces (tshiiɹ) is still frequent, and (*o*bliidzh·) is nearly universal in Scotland.

1710. The anonymous instructor of the Palatines, writes *me, he, we, she, be* in German letters *mi, hi, wi, schi, bi* as particular exceptions, and gives as examples of *ea* sounding

[1] "Why is a stout man always happy? Because he a cheerful (chair full)." This is a conundrum of that period, and could not have belonged to any other, for in the XVII th century, *chair*, *chear* were (tsheer, tshiir) the latter being one of the words which had then changed its sound, notwithstanding the spelling *chear*, since altered to *cheer*.

[2] So pronounced by Dyche.

sometimes almost (*biswcilen fast*) as German *i* (ii), the words *heap, heat, cheap, clean, clear.*

1766–8. Buchanan and Franklin may be said to have completely adopted the present usage respecting *e* long and *ea*. The following are all the words in Franklin's examples, with his transcriptions, translated into palaeotype, and following all his inaccuracies:

Long *e*, *serene* siriin, *editions* iidishons, *religion* rilidshən, *idea* əidia; —*ea* long, *pleased* pliiz'd, *stream* striim, *clear* kliir, *meaning* miiniq, *easiest* iiziiest, *least* liist, *increasing* inkriisiq, *speaker* spikər, *readers* ridərs, *to read* riid, *dear* diir;—*greater* greetər greter;—*ea* short, *heaven* nev'n, *already* alreadi ʌlreadi, *I have read* red, *unlearned* ənlarn'd.

An Irish gentleman, born in 1755, told me he remembered the change. It is to be observed that the change is not yet made among the less educated class in Ireland, and was probably universal in Ireland when this gentleman was a youth. He came to England as a young man, and observed the custom growing. He distinctly remembered a youth who asked for (piiz) *peas*, being told to say (peez) "like a man." The thinner voice of woman has perhaps occasioned all thinness of utterance to be called effeminate. Thus Meigret says:

"Je vou' LESS' a PENSER QELLE GRAÇ' aora l'e clós EN SE' vocables MES, TES, SES, si nou' l'y pronoⁿçons, come nou' fezons EN pere mere: E come font je ne sey qels effeminez mixons [X = (nj)] AUEQ VN PRESQE clos RESERREMENT de bouche: crexans a mon auís qe la VOES virille de l'home ne SOET point tant harmonieuze, ny aggreabl' ao' dames q'une laçhe, FOEBL' E femenine. Or quant a MOE ie ne poursuy pas icy çete DOLLETT' [L = lj] E effeminée façon de parler: car je la LESS' aoz amoureuz poursuyuant tant seulement çete jenerall' E comune façon, qi SENT son home, E qi ET reçú' ENTRE LE' mieus appriz."

Just in the same way Smith exclaims against the "mulierculæ delicatiores et nonnulli qui volunt isto modo videri loqui urbaniùs" who use (ei) for (ai). And Dr. Gill works himself up into absolute rudeness, in the following noteworthy passage. After observing that the eastern English are fond of thinning their words, saying (fir, kiver, deans) for (feier, kuver, dans), *fire, cover, dance*, he goes on to say:

"*ἰσχνότητα*[1] autem illam magnopere affectant *πυγοστόλοι*[2]

[1] Printed *ἰσχνότην* by an error, but corrected in the errata. All palatalisation or diminution of the lingual aperture in vowels produces this effect of meagreness, thinness of sound.

[2] This is an unusual word found in Hes. Op. 371, which Liddell says means "with a sweeping train," as a parody of the Homeric *ἑλκεσίπεπλος*, "if it be not rather *lewd, lecherous.*" The allusion is evidently to *πυγή*, and the word might be translated "wriggling," as a mark of affectation.

nostræ Mopsæ[1] quæ quidem ita omnia attenuant, vt *a* et *o*, non aliter perhorrescere videantur quam Appius Claudius z. sic enim nostræ non emunt (laan) *lawn*[2], et (kaambrik) *cambric*, sindonis species; sed (leen) et (keembrik); nec edunt (kaapn) *capon* caponem, sed (keepn) et ferè (kiipn); nec unquam (butsherz meet) BUTCHERS MEAT carnem à lanijs, sed (b*i*tsherz miit). Et quum sunt omnes (dzh*i*ntl*i*m*i*n) non (dzhentlw*i*men[3]) *gentlewomen*, i.e. matronæ nobiles, nec *maids* ancillas vocant (maidz) sed (meedz). Quod autem dixi de *a*, recanto; nam si quando *ó* gravistrepum audiretur, locum concedunt ipsi *a*, sic enim aliquoties ad me pippiunt[4] (oi pre ɹa gii ɹar skalerz liiv ta plee) pro (oi prai ɹou[5] giv ɹuur skolars leev tu plai), *I pray you give your scholars leave to play*. Quæso concede tuis discipulis veniam ludendi."

We cannot but regret that Dr. Gill had not greatly extended his list. (Leen) does not seem to have survived, but (k*ee*m·br*i*k) is now the recognized pronunciation, though I have heard (kaam·br*i*k). So with (k*ee*·p'n). This anticipation of the change from (aa) to (ee), which was not fully accomplished till nearly a century after Gill's time, is remarkable. It must, however, be considered as a XVII th and not a XVI th century sound. (B*i*tsher, meeds, plee) will be considered hereafter. Here we are principally interested in the anticipations (miit, liiv) for, (meet, leev), *meat*, *leave*, which are not named as exceptions by any professedly XVII th century writers, and (meet, leev) being then the rule, would have sounded most probably as affected to Price, Cooper, and Jones as they did to Gill.

Generally with regard to the change of (ee) into (ii) it is observable that in Modern Greek (as has been probably the custom for nearly 2000 years), *η* is pronounced (ii), while there seems reason to suppose that it was originally (ee) or perhaps (*ee*), although, at least in one word, it was confounded with (ii) at an early period.[6] Also in the passage from Latin to the modern Romance language, (ee) fell not unfrequently

[1] It would be difficult to find any authority for this piece of Latin. The English is *mopseys*, sluts, which may be related to *mop*, *mope*.

[2] The pronunciation is an exact palætotypic reproduction of Gill's, and the ordinary spelling in italics is my addition throughout.

[3] Both words require to be written with ('l), or else to have (,) inserted after (l), as (dzh*i*ntl,*i*men, dzhentl,w*i*men,) to avoid a pronunciation in three syllables.

[4] This pipping, chirping effect is precisely that now produced upon our ears by the flunkey (Dzhiimz) of the present day, ignorant as we are of the effect that our pronunciation would have produced on our ancestors.

[5] Probably an inaccuracy for (ɹu).

[6] The old quotation *ὁ δ' ἠλίθιος ὥσπερ πρόβατον βῆ βῆ λέγων βαδίζει*, does not absolutely establish (*ee*) or even (EE) as the sound. The latter is far more bleating, and Schmeller calls it that vowel which any lamb can teach us, "über den uns jedes Lämmchen belehren kann." The well-known passage in Plato, Crat. c. 15, *οἷον, οἱ μὲν ἀρχαιότατοι ἱμέραν τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκάλουν*, only shews that some old people pronounced that particular word in that way.

into (ii),[1] and as the Latin *me, te, se* became the Italian *mi, ti, si,* so the English pronouns *he, she, me, we, thee,* as some of the commonest words, were the first which fell into (hii, shii, mii, dhii), having remained as (hee, shee, mee, dhee) to the close of the XIV th century.

1710. SHERIDAN's usage agrees with the modern, but his observations on educated Irish usage are important. He says that *ee, ie* were pronounced as (ii) both in England and in Ireland, but that *ea, ei, e* when sounded with (ii) in England "almost universally" received the sound of (ee) in Ireland, as (tee, see, pleez) *tea, sea, please.* But he adds that "gentlemen of Ireland, after sometime of residence in London, are apt to fall into the general rule, and pronounce these words" *great, a pear, a bear, to bear, forbear, swear, to tear, wear,* which were exceptionally pronounced with (ee) in England, "as if spelled *greet, beer, sweer,*" that is, as (griit, piir, biir, swiir, tiir, wiir). Omitting these mistakes, which had nothing to do with the true Irish habits of the time, we see that the latter really belonged to the XVII th century. Again Sheridan says: "the final mute *e* makes the preceding *e* in the same syllable, when accented, have the sound of (ii) as in the words *supreme, sincere, replete.* This rule is almost universally broken through by the Irish, who pronounce such words as if written *suprame, sinsare, replate*" that is with (ee) as in the XVII th century. In Sheridan's list of miscellaneous words with Irish pronunciations, we find several examples of forcing a rule too far, as above stated (see also p. 76). The complete list is as follows, to which I have annexed my own pronunciation in the present century:—

Written.	*Irish.*	*English* 1780.	*English*, 1868.
cheerful	tshiir·ful	tshEr·ful	tshiɪ·ful
fearful	fiir·ful	fEr·ful	fiɪ·ful
beard	biird	bErd	biɪd
leisure	lEzh·ɔr	lii·zhɔr	lezh·ɪ
search	seertsh	sErtsh	sɪtsh
tenure	tEn·jɔr	tii·nɹɔr	ten·iuɪ
tenable	tEn·æbl	tii·næbl	ten·ɪb'l

[1] Diez, Gram. der rom. Sprachen, 2nd ed., vol. i., p. 139, gives as examples, Italian Corniglia (Cornelia,) Messina (Messene), sarracino (saracenus)—to which the initial *di-, ri-* and several others may be added.—Span. consigo (secum), venino (venenum); port. siso (sensus sesus).—Prov. berbitz (verveeem), pouzí (pullicenus), razim (racemus), sarrací.—French, brebis, cire (cera), marquis (marchensis), merci (mercedem), pris (prensus), poussin, raisin, tapis (tapetum), venin; old French, païs (pagense, now pays), seïne (sagena), seri (serenus). He also remarks on the same tendency in the old high German fîra (feriae), pîna (Ital. pena), spîsa (spesa), which have undergone another change in modern times, becoming *Feier, Peine, Speise.*

Written.	*Irish.*	*English*, 1780.	*English*, 1868.
wherefore	whiir·*foor*	whɛr·*foor*	whee.r·*foo*ɹ
therefore	dhiir·*foor*	dhɛr·*foor*	dhee.r·*foo*ɹ
breadth	brɛth	brɛdth	brɛdth
endeavour	endii·vər	endɛv·ər	endɛv·r
mischievous	m*i*stshii·vəs	m*i*s·tshivəs	m*i*s·tshivɐs
reach	retsh	riitsh	riitsh
zealous	zii·ləs	zɛl·əs	zɛl·ɐs
zealot	zii·lʌt	zɛl·ət	zɛl·ɐt

O, OO, OA — XVI TH CENTURY.

1530. PALSGRAVE says: "*O* in the frenche tong hath two diuers maners of soundynges, the sou*n*dyng of *o*, whiche is most generall with them, is lyke as we sou*n*de *o* in these words in our tonge a boore, a soore, a coore, and suche lyke, that is to say, like as the Italians sounde *o*, or they with vs that sou*n*de the latin tong aright."

1567. SALESBURY says: "*O* in Welsh is sounded according to the right sounding of it in Latin: eyther else as the sound of *o* is in these Englyshe wordes: a *Doe*, a *Roe*, a *Toe*: and *o* never soundeth in Welsh as it doth in these wordes of Englysh: *to*, *do*, *two*." And again, 1547, speaking of English, he says: "*O* takes the sound of [Welsh] *o* (o) in some words, and in others the sound of *w* (uu); thus TO, *to*, (too), digitus pedis; so, *so*, (soo), sic; TWO, *tw*, (tuu) duo; TO, tw (tu) ad; SCHOLE, *scwl*, (skuul) schola . . . . But two oo together are sounded like *w* in Welsh, as GOOD *gwd* (guud) bonus; POORE *pwr* (puur) pauper."

1568.—SIR T. SMITH simply says: "O Latina," giving as examples the following words, which he only writes phonetically, but are here given in ordinary spelling—

Short — smock, horse, hop, sop, not, rob, bot, pop.
Long — smoke, hoarse, hope, soap, note, robe, boat, pope.

Smith makes *oo* in *boot*, *look*, *mood*, *fool*, *pool*, *too* the same as the Latin *u* long, meaning (uu). See under U.

1569. HART says: "The fourth [vowel], by taking awaye of all the tongue, cleane from the téeth or gummes, as is sayde for the *a*, and turning the lippes rounde as a ring, and thrusting forth of a sounding breath, which roundnesse to signifie the shape of the letter, was made (of the first inuentor) in like sort, thus *o*." And his English examples are *no*, *not*, *so*.

1580. BULLOKAR says: "*O* hath thrée soundes, and all of them vowels; the one sound agréeing to his olde and continued name, another sound, betwéene the accustomed name of, *o*, and the old name of, *v*, and the same sound long, for which they write *oo*,[1] (as I do also, but giuing it a proper name, according to the sound thereof), the thirde sounde is as, *v*, flat and short, that is to say, as this sillable *ou*, short sounded: for which some of the better learned did many times use, *oo*. &, *v*, according to their sounds, but most times

[1] The two *o*'s are united in one type as the *o* and *e* are in the type œ.

with superfluous letters." He illustrates the three sounds by the words.

1) *sonne* filius, *vpon*, *bosome* (first vowel), *corne*, *close*.
2) *sonne* sol, *out*, *bosome* (second vowel), *come*.
3 *loked*, *take*, *boke*, *sone*.

1611. FLORIO says, speaking of the Italian (*uh*, o): "So likewise to the close O, I have throughout my book given this oualle forme *O.* and to the open this round form O. The first close or oualle is euer pronounced as the English single V. in these wordes, Bun, Dug, Flud, Gud, Rud, Stud, Tun, &c., whereas the other round or open is euer pronounced as our O. in these words Bone, Dog, Flow, God, Rod, Stone, Tone &c. as for example in these Italian wordes, Io honóro il mío Dío cón ógni diuotióne, where euer, O. is close and oualle. And in these, lúi mi vuóle tórre la mia tórre; or else, lúi mi hà rósa la mia rósa; where Tórre with an open or round O. is a verbe and signifieth to take, and tórre with a close or oualle O. is a nonne substantiue, and signifieth a tower; and Rósa with an oualle and close O. is a participle of the verb Ródere, and signifieth Gnawne or Nibled, and Rósa with a round or open O. is a noune substantiue, and signifieth the floure that we call a Rose."

1621. GILL gives as key words for his long and short *o*, "coale, to coll," and calls them *ω*, o.

In endeavouring to discover what are the sounds intended, it is necessary first to examine what sounds of *o* exist. They are all round vowels, that is, the action of the lips with a tolerably round opening is necessary. The tongue must also not be much raised, or the sound falls into (u, *u*) or at least (*u*h) the Italian *o chiuso*. At the same time the tongue must not be too much depressed, or the sounds become (ʌ, ɔ), the last of which is the modern English *o* in *odd*, which Mr. M. Bell considers to be a wide form of (ʌ), and which is generally, though inaccurately, confounded with (ʌ), just as (*i*) is usually confounded with (i). Hence we obtain two forms, by raising the *back* of the tongue to a mid position, and rounding the lips in a medium manner, namely (*o*, o), the latter being the wide of the former. In present English (*o*) only occurs as a long vowel, and in the south it usually has a faint sound of (u) after it, thus (HOOum, HOO'ʊm) *home*, but this is unhistorical, except where a *w* is written; thus we may distinguish *no*, *know* as (noo, noou). The other sound (oo) is often heard long in provincial English as (HOOm) *home*. Unaccustomed ears then confound it with (ʌʌ) or (ɔɔ). The long sound (oo) is also sometimes heard from those London speakers who wish to prolong the sound of *o* in *dog*, *cross*, *off*, *office*, without degenerating into (dʌʌg, krʌʌs, ʌʌf, ʌʌf'*is*), or being even so broad as (dɔɔg, krɔɔs, ɔɔf, ɔɔf'*is*). It is also the sound now most esteemed in *oar*, *glory*, *story*, *memorial*,

once called, and still so called by elderly people, (*oo*'ɹ, gl*oo*'ɹ·r*i*, st*oo*'ɹr*i*, mem*oo*'ɹ·r*i*ʊl), but now professedly called (ooɹ, glooɹ·r*i*, stooɹ·r*i*, memooɹ·r*i*ʊl), the action of the glide from (*oo*) to (ɹ) having resulted in widening the vowel.[1] Mr. M. Bell recognizes two other sounds (*o*h, oh) related to (*o*, o) by being mixed instead of back vowels. The former he hears in the French *homme*, where I hear (o), and the latter in the American *stone*, where I hear (*o*). The sounds are unusual to English ears, and it will be unnecessary to distinguish (*o*, *o*h) or (o, oh) for any purpose in this treatise. Generally (st*o*n) is heard as (stɔn), which is the modern English form in such phrases as *to weigh twelve stone* (tu w*ee*i twelv stɔn). The sound (HOl) for (HOOl) *whole*, is by no means uncommon, although most persons hear it as (HƏl), and it is imitated by writing "the hull of a thing."

Now long *o* being (*oo*) and short *o* in closed syllables being (ɔ), as *note*, *not* (n*oo*t, nɔt), English writers have got so much into the habit of considering these two sounds as a pair, that when they speak of long and short *o* we naturally expect these sounds and not (*oo*, *o*). This creates the difficulty. The ear and judgment are confused. Sir T. Smith may have pronounced his key words (smɔk sm*oo*k, HɔrS H*oo*rs, HɔP, H*oo*p), and yet have considered them as pairs, for he actually has so considered the more distant sounds (beit, b*i*t). As the Welsh at the present day, so far as I have observed, say (oo, o) and do not use either (*o*) or (ɔ), they probably so pronounced in Salesbury's time. But Salesbury would in that case have heard (*oo*, ɔ) as (oo, o), so that his identification of the English with the Welsh *o*, although probably correct, would not suffice to decide so delicate a point. Quite recently I have heard Welsh gentlemen who seemed to me to say (poob) and not (p*oo*b) declare that the vowel sounded to them the same as that in my pronunciation of *robe* (r*oo*b). Hart's description, giving the lingual positions for *a* (a) and the rounding of the lips should produce (o) exactly. And I am inclined to think that the normal English sound up to the end of the XVI th century was (oo, o), both long and short. This would make sense of Hart's examples *no*, *not*, *so* as (noo, not, soo), and would make Smith's and Gill's long and short *o*, perfect pairs, thus: Gill *coll*, *coal*, (kol, kool); Smith *smock*, *smoke*, (smok, smook).

[1] Of course this sound degenerates into (ɔɔ) or (AA), so that (glAA·r*i*) or even (dlAAr*i*) may often be heard in London. I have heard clergymen, who, anxious to correct this, say (gl*oo*,·r*i*), without any (ɹ), the effect of which was decidedly unpleasant.

My own impression, after considerable thought on the subject, though it would be difficult to enumerate all the reasons which have led me to this conclusion, is, that (oo, o) must be considered as the normal sound, intermediate to (a) and (u); and that (*o*, *u*) are felt as approximations towards (u), and (ɔ, ʌ) as approximations towards (a). To me the Italian sounds *o chiuso* and *o aperto*, close and open *o*, are respectively (*u*h, o), the former coming from Latin *u*, the latter from Latin *o*. The regular short German and French *o* I also consider to be (o). To shew however the ease with which sounds so near may be confused, I may mention that Mr. Melville Bell in taking down sounds from my dictation, heard my (o, *o*n) as (*o*h, *u*n).[1]

I shall assume as at least most likely that (oo, o) was the original sound of long and short *o* previous to the XVIth century, but that (oo) inclining often towards (u) had become (uu) in many words in the XVIth century, other words retaining the pure (oo).[2] It was, I believe, to separate these two effects that a diversity of spelling was introduced. The *o* which became (uu) was written *oo*, and the *o* which remained unchanged became *oa*. The change was precisely similar to the introduction of the two spellings *ee*, *ea* at the same period, and the device was the same, viz., the more guttural sounds of each, that is, the sounds more nearly approaching to *a*, were represented by adding on *a* as *ea*, *oa*, and the other sounds further from *a*, were represented by simple duplication as *ee*, *oo*. When *o* had changed to (u) the spelling *u* gradually prevailed, but sometimes simple *o* and sometimes *oo* was employed. The older spelling *ou* also occasionally remained. We have seen that the orthography *ee*, *ea* was not fixed in Palsgrave's time. Similarly we find him writing in the passage first quoted under this letter, (p. 93), *boore*, *soore*, *coore* for *boar*, *sore*, *core*. Reverting to Palsgrave's vocabulary of nouns, we find the following spellings, to which I add Levins's, as under EA (p. 77):

"*Boke* .. booke, *boke othe* .. othe, *bokeram*, *bockette* for a well .. bucket, *bokyll* .. buckle, *bocler* for defence .. bockler, *bone* a request ..

[1] See *Visible Speech*, Plate viii. containing the speech of Portia on Mercy, written in *Visible Speech* letters from my dictation, where (nȯht, droh·peth) are written for what I intended to pronounce as (not, drop·eth.) This speech will be found as an example in Chap. VIII, § 8, Ex. 1. The differences between the pronunciation there exhibited and that given by Mr. M. Bell, must generally be attributed to further investigation on my part.

[2] In the examination of Chaucer's pronunciation I shall endeavour to shew that in his time the sound of *o* had not split into two, although I think that *o* was written not unfrequently for an original (u).

boone, *bourage* herbe, *boore* beest .. bore, *boorde* for buylding .. boord, *borde* cloth *nappe* .. borde, *boorder* that gothe to borde .. border, *boster* uantevr, *botte* to rowe in *bateav* .. bote, *boty* that man of warre take .. booty, *botlar* .. butler, *bottras* .. buttresse, *bottrye* .. butterie, *boote* of lether .. boote, *boothe* .. boothe, *bullyon* in a woman's girdle, *bouke* of clothes, *cloke* a garment .. eloke, *coke* that selleth meate .. cooke, *cole*, of fyre .. eole, *coupe* [coop], *core* of frute .. eore, *corse* a deed body .. eorse, *courser* of horses .. eourse, *cosyn* kynsman .. eousin, *costes* eharge .. eoste, *cost* of a countre .. eoaste, *cote* a byrde .. eoote, *cote* for a ladde .. eote, *corer* .. eover, *couple* .. eouple, *course* .. eourse,[1] *doo* a beest .. doe, *dokelyng* .. duekling,[2] *dole* .. doole, *dome* jugement .. doome, *dong* hyll .. dungil, *dore* a gate .. door, *doublet*, *dove* .. doove, *doute* .. doubte, *fole* .. foole, *foole* a eolte .. fole, *foome* .. fome, *foo* .. foe, *forowe* .. furrowe, *fote* .. foote, *foulde* for shepe .. fould, *foule* .. foule, *good* .. good, *golde* a metall .. golden, *goulfe* of eorne, so moehe as may lye bytwene two postes, otherwyse a baye .. gulfe, *gode* for a earter .. gode, *goore* of a smoek .. gore, *gose* a foule .. goose, *goseberry* .. gooseberrie, *goost* .. ghoste, *gote* a beest .. gote, *gottesmylk*, *grome* .. groome, *grote* money .. grote, *hode* .. hoode, *hoke* .. hooke, *hole* .. hole, *holy* .. holy, *hony* .. honye, *honny* combe, *honny-suekell* .. honysuekle, *hore* .. whore, *hope* .. hope, *hote* house .. hote, *horse* a beest .. horse, *hoorsnesse* of the throte .. horse, *host* of men .. hoste, *hose* for ones legges .. hose, *houpe* [hoop], *ionkette* .. junkets, *iouse* .. juee, *lode* .. lode [load], *lofe* of bredde .. lofe, *loke* .. looke, *lope* [loop], *lome* [loam], *losyng* perdition .. lose, *love* .. loved, *mole* *moule* a beest .. moule, *moleyne* an herbe, *molet* a fysshe .. mullet, *moone* a planet .. moone, *moneth* .. month, *mode* in a verbe .. moode, *more* a fen .. moore, *mote* a dytehe .. mote, *mote* in the sonne .. mote, *moton* [mutton], *moultytude* .. multitude, *moulde* a form .. mould, *mournyng* .. mourne, *noone* mydday .. noone, *nonne* a relygious woman .. nunne, *norisshyng* .. nourish, *nose* [in the body of his work constantly written *noose*] .. nose, *ore* of a bote .. ore,[3] *ote* eorne .. otes, *othe* sweryng .. othe, *oulde* mayde .. ould, *plome* a frute .. ploume, *podyng* .. pudding, *poddell* a slough .. puddel, *poke* or bagge .. poke, *pocke* or blayne .. poeke, *pole* a staffe .. pole, *pompe* [pump], *ponde* .. ponde, *pore* .. pore, *poore* [poor], *profe* .. proofe, *prose*, *rho* bueke a beest .. roe buck, *robe* .. robe, *roche* a fysshe .. rochet, *rode* a erosse .. roode, *rofe* .. roofe, *roke* .. rooke, *rope* .. rope, *rose* .. rose, *rote* of a tree .. roote, *sloo* worme .. sloe, *smoke* .. smooke, *sokelyng* .. souke, *sole* a fysshe .. sole, *sole* of a fote .. sole, *sole* of a shoo .. sole, *somme* [sum], *sonne* .. sonne,[4] *sope* to wasshe with .. sope, *soper* .. supper, *sore* a wound .. sore, *sote* of a chymney .. sooty, *sothenesse* [soothness], *sodayne* [sudden] .. sodayne, *soule* [soul] .. soule, *souldier* .. soldiourie, *souter* sauetier, *soveraynte* of a kynge .. soveraygne, *spoke* of a wheel .. spoke, *stoble* .. stubbil, *stone* .. stone, *store* .. store, *tode* [toad] .. tode, *too* of ones fote .. toe, *toost* of breed .. toste, *tothe* dent ..

[1] The adjective *coarse* is also spelled *course* both by Palsgrave and Levins.

[2] The verb *to duck* is spelled *douk* both by Palsgrave and Levins.

[3] Levins uses *oore* for a metallic ore.

[4] Both Palsgrave and Levins use *sonne* for both *son* and *sun*.

toothe, *rout* under the ground .. valte, *wode* [woad] .. woodwasse, wodwosse, *wood* or tre that is fallen .. wood, *wodde* to burne .. wood, *woodnesse* rage .. woode, *wolfe* .. wolfish, *woman* .. woman, *wombe*, *wonders* .. wonder, *wo* sorowe .. woe."

It is evident that long *o* and *oo* were not yet separated by Palsgrave to whom also the device of *oa* or *oe* final, (see *doo*, *foo*, *wo*) had not yet occurred, and although *oo* was freely used by Levins, *oa* was almost unknown to him.

A comparison of Bullokar's notation of the three classes of words he cites, leads me to the conclusion that their sounds were, in palaeotype—

1) son, upon, boz·um, koorn, kloos.
2) sun, ut, boz·um, kum.
3) luuked, tuuk, buuk, suun.

The pronunciation (son) is however peculiar. Smith gives (sum). Where direct authority cannot be obtained it is extremely difficult to distinguish which of these sounds should be given to *o* in any words of the XVI th century. Generally we may conclude that the *o*, *oa*,—not the *ow*,—which is now (*oo*) or (*oou*) was then (oo), being the old sound but very slightly altered; what is now (uu) it is not so safe to conclude was then (uu) unless in the course of the century we find the spelling *oo* adopted. What is now (ɔ) was pretty certainly (o) at that time, being almost the old sound preserved. But it is not quite so certain that what is now (ə) was formerly (u), for some of these may have been (o), or both sounds may have prevailed, thus Bullokar and Smith differ respecting *son*, and *none*, *one* were (noon, oon). It is also very probable that many *o* represented (u) even as early as Chaucer's time. The following cases of *o*, *oo*, *oa* = (u) or (uu) are taken from the authorities for this century.

above	cook	hood	ooze	some	two	wood
afford	cool	hoof	other	soon	whom	woof
among	coot	hoop	pool	soothe	whoop	wool
blood	cover	loof	poor	stood	whore	Worcester
board	do	look	prove	stool	wolf	word
bombast	done	loose	rook	sword	womb	work
book	food	loving	room	thorough	woman	worm
boot	foot	mood	root	to	won	worship
brood	forth	mother	shoe	ton	wonder	worst
broom	good	mouth	shovel	too	wont	worth
come	goose	move	smother	took	woo	wost
conjurer	government					

To these Shakspere authorises the addition of *Rome*.[1]

[1] Julius Cæsar act i. sc. 2, v. 156:—
Now is it *Rome* indeed, and *Roome* enough
When there is in it but one onely man.

The following are all the words containing *o* which Salesbury adduces, leaving *ou, ow, oi, ol* to be considered hereafter.

GOD *God* (God); CONDICYON *condisywn* (kondis·iun); EUERMORE *efermwor* (ev·ermoor);[1] THONDRE *thwndr* (thun·der), WONDRE *wnder* (wun·der);[2] HOPE hoop (hoop); ORANGES *oreintsys* (or·eindzhis), FOLE *ffwl* (fuul); HOLY *holi* (hoo·li, hol·i),[3] HONEST *onest* (on·est); HONOURE *onor* (on·or); EXHIBITION *eesibisiwn* (eksibis·i,un); PROHIBITION *proibisiwn* (proo,ibis·i,un); JOHN *tsion, sion* (Dzhon); BOKE *buck* (buuk); TO, *to* (too) meaning a *toe;* SO *so* (soo); TWO *tw* (tuu), TO *to* (tu) the preposition; SCHOLE *scwl* (skuul); GOOD, *gwd* (guud); POORE *pwr* (puur); ROS *ros* (rooz) a *rose*, SEASON *seesyn* (seez·in);[4] TOP *top* (top); THOMAS *tomas* (Tom·as); THRONE *trwn* (truun); OXE *ocs* (oks).

Florio (p. 94,) evidently heard *bone, dog* as (boon, dog), and, if (*boo*n) had been said, he would have most probably heard that sound as (*buu*hn), just as at present Englishmen confuse the Italian (*uu*h, o), *o chiuso* long and *o aperto* short, with their own (*oo*, ɔ). Hence his remarks give a presumption in favour of (oo, o).

O, OO, OA — XVII TH CENTURY.

1653. WALLIS says of the guttural vowels "*â ŏ*[5] aperta: Si aperturâ majori seu pleno rictu spiritus exeat, formatur Germanorum *â* vel *ŏ*[5] apertum. Neque Germani solùm sed et Galli, aliique non pauci, eodem sono suum *a* plerumque proferunt. Angli sonum illum correptum per *ŏ* breue; productum verò plerumque per *au* vel *aw*, rarius per *â* exprimunt. Nam in *fâll, folly; hâll, haul, holly; câll, collar; lawes, losse; cause, cost; aw'd, odd; saw'd, sod;* aliisque similibus; idem prorsus Vocalium sonus auditur in primis syllabis, nisi quòd illic producatur his corripiatur. Atque hinc est quod Hebræi suum *camets longum*, et *camets brere* seu *camets chatuph*, (hoc est, nostrum *â* apertum et *ŏ* breve,) eodem charactere scribunt. Nam eorum בָ֫ל et בָ֪ל non aliter differunt quàm nostrum *câll* et *coll.*

"*ô rotundum.* Majori labiorum apertura formatur *ô* rotundum; quo sono plerique proferunt Græcorum *ω*. Hoc sono Galli plerumque proferunt suum *au*. Angli ita fere semper proferunt *o* productum vel etiam *oa* (ipso *a* nimirum nunc dicrum quasi evanescente; de quo idem hic judicium ferendum est ac suprà de *ea*[6]): Ut, *one,*

[1] The inserted *w* is perplexing, it should give the sound (nuor), and Price uses *wo* to indicate (uu). But Smith pronounces (moor).

[2] The initial (w) has been supplied, because its omission has been regarded as a Welsh habit, and Salesbury's mode of writing did not give him the means of representing (wu).

[3] Salesbury does not distinguish *holly, holy* either in sound or spelling, but his interpretation shews that both words were meant. This shews that the quality of the long and short *o* was the same to him.

[4] The origin of this *y* is not apparent. The real sound of the word seems to have been (seez·n).

[5] The Oxford reprint has *ō* in each case, which is erroneous.

[6] We have seen that the *a* was never pronounced in either case; that it was a mere orthographical device.

unus; *none*, nullus; *whole*, totus; *hole* foramen; *coal*, carbo; *boat*, cymba; *oat*, avena; *those*, illi; *chose*, eligi; etc. At ubi *o* breve est, ut plurimum per *ŏ* apertum (de quo supra) rarius per *ô* rotundum pronunciatur.

"*Oo* sonatur ut Germanorum *û* pingue, seu Gallorum *ou*. Ut in vocibus *good* bonus, *stood* stabam, *root* radix, *foot* pes, *loose* laxus, *loose* laxo, amitto.

"Nonnunquam *o* & *ou* negligentius pronunciantes eodem sono" ò ŭ obscuro = (ɔ), "efferunt, ut in *còme*, venio; *sòme*, aliquis; *dòne*, actum; *còmpany*, consortium; *country*, rus; *couple*, par; *còvet*, concupisco; *lòve*, amo; aliisque aliquot; quæ alio tamen sono rectius proferri debent."

These extracts seem to make long *o* a true labial (*oo*),[1] short *o* a true gutturo-labial (A)—for which however the softer (ɔ) may have been really sounded, and occasionally (ɔ), a new sound, which will be considered under U,—and long or short *oo* the true (uu, u), which however may have been (uu, *u*). Hence long and short *o* had ceased to be a pair (oo, o), and had become the different vowels (*oo*, ɔ) or (*oo*, A). This fully agrees with Wilkins, 1668, who gives the following pairs, leaving (*oo*) without a mate,

α	*short*	bot-*tom*	fol-*ly*	fot	mot	Pol	rod
	long	bought	fall	fought		Paule	Rawd
o	*short*						
	long	bote	foale	vote	mote	pole	rode
	short		full	fut		pul	
	long	boote	foole	foote	moote	poole	roode

but he also gives *amongst* as containing (ɔɔ).

1668. PRICE distinguishes three sounds of *o*, long as in *no*, "*fo*," *more*, *most* = (*oo*) according to Wallis; short as in *lot*, *not*, *for* = (ɔ); "obscure like short *u* (ɔ) as in *son*, *tongue*, *London*, *above*, **approve*, **behoveth*, *brother*, *come*, *companie*, *conie*, *conduit*, *dosen*, *dost*, *doth*, *love*, *mother*, **move*, *plover*, *pomel*, **prove*, **remove*, *shovel*, *some*, *venom*, **whom*," all of which with the exception of those marked * retain the sound of (ɔ).[2]

Price also says: "*o* after *w*, soundes like short *u*, (ɔ) as *world*, **sword*, **woman*, *won*, except, *o*, soundes, *ee*, in *women*, and *o* long in *wo*, *wore*, *woke*," (swɔɹd, wɔm·ɐn) are uncommon. Then follows a long list of final *om*, *on* sounded as as (ɔm, ɔn), including some words in which the sound is now ('n).

[1] The French distinguish two sounds of *o*, the close *au* and the open *o*, which to my ears sound as (*o*, o).

[2] As regards *prove*, it is an ancient university story of the late Prof. Vince, of Cambridge, that he used to say: "If a man say I lie, I say (prɔv) it; if he (prɔv) it, then I lie; if he don't (prɔv) it, then *he* lies, and there's an end on't."

"O, soundes like (woo)[1] oo in **Rome, do, shoe, cuckoe, *go, *hord, mushrom, undo, who, *whore.*" (Ruum) we have seen was heard in Shakspere's time, and may still occasionally be heard; (guu) is mentioned by Wallis in terms of disapproval; (HUURD) may be classed with (afuurd) *afford*; and *mushroom* has changed its spelling.

Price makes *oa* the long *o*, (*oo*), and *oo* generally "like *woo*" (uu), but "like *u*" (ə) in *good, wool, hood, wood, stood.*

1685. COOPER pairs the vowels *fall folly,* and *foal full.* By the latter pair he could not have meant (*fuul ful*), or (*fuuhl fuhl*). His (ful, *ful*, *fuhl*, *fol*) whichever way he pronounced it, contained the nearest vowel sound to (*fool*) that he was acquainted with (p. 84). He says:—

"O formatur à labiis paululùm contractis, dum *spiritus orbiculatus* emittur: ut in *hope* spes; productum semper, (nisi in paucis quæ per *oo* (uu) sonantur; et ante *l* per *ou* (*uu*, *ou*) labiales: ut in *bold* audax) hoc modo pronunciant Angli, quem aliquando scribunt per *oa;* ut *coach* currus; correptus rarò auditur, nisi in paucis, quæ à consonante labiali incipiunt; ut post *w* in *wolf* lupus, *wonder* mirum; & in syllaba *wor;* plura non memini: in quibusdam *u* hoc modo pronunciatur, ubi præcedens vocalis est labialis; ut *pull*, vello, *full* plenus; non quia debet, sed quoniam aliter faciliùs efferri nequit: Et *oo* in *good* bonus, *hood* cucullus, *wood* lignum; *I stood* steti; Galli per *o* ut *globe* globus, *proteste* protestor; in *copy* exemplar corripitur. *Germani* per *o*, ut *ostern* penteeoste; quem in principio dictionum ferè producant: in *wort* verbum; *Gott* Deus corripitur."

Whence it appears that Cooper did not distinguish (*u*) from (*o*) or even (o). In fact he hardly knew the true short (u) for after describing *oo* he says "inter sonum correptum & productum minima datur differentia," and he pairs *foot* short, *fool* long, where the difference of length is solely due to the following consonant. As I have found it necessary to suppose that Cooper paired (*ee*, *i*), see p. 83, so here I presume he paired (*oo*, *u*), sounds which have nearly the same degree of diversity. This occasions a slight difficulty in his diphthong *ou*, which will have to be afterwards considered.

Cooper gives the following list of words in *o*, *oa* which have the sound of (uu), those marked * being unusual: **aboard, *afford, *behoves, *boar,*[2] **born* carried, **force, *forces, move, *sword, *sworn, tomb, two, who, whom, whore, whosoever, womb, *worn.* The words **board, *forth, prove, stoup* he says are also written *boord, foorth, proov, stoop.* In the following words he hears his short *o* =(*u*); *blood-i-ly, good-ly-ness, flood,*

[1] Price's own notation, not palaeotype. As a Welshman he evidently called *woo* (uu), the same as *oo.*

[2] This is *boar*, the animal, not *boar* =*boor* as given afterwards by Jones.

hood, brotherhood, sisterhood, neighbourhood, falsehood, soot, stood, wood, wool. The exceptions *damosel, women* (dæm·zel, wim·en) are noted. After giving examples of *oa* as (*oo*), which are often written with *o-e*, he says, as *cloak, cloke*, he admits the sound of (ʌʌ), as now usual, in *abroad, broad, groat.*

1686. MIEGE agrees in the main with the former, but he hears long *o* as French *o* (oo), and the short *o* when it was (ɔ) as the French short *o* also, that is either (o) or (*o*) while he says: "il y a bien des mots ou l' *o* a un son mêlé de celui de l' *a*, et où *sans scrupule* on le peut sonner comme un *a*," that is, he confused (a, ɔ) or (a, ʌ). Interpreting his signs by former explanations we find the following novelties. *O* is short = (ɔ) in compounds of *most*, as *hithermost. Borne* = (boorn), *born* = (bʌʌrn); *form* a bench = (foorm), *form* a shape = (fʌʌrm); *holy* = (hoo·li), *holy day* = (hʌl·i dee). *Yolk, maggot, anchor, women* = (jelk, mæg·et, æn·ker, wim·en). *Rome* = (Ruum). *On* = ('n) in *capon, mutton, lesson, reckon, reason, season, apron, citron, saffron, iron, fashion, cushion, puncheon.*

1701. JONES confirms the others. The following is his list of long *o* sounded as (uu) *afford, bomb, comb, Ford, ford, gamboya, gold, Monday, More, Rome, tomb, womb,* in which most are unusual, and *gold, Monday* are noteworthy. The *oa* as (uu) are "*aboard, boar* a clown," now written *boor*, "*board.*" The words *doe, does, doest, doeth, shoe, woe*, he likewise hears pronounced with (uu), although he also gives (dɔz) for *does.* He admits the sound of (ɔ) for *o* in "the beginning" of *colonel, colour*, etc., *comfort, company*, etc., *coney, conjure*, etc., *money, monkey*, etc., *mongcorn, monger*, etc.; *blomary, bombast, borrage, bosom, botargo, brocado, chocolate, cognisance, colander, coral, coroner, cozen, Devon, dozen, forsooth, gormandize, gromel, London, onion, poltroon, pomado, poniard, porcelane, potato, recognisance, sojourn, Somerset, stomach, tobaco*; in final *-come, -dom, -some, -son*; in the last syllables of *chibol, gambol, symbol.* Even the unusual cases will be recognized as still occasionally heard, but they evidently bear the same relation to the present pronunciation with (ɔ), as (griit, briik, tshiiɹ) do to (greet, breek, tsheeɹ). Both resulted from overdriving a new attenuative habit.

In the XVII th century then the change from (oo, o) into (*oo*, ʌ) or (*oo*, ɔ) was complete; a few more of the (oo) had advanced into (uu), more indeed than those which maintained their position, and those formerly heard as (u) or (*u*) had become (ɔ), a change to be considered under U.

O, OO, OA — XVIII TH CENTURY.

During the XVIII th century the change in the use of these letters as just described, was so slight that it will be quite unnecessary to enter into many particulars. It will be sufficient to note some examples, chiefly of exceptions to the general rule that *o* long and *oa* = (*oo*), *o* short = (ə) or (A), and *oo* long and short = (uu, *u*), or of exceptions to the preceding exceptions to this rule.

1704. The EXPERT ORTHOGRAPHIST gives *oo* in *flood, blood* the sound of (ə), and in *door, floor, moor, poor* the sound of (*oo*). He also makes *o* = (uu) in "*wolf, wolves, Rome, comb, tomb, divorce, force, forge, form* to sit on, *born* endured, *supported, forth* abroad, *port* and its compounds *com, de, in, sup, trans-port, sport, shorn* and *torn, engross, Ghost, most, post, rost*, and *o* between *w* and *r* for the most part is sounded *oo* (uu) as *word, work, world, worm, worry, worship, worse-st, worsted, worst,* and *worth*; and in *approve, behove, move, prove, remove, reprove*; but like short *u* (ə) in *dove, glove, love, cover, covet, groveling.*" He admits *oa* to be a mode of lengthening *o*, but says "*oa* in *abroad, broad,* and *groat,* have a peculiar broad sound" without saying that it is the same as *aa* (AA), and "*oa* sounds *ai* in *goal* pronounced *jail,* (dzheel)."

1766. BUCHANAN writes *London* Lən·ən, *won* wən, *lot* lət; *dost* dəst, *work* wərk, *worship* wər·ship, *woman* wəm·in, *women* wim·in, *wonder* wən·dir, *mouth* məuth, *money* mən·i, *son* sən; *twopence* təp·ins, *poltroon* pəltruun, *forth* foorth; *globe* gloob, *robe* roob, *whole* whool; *who* HUU, *do* duu, *tomb* tuum, *gold* guuld, *Rome* Ruum; *move* muuv, *one* wæn, *once* wæns, *only* ən·li, *come* kəm; *soap* soop, *broad* brood, *oats* oots; *loath* LAATH, *groat,* grææt.

1768. FRANKLIN has *of* AV, *bosom* bəz·əm, *compared* kəmpeerd·, *other* ədh·ər, *government* gəv·ərnment, *London* Lən·dən; *only* oon·li, *spoke* spook, *wrote* root, *some* səm, *one* wən, *once* wəns, *to* too, in which will be found some uses different from Buchanan's.

1780. SHERIDAN notes the Irishisms: (duur) door, (fluur) floor, (kuurs) both coarse and course, (strəv) strove, (drəv) drove, (rəd) rode, (strood) strode, (shoon) shone, (fət) foot, which he says were pronounced in England (door, floor, koors, stroov, droov, rood, strAd, shAn, fut). Most of these Irishisms are clearly, all of them are probably, as usual, remnants of the XVII th century.

Y, I, IE — XVI TH CENTURY.

When *y*, *i* were consonants, they were employed like the modern *y*, *j* = (ȷ, dzh), and were never interchanged in the old writers, although the sound of (ȷ) was not usually considered a consonant, as will be noted under *y*, *w*. When *y*, *i* were vowels they were used indiscriminately, except perhaps that *I* was always[1] used as the personal pronoun, and was not employed at the end of any other word. For the present section they must be considered as identical.

TABLE SHEWING THE INTRODUCTION OF IE FOR E, EE.

Price. 1668.	Minshew. 1617.	Levins. 1570.	Palsgrave. 1530.	Promptorium, 1440.
believe	beleeve	beleeve	beleve	beleueness
besiege	besiege			
bier	beere (biere)	beare	beere	beere
brief	briefe (breefe)	breefe	brefe	
cavalier				
cashier	casheere			
chief	cheife (chiefe)	cheefe, chief	chefe, chief	chenetun
[field]	field (feeld)	feeld, field	felde	feelde
[fiend]	feend		fende	
[fierce]	fierce	fierse	fyers	fersse
friend	frend (friend)	frende	frende	freende
frontier	frontier			
[grieve]	greeue (grieve)	greeve	greue	grevy*n*
kerchief	kerchiefe	kercher	kerchefe	kyrchefe
[lief]		liefer	lefe	lefe
liege	liege		lege	lyche
niece	neece	neece	neyce	
piece	peece (piece)	peece	pece	pece
pierce	pearce (pierce)	perse	perce	peercy*n*
[priest]	prieste	preestly	preest	preest
[shield]	sheeld			scheeld
siege	siege	sege	sege	cege
sierse		cearse		
sieve	sine (sieue)	seefe		eyve
thief	theef	theefe	thefe	theef
view	view	vewe		
yield	yeeld	yeeld	yelde	yeldo*n*

IE was often used at the end of words where we now use *y*. IE in the middle of words was employed in the XIV th century indiscriminately with *e* or *ee*, but not very frequently. In the XV th and XVI th centuries it had fallen out of use, though we find it fully established with the modern sound of (ii) in the XVII th century, in which is included also the word *friend* as already noted (p. 80). The preceding table containing all Price's list and a few other words in brackets,

[1] In MSS. *y* was not unfrequently used even for the personal pronoun in the XV th century and earlier.

will shew the corresponding spellings in the Promptorium 1440, Palsgrave 1530, and Levins 1570, and Minshew 1617; the spellings in parenthesis in Minshew's column, are spellings which he recognizes and gives in cross references, but the other spellings are those under which he explains the words. It will be seen that Minshew's book shews the exact period of the transition, when generally both spellings were sufficiently known to require notice, but one was decidedly preferred by the author, and that one was only occasionally *ie*. The French *nièce, pièce, fier, siège* and occasionally *chief* may have influenced some words, but others, as *believe, bier, friend, field, lief, thief, yield,* seem to have no reason, either in sound or etymology, for this curious change of custom in spelling. For our present purpose, then, we may dismiss *ie*, considering it, in the middle of words, as a fanciful variation of *ee* and having precisely the same value (ii) towards the close of the XVI th century, and, at the end of words as an archaism for *y*, having the same sound (*i*).[1]

There seems to have been only one sound of short *i* and, with rare exceptions, such as *machine*, only one sound of long *i*, during the XVI th and subsequent centuries. At the present day, English short *i* or (*i*) is the *wide* sound of the Italian or European short *i* or (i). The fine sharp clear (i) is very difficult for an Englishman to pronounce, and although the Scotch can and do pronounce it,[2] they not unfrequently replace it with (*e*) or (e), not (E). In this respect they resemble the Italians who have so frequently replaced Latin *i* by their *e chiuso* or (*e*). The Dutch may be said not to know (i), as they regularly replace it by (*e*). The English sound (*i*) lies between (i) and (*e*). The position of the tongue is the same as for (i), but the whole of the pharynx and back parts of the mouth are enlarged, making the sound deeper and obscurer. According to Mr. M. Bell there is the same distinction between (*e*) and (e), the latter being the wide form of the former, and he hears (*e*)

[1] The word *pierce* seems to have retained the spelling *perse*, and the corresponding pronunciation to a later time. We still write *Percy*, and *Peirce* is called (Pers) or (Pɹs) in America. In Love's Labour Lost, Act iv. sc. 2, l. 85, 1623, Comedies p. 132, we find "Master Person, *quasi* Person? And if one should be perst, Which is the one?" which indicates the pronunciation (Mas·ter Pers·on, kwaa·si "Pers-·oon"? And *if* "oon" shuuld be "perst," whitsh *iz* dhe "oon"?).

[2] Mr. Melville Bell says in a private letter, that the sound of the short "(i) for *ĭ* is very common, as in give = (gi), gied, gien, gie's [derivatives], whig, wig, big [to build], build, -er, built [often bilt] king-dom, wick, gig, gingham, widow, Britain, finish, whin, etc." In such words the Englishman hears the long (ii). This is a point which will have to be considered hereafter. See especially the examples of Scotch pronunciation in Chap. XI. § 4.

in the French *et*, and English *day*, (dei, dɛi), and (e) in the Scotch *ill*, English *ailment* (el ceil·ment) and English *air* (eeɹ), and also in my own pronunciation of the English *ell*, whereas he supposes the true sounds of English *men*, *man* to be (mɛn, mæn) and to differ precisely as (i, *i*). My own pronunciation of *man* he finds frequently the same as his pronunciation of *men*, so that to him I pronounce *men*, *man* as (men, mɛn). To me (ɛ) is a much deeper sound than (*e*, e) and is heard in the French *même*, German *spräche* (mɛɛm', shpɹɛɛ*kh*·*e*). This discussion will serve to shew the nature of the difference (i, *i*), and the ease with which they may be confounded. Almost every Englishman pronounces French *il* as English *ill* (*i*l), and almost every Frenchman pronounces English *ill* as French *il* (il), French *île*, English *eel* being identically (iil). Now the true long sound of (*i*) is not an acknowledged sound in our language, although in frequent use among such singers as refuse so say happ*ee*, st*ea*l, *ee*l, when they have to lengthen happ*y*, st*i*ll, *i*ll.[1] They say (hæp·*iï*, st*iï*l, *iï*l) although some may prefer (st*i*lll, *i*lll) which has a bad effect. Where the long sound of (*i*) might be expected, we get the long *i*, to be presently noticed. Hence most of those who examined sounds, as Wallis, naturally paired (ii), whose short sound was absent, and (*i*) which was without a long sound, and probably did not hear the difference,[2] though Sir Thomas Smith could find no short sound for (ii) in the English language.[3] What we have to conclude from this is, that because *ee* long and *i* short are represented generally by the same character, with or without a mark of prolongation, by orthoepists, it by no means follows that they had the same sound. My own belief is that short *i* was (*i*) from the

[1] This was remarked by Dr. Young, Lectures on Natural Philosophy, 4to. vol. ii, p. 277: "When *lip* is lengthened in singing it does not become *leap*." Observe the singing of "st*i*ll so gentl*y* o'er me st*ea*ling," which becomes (st*iï*l so dzheent·l*iï*· ooɔr mii stiil·*iï*q.) Dryden's line, from his *Veni Creator*, "And make us temples wor*thy thee*," is well adapted to render the difference of the vowels in (-dhi dhii) sensible.

[2] The present writer should be the last to throw stones at those who do not hear the difference between (i, *i*) for in his *Alphabet of Nature*, 1845, p. 65, the first work on phonetics which he published, he objected to Knowles's assertion that (*i*) was an independent vowel sound, and resolutely paired (ii, *i*). This is by no means the only point in phonetics concerning which the experience of nearly a quarter of a century has enlightened him. He would, however, particularly notice the *stopped* vowels, which on p. 63 of that work, he found himself unable to separate from their consonants, as in (p*i*t, pet, pæt, pɔt, pɔt, p*u*t), but which he has been in the habit of separating for many years.

[3] See p. 112. Cooper, as we have seen (p. 83), forms an exception; he appears to pair (*ee*, *i*), and certainly does not pair (ii, *i*).

earliest times to the present day. Against this supposition must be placed the facts that, as already pointed out, short (i) is not at all unfrequent in Scotland, and was apparently recognized in English in 1701 by Jones, a Welshman, and 1766 by Buchanan, a Scotchman, and also that in Ireland final *-y*, which is in England (*-i*), is invariably (-i). The Irish English generally representing a XVII th century English pronunciation, there is a possibility of (i) having been somewhat common in England during the end of the XVII th and beginning of the XVIII th centuries, a period of English pronunciation remarkable for a tendency to thinness of sound. The true long vowel (*ii*) will come under consideration again in the next Chapter under I, Y, when the importance of the preceding discussion will more clearly appear.

As to long *i* in English at present, it is without doubt, a diphthong, and has been generally recognized as such from early times. But orthoepists are not agreed as to the nature of its first element, and this becomes an important consideration. The Italians and French only approach the sound of our long *i* very loosely, in the Italian words d*a*ino, l*a*ido, z*a*ino, and the French p*aï*en, f*aï*ence. These may be more properly written (daai·no, laai·do, tsaai·no; paiiɛʌ, faiiaʌs), so that in the Italian the first element, in the French the second element is lengthened. In Germany the sound written *ei, ey, ai, ay* is intended to be (ai), although these diphthongs are very variously pronounced. Rapp gives the literary high varieties (ai, ɔi, ei, *e*i) and Schmeller notices the Bavarian dialectic varieties (a, ai, *a*i, ɛ, ɛi, ei, ii).[1] The different Scotch sounds of long *i* will be fully considered in Chapter IV. § 2, under I. In England we have only one recognized pronunciation of *i* long, but we have also two recognized sounds which may be heard in *Isa*iah, or in the usual English pronunciation of χεῖρ χαῖρ', and the distinction is, or used to be, strongly insisted on at Eton. The second of these sounds, the English pronunciation of the Greek *αι*, is (ai). What is the first? Knowles,[2] following Sheridan, says it is (ʌ), the only difference between *i* long and *oy* consisting in the brevity with which the first element is dwelt upon in the first sound. This is an Irishism no doubt, although he is closely followed by Haldeman,[3] who makes

[1] *Rapp*, Physiologie der Sprache, vol. iv. pp. 85 et sqq. *Schmeller*, Mundarten Bayerns, p. 56.

[2] *James Knowles*, Pronouncing and Explanatory Dictionary of the English Language, founded on a correct developement of the nature, the number, and the various properties of all its simple and compound sounds, as combined into syllables and words. London, 1847, 8vo.

[3] Analytic Orthography, § 106, 400. and examples § 602, 610.

the first element (*a*), and identifies English long *i* with the German *ei*, of which Schmeller makes the first element (a). Mr. Melville Bell identifies the first element of his pronunciation of English long *i* with (a). The first element of my pronunciation of the German *ai* he considers to be (*a*h), a sound that I can only with difficulty distinguish from (*a*), as I am apt to labialise (*a*) in speaking. But in unaccented syllables he makes the first element of his pronunciation of long *i* to be (ah). This was the element he recognized in my own pronunciation of this diphthong in all cases. Many Londoners certainly use (æ) as the first element. Again, Wilkins and Franklin call the first element (ɔ). And Smart making the first element *ur* without sounding the *r* must mean (ɔ). The second element is of course the glide, and the last element (or second as it is usually called) is the vowel (i) or (*i*), very often the latter I believe in English. Mr. Bell only recognizes the glide, 5*c* (see p. 15), that is, the glide to the (ɹ) position. According to the mode of writing diphthongs which I adopt I must give (i) or (*i*) as the final element, leaving the glide to be denoted by juxtaposition. Hence we have the following

Analyses of English long I—

Sheridan and Knowles	(ʌi)	
Haldeman	(*a*i)	
Walker and Melville Bell	(ai)	accented
Melville Bell	(ahi)	unaccented.
Londoners	(æi)	
Scotch	(*e*i, ɛi, ɐi, ai, *a*i, ɔhi)	
Wilkins and Franklin	(ɔi)	
Wallis and Smart	(ɔ̈i)	

Now this being the sound of the personal pronoun, is heard every day and constantly; but after competent orthoepists have carefully examined it, they are unable to agree as to its analysis. One reason is of course a real difference of pronunciation, but another appears to be that the first element is pronounced with extreme brevity, so that in British speech it is not sufficiently heard as distinct from the following glide. In endeavouring therefore to fix it, different observers either begin far back in the scale of distinct vowels, or catch the sound closer and closer to (i). Thus it may be that the whole series of sounds (ɔ-ɔh*a*a-ahæei) may be heard in this diphthong, all gliding into each other with immense rapidity. Again the first element being so indistinct, others, as Wilkins and Franklin, or Wallis and Smart, take refuge in one of the colourless sounds as (ə, ɔ̈).

Now I hear the vowel (a) very clearly in (ai) as in the Etonian pronunciation of χαῖρ; but I cannot hear it in the Etonian pronunciation of χείρ, nor I do hear an (e) there. I therefore prefer to represent the English *i* long, the Etonian pronunciation of Greek ει by (ɔi), and the English *aye*, yes, the Etonian pronunciation of the Greek αι by (ai). The preceding discussion will apply, as to the first element, to the present pronunciation of *ow* in *now*, *how*, *cow*.

We are now better prepared to understand what our authorities say on the subject. The first one is sufficiently perplexing.

1530. Palsgrave says: "*I* in the frenche tong hath .ii. dyuerse maners of sou*n*dynges, the sou*n*dyng of *i*, whiche is most generally vsed in the fre*n*che tong, is like as the Italians sounde *i*, and suche with vs as sounde the latin tong aright, whiche is almost as we sou*n*de *e* in these words *a bee* a flie, *a beere* for a deed corps, *a peere* a felowe, *a fee* a rewarde, a little more soundynge towards *i*, as we sound *i* with vs."

Now du Guez says: "Ye shal pronounce . . . your *i*, as sharpe as can be," by which I understand, with the smallest lingual and pharyngal aperture, or as clearly (i) as possible. When Palsgrave says: "*almost* as we sou*n*de *e*," etc., the *almost* is merely one of those safeguards which orthoepists love to insert, and can scarcely avoid inserting, when they give the equivalent for a foreign sound which they seem to hear in their own tongue, but doubt the correctness of their hearing. But what does he mean by "a little more soundynge towards *i*, as we sound *i* with vs"? A vowel cannot sound a little more towards a diphthong, and yet long *i* was certainly most generally recognized to be a diphthong in the XVI th century, although it is probable that Palsgrave may have had an older pronunciation, rather of the XV th than of the XVI th century. Could he mean that the sound seemed between (i) and (*i*)? It would be difficult to insert one. Could he mean that as he pronounced those English words the sound had a tinge of (e) in it as it were (*ii*), and that the French pronounced a clearer (i)? The matter becomes still more enigmatical as he goes on to say:

"If *i* be the first letter in a frenche worde or the laste, he shall in those two places be sounded lyke as we do this letter *y*, in these words with vs, *by* and *by*, *a spye*, *a flye*, *awry*, and suche other: in whiche places in those frenche bokes, as be diligently imprinted, they vse to writte this letter *y*: but whether the frenche worde be written with *i* or *y*, in these two places he shal be sounded, as I have shewed here in this rule, as in *ymage*, *conuerty*, *ydole*, *estourdy*, in whiche the *y* hath suche sounde, as we wolde give him in our tong."

This sound, whatever it was, must be distinct from the other sound of *i*. Now as Palsgrave noways describes the sound, or hints at its being a diphthong, we can do nothing but refer to Meigret 1550, who writes: "je vi, o*i*, aosi, j'ey báti, je bátí ou bátís" with precisely the same sign as he uses in "Louis MeigrEt, LíonoEs." Perhaps Palsgrave would rejoin: "true, but he was a Lyonnais; I give the Parisian pronunciation." In the mean time we are not assisted towards Palsgrave's own pronunciation of the English "by and by, a spye, a flye, awry."[1] What follows is as perplexing:—

"For as moche as *v* and *i* come often together in the frenche tonge, where as the *v* hath with them his distinct sounde, and the *i* is sounded shortly & confusely, whiche is the proprete of a diphthonge. I reken *vi* also among the diphthonges in the frenche tong, whiche whan they come together, shall haue suche a sou*n*de in frenche wordes, as we gyue hym in these wordes in our tong, *a svvyne*, *I dvvyne*, *I tvvyne*, so that these wordes *agvvsér*, *agvvlllón*, *condvvýre*, *dedvvýre*, *aviourdhvvy*, *meshvvy*, and all suche shall sounde theyr *v* and *i* shortly together, as we do in our tong in the words I have gyven exa*m*ple of, and nat eche of them distinctly by himself, as we of our tong be inclined to sound them, whiche wolde rather say *aviourdhv̈ÿ*, *dedv̈ÿt*, *saufcondv̈ÿt*, gyuynge both to *v* and *i* theyr distinct sounde, than to sou*n*de them as the frenche men do in dede, which say *aviourdhvy*, *dedvyt*, *saufcondvyt*, soundyng them both shortly together, and so of all suche other."

It is a well-known modern English error to say (lwii) for (lyi) *lui*. Palsgrave, whose ears cannot have been very acute, here seems to authorize a similar use. At the same time the conversion of (y) into a consonant as (w), is directly opposed to the previous direction to give (y) its "*distinct* sound," and pronounce (i) "confusely." But can Palsgrave have also meant that the second element in *ui* in the French words cited was the same as in *svvyne*, *dvvyne*, *tvvyne?* The *y* in the French words is not even final or initial. It could have had no sound but (ii) even according to Palsgrave. Did Palsgrave say (swiin, dwiin, twiin) or (sw*i̯*n, dw*i̯*n, tw*i̯*n)? It is the only legitimate inference, and there is no slight probability of its being correct. We shall see that Palsgrave pronounced *ou* as (uu), which was a XIV th century pronunciation continued archaically into the XVI th century, and although

[1] It deserves however to be recorded that Gill writes (en·emɔi), not (en·emi), and has at least once (ɔim·adzhes], although on another occasion he writes (im·aadzh) so that the former may be a misprint. The *God save the king* of James the First's time has: "O Lord our God arise. Scatter his enemies," giving (en·emɔiz), if the rhyme is to be preserved, though in modern practice we sacrifice the rhyme and often sing (en·imi̯z).

the recognized pronunciation at that time was (ou), yet the example of Bullokar (pp. 94, 98,) shews that there were still many who preferred the (uu) sound. In the same way perhaps both Palsgrave and Bullokar preserved the (*ii*) sound of long *i*, usual in the XIVth century, notwithstanding the general adoption of (ei). The new (ɔi, ou) and the old (*ii*, uu) stand precisely on the same ground, and therefore I am inclined to think that Palsgrave and Bullokar said (*ii*), as distinct from (ii). Further reference to this curious retention of an old sound will have to be made in the next chapter under I.

1547. SALESBURY does not leave us in much doubt, for he writes (ei) for long *i*, thus:

I *ei* (ei), VYNE *vein* (vein), WYNE *wein* (wein); DYCHES *deitsys* (deitsh·iz); THYNE *ddein* (dhein); SIGNES *seins* (seinz); Latin DICO *deicu* (dei·ku), TIBI *teibei* (tei·bei), DEI *Deei* (Dee·i), QUI *quei* (kwei).

At the same time he reprobates this pronunciation of Latin, and says:

"I in Welsh hath the mere pronunciation of *i* in Latine, as learned men in our time vse to sou*n*de it, and not as they . . . with their Iotacisme corrupting the pronunciation make a diphthong of it, saying *veidei*, *teibei*, for *vidi*, *tibi*." "*I* in their language is equivalent to the following two letters in ours *ei*, but they are compressed so as to be pronounced in one sound or a diphthong, as in that word of theirs I, *ei*, (ei) ego." "Y often has the sound of the diphthong *ei* as THYNE, *ddein* (dhein), tuus; & its own sound as in the word THYNNE, *thynn*, (thin), gracilis."

That Salesbury's *ei* was different from his *ai*, and that he meant to indicate a different sound in such English words that have long *i*, from that in other words having *ai* in his transcription, is I think evident, because he never confounds the two sounds, and because in modern Welsh the sound *ei* sounds to me as (ɔi), and *ai* as (ai). I think, however, that his letters *ei* justify me in considering, or rather leave me no option but to consider that the English diphthong sounded (ei) to Salesbury.

As to the short *i*, he identifies it with Welsh *y*, considering the latter the especial sound. He also says that Welsh *u* "soundeth as the vulgar English people sound it in these wordes of English, *trust*, *bury*, *busy*, *Huberden*." I think that he cannot point to any other sound but (*i*), supposing the true Welsh to be (*y*), a sound which Mr. Melville Bell hears in the unaccented syllables: *the* house*s*, (dh*y* HAUZ·*yz*) as he would write the sounds. The difference between (*i*, *y*) is very slight indeed. In practice Salesbury is not very precise,

as may be seen by the following list of words in which short *i* occurs, but his theory leads me to adopt (*i*) as the true sound of English short *i* in his time.[1]

GOD BE WYTH YOU *God biwio* (God bii·wi,o), GRACYOUSE *grasiws* (graa·si,us), CONDICYON *condisyun* (kondis·*i*,un), TWYNCLE *twinkl* (twiq·k'l), WRYNCLE *wrinkl* (wriq·k'l), KYNGES *kings* (kiqz), GELDING *gelding* (geld·iq); GYLBERT, *Gilbert* (Gil·bert), GYNGER *tsintsir* (dzhin·dzhir), BEGGYNGE, *begging* (beg·iq); HOLI, *holy* (hoo·li, hol·*i*); EXHIBITION *ecsibisiun* (eksibis·i,un); PROHIBITION, *proibisiun* (proo,-ibis·iun); LYLY *lili* (lil·i), LADY *ladi* (laa·di); PAPYR *papyr* (paa·pir), RYGHT *richt* (rikht); THYSTLE, *thystl* (this·t'l); THIS *ddys* (dhis), BUSY *busi* (biz·i); WYNNE *wynn* (win); THYNNE *thynn* (thin); KNYZT *knicht* (knikht).

1568. SIR T. SMITH says: "I Latina, quae per se prolata, apud nos tantum valet quantum Latine, *ego*, aut *oculus*, aut *etiam*,"

by which I understand that the three words *I, eye, aye* had the same sound, precisely as we are told by Shakspere, Romeo and Juliet, Act iii, Sc. 2, v. 45, (I quote from Steevens' reprint of the quarto of 1609, which agrees in this passage with the folio of 1623; the lines do not occur in the quarto of 1597):

> Hath *Romeo* slaine himselfe? say thou but I
> And that bare vowell I shall poyson more
> Then the death-darting eye of cockatrice,
> I am not I, if there be such an I.

Here *aye* is spelled *I*, and thoroughly identified with it, as "that bare vowell I," and with the suggested "*eye* of cockatrice" in the next line. Although Smith identifies these three words, he spells them differently, introducing ī as the sign for long *i*, and pairing it with short *i*. He thus deprives the Latin language of the sound of (ii), for he pronounced Latin *e* as (ee). Hence when he comes to the sound of (ii) in English, he exclaims in perplexity:

"Quid autem fiet ubi sonus invenitur quem neque Græci, neque Latini habuerunt, præsertim cum omnes eorum literæ in similibus eorum sonis fuerunt absumptæ? Ecce autem sonum Anglorum et Scotorum alium diversumque ab omnibus his,[2] qui nec ē (ee) nec ī (ei) reddit auribus, sed quoddam medium, et tamen simplex est, literaque debet dici: est autem semper ferè longa."

His examples are *me, see, meet, deep, steep, feel, feet, sheep, queen, mean,*[3] *seek, she, week, leek, beef, neese, bee* apes,

[1] So far as I could hear, the Welsh *dim* was pronounced by several Welsh gentlemen precisely as the English *dim*, that is (dim), and they all objected to the pronunciation (dim).

[2] That is, not one of the sounds which he had already considered, and which were apparently (aa a, ee e, ei *i*, oo o, uu u, yy).

[3] "Intelligere." Qu. *mien*, vultus?

whence, through Salesbury and Palsgrave, we know that the sound was (ii). Smith therefore recognized no short (i) in English. The sound of his *i* short must therefore have been different from (i), that is, as I believe (*i*), agreeing with Salesbury.

Smith recognizes the two diphthongs (ei, ai) but finds scarcely any difference between them, although he says that "mulierculæ" pronounce (ei) for (ai). This will be considered under (ai), p. 122. In no case in which the orthography uses long *i* does Smith write *ei*, so that but for his rather veiled identification of *I* with *eye*, we should have had no clue to the sound intended.

1569. HART says: "Out of all doubt, no nation of the foresaide but we and the Scottish, doe at any time sound *i*, in the aforesayde sound of *ei*: wherefore that English Greek reader which shall giue the same sound to *i* which he doth to ει, doth further this errour much amongst vs."

He also writes (reid bei) for *ride by*. But he makes *ee* in *Greeks* the long sound of *i* in *in*, that is (*ii*), and is thus not so accurate as Smith, who distinguishes the sound as (ii).

1580 BULLOKAR calls long *i* a vowel, and does seem to know that it has a different sound from short *i*. He says: "I, hath two soundes, the one agréeing to his olde & continued name, and is then a vowell, the other sounde agréeing to the olde name of *g*, and of my *g'* (dzh), and is then a consonant." He gives as examples: "I ly in my sisterz kitchen with a pillo'w besýd her peticót, and thy whýt pilion," where the accent denotes length, and *o'w* means (u). What "the old and continued name" is, he does not write. He has no other distinction between long and short *i* but this accent, and never even hints at the possibility of their having two sounds. He uses the accent to indicate the long *a, e, y, o* only, and has a new sign *e'* for (ii), on which he says, and it is the only clue I can find:

"*e* hath two soundes, and vowels both, the one flat, agréeing to his old and continued name: and the other sounde more sharpe and betwene the old sound of the old name of :*e*: and the name of :*i*: for such difference the best writers did use :*ea*: for :*e*: flat and long: & *ea, ee, ie, eo* for :*e*: sharpe."

This "flat *e*," was undoubtedly (ee), and the "sharpe *e*" was (ii). The "old name of *e*" is therefore (ee), and the "sharp" sound of *e*, or (ii) is said to lie between (ee) and the name of *i*, that is, its long sound, whatever that may be. Now we have seen that Smith says that (ii) is "quoddam medium," between (ee) and (ei), so that we need not expect

more precision in Bullokar, and although it is really nonsense to say that (ii) lies between (ee) and (ei), since (ei) is compounded of (ee) and (ii), yet as Smith actually said so, Bullokar may have meant the same. But Bullokar constantly neglects to write the acute accent, his sign of prolongation, over *i*. Thus he has *cǫntrýz*, *cǫntriz* in successive lines. Again he always writes *wrýth* = *written* with a long *y*, and it would be difficult to believe that even a pedantic theorist ever said (*rw*eit'n). Gill writes (wr*i*t'n). If however we suppose that Bullokar, as well as Palsgrave, pronounced long *i* as (*ii*) and short *i* as (*i*), all difficulty arising from this source would disappear. And although the statement that (ii) lies between (ee) and (*ii*) is not so correct as that (*ii*) lies between (ee) and (ii), yet it is not at all extravagant for a phonetist of that time. If, as will appear in the next chapter, (*ii*, uu) were probably the XIV th century pronunciations of long *i* and *ou*, then the retention of (*ii*) by Bullokar and Palsgrave will be precisely parallel to their undoubted retention of (uu), and would have precisely the same archaic effect in the midst of the general (ei, ou) as (*o*bliidzh', griit, briik) have at the present day amidst the usual (*o*bləidzh', gr*ee*t, br*ee*k). The whole subject will be properly discussed in the next chapter, and in the mean time the only legitimate inference from Bullokar's notation and practice seems to be that he pronounced long *i* as (*ii*).

1621. GILL uses also a simple sign for long *i*, namely *j*. He says:

"Differentia significationis (quoad fieri potest, & sonus permittit) orthografiâ discernitur. Sic *J*. ego. *ei* oculus, *ëi* ita."—"Nec *e*, sæpiùs præponitur *i*, dicimus enim *hëi* (HEEI), adhortantes aut laudantes, & *ei* (ei) EYE oculus, *ëi* (eei) etiam, ita: vbi tamen sonus vocalis, exiguum distat ab illo qui auditur in *ðjn* tuus, & *mjn* meus."—"Communis dialectus aliquando est ambiguus. Audies enim *ðai* aut *ðei* (dhai, dhei) THEY, illi."—"*I*, est tenuis, aut crassa: tenuis est breuis, aut longa: breuis sic notatur *i*, vt in *sin* SINNE peccatum: longa sic *ï*. vt in *sïn* SEENE visus, a, um: crassa autem fere est diphthongus *ei*; sed quia sono exilior paulò quam si diffunderemur in *e*, retinebimus antiquum illum et masculinum sonum .... eumque signabimus hoc charactere *j*. vt in *sjn* SIGNE signum. Omnium differentia est in *win* WINNE vinco, *wïn* WEENE opinor, *wjn* WYNE vinum."

The meaning of these passages is not very clear, and they have occasioned me considerable difficulty, as I felt it important to determine the precise signification of Gill's symbols. It is clear that his *j* was little, if at all, different from (ei), and that this difference consisted mainly in dwelling more upon

the (e) sound in the diphthong which he writes (ei) than in that which he writes *j*; this is the only sense I can attach to the expression that the sound of *j* "*fere* est diphthongus *ei*, sed sono exilior quam si *diffunderemur* in *e*," as it were, than if we were *diffuse* over the *e*. The distinction is then precisely similar to that which Sheridan and Knowles make between modern *I*, *oy*, where they suppose the first element in each case to be (A), but to be instantly lost in *I*, and retained long enough to be distinctly heard in *oy*, (p. 107). We seem to have only to change (A) into (e) to obtain Gill's distinction between *I*, *eye*. Gill frequently interchanges (ai, aai) and does not seem to be very particular about the distinction between (ei, eei), but he appears to have always attached great importance to the first element in (ei) and (ai). He says of diphthongs generally:

"Nec tamen in omnium diphthongorum elatione, utrique vocali sonus integer ubique constabit. Etenim vocalis præcedens sæpenumero acutiùs sonare videtur, & clariùs; in *ai* et *ei*, ita aures implere, ut *.i.* subiungi æquius esset, quam ad latus adhærere,"

alluding evidently to the Greek forms ᾳ, ῃ. The conclusion would appear to be that Gill's *j*, *ei*, *ai* were more properly ('ei, e'i, a'i) where the apostrophe indicates for the moment the extremely unaccented or unimportant character of the element to which it is prefixed. For this we might write (ei, eei, aai) if Gill did not occasionally distinguish between (ei, ai) and (eei, aai). We must not forget however that Gill blames Hart for writing *ei* in place of *I*, where Gill prints *I* meaning, probably, *j*. In this case his *j* would appear to be considerably different from his (ei).

Another hypothesis is possible. We shall see that at the time of Wallis, 1653, (əi) was a common form of long *i*. It is possible that this was one of the XVII th century pronunciations which Gill adopted, and hence his *j*, *ei*, *ai* may mean (əi, ei, ai), and as this is the most convenient distinction which I can draw between the sounds, and also agrees in making *j* but slightly different, and yet decidedly different, from (ei), I shall adopt it in transcribing Gill.

But for the XVI th century generally, the positive assertion of Salesbury that long *i* was (ei), and the identification of the sounds of *I*, *eye*, *aye* by Smith, leave me no choice but to use (ei) for long *i*. Shakspere was born the same year as Gill, yet as he did not live so long into the XVII th century, he may have used the same pronunciation as Smith and Salesbury. Certainly his *I*, *eye*, *aye* must have had the same sound (p. 112). But perhaps long *i* was also often

called (ai) as it still is, and as it probably was in the XIV th century.

If the hypothesis here adopted for the pronunciations of long *i* by Palsgrave and Bullokar; Salesbury, Smith and Hart; and Gill, namely (*ii*, ei, əi) be correct, we have the phenomenon of the coexistence of two extreme sounds (*ii*, əi) with their link (ei), during the greater part of the XVI th century, bringing the pronunciation of the XIV th and XVII th centuries almost together upon one point. A curious example of the present coexistence of similar sounds in the various Scotch dialects will be given in the next chapter.

The short sound of *i*, I take to be (*i*) and not (i), notwithstanding that Gill and subsequent writers consider (ii) to have been its long sound. This conclusion rests principally on the authority of Smith and Salesbury.

Y, I, IE — XVII TH CENTURY.

Price's list of words in *ie* = (ii) has already been given, (p. 104,) and no further notice of this combination in the XVII th century is required.

1640. BEN JONSON, like Bullokar, entirely ignores the diphthongal character of long *i*. His description answers to (i) or (*i*), but certainly not to the diphthongs (ei, əi), one of which he most probably uttered for his *i*. He says:

"*I*, is of a narrower sound then *e*, and uttered with lesse opening of the mouth; the tongue brought backe to the palate, and striking the teeth next the checke-teeth. It is a *Letter* of a double power. As a *Vowell* in the former, or single Syllabes, it hath sometimes the sharpe accent; as in *bìnding. mìnding. pìning. whìning. wìving. thrìving. mìne. thìne.* Or, all words of one Syllabe qualified by *e*. But, the flat in more, as in these, *bìll. bìtter. gìddy. lìttle. ìncident.* and the like ..... In Syllabes, and words compos'd of the same *Elements*, it varieth the sound, now sharpe, now flat; as in *gìve, gìve. alìve, lìve. drìve, drìven. tìtle, tìtle.* But these, use of speaking, and acquaintance in reading, will teach, rather then rule."

1653. WALLIS says: "I vocalis quoties brevis est sonatur plerumque (ut apud Gallos aliosque) exili sono. Ut in *bĭt* morsus, *wĭll* volo, *stĭll* semper, *wĭn* lucro, *pĭn* acicula, *sĭn* peccatum, *fĭll* impleo. At quoties longa est plerumque profertur ut Græcorum ει. Ut *bīte* mordeo, *wīle* stratagema, *stīle* stilus, *wīne* vinum, *pīne* tabe consumor, etc., eodem fere modo quo Gallorum *ai* in vocibus *main* manus, *pain* panis, etc. nempe sonum habet compositum ex Gallorum *è* fœminino et *i* vel *y*."

This should be (əi), or (œi), or (œi), the difference being slight, and all so like (əi) that we may take that as the sound,

especially as Wilkins adopts this form. Wallis also admits this sound in the first element of *boil, toil, oil, bowl* globus, *owl,* which he pronounces (bəil, təil, ɔil, bəul, ɔul). In another place he says that long *ī* is "idem omnino sonus cum Græcorum *ει*."

1668. Wilkins gives distinctly "(ɔi) our English *i* in *bite,*" the first element being identified with *u* in "but, full, futt, mutt-*on,* pull, rudd-er," which is meant for (ə), as it is stated to be wholly guttural, and to be represented by *y* in Welsh.

1668. Price merely talks of long and short *i.*

1669. Holder says: "Our vulgar *i* as in *stile,* seems to be such a diphthong (or rather syllable or part of a syllable) composed of *a, i* or *e, i* (ai, ei), and not a simple original vowel."

1685. Cooper says: "U in *Cut* et *i* (ɔi), dipthongum facillimè constituunt, quam *i longam* vocamus; ut *wine,* vinum, hoc modo pronunciatur ante *nd* finales; ut *blind* cæcus, *wind* ventus: at *pin'd* pro *pinned* acicula subnexus; à verbo *to pin;* brevis est; *pined* marcidus; à *to pine* marceo; dipthongus est. Scribitur per *ui* in *beguile* fallo; *disguise* dissimulo; *guide* dux; *guidon* Imperatoris baculus: per *oi* in *in-join* in-jungo, *joint* junctura; *jointure* dos, *broil* torreo, *ointment* unguentum."

1688. Miege says: "L'autre *i* a un Son particulier, et qu'on ne saurait mieux vous representer par la plume que par ces deux Voyelles *aï*; comme dans les mots *I, pride, crime.* Il est vrai que ce Son paroit d' abord un peu rude et grossier; mais les Anglois lui donnent un certain Adoucissement, dont les Etrangers se rendent bien tôt capable. Cet Addoucissement consiste, en partie, à ne faire qu'un Son d' *aï,* en sorte que ces deux Voyelles ne sont pas tout-à-fait distinctement prononcées." This expression seems to point to that extreme brevity of the first element which still prevails, and makes the analysis of this English sound so difficult. It must be also remembered that there is nothing approaching the compactness of English diphthongs in French, where a looseness prevails similar to that in our *oy.*

1701. Jones says in one place that the sound of short *u* (ə) is written *o* before *i* in *boil, coil, coin, foil, moil,* &c., and in another place that the sound of *i* is written *oi* in those words. It follows that he analyzed long *i* into (ɔi).

It appears therefore that the long *i* of the XVII th century was the same as at present, and hence it must have been so during the XVIII th century, and indeed Franklin, 1768, writes (ɔi), and Sheridan, 1780 analyzes long *i* into (ʌi) with very short (ʌ), (p. 107,) and Walker into (æi) or (ai).

EI, AI — XVITH CENTURY.

1530. PALSGRAVE says: "*Ei* vniversally through out all the frenche tong shalbe sounded like as he is with vs in these wordes, *obey, a sley, a grey*, that is to say, the *e* shall have his distinct sounde, and the *i* to be sounded shortly and confusely, as *conseil, uermeil*, and so of all suche other."

"*Ai* in the frenche tong is sounded lyke as we sounde *ay* in these wordes in our tong *rayne, payne, fayne, disdayne*, that is to say, *a*, distinctly and the *i* shortly & confusely."

The forms *ey, ay*, are mere varieties of *ei, ai*, and need not be separately considered. Palsgrave's words ought to imply that the English and French *ei, ai*, were pronounced (ei, ai) or else (eei, aai). This is very different from the present pronunciation in English, where they are generally (ii, *ee*), or in French, where they are generally (ee, ee); hence some confirmation is required.

MEIGRET says: "Considerons si ai, se treuue tousiours raysonnablement escrit, de sorte que les deux voyelles soient en la prononciation comme nous les voyons en aymant, aydant, hair. Il n 'y a point de doubte qu'en mais, maistre, aise, vous ny trouuerez aucunes nouuelles de la diphthongue ay, mais tant seulement d'vng e qui i'appelle é ouvert, comme ia i'ay dict. Parquoy telle maniere d'escriture est vicieuse en ceux là, *et* en tous autres semblables, es quelz la prononciation est autre que d' ai: comme vous pourrez cognoistre si vous les paragonez à aydant, aymant, es quelz elle est veritablement prononcée. Ie treuue d'auantage que nous faisons bien souuent vsurper à la diphthongue ai la puissance de ei, comme en ces vocables sainct, main, maintenir: es quelz sans point de doubte nous prononçons la diphthongue ei tout ainsi qu'en ceint, ceinture, peindre, peinture, meine, emmeine. De sorte que si tu te ioues de vouloir prononcer ai en ceux là, tu seras trouué lourd, *et* de mauuaise grace, *et* auecq aussi bonne rayson q'est le menu peuple de Paris quant il prononce 'main, pain' par *ai*."

Again in his phonetic grammar, he says—

"EN començant donq a çelles qi ont a en tête, nous EN auons vn EN ai ou ay (car je ne fés point de differenç', entre l' i E y GREC) comme payant gajant [gayant?] ayant .... Or començ' EN notre lange la diphthonge, EI, par E ouvert, sucçeder a çelle d' ai EN aocuns vocables: tellement qe nou' n'oyons plus dire aymer, si souuent q' eymer. Ao regard d' amé, E amez dont no' lettres de comissions sont pleines, l' uzaje de l' eloqençe Françoeze les a ja de si long tems cassez, qe ie ne pense pas q'il se puiss' aoiourdhuy trouuer home qi les aye vu jamés EN aothorité, pour etre communement prononçez d'un bon courtizant."

These extracts establish a French diphthong (ei, EI), it is impossible to say which; and also a French diphthong (ai) or (aai), entirely different from the former, but gliding into

it, so that the pronunciation was then beginning to change, and that in several words as *mais, maistre* the diphthong (ai) had become the simple vowel (EE).[1]

1547. SALESBURY in no place gives an English word which he spells with *ei, ey,* but as he explains the word VAYNE by the Welsh *gwythen ne wac,* i.e. *vena vel vanus,* it must be held to include both the words *rein* and *vain*. He pronounces them both *vain* = (vain), and hence makes no difference between *ei* and *ai*. But he distinguishes both from long *i*, as he had immediately before written VYNE, *rein* (vein) vitis. The following are all Salesbury's words containing *ai* with their pronunciation; he has no special observations on the combination. QUAYLE has no pronunciation assigned; NAYLE *nayl* (nail) unguis vel clavus, NAYLES *nayls* (nailz); RAYLE *aryl* (rail) cancellus, RAYLES *rayls* (railz), VAYNE *vain* (vain)

[1] The work of M. Livet, described on p. 33, enables us to confirm this view by the very objection which G. des Autels opposed to it. "Aussi triomphes-tu de dire," said he to Meigret, according to p. 129 of M. Livet's book, "que les diphthongues gardent toujours en une syllabe le propre et entier son de deux voyelles conjointes; et sont encore plus gaillards tes exemples de *payant* et *royal* ... Je te dy donc qu'il n'y ha point de diphthongue en ces mots *ayant, payant, royal* et *loyal*, mais seulement une contraction, qui encore ne se fait là où tu prends la diphthongue, mais en la syllabe suivante, car en *ayant, a* est une syllabe et *yant* une autre par contraction de deux." On which M. Livet remarks: "Ce passage montre assez la prononciation de *ayant, payant*, qui s'est conservé dans le centre de la France et en Anjou. En Picardie, on dit *gayole* pour *géole* (diérèse de *geôle*), et le colosse d'osier qu'on promène dans les rues de Douai sous le nom de *Gayan*, à l'époque de la *Ducasse*, n'est autre que le *Géant*, pris absolument. Cf. Escalier. *Remarques sur le patois*, 1 vol. in-8°, 1856, p. 22." And Pierre Ramus (Livet p. 205) gives for *ai* the examples, (in his orthography, using E, *e* for his broad and mute *e* respectively) 'paiant gaiant, aidant,' and *for ei*, 'FEindre, PEindre, CREindre, PEine, foutEine,' where the two last words have no suspicion of a nasal vowel. On *payer* in the XV th century, see suprà, p. 76. There is a fight between Meigret and his opponents respecting the mute *e*. Meigret only admits his E, e = (E, *e* ?) long and short, and identifies what G. des Autels, Pelletier, Ramus, and others, according to Livet's language, call the 'mute e,' with his 'short e' (*e*). Livet (p. 133) concludes: "d'une part que les différents sons de l'*e* étaient alors ce qu'ils sont maintenant, et d'autre part qu'on ne s'entendait pas sur la manière de les noter ou de les nommer." But my German experience leads me to a different conclusion. In the words: *eine gute Gabe*, the final *e* is pronounced in the greater part of Germany very obscurely and more like (ɐ), as most Englishmen pronounce their final *a* in *China, idea*, and some their final *-er* in *gaiter* (which word they then speak like a common mid-German mispronunciation of *Goethe*), than like (*e*). Yet theoretically (*e*) is held to be the sound uttered, and in some parts of the Austrian dominions I have heard this distinct short final (*e*), which of course had an unpleasant effect on my unaccustomed ears. Now it is quite possible that Meigret may have, as an older and provincial man, retained the clear (*e*), that his younger opponents may have used the obscurer (ɐ), which in course of time sank to the present (ə) or entirely disappeared. This theory at least accounts for the conflict of opinion, the decided retention of the final *e* in the phonetic writing of Pelletier and Ramus as well as of Meigret, and hence its continued use in the poetry of the XVII th century which set the rule for French versification.

vena vel vanus. But it is to be observed that he pronounces ORANGES *orcintsys* (or·eindzhiz), and that he says that before *ge, sh, teh* the sound of "*a* is thought to decline toward the sound of the diphthong *ai*, and the wordes" *domage, heritage, language, ashe, lashe, watch* are "to be read in thys wyse, *domaige, heritaige, languaige*,[1] *aishe, waitche*." We have very little trace of this custom left. The unaccented syllables are apt to be pronounced with (*i*) or perhaps (*y*), as (ɔr·indzhiz) dæm·idzh, her·itidzh, læq·gwidzh,) but *ash, watch* have become (æsh, wʌtsh), instead of (eesh, weetsh) as might have been expected. Salesbury therefore only recognizes the diphthong (ai) and does not acknowledge a diphthong (ei) as distinct from the representations of long *i*. Yet long *i, ei, ai* have in subsequent times traversed with different velocities three distinct paths ending in (ɔi, ii, *ee*) respectively.

1568. SIR T. SMITH says: "Inter *Ai* & *Ei* diphthongos minima differentia est, præsertim apud nostrates, apud nos tamen audiuntur hi soni. (Fein) fingere, (deinti) delicatus, (peint) pingere, (feint) languidus. Sed non hæc tantum verba per *ei* pronuntiantur, sed cætera omnia per *ai* scripta mulierculæ quædam delicatiores, *et* nonnulli qui volunt isto modo videri loqui vrbaniùs per *ei* (ei, eei) sonant,

[1] Compare Palsgrave: "Also all wordes in the frenche tong whiche in writtyng ende in *age* shall in redyng and spekyng sounde an *i* between *a* and *g*, as though that *a* were this diphthong *ai*: as for *langage, heretage, sage, dammage, bocquage, apprentissage*, they sounde *languaige, heritaige, saige, dammaige, bocquaige, apprentissaige*, and so of all suche lyke excepte *rage*. And note that many tymes I fynde suche nownes whiche have the *i* in writting betwene the *a* and *g*, but, whether he be written or nat, in redyng or spekyng he shalbe sounded, accordyng as I have here shewed by example." M. Ed. Le Héricher (Histoire et Glossaire du Normand, de l'Anglais, et de la langue Française, d'après la méthode historique naturelle et étymologique, 1862, vol. i. p. 24) entirely misunderstands this passage, when he says: "C'était une règle du français, formulée d'ailleurs par Palsgrave dans ses *Eclaircissemens de la langue française*, que la première lettre de l'Alphabet se prononçait A et Ai." That M. Le Héricher means that Palsgrave asserted French A to be (a) or (ɛ), and that generally, instead of generally (a), but (ai) in a very limited class of words, appears by his next remark: "Ce dernier son prévaut en anglais: il était aussi prédominant en normand." The very few examples which he cites for such an extraordinary assertion as the last, are far from establishing the fact. They are an assertion by Thierry that *Granville* was pronounced *Grainville* by the Normans: that in a MS. of the XIV th century at Avranches *faire deselare* rhyme, whereas they may be only an assonance as in modern Spanish: that in the XV th century a Caen farce has consecutive lines ending in *lusage griefve glaive*, and that *aige, usaige*, etc. were finally written and printed, so that a sea song of Ol. Basselin has a set of rhymes in *-aige*, the termination pointed out by Palsgrave. "C'est cette prononciation de l'A qui fait une des principales différences entre la langue des troubadours et celle des trouvères." This assertion must be received with due caution. Mr. W. Babington has kindly made inquiries for me of inhabitants of various departments in Normandy, and none were acquainted with an existing pronunciation of *a* as *ai* in any part of the country. Hence it must be very limited in extent, and probably comparable to the cases mentioned above p. 76.

vt hæc ipsa quæ nos per *ei* (ei) scribimus, alij sonant et pronunᵗiant per *ai*, tam ἀδιάφοροι sumus in his duntaxat duabus diphthongis Angli."

"Est diphthongus omnis sonus è duabus vocalibus conflatus ut: AI, (pai) solvere, (dai) dies, (wai) via, (mai) possum, (lai) ponere, (sai) dicere, (esai) tentare, (tail) cauda, (fail) deficere, (faain) libens ac volens, (pain) pœna, (disdain) dedignor, (claim) vendico, (plai) ludere, (arai) vestire seu ornare. In his est utraque litera brevis[1] apud vrbanius pronunciantes. Rustici utranque aut extremam[2] saltem literam longam sonantes, pinguem quendam odiosum, *et* nimis adipatum sonum reddunt. (Paai) solvere, (daai) dies, (waai) via, (maai) possum, (laai) ponere. Sicut qui valde delicatè voces has pronuntiant, mulierculæ præsertim, explicant planè Romanam diphthongum *ae*. AE diphthongus Latina. *Pae* solvere, *dae* dies, *wae* via, *mae* possum, *lae* ponere" = (pee, dee, wee, mee, lee) I suppose, since the Latin *ae* had long been pronounced (ee), as we know, among other reasons from the frequency with which it is written *e* in works before this time. "Scoti et Transtrentani quidam Angli voces has per impropriam diphthongum Græcam ᾳ proferunt ut nec *i* nec *e* nisi obscurissime[3] audiatur. A diphthongus impropriè Græca (paa,[4] daa, waa, maa, laa)."

Again, in his De recta et emendata lingvæ Græcæ pronuntiatione .... ad Vintoniensem Episcopum Epistola, Paris, 1568: "Diphthongi quo modo sonaⁿtur dicere in proᵐptu est: Nam si duas vocales rectè prius extuleris, & easdem coniunxeris, diphthongum habes, hoc est sonum quendam duplicem ex duobus commixtis inter se factum. Vt si nesciam mulsum quid sit, & audiam ex aqua & melle factum esse, potero fortassis commiscendo tale quid efficere, mel vt sentiatur & aqua ne dispareat. Aut si talem colorem habuisse veteres, qualeᵐ viridem appellant, & hunc ex flauo luteóve & ceruleo fuisse conᶠfectum, potero credo commiscendo videre, cuiusmodi sit illud quod imitari cupiam, vt nec alterum ab altero colorem prorsus extinctum & obliteratum relinquam, & tamen vtrunque pariter in tertio conspici ac relucere faciam. Sed, diphthongi quo modo sonari debent, quivis etiam ex triuio puer qui literas didicerit explicabit. Heus tu dic soles, *a* & *i* quid faciunt? dicet certè *ai*, αι. Si *p* præponas, facit *pai*, παῖ, solue. sin *m*, *mai*, μαῖ, Maïus mensis: sin *w*, *wai*, οὐαὶ, via; neque nunc *pa i* dicit, nec *ma i*, sed *pai* & *mai*, vt constituere diphthongos non dissoluere videatur. Idem dicendum puto & de *ei*, quod nos exprimimus cùm himmire, hoc est *ney* dicimus: & fœminæ quædam delicatiores cuncta ferè quæ per *ay* dicuntur per *ei* exprimunt: vt *wey*, *dey*, *pei*, vt eadem Eurosaxones populares mei rusticiores, nimis pingui *et* adipato sono, *way*, *day*, *pay*: vt etiam tinnituᵐ illud *i* reddat in fine. Scoti & Borei quidem Angli per *a*, vix vt illud *i* audiatur, *pa*, *da*, *wa*, aut

[1] In one case (faain) he has marked the vowel as long; perhaps a misprint.

[2] Meaning the first element?

[3] An orthoepical safeguard. In his examples he shews that the sound was not heard at all. The present sound is (aa'), see chapter XI.

[4] *Pay* is now called (paa) in Norfolk.

potius per *ae* proferunt. Illud obseruandum ne nimis videamur obesè loqui propter exilissimæ literæ prope latissimas ex brenibus nimium tinnientis sonum, cùm *ai* & *oi* dictionem finiant, breuiter & correptè proferendas esse: quod Græci Grammatici notarunt, ne alioqui crassum illum & adipatum sonum rusticorum nostratium imitemur, qui cùm *a gay, boy*, ore pleno literis diductis in immensum dicunt, nimis profectò invrbanè loqui ab elegantionibus iudicemur."

It would seem that Smith's (ei) were precisely the same as his long ī, and that as a general rule, *I, eye, aye* were pronounced alike. Yet the two sounds (ei, ai) were recognized also as different, and (ei) was considered to be a dainty effeminate pronunciation of (ai), which when urged to excess, through (eei), merged into (ee), but of this mincing sound he decidedly disapproved. This change makes it probable that *eye* and therefore long *i* was rather pronounced (ei) than (əi), because although (ei) could easily become (eei) and thence (ee), the course from (əi) to (ee) does not seem so straight. The sound of (ai) has not yet disappeared in our provinces. I have frequently heard (dai, wai) or even (daai, waai) used by rustics. Smith seems decidedly to disapprove of this lengthening of the first vowel, which however is not uncommon in Gill.

1569. HART in the very next year after Smith had reprobated the use of (ee) for (ai), published his treatise, in which he invariably uses (ee), and does not even give (ai) in his enumeration of diphthongs. In his French Lord's Prayer he transcribes *faite* as (feetaH), which agrees with Meigret's (fEEt*e*). It was Hart's English use of (ee) for (ai) that especially excited the ire of Dr. Gill.

"Ille," says Dr. Gill speaking of Hart, "præterquam quòd nonnullas literas ad vsum pernecessarias omisit, sermonem nostrum characteribus suis non sequi, sed ducere meditabatur. Multa omitto. Neque enim bene facta malignè Detrectare, meum est: tamen hæc paucula adnoto, ne me homini probo falsum crimen affinxisse putes. Emendato nostro charactere vtrumque leges, quia de sono tantùm certamen est.[1] Sic igitur ille, folio 66, b.

Pre	*pro*	prai	sed	*pro*	said	iu	*pro*	Juu
ue		wai	ei		əi	iuz[2]		yyz
se		sai	ov		of	uii		wi
dhe		dhei	aunsuer		answer	uidh		with
bue		buoi	riiding		reeding	knoon		knooun
me		mai						

Non nostras hic voces habes, sed Mopsarum fictitias."

[1] For the same reason, and also for greater ease to the reader, Gill's symbols are here replaced by palaeotype.

[2] Gill has here mistaken Hart's sign which was meant for (yyz), as will be shewn under U below.

The withering character of this denunciation will be well understood by referring to the passage quoted above, p. 91, where he reproaches the "Mopseys" with saying (meedz, plee) for (maidz, plai), although Gill himself writes (reseev·, deseev·) in place of (reseiv·, deseiv·), *receive*, *deceive*, which is a change in the same direction. After this expression of opinion by Dr. Gill it is impossible to accept Hart's pronunciation as that generally used in his time, though it is evidence of an existing pronunciation, then only patronized by a few, but becoming ultimately dominant.

1580. BULLOKAR says: "that there be seuen diphthongs of seuerall notes in voice, and differing from the notes of euery of the eight vowels aforesaide,[1] may appéere by the wordes following—

a *hay* or net: in Latine, *Plaga*, Italian, *Rete da pig'iar animali saluatichi*, French, *Bourcettes a chasser.*
hey: in Latine, *fœnum*, Italian, *Fieno*, French, *Du foin.*
a *boy*: in Latine, *Puer*, Italian, *Garzone*, French, *Garson.*
a *bωy*[2] that is fastened to an anker with a rope to weigh the anker: in Italian, *Amoinare.*
a *ha,u*,[3] in the eie: in Latine, *Vnguis*, French, *Paille.*
ˌtω *he,u* smaller: in Latine, *Concidere*, Italian, *Tagliare minutamente*, French, *Hacher menu.*
a *bow*: in Latine, *Arcus*, Italian, *Arco da saetture*, French, *Arc.*"

These diphthongs I read (ai, ei, oi, uui, au, eu, oou) of which the two last will be elsewhere considered, and (uui) is only a variety of (oi). Bullokar consistently uses (ei, ai) for *ei*, *ai*, thus (dhei konseiv·) would be quite distinct from (dhai konsaiv·) which the modern English ear hears as (dhəi konsəiv·).[4]

1621. GILL distinguishes (ei, eei, ai, aai), but he is not very certain in the use of (ai, aai). I find the following words in Gill's phonetic transcriptions.

ei (ei) eye, (eiz) eyes, (eidher) either, (valleiz)[5] valleys,—(reseev) receive, (deseev, deeseev) deceive.—(dheei) they, (dheeir) their, (reeineth) reigneth.

[1] See p. 64.

[2] The ω is in Bullokar a new letter made by the union of the two *oo*.

[3] The comma before *u* and inverted apostrophe before *t* are printed under the letters in Bullokar, to indicate, first that *u* has the sound (u) or (*u*), and secondly that ˌtω is the preposition.

[4] *Palmeira* Square at Brighton is always called (Pælməir·rə), and thus confused with Palmyra, the original Portuguese (Palmei·rə) not being understood. Few English observe the peculiar Scotch (ei) for (əi). They at most take it for a Scotch way of saying (əi), but recognize the latter diphthong.

[5] It is not to be supposed that (val·leiz) was meant, and not (val·eiz), but in transcribing, I have thought it best to give Gill's own forms, however careless and irregular they may be at times. Corrections must be always theoretical.

ai (wai, waai) way, (mai, maai) may, (sai, saai) say, 'praiz, praaiz) praise, (alai) allay, (wait) wait, (slain) slain, (sulain) *sodain* old form of *sudden*; (daai) day, (klaai) clay, (retaain) retain.

1623. BUTLER says (using the common orthography):

"The right sound of *ai, au, ei, eu, oi, ou;* is the mixed sound of the two vowels, whereof they are made: as (bait, vaut, nei, neu, koi, kou): no otherwise than it is in the Greek."

This might lead to (ai, ʌa, ɔi, eu, oi, ou), but it is impossible to say exactly how Butler pronounced Greek *αυ, ει*. Sir T. Smith's pronunciation of the Greek diphthongs *αι, ει, οι, αυ, ευ, ηυ, ου, ωυ, υι* seems to have been decidedly (ai, ei, oi, au, eu, eeu, ou, oou, wi wei).

"But *ai* in imitation of the French, is sometime corruptly sounded like *e:* as in *may, nay, play, pray, say, stay, fray, slay:* specially in words originally French, as in *pay, baili, travail:* though *plaid* have lost his natural orthography, and we write as we speak *plead* (pleed)."

This implies that though some speakers insisted on preserving (ai) in these words, (ee) was the *most general* pronunciation,—which may seem a curious interpretation of "sometimes corruptly," but allowance must be made for the mode in which orthoepists speak of common pronunciations which differ from their own, or from what they recommend, —by no means always the same thing.

EI, AI — XVII TH CENTURY.

1653. WALLIS tells us that *ei, ey,* were (ei) or even simply (ee) without the (i), but adds "Nonnulli tamen plenius efferunt, acsi per *ai* scripta essent." The diphthong *ai* he upholds still as a diphthong, "*Ai* vel *ay* sonum exprimunt compositum ex *á* Anglico (hoc est, exili) correpto, et *y*. Ut in voce *day* dies, *praise* laus," which, if our interpretation of Wallis's *á* be correct is (dæi, præiz) very slightly different from (dææi, prææiz) and readily passing into (deei, preeiz) which is almost the sound of the present day. But the real transition was into (EE, ee), as we shall learn from Cooper.

1668. WILKINS writes, (dæi) day, (dæil) daily, (agæinst) against, (sæints) saints, preserving the diphthong like Wallis, but has (kanseevd) conceived, dropping the (*i*) entirely.

1668. PRICE in the same year apparently agrees with the other two. He divides diphthongs, or, as he spells the word, "dipthongs," into two classes, proper and improper:

"That is a proper dipthong wherein both vowels keep their sound. There are twelve proper dipthongs, *ay ey oy, ai ei, oi, aw ew ow, au eu ou,*"

which practically reduce to six, *ai ei oi, au eu ou*, and as we know that in *oi* both vowels kept their sounds, we should conclude that the vowels in the other two diphthongs did so too.

"That is an improper dipthong that loseth the sound of one vowel. There are eight improper dipthongs, *ea ee ie eo, ea oo ui, ou* obscure as in *cousin*."

Then, after giving a list of words in *ai*, comes the question, "Doth a-i always keep its sound?" the hyphen seeming to imply separation. The answer is

"*Ai* soundes like *e* in *bargain, chaplain, against, chamberlain, curtain, plaited, raisin, travail, wainscot*."

This is therefore an exceptional list of words in which *ai* = (ee), and hence implies that generally, and in all other words *ai* = (æi), with the (æ) of the period. Again he says:

"*Ey* sounds like, *ay*, in *they, obey, convey, conveyance, obeysance, prey* (or spoil), *survey, surveyor, whey*, but *ey* soundes *i* (ɔi) in *eye, eyes*," and "*Ei* soundes like *ay* in *heir, feign, weight, neighbour, deign, eight, fórein, inveigh, to neigh, streight, streighten, veins*."

Now when it is remembered that these lists of words are opposed to those in which *ey, ei* have the sounds of (ee, e, i) it is evident that the general sound of *ai* was still (æi), although it had become (ee) in a few words cited, and that *ey* in the above lists was (æi).

"Ey soundes like *ee* (i) in *valley, Turkey, barley, monkey, parsley, talley, tansey*." "Ey sounds *e* (e) in *countrey, atturney, abbey, alley, Anglesey, causey, chimney, cockney, comfrey, Hackney, journey, a Grey, key, kidney, lamprey, money, pulley*."

It is doubtful for how long the short (e) in these words kept its place, and whether the final unaccented (e) and (i) in these two lists were ever kept very clearly separated. The long *key* = (kee) remained for sometime, and should be considered as belonging to the next list.

"Ei soundes *e* long (ee) in *receive, carreir, conceit, deceit, deceive, enterfeir, either, heifer, leisure, neighbour, purveigh, receipt, seize*."

Many of these words are now spelt differently. Usage differs in *leisure* (lezhᵊɹ, liiᵊzhɹ) and in *either* (iiᵊdhɹ, ɔiᵊdhɹ).

1685. COOPER begins to recognizes *ai* as (ee) though he is not quite consistent with himself. After describing (E) he says:

"Vera hujusce soni productio scribitur per *a*, atque *a* longum falsò denominatur, ut in *cane* canna .... hic sonus, quando purè sonatur," that is when it is not (EEə), "scribitur per *ai* vel *ay*; ut *pain* dolor, *day* dies; quæ hoc modo in omnibus fere dictionibus plerumque pronunciantur: per *ey* in *convey* deporto, *obey* obedio,

purvey rebus necessariis provideo, *survey* lustro, *they* illi, *trey* trulla, *whey* serum lactis: quandoque rarò autem per *ea*; ut *pearl* margarita.

Corripitur in	Producitur in
sell vendo	*sail* navigo
sent missus	*saint* sanctus
tell nuncio	*tail* cauda
tent tentorium	*taint* inficio."

This makes *ai* (EE) except in a few words. But afterwards he says:

"*Ai* leniùs prolata sonatur ut *a* in *cane*; fortius, plenum assumit sonum dipthongi *ai*; ut *brain* cerebrum, *frail* fragilis; *ay* finalis ut *a*, sic *day* dies; *ai* ante *r* scribitur pro *a* in *affairs* res, *air-y* aereus, *dairy* lactarium, *debonair* candidus, *despair* despero, *fair* pulcher, *fairy* lamia, *hair* crinis, *pair* par, *repair* reparo, *stairs* scala; cætera cum *are;* ut *are* sunt,[1] *dare* audeo ..... *Ai* in *bargain* pactum, *captain* dux, *certain* certus, *chaplain* capellanus, *curtain* velum, *forrain* extraneus, *fountain* fons, *mountain* mons, *villain* furcifer, & prior *ai* in *maintain* sonatur ut *a* correptum sive *e* breve." Again he says: "Sonus *a* in I *can* possum; I *cast* jacio; conjunctus cum *i* sonum literæ *ee* exprimente; constituit dipthongum in *bait* esca; *caitiff* homo improbus; *ay* pro *I* vel *yea* imo; & *eight* quam vulgariter pronunciamus *ait*. Plures haud scio." This must be (æi); he seems to have thought of *brain* and *frail* afterwards. Then he adds: "*E* in *ken*, vel *a* in *Cane i* præpositus diphthongum (EI) *priori* (æi) subtiliorem constituit; ut *praise* laus: in paucis scribimus *ei* vel *ey* finalem; ut *height* altitudo; *weight* pondus, & *convey* deporto, aliaque quæ supra sub *e* ostendimus; quibus exceptis cætera scribuntur cum *ai* vel *ay* ut *hainous* detestabilis, plerumque autem in colloquio familiari, negligenter loquentes pronunciant *ai* prout *a* simplicem (EE) in *Cane*."

Hence we may collect, that in the very few words *bait, caitiff, ay, eight, brain, frail,* Cooper still admitted the diphthong (æi), and that he also endeavoured to establish a diphthong (Ei) or (EEi), but that he was obliged to own that the generality of words written *ai* or *ei* were then (EE) or (ee).

1688. MIEGE, writing nearly at the same time as Cooper, heard long *a* as French (*ai*), suprà p. 71, and of *Ai* he says

"cette diphthongue a le même son en Anglois qu'en ces Mots François, *faire, taire,* &c. Exemple, *fair, despair, hair, repair, airy, dairy.* J'en excepte, 1. Les Mots finissans en *ain,* où l'*ai* se prononce à la Françoise, comme en ces Mots, *villain, certain,* &c. 2. *Raisins,* qu'il faut prononcer *Rézins.*"

Although his French *ai* seemed in the first place to imply English (ææ), it can be hardly other than (EE) in the

[1] This is peculiar, but still heard, in the form (eeɪ).

present. Frenchmen do not generally distinguish these two related sounds, as they are unacquainted with English (ææ). Similarly Englishmen hear French (EE) as their own (*ee*). The meaning of the first exception is not very clear, because the French pronunciation of French final *-ain* is uncertain. Nothing can be clearer than that Englishmen never pronounced their final *-ain* as (-eʌ). Did the French say (-ein)? Miege says that *n* final is pronounced, "d'une manière plus forte en Anglois qu'en François," and this is his only allusion to what is now the French nasal. Was the English (vil·ɐn, sʌ·tɐn), or (vil·*y*n, sʌ·t*y*n), as at present? We cannot learn from this passage, but it is probable that (vil·en, ser·ten) represent the sounds with sufficient exactness. The *é* masculine in *rézins*, evidently implies (reez·inz) or (*ree*z·inz). The distinction here made between (EE) and (ee) or (*ee*), though real enough in French, is probably due only to insufficient observation or appreciation of the English sounds, and cannot be insisted on.

"EI. Cette Diphtongue se prononce en Anglois comme en françois. Exemple *vein* une veine, *weight*, un poids" (vein, weit; veein, weeit)? "Excepté 1. ces Mots où elle sonne comme un e masculin, ou *é*. Savoir *to conceive, deceive, perceive, receive, seize, inveigh, leisure*, & leurs Derivatifs" (kɔnseev·, deseev·) &c.? "2. Ceux-ci, où la Diphtongue prend le Son d'un e feminin. Savoir *forfeit, foreign, surfeit, heifer, either, neither*," (fɔr·fɔt, fɔr·ɔn, sɔrfɔt, HɔF·ɔr, ɔdh·ɔr, nɔdh·ɔr)? "3. Ce Mot *height*, qui se prononce haït," (HAIT). This should be (HAIT) according to Miege's custom of confusing (ʌ) with French *a*, and according to other authorities it should be (Hæit). We have still a double pronunciation (H*ee*t, Hɔit).

1701. JONES seems not to have made up his mind entirely that *ai* was to be pronounced as (ee). Thus he says that the sound of *ai* (whatever it may be) is written *ei* in 12 words, *blein, conceit, deceit, distrein, heifer, heinous, heir, reins, their, veil, vein, weif*; and *eign* in 5 words, *darreign, deign, feign, reign, sovereign* ("or soveraign"); and *eigh* in 12 words, *conveigh, eight, freight, heigh! height, inveigh, neigh, neighbour, purveigh, straight, surveigh, weigh*, and their derivatives, as *eighteen, weight*, etc., and *eip* "in *receipt* sounded *resait*," and *es* "in *demesn* sounded *demain*," and *ey* in 12 monosyllables *brey, Grey, grey, hey! key, prey, Sey, sey, they, trey, Wey* (a River), *whey*, and their derivatives as *breying, Weymouth*, etc. It is to be observed that he never asks when is the sound of *ai* written *e*, that is (ee)?

He next says the sound of *e* is written *ai*, "when it may be sounded *ai*," which should imply that the sound of *e* was

different from that of *ai*, "as in *abigail, affraid, again, against, bargain, capstain, captain, certain, chamberlain, chaplain, complaisant, curtain, debonair, hainous, mountain, murrain, Prestain, raisin, said, Sais* (?), *suddain, vercain, villain*" adding, "see *a—ai*." He also says the sound of *e* may be written *ay* "when it may be sounded *ay* in the end of words or before a vowel; as *decay, decaying*, etc." These expressions ought to imply that Jones distinguished the sounds of *ai, e*, but whether as (ei, ee) or (æi, ee) cannot be collected.

But the above conclusion is not certain, for he says that the sound of *e* is written *eig* "in these six, *darreign, deign, feign, reign, Seignior* (sounded *senior*), *sovereign*," five of which *darreign, deign, feign, reign*, and *sovereign* are the five in which the sound of *ai* is said to be spelled *eign*. This would shew that these words were pronounced both ways, in accordance with Jones's custom of giving both ways of pronouncing. In reply to the question, when is the sound of *e* written *eigh?* he says, "see *ai—eigh*; where you have all such," so that these words had also both pronunciations.

Jones says the sound of *e* (e) is written *ei* in 30 words *atheist*,[1] *atheism*,[1] *conceit, conceive, counterfeit, deceit, deceive, deity*,[1] *dissеise, dissеisin, either, forfeit, heifer, heinous, heir, inveigle, leisure, Marseilles, *neigh, *neighbour, neither, perceive, receive, receipt, seise, seisin, seive, surfeit, teirce, their*. Those marked with * are in a previous list giving the sound of *ai*, shewing again that the sounds of *ai, e*, if different, were at least frequently confused. He also says that *Leicester* was pronounced *Lester*, and gives a list of 32 proper names as Anglesey, Awbrey, etc., in which *ey* final had the sound of *e* (e), and of 39 other words with *ey* final having the same sound (e), some of which are words in which *eigh* was said to have the sound of *ai*, and others are words to which Price gave the sound of (i); they are *abbey, alley, atturney, barley, brey, causey, chimney, cockney, coney, convey, cumfrey, grey, hackney, hey-dey! honey, journey, invey, key, kidney, lackey, lamprey, medley, money, monkey, obey, parley, parsley, prey, pulley, purvey, sey, survey, talley, tansey, they, trey, turkey, valley, whey*. In answer to the question when is the sound of *ee* (ii) written *ei?* He replies, sternly, "Never." And adds, "Note then that it is *ie* not *ei*, which often sounds *ee*; as in *field, siege*, etc." We may therefore conclude that *ei, ey* were always (ee) and never (ii); although *ai*, being generally (æi) or (ei) was sometimes (ee).

[1] These must be meant to include erroneous pronunciations. Price says: "This diphthong *ei* is parted in *atheïst, atheïsm, deïtie, polytheïsm*.

EI, AI — XVIII TH CENTURY.

Ei, ai seem to have remained at (ee) during most of the XVIII th century; at least *ai* was fixed in that sound and has come down to us with the slight alteration into (*ee*), although, in the south of England, (*eei*) is more commonly heard.

1704. The EXPERT ORTHOGRAPHIST says that "*ai, ei, ay, ey* are much the same sound, in many words, as *pail, pay, eight, they,*" but gives a list of 11 words in which "the sound of *e* is lengthened by *ei,*" that is, in which *ei* is pronounced (ii) contrary to the express "never" of Dr. Jones; they are *conceit* s. and v., *conceive, deceit, deceive, either, inveigle, receipt, receive, weild* now *wield.* It is curious that while he gives (ii) to *conceit* spelled thus, he admits (ee), or rather, "the sound of *ai,*" as the sound of *ei* in "*con, de, re, ceipt* or *ceive, heir, leisure, neither,*[1] *rein, reign, their, vein, height, inveigh, neighbour, weight.*" He did not really distinguish *ai* from *a* long (ee) as may be seen under A, p. 74.

1766. BUCHANAN writes (fæin) feign, (*oo*bee·) obey, (slee) sleigh, (gree) grey, (leez·jər) leisure, (nee·bər) neighbour, (*in*vee·) inveigh, (pərvee·) purvey;—(persiiv·) perceive, (diisiiv·) deceive, (siiz) seize, (*in*vii·g'l) inveigle; (ætər·*ni*) attorney, (kʌn·tr*i*) countrey, (æl·*i*) alley, (kaa·*si*) causey causeway, (tæn·*si*) tansey, (fɔ:·fit) forfeit.

Also (reen) rain, (pee) pay, (ægeenst·) against, (ree·s*in*) raisin, (ween·skət) wainscot, (bæær·g*in*) bargain, (tshææm·b*ə*rl*in*) chamberlain, (kər·t*in*) curtain, (træv·*il*) travail.

Except then in very few words the usages are those of the present day.

1768. FRANKLIN has: (steens) stains, (reens) rains, (feer) fair, (asərteen) ascertain, (ateen) attain, (ənsərteen) uncertain.

Also (dher, dheer, dhaer), their, (dhee) they; (ɔidher) either, and (farenərz) foreigners.

1780. Sheridan in his remarks on the Irish pronunciation (diseet·, riseev·) *deceit, receive,* which belongs to the XVII th century, notes that "the Irish in attempting to pronounce like the English," and to convert their *ei, ey* into (ii), often overstrained the rule, and said (prii, kanvii·) *prey, convey*; this was simply an error of the same kind as that noticed above, p. 92.

Hence in the XVI th century we may assume *ei, ai,* to be (ei eei, ai aai); in the XVII th (ei eei ee, æi ee) and in the XVIII th (ee ii ɔi, ee). But in the XVII th century both *ei, ai* were apt to be confused with one another and with long *e* under the common sound of (ee). Also

[1] Yet he writes (iidh·er). This reminds us of the question and answer (*vraisemblable* if not *vrai*), "Dr. Johnson, do you say (niidh·er) or (nəidh·er)?" "(Needh·er), sir."

even in the XVI th century a large section of people pronounced (ai) as (ee), but this, though adopted by Hart, was thought effeminate by Sir T. Smith and Dr. Gill. It however allowed Shakspere to pun on *reasons* and *raisins* and on *here, heir* (suprà p. 80 note).

OI — XVI TH CENTURY.

1530. PALSGRAVE says: "*Oi* in the frenche tonge hath .ii. diuerse soundes, for sometyme it is sounded lyke as we sounde *oy* in these words, *a boye, a froyse, coye*, and suche lyke, and somtyme they sound the *i* of *oy* almost like an a."

1545. MEIGRET says: "En moins, royal, loyal, nous oyons euidemment en la prolation la diphthongue commencer par o & finir par i. Au contraire en moy, toy, soy, nous oyons la fin dé la diphthongue, non seulement en e, mais encore, en é ouuert, qui est moien entre a & e clos, & par consequence bien estrange de la prononciation de l'i, ou y grec. Nous escrirons doncq' loé, roé *et* loyal, royal." And 1550, in his Grammar he says that "ao regard de l'o ouuert il ne fet point de diphthonge preçedant l'a, pas qe j'aye deconuert; ne parelement auçq l'e clós: me's ioint a l'E ouuert il est fort frequent en la *pro*nonçíaçíon Françoeze, qoe qe la plume n'en neyt james fet conte, vzant qelqefoes (come j'ey ja dit) de la diphthonge, oy, es aoeuns des vocables: come, moy, toy, soy, loy, foy: pour moe, toe, soe, loe, foe, qelqefoes aosi pour fer' encor pís, il' luy ont ajouté vne s,; come, cognoistre pour conoetre. E non contans de çete lourderíe, qazi come tumbans de fieur' en çhao' mal, il' nous ont introduit oient pour oe', e' tierses persones plurieres du preterit imperfet: eeriuans estoyent, disoient, venoyent, pour etoe't, dizoe't, venoe't."

It was this broad (E) which Palsgrave apparently confounded with (a), and indeed we are told that in Parisian pronunciation it was already sometimes (a).[1] Even now the *oi* is

[1] Meigret's analysis of the French diphthong *ai* = (oe) is confirmed by Pelletier, who writes (Livet, p. 174) 'Françoes, disoet, connoetra,' but 'point, voyele.' Ramus (ib. 206) writes 'moe, loe' for *moi, loi*. Beza (ib. 522) is fuller and says: "cette dipthongue fait entendre à la fois, mais rapidement, le son de l'*o* et de l' *i*, quand elle est suivie de *n*, comme *loin, besoin, tesmoin*, mots que quelquesuns terminent, à tort, par un *g*.—Non suivie de *n*, la diphthongue *oi* prend une prononciation voisine de celle de la tripthongue *oai* ou de la diphthongue *ai* ou *e* ouvert; il a le son *oai* dans *loi, moi, foi* qu'on trouve souvent écrit, à tort, avec un *y*: quelques-uns, supprimant le son *o*, prononcent seulement *ai*: ainsi les Normands écrivent et prononcent *fai*, pour *foi*, et le peuple parisien dit *parlet, allet, venet* pour *parloit, alloit, venoit*; les imitateurs de de l' italien prononcent de même *Anglès, Francès, Ecossès* pour *Anglois, François, Ecossois*.—Une faute très-grande des Parisiens c'est de prononcer *voirre* (ou *verre*), *foirre* PALEA, *trois*, comme *voarre, foarre, troas* ou même *tras*." This last passage may be compared with Gill's denunciation of the Mopseys, p. 90. The two passages shew how careful we should be not to stigmatize a pronunciation as faulty, when it differs from what we hold best, as the faults of one century become the

acknowledged to be (oe) or (ue) by eminent French orthoepists, though it is generally admitted to be (ua, u*a*). After a consonant the real effect of *oi*, at present, is generally to labialise that consonant and subjoin (a, *a*), as *roi*, *loi* (r*u*a, l*u*a), where the ordinary Englishman is apt to hear (rwaa, lwaa), and in the cry *vive le roi*, he often falls into (viiv lə raa). I have elsewhere given my reasons for supposing that the original diphthong from which the modern English (ɔi) descended, was (ui).[1] In the French language, the intention of inserting *o* before a Latin *e*, as in *roi*, *loi* from *rex*, *lex* seems to have been to indicate a thickening or labialisation of the preceding consonant, as opposed to the thinning or palatisation, which would have been naturally occasioned by the following palatal vowel. Its use was much the same as the inserted *u* after *g* in French and Spanish before *i*, to prevent the palatisation of (g) into (zh) or (x), but whereas in the latter case, as in the use of *gh* under similar circumstances in Italian, the (g) was generally, not always, kept pure, in the former case the labial effect became finally constant.

In Palsgrave's time the English *oi* must probably be assumed as (oi) or (oe), the latter being a diphthong still found in Welsh *oedd* (oedh). The stress was, as usual, on the first element, and the apparent stress on the second element in modern French is due to the real absorption of the first element by the labialized consonant.

1547. Salesbury recognizes the diphthong *oy* solely by transcribing ioynt into *tsioynt*, meaning (dzhoint).

1568. Sir T. Smith says: "*OI per o breuem* (o) & *i* (i). Diphthongus *Oi*, vt Gallis frequentissima, ita nobis est rarissima: habemus tamen & hanc sonum (Coit) iacere discum, (boi) puer, (toi) ludierum, (toil, turmoil) laborare, (foil) bractea, (soil) solum, (koil) verberare, (broil) assare in craticula, & (point) quæ vox mucronem, *et* indice monstrare, *et* ligulam nobis notat, & (koi) quibus ineptum *et* à familiaritate alienum significavimus. In his, propter breuitatem

received usages of another. Beza's reprobation of the Parisian *oa* for *oai*, that is, *oi*, explains the last words of Palsgrave, but his supposition that the Norman *fay* resulted, like the usual French *ai* in the words cited, from the rejection of the prefixed *o*, does not seem historically correct, as this orthography, or *fey*, is very old in Norman French. We shall have to consider this point in Chap.-V, § 1, No. 3, where the Norman *ei* and French *oi* = (ei, ue) will be considered as mutations of the Latin *e*, precisely as the French *eu* and Spanish *ue* were mutations of the Latin *o*, p. 138, note. It is worth noticing in reference to Meigret's *ou*, considered as *o clos*, that Beza proceeds to say: "cette diphthongue *ou* a un son propre qui tient de l'*o* et de l'*u*. Il faut se garder de prononcer comme à Lyon *ou* pour *o* (comme *nous* pour *nos*), et comme dans le Dauphiné et la Savoie *o* pour *ou* : tels *cop* pour *coup*, *oï* pour *oui* etc."

[1] Transactions of the Philological Society, 1867, Part I, *On the Diphthong OI*, p. 59, bottom.

soni, *et* quia breuis *o* non multum ab *u* differt, *et* propterea fuit à Græcis dicta *o μικρὸν*. Poterit[1] fortasse à quibusdam iudicari hæc melius posse per *ri* describi. Videmus *et* veteres *voltis* & *vostris* per *o* scripsisse, quæ posteriores per *vultis* & *vestris* scripserunt. Certè soni sæpissimè variant. At æquum est scripturam sonos sequi vt picturam corpus, testentúrque scripturæ sonum ætatis, vt aulæa formas vestium. *ῳ Diphthongus impropriè Græca* Apud nos incognita est. Scoti tamen quæ nos per *oi* scribimus per *ῳ* pronunciant, vix vt *i* audiatur."

And in his Greek pronunciation he says: "*οι*. Referimus nos cùm puerum *a boy* dicimus, & cum ludicrum *a toy*, & delicatiorem hominem vocant Borei nostrates *nyse* & *coy*, frequentatur hæc diphthongus à Gallis plurimùm, quorum lingua cùm elegantiarum studiosis apud nostros vsqueadeo placeat, miror ab his qui hunc sonum tam contemptim aspernantur non invrbanissimam iudicari. Hi cùm volunt *me*, *te*, *tacitum*, *fidem* dicere *moy*, *toy*, *coy*, *foy* dicunt: cùmque Normani Scythica Danorum gens partem occuparint Galliæ, & quod in Græcia Turci, iam in Gallia fecerunt, vt linguam Gallicam vnà discerent, & peruersè commutarent nunquam tamen poterant effugere Normani, quin si nunc quisquam eorum rusticior pro *moy*, *toy*, *coy*, *foy*, quod non rarò euenit, *my*, *ty*, *ky*, *fy*, dicat, irrideatur à cæteris Gallis, & non vrbanè ac ciuiliter, sed inscitè ac rusticè loqui existimetur."

We have therefore evidence that Sir T. Smith heard little if any difference between (oi, ui), as he doubted which would be the best orthography. In the next chapter further reasons will be given for supposing (ui) to have been the older form.

1569. HART's views of diphthongs are rather peculiar, owing to his considering (ɹ, w) as the pure vowels (i, u) forming a diphthong with the following vowel, so that to understand his account of *oi* it will be convenient to cite his description of diphthongs at length. He says:

"Now will I shew you examples of the Diphthongs made of two short vowels, and of others of one short and of another long. And then of triphthongs. With short vowels, as thus, (ui uil reid bei ionder uel', nueer dhe uat uas uelneer taakn bei dhe iuq nound) which is written for [we wyll ride by yonder well where the Wat was wel neare taken by the yong hound] which doe come very often in our speach. Of diphthongs whereof one vowell is short, and the other long as (iuu ueer uaakiq in dhe fouurth touur, hueer az dhe buee did pouur uaater upon' dhe mueet flouur) which I write for [you were waking in the fowerth tower, when as the boye did poure water vppon the wheate flower] which also doe come verie often. And for triphthongs as (bi ueiz ov dhe mueiz buei) for, [be wise of the hoyes bowy]. And (uark dhe kat duuth mieu mueilz iuu milk dhe ieu) for [hark the Cat doth mewe, whiles

[1] Evidently there is a mispunctuation here, it should be "*ο μικρὸν*, poterit."

you milke the yowe]. And a Basin and (eaur), for, [eawer], and certaine others as will be séene hereafter. And for three vowels comming togither, and making two sillables as in example (dhe vyy,er seeth syy,er it is pyy,er) for [the vewer sayth sure it is pure]" where, as will be explained hereafter, Hart writes (iu) for (yy), "*and* as in these wordes (dhis bei,er iz nei,er ov pou,er dhen dhe dei,er bei ɯiz fei,er). For [this bier is higher of power, than the dier by his fire]."

He seems therefore to write (buee, ɯueiz, buei) for *boy, hoy's, buoy,* though the precise value of the two last words is not very clear, and may be (wheiz b*u*ei). Nautical men constantly call *buoy* (buui), and (bui, b*o*i) are not uncommon provincial forms of *boy*. Compare the Bavarian dialectic (buə) for (buu·be) *bube,* which leads to the notion that *boy* is a form of *booby,* a word of very doubtful origin. Although Hart thus confirms Smith's (ui) in one word, he differs from him in writing (vois·es).

1580. Bullokar, as we have seen, distinguishes *boy, buoy* as (boi, buui), and he gives no examples of *oy* as (ui, uui).

1621. Gill has the varieties (oi, ui, uui), as in the words: *soil* (soil, suuil), *boil* (boil, buuil), *spoil* (spoil, spuuil), *toil* (toil, tuuil), *joint* (dzhuuint), *disappoint* (disappuuint), *buoy* (buui), *rejoice* (redzhois), *voice* (vois), *oil* (oil). In these the double tendency is clear, and as the (ui) sounds must have been the more ancient, they were no doubt in existence, though disregarded, when older orthoepists wrote. Thus Salesbury's (dzhoint) is really more modern than Gill's (dzhuuint).

1633. Butler says "OI in *boy* we sound [as the French do] (woe), for whereas they write *bois, soit, droict* they say (bwoes, swoet, drwoet)."[1]

OI — XVII TH Century.

1653. Wallis says: "In *oi* . . . vel *oy* . . . præponitur aliquando *ŏ* apertum (ut in Anglorum *bóy* puer, *tóys* nugæ . . . .), aliquando *ò* obscurum, (ut in Anglorum *bòil* coqueo, *tòil* labor, *òil* oleum . . .), quanquam non negem etiam horum nonnulla à quibusdam per *o* apertum pronunciari."

That is he said (bai, tai, bəil, təil, ɔil) but admitted the pronunciation (bail, tail, ail). It will be seen that Wallis is the first writer who acknowledges the vowel (ə) and the

[1] The (w) in the two words is merely a sound developed by Butler himself. Thus, when I was ñearing *Alloa* in the steamer, the name of the place was called out in a slow measured tone by the boatman, and although I knew that the sounds were (Al·*loo*·ee·), the syllables being lengthened out, yet I could not divest myself of the feeling, that (Al·*loo*·wee·) was really said, so strongly was the sound of (w) developed in the glide from *oo* to (ee).

diphthong (ɔi). It is quite in conformity with this that he changes Gill's (buuil, tuuil) into (bɔil, tɔil), and his further pronunciation (ɔil) should imply that (uuil) as well as (oil) was prevalent in Gill's time.

1668. WILKINS writes (baɪ) for *boy*.

1668. PRICE says:

"*Oi* never ends a word, but, *oy*, as *boy, cloy*." "Oy sounds broader than, *oi*, as *moyst, joiner, joint, boisterous, cloy, cloysters, embroyder, emroides* [hemorrhoids], *employ, exploit, foyl, moyst, noise, noysom, oyl, oiutment, poise, quoif* [coif], *void*."

It is possible that Price's broader *oy* may be (ai) and the other (ɔi), which would give (dzhɔint, bɔi·stɔrɔs, ekspləit·, nɔiz, ɔint·ment, pɔiz, kɔif, vɔid,) of which some are confirmed by subsequent writers.

1685. COOPER generally gives *oi* as (ai), "*o* in *loss, lost*, *i* præpositus ... sempèr Græcè, ut πολλοὶ," but he admits (*u*i) in *boil, moil, point, poison*, only, to which he says "*oy* in Gallico *buoy* supporto, quod nos scriberemus *bwoy*" is equivalent, it is therefore to be presumed that he said (bw*u*i). The most curious point is his remark that "*boy* puer dissyllabum est, scilicet (b*u*ai)," which is not confirmed by others. He likewise admits *oi* to be (ɔi) in *in-join, joint, jointure, broil, ointment*, see suprà p. 117, and also, "ut *i* diphthongus," in *anoint, moil, toil, point*.

1701. JONES says that the sound of *ooi* was always written *oi*, "in the middle of words or before a consonant, as *boil, coil, join*, &c.," which were therefore occasionally called (buuil, kuuil, dzhuuin), as in times past, and that the sound of *i* (ɔi) is written *oi*, "when it may be sounded *oi* or *ooi* (oi, uui) in the beginning or middle of words; as in *boil, broil, coil, foil, foist, froise, groin, hoise, join, loin, moil, oilet, poise, poison, soil, spoil, tortois*, which some sound as with an *i*," i.e. as (bɔil, brɔil, kɔil, fɔil) etc.; and that (ɔi) is written *oy* "when it may be sounded *oy* in the end of words, or before a vowel; *Chandois, decoy*, &c.—*loyal, royal, voyage*; sometimes abusively sounded as with an *i*," i.e. (Shæn·dɔis, dekɔi·, lɔi·æl, rɔi·æl, vɔi·idgh).[1]

1688. MIEGE says nothing of the pronunciation of the English *oi*, but for the French *oi* he lays down rules somewhat different from those now followed, saying:

"The diphthong *oi* is pronounced *oai* (oe) as *foi, loi, foire, toile*. Except in some Cases, wherein 'tis pronounced *ai* (e). And 1. In such Tenses of Verbs as these; viz. *J'aimois, tu aimois, il aimoit, J'aimerois, tu aimerois, il aimeroit*. 2. In those Verbs whose Infinitive ends in *oître*; as *conoître, paroître*. To which add the Verb

[1] Compare the sailor's spelling *wig* for (wɔidzh), i.e. *voyage*, where *ig*, that is *i, g* = (ɔi, dzh), according to the alphabetic names of the letters.

croire, and this tense of the Verb *Etre*, *Je sois*, *tu sois*, *il soit*. 3. In these National Names, *Anglois*, *François*, *Ecossois*, *Irlandois*, *Hollandois*, *Milanois*, *Polonois*; with all their feminines in *oise*, as *Angloise*, *Françoise*, &c. 4. In these Words, *droit*, (Adj.) *endroit*, *etroit*, *etroitement*, *foible*, *froid*, and the Derivations of the two last. But before *n*, the *i* keeps its proper Sound; as *foin*, *loin*, *joindre*, *point*. *Oignon* is pronounced, and begins to be spelt *ognon*. *Oie* is a Triphthong, and is pronounced *ai* in such Tenses of Verbs as these are, *ils aimoient*, *ils aimeroient*, *ils soient*, where the *n* is left unpronounced. But it is no Triphthong, where it ends a Word, the last *e* making a distinct Syllable of it self, though almost mute. As in these Words *foie*, *joie*, *anchoie*, where *oi* is pronounced *oai*; *monoie*, *yvroie*, where it is sounded *ai*."

OI — XVIII TH CENTURY.

1704. The EXPERT ORTHOGRAPHIST admits (ɔi, Ai) in *choice*, *exploit*, *froise*, *noise*, *poise*, *quoif*, *quoit*, *rejoice*, *voice*, *void*, but says that "in the middle of *most* other words *oi* sounds *i* long (ɔi), as *anoint*, *boil*, *broil*, *coin*, *loin*, *moil*, *toil*, *poison*, *point*." Of these (bɔil, lɔin, pɔiz·n, pɔint) are still well-known vulgarisms.

1796. BUCHANAN admits (Ai, ɔi) only, to the exclusion of (ui, ɔi).

1768. FRANKLIN writes (distrAɔid) *destroyed*, but unfortunately gives no other word in *oi*.

We may conclude then that in the XVI th century (oi, ui, uui) all prevailed, (oi) being most in favour; in the XVII th century, most words had (ɔi, Ai) and a few words (ui, ɔi); in the beginning of the XVIII th century (ɔi, Ai, ɔi) were acknowledged, but at the latter end of that century only (ɔi, Ai) were admitted by orthoepists.

UI — XVI, XVII, XVIII TH CENTURIES.

The combination *ui* belongs to the XVII th and later centuries, except perhaps in one or two words, in which French spelling had an influence, as the following comparison of the orthography of the *Promptorium* 1440, Palsgrave 1530, Levins 1570, and Price 1668 will shew.

	Price.	*Levins.*	*Palsgrave.*	*Promptorium.*
I.	build	beald	beldyng	beeldynge
	circuit	circuite		
	conduit	condit	condyte conduyte conduycte	
	guild			gyylde gylde
	guilt	giltie	gylte	gylty

	Price.	*Levins.*	*Palsgrave.*	*Promptorium.*
II.	buy	bye	bye	byyn
	guide	gyde	gyde guyde	gyde
	guile	gyle	gyle	gyle
	guise	gyse	gyse guyse	gyse
III.	bruise		broose brosyng	brosyn
	fruit	frute	frute	frute
	juice	juce	juse	iuce iowce
	suit		sute	sute

Hence we must consider the combination as an inorganic *i* or *u* and it must follow the laws of those letters. In the above table the first group had short *i*,[1] the second long *i*, and the third the *u* or *oo* of the period.

EU, AU, OU.

The forms *ew*, *aw*, *ow* are identical in signification with *eu*, *au ou*, and need not be separately considered.

The modern sounds of *eu* are (iu) or (ɹu, ɹuu), and occasionally (*oo*), of *au* (ʌʌ), and of *ou* (əu) or (ə), occasionally (*oo*u, uu). But the diphthongal sound (əu) runs through all the varieties (əu, *a*u, au, ahu, æu, eu, əu), and Franklin gives (ʌu), while even (*o*u) may be occasionally heard, and, owing to the orthography, this analysis is very commonly accepted. The Germans hear the diphthong always as their *au* = (au). The pronunciation (eu), a diphthong acknowledged in the Italian *Europa* = (euroo·pa), is heard in America for *ou* as (deun teun) for *down town*, and is said to be a common cockneyism, although the cockney sound is, as Mr. M. Bell says, more probably (æu) as (dæun tæun).[2] Many words now spelled with *u* were written with *ew* in the xvi th century. As these, and some others still spelled with *ew*, were pro-

[1] Dr. Gill stumbles over *build*, giving the three sounds (boild, bild, byyld). The more ancient sound must have been (beeld) or (beild) whence (bild) descends easily. Mr. Melville Bell says that *built* is often pronounced (bilt) in Scotland, a variety of (bylt).

[2] In Mrs. Barney Williams's Yankee song "Bobbing around," which was so popular a few years ago, I seemed to hear (ɹrææ und·) or (ɹree und·), the first element being lengthened and somewhat nasalized. The Rev. Mr. D'Orsey informed me that he found the use of (eu) for (əu) very common among Londoners, even of education, whose pronunciation he had to correct. In Norfolk *ou* is regularly pronounced (eu, æu).

nounced with the long *u* of that time,[1] which requires special consideration, it will be most convenient to postpone their consideration till afterwards. The sounds attributed to *au, ou* in the XVI th century were also frequently attached to simple *a, o* before *l* or *ll*, and these will be considered under L.

EU — XVI TH CENTURY.

1530. Palsgrave says: "*Ev* in the frenche tong hath two dyuerse soundynges, for sometyme they sound hym lyke as we do in our tonge, in these wordes a dewe, a shrewe, a fewe," this is the sound which will be considered here, "and somtyme like as we do in these wordes, *trewe, glewe, rewe*, a *mewe*," which will be considered under U. "The soundyng of *ev*, whiche is most general in the frenche tong, is suche as I haue shewed by example in these wordes, a dewe, a shrewe, a fewe, that is to saye, lyke as the Italians sound ev, or they with vs, that pronounce the latine tonge aryght, as *evrévx, irevx, liev, diev*."

The reference to Italian completely establishes the sound, which is as singular and curious in French as in English. According to Meigret, however, the sound was (*ey*), for he says:

"Çet e clos fet encores vn' aotre diphthong' auec u, come en eur, peu, veu, eureus. Finablement il fet vne triphthonge se joxant a çelle de ao; come en veao, beao, moreao. Dont je m' emervelle de çeus qui premiers ont terminé çete triphthong' en u: vu qe la prononçíaçíon ne tient rien de l'une mémes de l' ou clós qi a qelq' affinité aueq l'u."[2]

[1] We find in Levins 1570, *dewe* debitum, *elewe, glewe, rewe, spewe, blewe, trewe, issew, reskew, reuenew, valew* [but *vertue* although inserted under "E ante W,"] *endew, continew, pursew, sleuce, trewce, hewge, rewle, trewth* [but *vntruth* although under the heading *ewth*]. Words still written with *ew*, and pronounced then as long *u* according to Sir T. Smith 1568, are *snew, slew, new, brew, blew*.

[2] See the long extract from Meigret concerning *ao, aou*, on p. 141-2 below. G. des Autels objects strongly to Meigret's analysis (*ey*) of the French *eu*. Speaking of Meigret's assertion that both sounds were heard in a diphthong, he asks (Livet, p. 130): "Je luy demande si la diphthongue françoise *eu* en ces mots *jeu* et *jeu* garde le son entier de l'*u*?" "Il ne faut donc pas que les voyelles gardent aux diphthongues leur son propre et entier, mais bien qu'elles servent toutes deux, soit en leur son propre on en un autre voisin, à faute de lettres plus idoines (convenables)." Pelletier (ib. p. 138) is indistinct, at least as cited, but Ramus (ib. p. 189) says: "La sixiesme voyelle cest ung son que nous escripvons par deux voyelles, E et U, comme en ces mots *peur, meur, seur*," and he proposes a simple sign for it. Beza (ib. 521) as analysed by Livet says: "Dans cette diphthongue EU on n'entend ni l'*e* ni l'*u*, mais un son qui tient de l'un et de l'autre: *beuf, neuf, peu* PAUCUM, *seur* SOROR, *veu* VOTUM, et un grand nombre d' autres que les Picards prononcent souvent *u* simple, disant *Diu, ju* pour *Dieu, jeu*. Les Français imitent quelquefois les Picards, en ce qu' ils prononcent par *u* simple les mots *seur* SECURUS et ses dérivés .... *meur* MATURUS ... et en général tous les noms en *eure* long [now *-ure*] dérivés des verbes ....; il en est de même dans les participes passés passifs, masculins ou féminins, terminés en *eu, eue* [now *-u, -ue*] comme *beu, beue* ....; c'est à tort qu' à Chartres et à Orléans on prononce, avec une diérèse, *eü*, et, d'autre part, qu'on fait rimer, *heur* et *dur, engraveure* et *figure, heure* et *nature*, faute qu'on

But Englishmen heard this (*ey*) as (eu), as appears from Hart, who in his French Lord's Prayer, gives (sieuz, seuz) for *cieux, ceux*. As to the combination *eau*, which Meigret says was (*eao*), we have the word *beauty*, written *bewte*, *beawtye* in the Promptorium, *beautie* in Palsgrave, and *bewtye* in Levins. Hart gives (beau·t*ifi*), Gill pronounces (beu·ti) and Butler (beau·t*i*) which may mean (be*au*·t*i*), though some doubt attaches to the last pronunciation.[1]

1547. SALESBURY does not notice the combination *eu*, and gives no English word in which it occurs.

1568. SMITH says: "Et *Eu* diphthongum Græcam habent Angli, sed rarius, quae tamen apud Gallos est frequens: (feu) pauci, (deu) ros, (meu) vox catorum, (sheu) monstrare, (streu) spargere." And in his Greek pronunciation he adds, "ευ, vt eu, εὖγε, euge. Angli pauci *few*, φεῦ, ros. *dew*, δεῦ. ηυ sonamus apertius, vt illud Gallicum *beau*, quod multi Angli *beu*: sonum etiam felium quidam *mew*, alii *meau*, quasi μεῦ, μῆυ exprimunt."
Observe that *mew* for hawks had the sound of long *u*.

1569. HART, as shewn by the citation on p. 132, distinguishes *mew* (mieu), *ewe* (ɹeu), *you* (ɹuu).

1580. BULLOKAR recognized the diphthong (eu) distinctly by writing the word *hew* thus: he,u, the comma, which he wrote under the *u*, meaning that it had the sound of (u). In his list of synonymous signs he gives *e,v e,u ew* (where the comma should be subscribed to the *v*, *u*) as identical, and I find the word *hewed* meaning (sheu·ed).

retrouve en Guyenne." These last examples point to a remnant of an (*ey*) diphthong, which is a real natural diphthong, and was distinctly pronounced to me every morning at Norwich by a vender of fish monotoning under my windows, (n*ey* bloo·tɹzs *iiɹ*) = *new bloaters here!* The real mutations of the Latin *o*, besides its natural change into (uu), were however two, closely related, first (oe) falling into (ue), and secondly (eo) falling into (eu). The form (ue) appears in very early French, where it was probably soon discontinued, since (ue) was also used as a mutation of Latin *e*, but it remains the regular Spanish mutation. The second form (eo, eu) gradually prevailed in French, and became replaced by (œ) apparently just about the time that Meigret wrote, so that he retained an old (*eu*) or (*ey*) pronunciation (it is not quite clear which) and his more youthful opponents ignored the old sound altogether. The subject requires much careful investigation. Livet observes (ib. p. 138): "Rien de plus vague, de plus indéterminé, que la prononciation de, *u*, *eu*, *o*, *ou* au moyen âge et encore au xve siècle. Nous ne pouvons mieux faire, au lieu de donner d' innombrables exemples de cette confusion, que de renvoyer au *Traité de Versification françoise* de M. Quicherat pp. 354-359. Cf. *Observations* etc. de Ménage, t. I, p. 291, 324, 481. *Glossaire picard* par l'abbé Corblet, p. 131. Sur la confusion de *eu* et *ou* en particulier, Cf. Quicherat, ouv. cit. p 364-365."

[1] Ramus (Livet p. 207) makes the combination *eau* a diphthong, the first element being his mute *e* and the second his simple vowel *au*. The difference of Meigret's sound and his may have been very slight (*eao*, *voo*), but the latter prevailed. Beza (ib. p. 523) analyses in the same way as Ramus. These analyses at least shew the existence of an old *e* sound at the commencement, and hence account for the English translation of the combination into the familiar diphthong (eu).

1621. GILL, in his anxiety to give prominence to the first element, lengthens it, thus: "*E.* sæpiùs præcedit *u*, vt, in (eeu) EAWE ovicula, (feeu) FEWE pauci, (seeu'er) SEWER dapifer."

1633. BUTLER distinctly recognizes (eu) in *dew, ewe, few, hew, shew, rew, sew, strew, shew, shrew, pewter,* see under U.

It will be seen in the next chapter that Chaucer distinguished the two sounds of *eu* by an etymological rule, the sound (eu) being reserved for those which were not of French origin. This distinction was lost during the XV th century, so that in the XVI th no general rule can be given, but each word must rest on its own independent authority. For lists of such words see Chapter IV, § 2, under EU.

EU — XVII TH CENTURY.

1653. WALLIS, says: "*Eu, ew, eau* sonantur per *è* clarum et *w*, (eu). Ut in *neuter* neutralis, *few* pauci, *beauty* pulchritudo. Quidam tamen paulo acutius efferunt acsi scriberenter, *niewter, fiew, biewty*, vel *niwter, fiw, biwty;* præsertim in vocibus *new* novus, *knew* sciebam, *snew* ningebat. At prior pronunciatio rectior est."

That is Wallis had heard some persons say (nieu'ter, fieu, bieu'*ti*) although many, perhaps most, at that time said distinctly (niu'ter, fiu, biu't*i*) and he found this pronunciation particularly prevalent in *new*, which in the next century Franklin called (nuu) and which is still frequently so called.[1] The sound (eu) was undoubtedly beginning to be unfrequent. The sound (iu) however cropped up chiefly in those words previously pronounced as long *u*.

1668. WILKINS acknowledges (eu) in *hew*, and PRICE in the same year allows (eu), that is, says "*ew* keeps its sound" in *brewess, few, lewd, ewe, feud, neuter, pleurisie,* but gives (iu), that is, says "*ew* hath now obtained the sound of *iw*" in *blew, brew, chew, crew, drew, embrew, eschew, hew, gewgaws, knew, sewer,*[2] *slew, stew, steward, vinew,*[3] *monsieur, adieu, lieu.*

1685. COOPER hears only (*i*u), the same sound as long *u*. The diphthong is in America more frequently (*i*u) than (iu), and even (eu) remains there in some parts.

1701. JONES seems still to have a lingering feeling of the difference between (eu) and (iu). He asks when may the sound of *eu* be written *eu ?* and answers: "In the beginning

[1] In 1849 the present writer published a newspaper called the *Phonetic News*, printed phonetically, and therefore bearing the title (Fonet'*i*k Niuz). "Why do you write (niuz) ?" asked a newsvender, "we always eall it (nuuz)."

[2] Probably in the sense of a waiter at table.

[3] Probably, *venue.*

of all words, except *ew, ewer, Ewin,*" and "in all foreign words from the Latine, Greek &c as *adieu, beuf, cavallieur, Deucalion, Deuteronomy, feumet, geuls, grandeur, lieu, Meuse, Monsieur, neuter, pardieu, pleurisy, portieu, Reuben, rheubarb, rheum, Theudas, Zeurin &c* except *view.*" And he allows the same sound to be written *ew* "in all English words as *crewet, dew, pewter* &c." But he never asks, when may the sound of *eu* be written *u ?* On the other hand he does ask when may the sound of *u* be written *eu* or *ew ?* And he answers, the first "when it may be sounded *eu* in foraign words, as *neuter* &c," referring to the list just given, and thus clearly distinguishing the two sounds (eu) and (iu); and the second "when it may be sounded *ew* in English words, that are purely[1] such, as in *askew, crewel, dewberries, eschew, ewer, gewgaws, Hewet, jewel, nephew, pewet, sinew, vinew,* and in *blew, chew, clew, crew, Crew, drew, few, flew, Grew, grew, Jew, knew, mew, new, screw, shew, skew, slew, spew, stew, stews, strew, threw.*"

Jones says that the sound of *o* and *ou*, evidently meaning (*oo, oou*), is written *ew* when it may be sounded *ew* as in *chew, eschew, shew, shrew, shrewd, Shrewsbury,* pronounced "*cho, shrode, Shrosbury* &c." (Sho*o*, Shrooz·ber*i*) are the only sounds here remaining. But that (shroo) must have been known in Shakspere's time appears from the last couplet of *Taming of the Shrew*, fo. 1623, the preceding 14 lines being in rhyming couplets:

Horten. Now goe thy wayes, thou hast tam'd a curst Shrow.
Luc. Tis a wonder, by your leaue, she wil be tam'd so.

Ewe has still a provincial pronunciation (*joo*, JAA).

Eau as is seen by the quotation from Wallis, follows the fortune of *eu*. Wallis has (beu·t*i*) admitting that some say (bieu·t*i*). Miege has (biu·t*i*). Jones says that *beau* is "sounded *beu* in the beginning of all words," referring to *e-eu*, which shews that he considers *ea* in *eau* to be the digraph *ea*, that is, a mere representative of (ee), and satisfactorily determines his pronunciation. Even the word "*Beaw* a name" he writes *beu*. But he never allows the sound to be long *u*, that is, (iu). On the other hand he also says the sound of long *o* is written *eau* "in the sound of *beau* in the beginning of all words," which should imply that (boo·t*i*) was heard as well as (beu·t*i*). He also says that *Bourdeaux* is "sounded *Boordo*" (Buur·d*oo*).

The conclusion seems to be that some speakers still said (eu) and Jones recognized it as an admissible and theo-

[1] The following list would imply that Dr. Jones did not know much of etymology.

retically the best sound, but that he frequently heard and admitted without any word of blame, the newer sound of (iu).

EU — XVIII TH CENTURY.

1704. The EXPERT ORTHOGRAPHIST says: "it must be a very critical ear, that can distinguish the sound of *eu* in *eucharist* from the long *u* in *unity*, and the *eu* in *rheubarb* from the long *u* in *rumour*, without an apparent and too affected constraint, contrary to the usual pronunciation observed by the generality, which (in this case) would sound very pedantick."

Here, the confusion of thought and consequent nebulosity of expression, which makes it difficult for an *ear* to distinguish sounds without a *constraint* which would *sound* pedantick, and which is contrary to the general *pronunciation*, is a good example of the darkness in which we have to grope for our results. It is to be presumed that the writer did not distinguish *eu* as (eu) from *u* as (iu), and found the utterance of those who still attempted to do so, affected and constrained. But did he pronounce all his 32 words having *ew* final, with (iu), including "*sew* or did sow with a needle, *sewer* a drain, *shew* or did show"? This is more than doubtful, and the distinctions here made between present *sow*, *show*, past *sew*, *shew*, are entirely without corroboration.

1766. BUCHANAN generally makes *eu*, *ew* = long *u* or (iu), but writes *sewer* (shoor), shew (shoo) sew (soo). His *ewe*, *monsieur*, *lieutenant* are (iu, monsiur', liuten'int), *chew* (tshuu), *beauty* (biu'ti), *beau*, *beaux* (boo, booz).

1768. FRANKLIN writes (nuu) for *new*.

The usages of the XVIII th century did not therefore sensibly differ from those of the XIX th. But to shew how (eu) still lingers, it is enough to cite the pronunciation (shɯu), clearly a variety of (sheu), heard from a highly educated speaker, during the preparation of these pages.

AU — XVI TH CENTURY.

1530. PALSGRAVE says: "*Av* in the frenche tonge shalbe sounded lyke as we sounded lyke as we sounde hym in these wordes in our tonge, a dawe, a mawe, an hawe. Except where a frenche worde begynneth with this diphthong av, as in these wordes, *avleún*, *ávltre*, *av*, *avssí*, *avx*, and *auctévr*, and all suche lyke: in whiche they sounde the a, almost lyke an o, and as for in *aïner*, a and v be distinct syllables, as shal appere by his writtyng in the frenche vocabular."

Now Meigret says: "vn' aotr' en ao, come aotant, aos, loyaos:

pour laqElle l'ecritture FrançoEz' abuze de la diphthonge au, qe la prononçíaçíon ne conoEt point. Car com' aotrefoEs je vous ey dit, la diphthong' Et de tElle nature q'Elle requiert la prolaçíon En vne mE'me syllabe dE' deu' voyElles qi la compozet: come nou' le fE'zons commmemEnt: E cinsi obsErve l'Ecritture, En moindre, peindre: E' qels nou' prononçons lE' diphthonges oi, E ei, En vne mE'me syllabe. E pourtant sont abuzes tous çeus qi se persuadet qe deu' voyElles conioinctes EnsEmble, caozet vn tiers son, qi ne tient ne de l'une, ne de l'aotre: come qant vous ecriuez mais, pour mE's, il dizet qe a, E, i, conjoins EnsEmble, forjet la prolaçíon de E, ouvert: suyuant leur rEgle donq ie direy qe ayant, aora En sa prononçíaçíon Eant; payant, paye, pEant, pEe, je direy le semblable de toutes aotres diphthonges qe vou' prononçez com' Elles sont ecrittes, q'Elles doEuet fE'r' vn son tiers, aotre qe çeluy dE' deu' voyelles conioinctes EnsEmble: E qe conseqEmmEnt vous ecriuez mal moins, eureus, caje (on dit bien aosi aje, E Et la diphthonge ea, bien rar' En FrançoEs) vu qe vou' prononçez lE mE'mes voyElles qi sont ecrittes, E q'Elles ne forjet point la vn tiers son. Voyez donqes q'Elle opiniatreté d'abus caoz' vn Erreur inueteré: tant Et diffíçil' a l'home la reconoEssançe d'une faote pour vne par trop grand' estim' E prezompsion de sa suffizançe conioint' a vne meconoEssançe de l'imbEçilité, E imperfecçíon de notr' EntEndemEnt: Ao regard d'aou par ou clós je ne l'ey point decouuErt, q'ao mot aout, qe vous ecriuez Aoust, etant s, superflúe."

This long quotation will serve to shew that Meigret's diphthongs must be accepted as such, with the exception of *ou*, of which he says "aotrement ne l'oze je noter," and which was the vowel (u) simply. Hence as Meigret only heard (au) in the one word *août*, now (uu), and heard (ao) in all other words, either the English must have been (ao), or, if it were (au), Palsgrave misheard the unfamiliar (ao) as the familiar (au). The latter is *à priori* more probable and agrees with all the other indications we possess.[1]

[1] G. des Autels was very vehement against Meigret for using the diphthong (ao). "Je luy demande," says he according to p. 130 of Livet, "où est le son, non entier, mais demy ou encore moins, de l'*a* en la diphthongue de sa nouvelle forge *ao?*" To the first objection he had raised Meigret had replied: "si vous n'avez le cerveau bien troublé d'opionastreté, vous trouverez qu'en introduisant la diphthongue *ao*, je ne fais qu'accorder l'écriture à la prononciation," (ib. p. 122), and to the above question he answered: "le plus opiniâtre sourdaud du monde ne saurait nier qu'il n' oye (entende) en *aosi* (aussi) un *a* puis un *o* qui luy est conjoint en une même syllabe," (ib. p. 133). It is evident then that Meigret used and was familiar with (ao). Livet (ib. p. 122) remarks: "il est certain qu'en Anjou l'on prononce de la *chaox*, j'ai *chaod*, *chevaox*, en appuyant sur l'*a* et glissant légèrement sur l'*o* qui ne s'entend guère plus qu'un *e* muet;" but this must be a recent development, the unstable (ao) becoming in this case (áo), while in the classical French it must have passed through an (aó) form. That the *a* was originally pronounced there can of course be etymologically no doubt, and the change of (ao) to (*oo*) is precisely similar to the change of (au) into (AA), which will be seen to have taken place in English. In Welsh we find Salesbury's *aw* be-

Palsgrave, speaking of French pronunciation, says:

"If m or n folowe next after a, in a frenche worde, all in one syllable, than a shall be sounded lyke this diphthong av, and somethyng in the noose, as these wordes *ámbre, chámbre, mandér, amánt, tant, quant, parlánt, regardánt*, shall in redynge and spekynge be sownded *aumber, chaumbre, maunder, amaunt, taunt, quaunt, parlaunt, regardaunt*, soundyng the á like au, and somethynge in the noose."

Of this there is no trace in Meigret, but the observation is important as explaining the English pronunciation of words from the French, and the nasalisation of *aun* is remarkable when compared with Jacob Grimm's observation that modern English *au*, which = (aa), is pronounced "as a lengthened a, something in the nose" (wie gedehntes a, ein wenig genäselt).[1]

1547. Salesbury has no special article on *au*, but he says:

"*w* English & *w* Welsh do not differ in sound, as wawe, *waw* unda, ... Also *w* is mute at the end of words in English, as in the following awe . . . . . pronounced thus *a* (aa) terror." Also he says that "sometimes *a* has the sound of the diphthong *aw* (au) especially when it precedes *l* or *ll*, as may be more clearly seen in these words balde, *bawld* (bauld) calvus, ball, *bawl* (baul) pila, wall, *wawl* (waul) murus." And he writes "galaunt, *galawnt* (galaunt)."

The word (aa) for (aau) *awe* is here singular, especially as it is adduced as an instance of the omitted (u). Smith pronounces this word (au) and Gill (aau). Salesbury is also inconsistent with himself, for in his Welsh pronunciation he says:

"All thoughe the Germaynes vse *rr* yet in some wordes sounde they it (to my hearing) as the forther *u* were a vowel, and the latter o (sic) consonant, where we Britons sounde both *uu* wholy together as one vowell, wythout anye seuerall distinction, but beynge alwayes eyther the forther or the latter parte of a dyphthonge in Englyshe on thys wyse: *wyth aw*, and in Welshe as thus *wyth awen*."

coming modern *o*. In Italian *o aperto* has succeeded frequently to Latin *au*, and so on. The question of importance here however is, when did the change take plaee? The testimony of Palsgrave to (au) and Meigret to (ao), and the objections of des Autels and Pelletier—who says to Meigret (ib. p. 138) "il t' eût autant valu mettre un *o* simple"—and the assertion of Ramus (ib. p. 186) that it is "le son que nous escripvons par deux voyelles a et u, comme en ces mots: *aultres, aultel*, ou nous prononcons toutesfois une voyelle indivisible," together with the dictum of Beza (ib. p. 520) "la diphthongue *au* ne diffère pas sensiblement de la voyelle *o*," to which he adds: "les Normands la prononcent en faisant entendre distinctement *a, o*: disant *a-o-tant* pour *autant*: peut-être est-ce la vraie et ancienne prononciation comme la vraie orthographe de cette dipthongue" —seem to shew that the change took place in the first half of the xvith century; that is, that about this time the simple vowel (*oo*) prevailed over the diphthong (ao) or (au), although the latter did not absolutely die out.

[1] Deutsche Grammatik, vol. 1, 3rd ed., 1840, p. 394.

It would seem impossible after the preceding remark to suppose that *w* were mute in *aw*. Indeed *wyth aw* seems to be rather a Welsh phonetic transcription than the usual orthography, in which, as in the other passage quoted above, we should expect *awe*.

1568. SMITH simply gives "AV seu *av*. (Dau) monedula, (clau) unguis animi, (rau) crudus, (naunt) nihil, (taunt) doctus, (laau) lex, (mau) stomachus, (sau) serra, (au) terror, (launter) risus, (faunt)[1] pugnavit, (strau) stramen." But in his Greek pronunciation he adds: "*αυ. ευ. ηυ.* Eandem rationem sequuntur, quam in reliquis. Nam si fuisset apud veteres tanta soni commutatio, profectò Grammaticorum diligentia non hoc tam insigne discrimen præteritum reliquisset. Itaque sic *αὐδάω* loquimur, vt audio nostrates vnguem, *claw*, & scabere *claw*." So that his *au* was certainly (au).

1569. HART says: "The Dutch" that is the Germans, "doe vse also *au*, *ei*, & *ie*, rightly as I do hereafter."

Now the German sounds are, and probably were, (au, ai, jee) or (ii), but Hart clearly did not refer to this last sound. When then Hart writes (autours, auluaiz, aulso, tshaundzh, bikaus, radikaul) for *authors, always, also, change, because, radical*, he meant (au) to be sounded as in German.

1580. BULLOKAR distinctly writes *ha,u*, meaning (HAU), and uses (kaul, kau'si) for *caul, causey* = *causeway*. His notation *al' aṁ aṅ* he explains as = (aul, aum, aun). This agrees with the rest.

Up to this time therefore, when Shakspere was 16, the pronunciation of *au* seems to have been indisputably (au) the same as the modern German *au*. There can be little doubt that Shakspere in his youthful days must have said (au), but during his lifetime the general pronunciation seems to have changed. Between Bullokar's and Gill's books, 41 years elapsed, and although Gill had an old pronunciation, yet he seems to have followed the times somewhat in this combination. In determining the pronunciation of Shakspere, we must remember that he and Dr. Gill were born in the same year, 1564, and that Shakspere died, 1616, eight years after Gill had been made master of St. Paul's school, and five years before the publication of Gill's book. Hence Gill's pronunciation is the best authority which we have for Shakspere's, and certainly gives us the pronunciation of Shakspere's time. It is therefore singularly vexatious that we cannot make out a very clear account either of long *i*, (p. 114,) or of this diphthong *au*, from Gill.

[1] In the original (fount), which is clearly a misprint. Possibly (laau) for (lau) was also a misprint.

1621. GILL says: "A, est tenuis, aut lata; tenuis, aut brevis est, vt in (taloou) TALLOWE sebum; aut deducta, ut in (taal) TALE fabula aut computus: lata, vt in *tâl* TALLE procerus. Hunc sonum Germani exprimunt per *aa*. vt in *maal* comitium, *haar* coma: nos vnico charactere, circumflexo *â*, contenti erimus."

This ought to imply that *a* in *tall* was a simple vowel and not a diphthong,[1] and that it was (*aa*, *aa*h) or (AA). The Germans perhaps really said (*aa*) or at most (*aa*h), but (AA) was the sound which appears certainly to have been *heard* by the English in the XVII th century. But Gill, who is so particular in his phonetics, absolutely confuses the diphthong (au) with his *â*, in the following curious paragraph, where I leave his symbols untranslated.

"A præponitur *e*, ut in *aerj* AERIE aereus. *o* nunquam; sæpius *i*, et *u*, vt, in *aid* auxilium; *bait* esca; *laun* sindonis species; & *a paun* pignus: vbi aduerte *au* nihil differre ab *â*. Eodem enim sono proferimus *a bâl*, BALL pila; et *tu bâl*, BAULE, vociferari: at ubi verè diphthongus est, *a*, deducitur in *á*, vt *áu* AWE imperium; *áuger* terebra."

Here he admits that *au* in his own phonetic writing is sometimes the sound which he represents as a simple vowel, his "broad *â*" and sometimes "truly a diphthong," but then becomes *âu* or *â* + *u*. I feel therefore bound to take his *au* as = his *â* or (AA), and his *âu* as = (AAu). In this point then Gill must have given in to the XVII th century pronunciation. The pronunciation (AAu) is not recognised by others. In Gill's first edition, 1619, he uses *au* instead of *â*, for (AA) and in the case of "the true diphthong" to make the *u* apparent, he considers the *u* and not the *a* to be lengthened. The meaning is evidently the same.

1633. BUTLER is still less explicit, for after saying that "the *right* sound is a mixed sound of two vowels whereof they (diphthongs) are made," and referring to the Greek, he merely tells us that "*au* in *Paul's* and his compounds, *Pauls-cross*, Pauls-єyrє-yard,[2] the Londoners pronounce after the French manner, as *ow*."

We are therefore driven to Ben Jonson's grammar 1640, which was not published till two years after his death, and which has probably been tampered with. Jonson was born in 1574, ten years after Gill and Shakspere, and his pro-

[1] But that it does not necessarily do so, appears from his calling long *i*, which was "fere diphthongus *ei*" the "thick *i*," or "*i* crassa." So that his assertion that *a* in *tall* is "*a* lata" or "broad *a*" would not be inconsistent with his admitting it afterwards to be "fere diphthongus *au*," and, as it will be seen, he almost uses these very words.

[2] The Greek є here represents a crossed *e*, much resembling it in form.

nunciation at best belongs to the very edge of the XVI th century. He says,

> when *a* "comes before *l.* in the end of a Syllabe, it obtaineth the full French sound, and is utter'd with the mouth and throat wide open'd, the tongue bent backe from the teeth, as in *al. smal. gal. fal. tal. cal.* So in Syllabes, where a *Consonant* followeth the *l.* as in *salt. malt. balme. calme.*"

Bullokar writes (ba'l'm ka'l'm = baul'm kaul'm) for *balm, calm.* Salesbury gives *calme, call* in his Welsh pronunciation, as words in which "*a* is thought to decline toward the sound of the diphthong *au*, and the wordes to be read in thys wyse *caul, caulme.*" Gill gives *balm* as (bAAm) according to our present interpretation of his *â* = *au.* Ben Jonson's explanation of his *a* before *l* will really apply better to (*aa*) than to (AA), because he omits all mention of labial action, but I suspect that (AA) was fully developed in England at the latter end of his life, and that he intended to indicate its sound, but had not noticed its labial character. It is worthy of remark however that Jonson's account of this sound is almost translated from the description of Latin A in *Terentianus Maurus* whom he cites in a note:

> A, prima locum littera sic ab ore sumit,
> Immunia, rictu patulo, tenére labra;
> Linguamque necesse est ità pandulam reduci,
> Ut nisus in illam valeat subire vocis,
> Nec partibus ullis aliquos ferire dentes.

and this renders his description altogether suspicious, as if it were the result of learning, not of observation.

The result is that in the earlier part and middle of the XVI th century and at least to 1580 the sound of *au* was (au) or (aau); that at the close it may have passed into (*aa*) ready to fall positively into (AA) in the next century. The modern contest between (aa) and (AA) in such words as *gaunt, haunt, jaunt* = (gaant, HAant, dzhaant) or (gAAnt, HAAnt, dzhAAnt), while *aunt* has remained (aant),—seems to point to a time of (aa) or (*aa*) before (AA) was evolved. In giving the pronunciation of Shakspere, however, having regard to the archaic habits of the stage, I think it will be more correct to write the full diphthong (au), see Chapter VIII. § 8. The change of (a) by the action of (u) would naturally be to the round form (o), for which in French, the narrower form (*o*) has prevailed. But if the (a) fell first into (*a*), the (u) would labialize it into (ɔ), for which the narrower form (A) is frequently substituted.

The distinction between primary, or narrow, and wide forms, is seldom upheld in its purity, and the sound varies frequently, unnoticed, from narrow to wide in different individuals, who believe themselves to be speaking alike.

AU — XVIITH CENTURY.

1653. Wallis says: "*Au* vel *aw*, recté pronunciatum, sonum exhiberet compositum ex Anglorum *á* brevi et *u*, (æu). Sed a plerisque nunc dierum effertur simpliciter ut Germanorum *á* pingue (aa); sono nempe literæ *â* dilatato, et sono litteræ *w* prorsus suppresso. Eodem nempe sono efferunt *âll* omnes, *awl* subula; *câll* voco, *caul*, *cawl*, omentum, vel etiam tiara muliebris."

This is just the conclusion that Dr. Gill had arrived at, but he does not acknowledge the pair, *fall folly*, of Wallis = (faal fali).

1668. Wilkins entirely agrees with Wallis. Price only says that "*aw* soundes broader then *au* as *dawb, haunt,*" the meaning of which is not clear.

1685. Cooper, as usual, is rather peculiar. He says:

"*A* in *can, cast,* cum *u* coalescens (æu) . . . nunquam occurrit in nostrâ linguâ. *Lance* hasta, *lancet* scalprum chirurgicum, à lanceola; *lanch* navem solvere à G. *lancer*, Jaculari, *Ganch* in sudes acutas præcipitem dare, *hant* à G. *hanter* frequento; *hanch* à G. *hanche* femur; *Gant*, macer quasi *want* ab A.S. *wana* carens, *gantlet* chirotheca ferrea, *landress* à lavando, nullo modo scribi debent cum *u*; contrà enim suadent sonus et derivatio;[1] falsò itaque scribuntur launce &c. Quædam vocabula à latinis præcipue derivata scribimus per *au* pronunciamus prout *au* vel *a* (aa) *audacious* audax; *maunder* murmurare; à G. *maudire* maledicere . . . . . *O* in *loss, lost* conjunctus cum *u* semper scribimus per *au* (au), ut *audible* audibilis, *audience* audientia; *audit-or-y* auditorium, *augment* augeo, *augury* augurium, *august* augustus, *auricular* auricularis, *austerity* austeritas, *authentick* authenticus, *authority* authoritas, *cautious* cautus, *fraudulent* dolosus, *laudable* laudabilis, *laurel* laurus, *plausible* plausibilis, negligenter loquentes pronunciant prout *a* (aa); in cæteris vocibus *au* & *aw* semper prout *a* (aa) pronunciamus."

This fancy for pronouncing *au* as (au) or (ɔu) in certain words, seems peculiar to Cooper; it may, however, have represented one of the transitional stages (au, *a*u, au, aa) or (au, *a*u, *a*', *aa*, aa). We can readily conceive that the sound had passed through all these stages; the (aa) often heard at

[1] As to sound, many even now say (laantsh laansh, haant, haantsh haansh, gaant-let, laan-dres). As to derivation, the insertion of (u) before (m, n) when they represented what are now the French nasals, was a regular indication of their origin, see suprà p. 143, and M, N below.

present in *haunt, gaunt, jaunt*, favours the notion that (*aa*) once existed. Cooper's "negligenter loquentes" refers of course to the general pronunciation, which was opposed to his ideas of correctness. Whenever an orthoepist talks of a "careless" pronunciation, he means that which is most prevalent, and which is therefore most valuable to the student of changes, while his "careful" pronunciation is that of Dr. Gill's "docti interdum," seldom or never heard when speakers are thinking of the meaning, rather than the sound, of what they say.

1686. MIEGE says: "La diphthonge *au* en Anglois se prononce comme nôtre a en François, Exemple, *Cause*, *Author*. Il en faut excepter *Auncient*, & ses Derivatifs, où la Diphthongue se prononce comme l'*a* simple en Anglais. De même en est il des mots finissans en *aunt*, comme *aunt, to daunt*, qu'il faut prononcer aint, tou daint. *To laugh*, se prononce laiff. *Paul* suit la Règle, hormis quand on parle de l' Eglise Cathedrale de S. Paul à Londres. Alors on l' appelle *Pôls* . . . . La Dipthongue *aw* sonne comme un *a* long en François. Exemple, *Law*, *flaw* qu'il faut prononcé lâ, flâ. Mais il se prononce bref, dans *awry*."

The difficulty experienced by the French in distinguishing (æ) from (E), and (a) or (*a*) from (A) has been noticed on pp. 71-2. The preceding indications lead me to suppose that Miege meant to express the sounds, (kAAz, AA·thər, æn·shent ææn·shent, æænt, dæænt, lææf, PAAl P*oo*ulz, lAA flAA). The sound of *ancient* is doubtful. The use of (ææ) in *aunt, daunt* is rather a thin pronunciation at the present day, which some ladies even still further thin to (ænt, dænt). The sound (P*oo*ulz) is not now heard, but as Chaucer writes *Powles*, and as Butler gives the pronunciation (P*oo*ulz) "in the French manner," we see that this pronunciation was very old, and was probably confined to this single word.

1701. JONES simply identifies *a, au, aw* in *all, Paul, awl*. But he gives the following list of

words in *au*, "which many sound as with an *o*. Auburn, auction, audacious, audible, audience, audit, auditor, auf awf, augment, augre, August, aumber, aumelet, aunt, auspicious, austere, authentick, author, Autumn, auxiliary, because, cautious, centaury, daunt, Dauphin, debauch, fault, flaunt, fraud, herauld, Henault, jaundice, laudable, maudlin, maugre, nauseous, Pauls, plausible, restauration, sausage, ribauldry, vault."

He does not say whether the *o* is long (*oo*) or short (ɔ). In *sausage* we now use (A), and frequently in *because* (bikAz·, bikɔz·), but *auf awf* is now written *oaf* (oof). *Dauphin* is frequently pronounced as French (D*oo*feA). The cases in which Jones finds *al* written for *au* will be considered under

L; and those in which *au* is written as *a* written before M. N, R will be considered under those letters.

In the XVII th century, then, *au* was almost universally pronounced (AA), but there were a few exceptions, so that on the whole the rules resembled those now in use,

AU — XVIII TH CENTURY.

1704. The EXPERT ORTHOGRAPHIST take the sound of *au* for granted, and must have pronounced (AA). The following with the sound of (AA) are noteworthy, *sausage*, *taunt*, *vaunt*, *launcet*, *launch*.

1766. BUCHANAN has (AA) in *daw*, *maw*, *awe*, *vault*, *daunt*, *fault*, *taunt*, but has (ææ) in *aunt*, *laugh*, where Sheridan has (æ).

1768. FRANKLIN has (lAz) meaning probably (lAAz) *laws*.

The usages with regard to *au* seem to have been nearly the same in the XVIII th century as in the XIX th century, but the orthoepists of the XVIII th ignore the sound (aa) altogether, and consequently do not notice the sounds (aant, laaf), which are now extremely prevalent, and probably were frequently heard during the preceding century. Our present orthoepists reject the sounds also.

OU — XVI TH CENTURY.

1530. PALSGRAVE says: "Ov in the frenche tong shalbe sounded lyke as the Italians sounde this vowel v, or they with vs that sounde the latine tong aright, that is to say, almost as we sounde hym in these wordes, a cowe, a mowe, a sowe, as *o͡vltre*, *sovdaÿn*, *ov͡bliér*, and so ofsuche other."

The *ou* in French is called "ou clós" and sometimes "o clós" by Meigret, which would lead to suppose it rather (*u*h) than (u), see p. 131, note. There can be no doubt of the Italian *u*, which was certainly (uu). But it seems from other writers that this pronunciation of (kuu, muu, suu), although still heard in the North of England, was going out. Palsgrave's pronunciation is probably of the XV th century in this point. We shall see that these words were so pronounced in the XIV th century, and it will hence be most convenient to defer the consideration of the change of (uu) into (ou) to the next chapter. We are not to suppose that *ou* was universally pronounced as (uu), even by Palsgrave and older writers. In many words, *ow* derived from ags. *aw*, was called (oou). Palsgrave says in another place:

"If m or n followe next after o in a frenche worde both in one syllable, than shall the o be sounded almost lyke this diphthonge

ov, and somethyng in the noose: as these wordes *mon, ton, son, renóm*, shalbe sownded *morn, torn, sorn, renorm* and so of all suche other, and in like wyse shall o be sownded though the next syllable folowynge begynne with an other m or n, as in these wordes *hóme, sómme, bónne, tónerre*, whiche they sounde *houme, boune, soumme, tounner*, and so of suche other."

Meigret knows nothing of this, but the effect on English ears is important in the transference of French words to English, where *on*, when, at present, nasal, became *oun*, meaning (uun), which afterwards, as we shall see, fell into (oun). Thus Hart in giving the pronunciation of the French Lord's prayer, writes (tun, num, volunte', kum'ah, dun'e, pardun'ah, pardun'unz, unt), for, ton, nom, volonté, comme, donnez, pardonne, pardonnons, ont.

1547. SALESBURY gives no special article on *ou*, but he has the following words, involving this combination, which may be classified as follows.

(oo) BOWE, *bo* (boo) arcus; CROWE *kro* (kroo) cornix; TROWE *tro* (troo) opinor.

(o) HONOURE *onor* (on'or) honos; — probably a mistake for *onwr* (on'ur).

(uu) WOWE, *w* (uu) petere ut procus; — a Welshism for (wuu) now written *woo*.

(u) NARROWE, *narrw* (nar'u) angustus; SPAROWE, *sparw* (spar'u) passer; GRACYOUSE, *grasiws* (graa'si,us) comis; EMPEROURE, *emperwr* (em'perur) imperator; DOUBLE, *dwbyl* (dub'il), see also under (ou).

(ou) LOW *low* (lou) mugire; NOWE *now* (nou) nunc; THOU *ddow* (dhou); DOUBLE U *dowbyl uw* (dou'bil yy), see also under (u).

It is evident that "the (uuz) have it," but the (ouz) are in force. Those words marked (oo) by Salesbury were probably (oou), as at present, but the (u) was possibly faint and disregarded.

1555. CHEKE says: "foule, boule, houle φουλ βουλ ὁυλ ful bul hul latinum u est. nam lumen nuntij acute argute λϑμεν νουντιι ακϑτε αργουτε sic Græce transferuntur."

Since Mekerch in taking the passage transfers it thus "*moule* concha, *douken* panni, μϑλ, δϑκ mul duk u Latinum est," and we know that in the old Dutch words[1] cited *ou* was (ou) or (ou), we see at once that these scholars were led away by their interpretation of the Greek *ου* as = (ou), to imagine that the Latin *u* had the same sound, instead of, conversely, from the known (uu) sound of Latin *u* concluding the (uu) sound of Greek *ου*. In Cheke's time then the English "foule, boule, houle" were (foul, boul, HOUL).

[1] The modern forms are *mouw, moud, molle*, (mou, moud, mol'e), and *doek* (duuk).

1568. SIR T. SMITH fully endorses Cheke's inference that the Latin long *u* was pronounced as he pronounced Greek *ου*, that is, (ou), saying:

"*ΟΥ diphthongus Græca*, (ou) *et ωυ*, (oou). Ex (o) breui & (u), diphthongum habebant Latini, quæ si non eadem, vicinissima certè est *ου* Græcæ diphthongo, & proximè accedit ad sonum *u* Latinæ. Ita quæ Latinè per *u* longum scribebant, Græci exprimebant per *ου*. quæ per *u* breuem, per *υ*, quasi sonos vicinissimos. At ex (oo) longa & (u) diphthongus apud nos frequens est, apud Græcos rara, nisi apud Ionas: apud Latinos haud scio an fuit vnquam in vsu.

(ou), (bou) flectere, (boul) sphæra, (kould) poteram, (mou) meta fœni, (sou) sus fœmina.

ωυ. (boou) arcus, (booul) sinum aut scaphium, (koould) frigidus, (mooul) metere, aut irridere os distorquendo, (soou) seminare, aut suere."[1]

And again in his Greek pronunciation, he adds: "*ου* ab omnibus rectè sonatur, & u facit Latinum quando producitur, vt aduertit Terentianus: differt *ωυ* granditate vocis, vt etiam *ηυ* ab *ευ* distinguimus.

ου. *bow*, *βοὺ*, flectere. *a hay mow*, *μοῦ*, fœni congeries, *a gowne*, *γοῦν*, toga.

ωυ. *a bow*, *βωῦ*, arcus. *to mow*, *μωῦ*, metere, vel os torquere. *gow*, *γωῦ*, abeamus.

υ. v breue Latinum. *a bull* taurus. *u* longum vel *ου*, *a bowl*, *βοῦλ*, globus. *ωυ*, *a bowle βωῦλ*, Sinum ligneum, vas in quo lac seruatur, vel vnde ruri bibitur.

Here Smith agrees with Salesbury in the close diphthong (ou), but distinguishes an (oou) where Salesbury only heard (oo) as in *bowe*, arcus. In the same way at the present day, very few of those who say (b*oo*u) acknowledge the final (u), because most of them insert it in *no*, *go*, etc., saying (n*oo*u, g*oo*u) for (n*oo*, g*oo*), and hence consider that they pronounce simple (*oo*) in both cases. Very few would say (ɔi n*oo*u n*oo* b*oo*u s*oo* l*oo*u) for *I know no bow so low*, or would distinguish *no beau* as (n*oo* b*oo*) from *know bow* (n*oo*u b*oo*u). Smith at the same time absolutely disagrees with Palsgrave in *mow*, *sow*, saying (mou, sou) where the latter says (muu, suu). It is singular that this difference, to which we shall have to allude again presently, turns upon precisely the error con-

[1] At present it is usual to distinguish *sow* seminare, *sew* suere, which would lead to saying (soou, seu). We find for *sow* seminare 'sowyn corne, or any oþer sedys' in the Promptorium, 'I sowe corne, or any other seedes' in Palsgrave; and for *sew* suere, 'sowe clothys or oþer sedys' in Promptorium, 'I sowe with a nedell' in Palsgrave, while Levins gives both *sewe* and *sowe* for *suere*, and does not appear to give the English for *seminare* at all. Probably Levins's *sowe* should have been explained seminare.

cerning Greek *ov*. Although there were then living persons who pronounced (uu) for *ou*, yet Cheke and Smith both refer their sound (ou) to the Greek *ov*, and then infer the monstrous conclusion that the Latins pronounced their long *u* in the same way.

1569. HART, in the passage already quoted, p. 132, writes *fowerth*, (fouurth) *tower* (touur), *poure* (pouur), *flower* (flouur), marking the second element of the diphthong as long. There is no doubt that in prolonging a diphthong the second element must be lengthened, because the first and the glide must pass in the usual time in order to preserve the character of the diphthong. As however the lengthening of the second element is accidental, it is not usually marked in palaeotype. In the course of his work, however, Hart does not mark the second element as long; for example I find, (nou, sound). Hart also leaves out the (u) occasionally as (vo,elz, knoon, thou't, knoledzh,) for *vowels, known, thought, knowledge*. Hart also writes (dub'l) for *double*, thus agreeing with one of Salesbury's notations for this word.

1580. BULLOKAR in writing of the sounds of *o* (suprà p. 93) says that the third sound is "as, *ɔ*, flat and short, that is to say, as this sillable *ou*, short sounded." Again, under *u* he talks of one of the vowel sounds of *u* being "of flat sound, agréeing to the olde and continued sound of the diphthong : *ou* : but always of short sounde." This he distinguishes by writing a hook, like a comma below, which will be here, for convenience, printed as a comma before. He then identifies in his notation *o,ɔ o,u ,ow ,oow ,v ,u ,o ,oo*, where the two o's are united into one sign like Greek *ω*, observing "that no diphthong is of so short sounde as any short vowell, and that as well short vowels, as diphthongs ending a sillable, are of meane time, that is, betwéene short and long, their time before shewed notwithstanding." The following are some of the words in the ordinary spelling in which he uses these notations *sum, sound, doubt, other, fully, some, such, without, precious, youth, good, much, under, colour, unwilling, comfort, double, vowels, come, but, word, our*. With the exception of *sound, doubt, without, vowels, our*, which have now (əu) and *youth* which has (uu), all the above words have now (ə), and it will be shewn under U that we may infer an elder (u) or (*u*) from a modern (ə). There is therefore no doubt that Bullokar pronounced *ou* as (u) at times; at other times I think it must have been (uu), for he would not have used the phrase "*ou* short sounded" unless there had been an "*ou* long sounded." Thus it is probable that the word

vowels was called by him (vuu'elz) rather than (vu'elz). We have here then a direct confirmation of Palsgrave and contradiction to Smith. Thus *bow* flectere = (bou) in Smith, and (buu) in Bullokar, both giving *bow* arcus as (boou). We are reminded here of the distinction between the English (bəu) and the Scotch (buu). Again *bowl* sinum is (booul) in Salesbury, Smith, Bullokar; but *bowl* sphæra, is (boul) in Smith and (buul) in Bullokar. The celebrated *bowling greens* at Nottingham are commonly called (bəu'liq) or (bou'liq griinz) to this day. Walker says on the word *bowl* sphæra, which he calls (b*oo*l) meaning (b*oo*ul):

"Many respectable speakers pronounce this word so as to rhyme with *howl* (ɦəul) the noise made by a dog. Dr. Johnson, Mr. Elphinstone and Mr. Perry declare for it; but Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Scott, Dr. Kenrick and Mr. Smith, pronounce it as the vessel to hold liquor, rhyming with *hole* (b*oo*l, b*oo*ul). I remember having been corrected by Mr. Garrick for pronouncing it like *howl*; and am upon the whole of opinion, that pronouncing it as I have marked it, (b*oo*l), is the preferable mode, though the least analogical."

Walker derived his knowledge entirely from observing the spelling and custom of his time. Hence his argument is perfectly groundless. *Bowl*, the cup, is connected with *boll*, *bole*, and the sound of (*oo*) is to be expected, the additional (u) arising merely from the following *l*, as will be shewn under L. But *bowl*, the ball, was the French *boule*, correctly written *boul* or *bowl* in older English, not only as we see from Bullokar, who calls this sound of *ou* its "old and continued sound," but as will appear from the study of Chaucer's orthography. The change of (uu) into (ou) in English, which occurred partly perhaps in the XV th century, but which we see by Palsgrave and Bullokar, was not fully completed in the XVI th, and which the words *through*, *youth*, *you*, *a wound* some say (a wəund), *could*, *would*, *should*, *flock* (a flounder), *soup*, *group*, *rouge*, *route*, occasionally called (rəut) like *rout*, *Cowper*, only called (kəu'per) by those who do not know the family, *Brougham*, (Bruum) as spoken by Lord Brougham, though the carriage is often called (Br*oo*'əm), will convince us that the change is not yet complete. The nature and laws of this change will best be considered hereafter.[1]

[1] Walker continues as follows, and it is worth while, perhaps, in a note, to draw attention to the extreme confusion of ideas concerning language that possessed this respectable orthoepist, because it is still widely prevalent, as I have had frequent opportunities of observing. "But as the vessel *bowl* has indisputably this sound it is rendering the language still more irregular to give the ball *bowl* a different one." That is, because in early times of our orthography, when the writer did not know exactly how to represent

1621. GILL agrees with Smith, and writes: (bound) bound, (sound) sound, (blooun) blown, (throoun) thrown, (bou) bough, (boon) arcus, (boul) bowl a ball, (booul) bowl a cup.

the sound of (uu), but wandered between *o* and *ou, ow*, which last happened to be also appropriated to sounds which were distinctly (oou),—and because people following the tendencies of sound, quite independently of spelling, altered the sound of (uu) in many wordes to (ou, ou), so as still to keep up a distinction in speech between words previously distinguished though in a different way,—all these tendencies are to be given up for the sake of a casual similarity of spelling; and it is to be deemed *less* irregular, because the spelling is alike, to change the sound of one of the words, than to give a different sound to two words spelled alike, or to change the spelling of one of them. Of course, then, *know now* should be pronounced alike, as also the latter parts of *shoe, hoe, changed hanged*. The irregularity was *not* in the sound but in the clumsy orthography. Walker proceeds thus, "The inconvenience of this irregularity is often perceived in the word *bow*," the irregularity was spelling *two* words, i.e. two collections of sound in the same way; Walker assumes it to be, pronouncing *one* word, i.e. one collection of letters, in two ways. The confusion of writing and sound could not be more complete. "To have the same word" i.e. sound, "signify different things, is the fate of all languages; but pronouncing the same word" i.e. written symbol, "differently to signify different things, is multiplying difficulties without necessity" to the reader, not the listener, and the remedy is with the writer, not the speaker, "for though it may be alleged that a different pronunciation of the same word" i.e. written symbol, "to signify a different thing, is in some measure remedying the poverty and ambiguity of language" i.e. written symbols, "it may be answered, that it is in reality increasing the ambiguity" of orthography, not of language, "by setting the eye and ear at variance, and obliging the reader to understand the context before he can pronounce the word." A good argument against unphonetic spelling. But to conclude that pronunciation must follow the unphonetic spelling, is to determine that every baby should learn to read before it speaks. This would almost beat those celebrated Irish infants of whom a native preacher is said, by Sir Jonah Barrington in his Memoirs, to have declared, inveighing against the precocious wickedness of his times, that, 'little children who could neither walk nor talk, ran about the streets blaspheming.' Walker continues: "It may be urged that the Greek and Latin languages had these ambiguities in words" written symbols, "which were only distinguished by their quantity or accent." That is, words differing in the accent given to the syllables, or in the length of vowel sounds were written alike—a defect in orthography, but certainly not in the language which distinguished the sounds. "But it is highly probable that the Greek language had a written accent to distinguish such words as were pronounced differently to signify different things," as the Greek accents were an invention of later grammarians chiefly to assist foreigners, it would have been more satisfactory if Walker had mentioned the grounds of this 'high probability,' "and this is equivalent to a different spelling," of course, when the accent points to a difference of sound, and is not merely, as old Bullokar often used it, and as we find in French *a, à*, 'for the sake of equivocy,' just as we may imagine Walker would have looked on the diverse spellings *rite, write, right, wright*, or *air, heir, eyre, ere, e'er*. Walker continues, "and though the Latin word *lego* signified either to *read* or *to send*, according to the quantity with which the first syllable was pronounced," that is, the word (leg·oo) meant *I gather* or *read*, and the word (leeg·oo) meant *I send*, and the two words were in this particular inflection written alike, "it was certainly an imperfection in that language," read, orthography, "which ought not to be imitated. Ideas and combinations of ideas will always be more numerous than words; and therefore the same word will often stand for very different ideas;" and Walker has in this note strangely illustrated the danger of such results in bad writers and loose thinkers,

He has however some remnants of the (uu, u) sounds, as (kuurts) courts, (kuuld) could, where Smith has (kould), and admits (wound) as a Northern pronunciation of *wound*.

1653. Butler says (translating his symbols,): "*ou* in the substantive termination *our*, as *honour*, *labour*, *succour*, and in the adjective termination *ous*, as *glorious*, *gracious*, *prosperous* is sound as *oo* or *u* short" that is (u) or (*u*). "This being general, may be suffered as an Idiom: but in other syllables of some few words, whereof there is no certain rule to be given, it is not so excusable: as when we write *bloud*, *floud*, *courage*, *scourge*, *flourish*, *nourish*, *young*, *youth*, *woulf*, *double*, *trouble*, &c., for blood, flood, coorage, scurge, floorish, nurrish, yung, yuth, wulf, dubble, trubble, &c.," meaning (blud, flud, kur·adzh, skurdzh, flur·ish, nur·ish, juq, juth?, wulf, dub·l, trub·l), "for the same writing hath another sound in *loud*, *proud*, *cour*,[1] *scour*, *mound*, *mouth*, *coul*, *scoul*, *doubt*, *trout*, and the same sound hath another writing in *good*, *stood*, *bud*, *mud*, *burge*,[2] *purge*, *furrow*, *murrain*, *bung*, *gulf*, *bubble*, *stubble*, &c.," which had (*u*). "Neither is there any more reason why in *would*, *could*, *should*, *roum*, *wouf*,[3] *wound*, *ou* should be written for *oo* long; than that for *cool*, *pool*, *fool*, *tool*, *school*, *stool*, *hoof*, *boorn*, *moon*, *doom*; we should write *coul*, *poul*, *foul*, *toul*, *skoul*, *stoul*, *houf*, *bourn*, *moun*, *doum*. The cause of this cacography which causeth such difficulty is a causeless affectation of the French dialect; who for the sound of *oo* (which in their language is frequent) do sometimes write *o* and oftentimes *ou*; as they write *i*, *ai*, *oi*, and sound (ii, e, woee),[4] or as they write *en*, *an*, *aw*, and sound *an*, *aun*, *ow* for *entend*, *command*, *costean*, saying *antand*, *coomaund*, *cotcow*. But that they speak otherwise than they

by confusing a *spoken* and a *written* word, *language* and *orthography*; "but altering the sound of a word, without altering the spelling, is forming an unwritten language." The orthoepist the orthographer, the word-pedlar, is here shewn to the life. It is a horror to him, a monstrosity, this formation of an "unwritten language." As if all languages were not formed unwritten, were not to the great majority of present speakers, unwritten. As if all those who made languages, who altered their sounds, who brought them to their present speech-form, knew or cared about writing; as if even the majority of those who speak, pause to consider in the rapidity of discourse, how the printers of the day choose to print, and the writing-masters choose to order their pupils to write! No, it is not the language, or the speakers that are in fault in obeying and carrying out the organic laws of speech and word formation. It is those word-pedlars, those letter-drivers, those stiff-necked, pedantic, unphilosophical, miserably-informed, and therefore supremely certain, self-confident, and self-conceited orthographers who make default, when they will not alter the spelling after the sound has changed, and maintain that though their rules must be right, it is only the exceptions which prove them,—forgetting that as some foreigner pithily said, "English orthographical rules are all exceptions."

[1] Meaning *cover*, written *covryn* in the Promptorium, *covre* in Palsgrave, and *coure* in Levins.

[2] Query, *borage*, as written in the Promptorium, the *bourage* of Palsgrave and *burrage* of Levins, exhibiting the three common spellings for the same sound.

[3] *Room*, *woof* "of *woven*, as *warp* because *warped* or *wrapped* round the beam" adds Butler.

[4] Butler belongs to the latter part of the XVI th or to the XVII th century, in his French, when the change of the French *ai* from (ai) to (ɛ) was complete.

write, is no reason why we should write otherwise than we speak; considering what an ease and certainty it would be both to readers and writers, that every letter were content with its own sound, and none did intrude upon the right of another. The termination *our* accented, is sounded in two syllables: as in *devour, deflour;* and in all monosyllables, as *our, hour, bour, flour, tour, sour, lour, scour, pour* Verb fundo: the Noun is, for difference, written in two syllables *power* potestas, and so are all the substantives in the plural number; as *flowers, towers, Showers:* and sometime in the singular not only in verse: but in prose also."

OU — XVII TH CENTURY.

1653. WALLIS says: "*Ou* et *ow* duplicem sonum obtinent; alterum clariorem, alterum obscuriorem. In quibusdam vocabulis effertur sono clariori per *o* apertum,[1] et *w*. Ut in *sóul* anima, *sóuld* vendebam, venditum, *snów* nix, *knów* scio, *sów* sero, suo, *ówe* debeo, *bówl* poculum, etc., quo etiam sono et *ó* simplex nonnunquam effertur nempe ante *ld* ut in *góld* aurum, *scóld* rixor, *hóld* teneo, *cóld* frigidus, *óld* senex, antiquus, etc., et ante *ll* in *póll* caput, *róll* volvo, *tóll* vectigal, etc. Sed et hæc omnia ab aliis efferuntur simpliciter per *ó* rotundum aesi scripta essent *sóle, sóld, snó* &c. In aliis vocabulis obscuriori sono efferuntur; sono nempe composito ex *ò* vel *ù* obscuris (ɔ), et *w* (ɔu). Ut in *hòuse* domus, *mòuse* mus, *lòwse* pediculus, *bòul* globulus, *òur* noster, *òut* ex, *òwl* bubo, *tòwn* oppidum, *fòul* immundus, *fòwl* volucris, *bòw* flecto, *bòugh* ramus, *sòw* sus, etc. At *would* vellem, *should* deberem, *could* possem, *course* cursus, *court* aula, curia, et pauca forsan alia, quamvis (ut proximè præcedentia) per *òu* pronunciari debeant, vulgo tamen negligentius efferri solent per *oo* (uu)."

Wallis seems to say that (s*o*ul, s*o*uld, sn*o*u) as well as (s*oo*l, s*oo*ld, sn*oo*) were heard, and that (g*o*uld, sk*o*uld, b*o*uld, k*o*uld, *o*uld) were used, although he did not approve of them. This effect of L will be considered hereafter. The sound (hɔus, mɔus) &c. is the same as the modern English, and must be distinguished from the former. Wallis's dictum concerning *would*, etc., is only borne out by Smith's very peculiar (kould) *could*, suprà p. 151. We have seen that Gill said (kuurt); (kuurs) is still common in the North. Wallis wishes that the two sounds were distinguished in writing,

[1] This must mean "*ŏ apertum*," that is (ʌ), giving the diphthong (ʌu); although it is certainly very singular, as the words given were pronounced with (oou) in the XVI th century, and he makes some of them have (*oo*). This (ʌu) is the diphthong recognized in a few words by Cooper, suprà p. 147. I suspect that this is a theoretical pronunciation, arising from Wallis's considering the vowel *o* short in the diphthong and his having no notation for (*o*) The *ŏ apertum* he usually marks *ŏ*, but here he has employed *ó*, apparently to connect the sound with his *ô* = (*oo*), so that he may really mean (*ou*).

using *ôu ôw* or *ôu ôw* or simply *ow* for (ou, oo) and *òu òw* or simply *ou* for (ɔu). Yet how many would feel their eyes offended by seeing *know, nou, hou, low, sou, sow, rou, rou,* notwithstanding the infinitesimal nature of the change.

1668. Wilkins speaks of (ɔu) only as the sound of *ow* in "owr, owle." It is curious that, though (æu) is the common Norfolkism now, Wilkins says that (æ) before (u) "will not coalesce into a plain sound." Writers on phonetics are too apt to measure the pronouncing powers of others by their own, although the extreme difficulty with which unfamiliar combinations of familiar elements become current to their organs, and the mistakes they make in hearing and imitating unfamiliar sounds and slight variations of familiar sounds, should teach them to be less confident.

1668. Price makes several categories of *ou, ow.*

1) *ow, ou* sound "like *o*," that is, either (*oo*) or (ɔ) in bestow, know, a bow, flow, low, window, throw, grow, glow; succour, brought, endeavour, although, armour, behaviour, clamour, colour, embassadour, emperour, errour, gourd, harbour, mannour, nought, odour, ought, rigour, solicitour, soul, though, thought, wrought; in some of which we have now (ɔ, aa).

2) *Ow, ou* keep their "full sound" (ɔu) in how, to bow, froward, allow, cow, coward, now, toward, devout, flout, fourth, our Saviour, stout. Although (tɔu·ad) may be occasionally heard, it is unfrequent; (frɔu·ad) I do not remember to have heard; (fɔuath) is also strange, and (sææ·vi,ɔuɪ) the strangest of all.

3) *Ou* sounds "like short *u*," that is (ɔ), in cousin, double, courage, adjourn, bloud, couple, courtesey, discourage, doubled, encourage, floud, flourish, journey, journal, nourish, ougly, scourge, touchstone, touchy, young. All these pronunciations remain in use although we no longer write *bloud, floud, ougly.*

4) *Ow, ou* sound "like *woo*," that is (uu) in arrow, pillow, barrow, borrow, fallow, follow, hallow, morrow, shaddow, sorrow, swallow, widdow, willow, winnow, couch, course, discourse, court, courtier.

5) "*Ou* soundes like *iw* in youth," meaning (jiuth)? This certainly ought to have formed part of the preceding list.

1685. Cooper says "*O* in *full, fole* (*u, oo*) cum *u* (u) conjunctus constituit diphthongum in *coulter* vomis, *four* quatuor, *mould* panifico, mucesco, typus in quo res formatur; *moulter* plumas exuere, *poulterer* avicularius, *poultry* alites villatici, *shoulder* humerus, *soul* anima; in cæteris hunc sonum scribimus per *o* ante *ll* finalem, vel *l*, quando præcedit aliam consonantem; ut *bold* audax; quidam hoc modo pronunciant *ow.*"

"*U* gutturalem (ɔ), ante *u* Germanicum *oo* anglicè exprimentem (u) semper scribimus per *ou*; ut *out* ex; *about* circa; *ou* tamen aliquando, præter sonum priorem, sonatur ut *oo* (uu); ut I *could* possem; ut *u* gutturalis (ɔ), *couple* copulo; ut *a* (aa) *bought* emptus."

The first diphthong must be written theoretically (*au*), but it was probably meant to be the same as (*ou*), coinciding with Wallis's diphthong, because Cooper does not distinguish (*u, o*). The second diphthong was of course the modern (əu).

The words in *ou* which Cooper pronounces with the first diphthong (*au*) or (*ou*), as above mentioned, all contain *oul*, and to these he adds the following with a simple *o* before *l*, *behold, bold, bolster, bolt, cold, colt, dolt, droll, enroll, fold, gold, hold, inholder* hospes, *jolt, knoll, manifold, motten, poll, roller, rolls, scold, sold, told, vpholster* plumarius. He also says: "Quidem scribunt *troll* vel *trowl* læviter eo, ita *controll controul*, redarguo, *joll jole* caput," *jowl* is common now, with the sound (dzhəul), "*toll tole* vectigal &c, *mold* vel *mould* humus, at *mould* typus," a distinction now lost, if it were ever made by others beside Cooper, "*bowl bole* patera."

The sound of the second diphthong (əu) is given by Cooper to all other words in *ou*, as "*boul* globulus, *gout* podagra, &c," some of which he allows to be written *ow*, as: *advowson, allow, arow, bow* torqueo, *bowels, bower, brow, brown, browze, carowze, cow, coward, cower, crown, down, dowry, drown, frown, gown, how, howl, lower* frontem capero, *mow* fænile, *now, owl, plow* aro, *rowel, rowin* fœnum serotinum, *shower, sow* s., *towel, tower, trowel, row, rowel.* He adds, "*bounce* crepo, *bouser* thesaurarius, *clown* colonus, *drousie* somnolentus, *loud* sonorous, *louse* pedicular, *renoun* gloria, *rouze* excito, *souse* omasum, *touze* plurimùm vello; etc., scribuntur item cum *ow. W* quiescens adjungitur post *o* finale, (præter in *do* facio, *go* eo, *no* non, *so* sic, *to* ad) ùt *bowe* arcus, *dowe* farina subacta" i.e. *dough*, "*owe* debeo, *sowe* sero, *towe* lini floccus, &c, & in *own* assero, *disown* denego, *bellows* follis, *gallows* patibulum, *towardness* indoles."

Hence Cooper admits (*ou*) but not (*oou*) making the latter purely (*oo*). He gives no list of words with *ou* pronounced as (ɔ) or (*u*, uu).

1686. MIEGE's lists are as follows: *ou* generally = *aou*, meaning (əu), not (AU), although Miege confuses French *a* with English (AA).

1) *ou* = *o*, meaning (ɔ), in adjourn, bloud, floud, country, couple, courage, courtesey, double, doublet, flourish, gournet, journey, Journal, nourish, scourge, scoundrel, touch, trouble, young, in which (skon'drel) is new.

2) *ou* = "*o* un peu long," meaning (*o*) or (*oo*), or sometimes one and sometimes the other, or else (*ou*) which he was unable to express in French letters: in coulter, moulter, poultice, poultry, four,

course, concourse, discourse, soul, souldier, shoulder, mould, trough, dough, though, although.

3) *ou*, value not named, and hence probably French *ou* (u), see Jones, just below, in substantives ending in *our* as Saviour, factour, neighbour.

4) *ou*, value not named, probably French *ou* (u), in adjectives ending in *ous*, as vicious, malicious, righteous, monstrous, treacherous.

5) *ough* = *a* long, that is (ɑɑ) in ought, nought, brought, bought, sought, thought, wrought = ât, nât, brât, bât, &c., (ɑɑt, nɑɑt) &c. except drought, doughty = *draout*, *daouty* (drout, dou·ti); borough, thorough = *boro*, *thoro* (bər·ə, thər·ə); cough = *cäff* (kɑɑf); rough, tough, enough = *roff*, *toff*, *enoff* (rəf, təf, enəf·).

6) *ou* = *oo* French (uu) in would, could, should, you, your, source, youth, — Portsmouth, Plimouth, Yarmouth, Weymouth, Monmouth.

1701. JONES says "that *ou* and *ow* have two very different sounds; (1) that in *soul*, *bowl*, *old*, *told*, &c., which is the true sound of *o* and *oo* join'd together in one syllable (ou, oou); (2) that in *bough*, *cow*, *now*, &c., which is the true sound of *ŭ* short, in *but*, *cut*, &c., and *oo* join'd together in one syllable (ɔu)."

But he characteristically seldom distinguishes which he means when he talks of the sound of *ou*, *ow*. He also says that *ou* is pronounced *o*, meaning either (*oo*) or (ɔ), or even (ɑɑ) in "*Gloucester*, sounded *Gloster*; *although*, *besought*, *borough*, *bough*,[1] *bought*, *brought*, *cough*, *dough*, *doughty*,[2] *drought*, *enough*,[3] *fought*, *hiccough*, *hough*, *lough*, *Lougher*, *mought*, *nought*, *ought*, *plough*,[4] *rough*, *slough*,[5] *sought*, *though*, *thought*, *through*, *tough*,[5] *trough*, *whough*, *wrought*; and "in *souldier*, sounded *sodier*," the parent of the "sojer" of our plays and jest books.

The sound of *o* is also written *ow*, Jones says: "When it may be sounded *ow* in the End of words, or before a vowel, as *ow*, *owing*; *follow*, *following*, &c., otherwise it is always *o*, when it cannot be sounded *ow* (ɔu ?), unless it be one of those above, that are written *ough*."

Ou = (uu) is much more extended by Jones than by the preceding authorities, first to the terminations *-our*, *-ous* "when it may be sounded *ou*," which seems very questionable, and then in the following words: *couch*, *could*, *course*, *court*, *courtship*, *courteous*, *crouch*, *fourth*, *gouge*, *gourd*, *mouch*, *mourn*, *should*, *slouch*, *souse*, *touch*, *would*; *accoutre*, *amour*,

[1] Surely a mistake.

[2] (Dəu·ti) not (doo·ti) according to Miege, and present use.

[3] Meaning (enoo·) ?

[4] The Authorized Version has *plow*, Deut. 22, 10. 1 Sam. 14, 14. Job 4, 8, etc., which from this insertion by Jones would seem to imply a pronunciation (ploou). But Cooper, suprà p. 158, spells *plow*, and yet pronounces (pləu).

[5] Now (rəf, sləf sləu, təf).

boutefeu, Bourdeaux, capouch, capouchine, coupee, courier, Courtney, courtrey, courvee, enamour'd, gourmandise, Louvain, Lourre, rendezvous, rencountre, Toulon. For *ou* = (ɔ), see p. 183.

Hence in the XVII th century *ou*, or *ow* had two sounds, the first (*ou*) or (*oou*) corresponding to our present theoretical (*oo*) and secondly (ɔu) where it is still so called. The sound of *ou* as (uu) was exceptional, and seems to have been used in a few more words than at present.

OU — XVIII TH CENTURY.

1704. The EXPERT ORTHOGRAPHIST seems to pronounce *ou* as (ɔu) in *touch, Souch, gouge, rouge, coulter, boulter, poultry, moulter, shoulder, poultice, wound, pour, bowl, cowcumber.* But to distinguish *bow* flecto as (bɔu) from *bow* arcus as (b*oou*), and says that "All polysyllables ending in obscure *o* have *w* added for ornament's sake as *arrow, bellows,* &c."

1766. BUCHANAN writes, (nAAt) nought, (mɔus) mouse, (fɔul) foul, (bɔu) bow *flectere*, (kɔun'*ti*) county, (kɔutsh) couch, (vɔu'*il*) vowel, (sɔu) sow *sus*, (bɔul) bowl *globus et crater;* (dh*oo*) though, (k*oo*rs) course, (k*oo*rt) court, (n*oo*) know, (bl*oo*) blow, (bist*oo*') bestow, (s*oo*l) soul, (nær'*oo*) narrow, (æ l*oo*u) a low; (suup) soup, (wud) would, (kud) could, (juu) you; (jɔq) young, (trɔb'l) trouble, (kɔp'l) couple, (kɔr'*i*dzh) courage, (kɔn'tr*i*) country, (nɔr'*i*sh) nourish; (thAAt) thought, (bAAt) bought.

1768. FRANKLIN writes (fAul, Aur, dAun, thAuz'and, plAu'mæn; k*oo*rs) for *foul, our, down, thousand, ploughman, course,* where if (Au) is not a mistake, it is a singular form of the diphthong, agreeing however with the analysis of Sheridan and Knowles.

Among the Irish uses noted by SHERIDAN, 1780, we find (kuurt) *court,* (suurs) *source,* and (kAuld, bAuld) *cold, bold,* all of which clearly belong to the XVII th century. Sheridan pronounces (k*oo*rt, s*oo*rs, k*oo*ld, b*oo*ld). The Irish (druuth) *drought,* English (drAut) according to Sheridan, is very singular.

U — ROUND OR LABIALISED VOWELS.

U has been reserved to the last, as in order to understand the relations of the various sounds which have been expressed by *u* in our own and other languages, especial attention must be directed to the twofold manner in which the aperture of the mouth is varied. Speech sounds are essentially produced in the same manner as those in organ reed pipes.

In the larynx two highly elastic vocal ligaments, stretched to various degrees of tension at will, are put into vibration by the rushing of wind from the lungs through the windpipe. The sound thus produced is highly complicated, consisting, as Helmholtz has shewn,[1] of a great number of simple tones, producing on the whole a buzzing, droning, imperfect effect, which would not be well heard. To make it penetrate as a clear distinct sound, a resonance tube must be added. This tube, according to its shape or length, will reinforce a greater or less number of simple tones, which it selects out of the confused number produced by the unarmed elastic ligaments, thus generating, by the mere change of its shape and size a marked change in the sound heard, even when the original mode of vibration remains unaltered. Now above the larynx is situated a highly variable fleshy bag, the pharynx, communicating with two external apertures, the nose and the mouth, either or both of which can be opened or closed at will. The back nostrils are the entrance and the external nostrils the exit from the upper passage, where the sound passes through various galleries and encounters various membranes, which produce the well-known nasal modifications. The lower passage or mouth is principally modified by the tongue, which acts as a variable plug, and the lips, which form a variable diaphragm. By this means the volume of the mouth is divided into two bent tubes of which the first may be termed the *lingual* passage as its front extremity is formed by the tongue, and the second, the *labial* passage. When the labial passage is large and unconstrained by rounding or narrowing of the labial orifice, the effects may be called simply lingual, and when the tongue is brought so low as to remove the separation between the lingual and labial passages, the effects might be termed labial. Mr. Melville Bell has acutely preferred, however, to consider as *lingual* all positions in which the labial aperture produces no sensible effect, and then to consider the labial effect to be superadded to the lingual, by more or less rounding the lips while the lingual position is held. It was not generally noticed before the publication of his Visible Speech, that the two labial vowels, as they have been called, (uu, *oo*) really required a distinct position of the tongue in order to produce them.[2] This however may be

[1] The only satisfactory account of musical and vocal tones which has yet been published will be found in Helmholtz's Lehre von den Tonempfindungen, Brunswick, 8vo, pp. 600 first edition 1863, 2nd ed. 1865. It has been translated into French, but, unfortunately, not yet into English.

[2] See however the subsequent reference to Holder, 1669, p. 178.

practically felt by producing these sounds, and, while uttering them, seizing the upper and lower lips with the two hands and rapidly separating them. Two new sounds will be produced, of which the first (*œʷ*) is a Gaelic vowel, which is the despair of most Englishmen, and the second is a sound (ɜ) often given to our short *u* in *but*, and considered by Mr. M. Bell as its normal sound. On producing the effect, which after a little practice can be obtained without the use of the fingers, it will be found that the back of the tongue is much higher for (*ɑʷ*) than it is for (ɜ).[1] Although both effects are different, and also different from the sound with which I pronounce *u* in *but*, namely (ə), few English ears would readily distinguish (*œ* ɜ ə) in conversation. Hence we have this relation between (u) and (ə), that (u) is almost (ə) labialized or rounded.[2]

Again, for the common vowels (ii, *ee*) the lingual passage is greatly reduced by means of the front of the tongue which for (ii) is brought very near the palate, and very forward but not quite so forward for (*ee*), the lips being wide open. Now round the lips upon (ii, *ee*) and the effect is (ɪ, *ə*), one a sound often heard in Germany for *ü* and in Sweden for *y*, and the other heard for the so-called French *e* mute when sounded and prolonged in singing, as heard in *heur* and the first syllable of *heureux*.[3]

It is now necessary to attend to a third modification, principally in the pharynx. This consists in widening the bag of the pharynx and all the lingual passage behind the narrowest aperture, and also increasing the volume of the labial passage. We are familiar with this in English in the passage from (i) to (*i*), and from (*e*) to (e). Applied to the rounded or labialised forms of these vowels, (ɪ, *ə*) it con-

[1] In reading this discussion the diagrams of the vowel positions in the Introduction, p. 14, should be frequently consulted.

[2] The true sound of (ə) has the back of the tongue lower and the front higher than for (ɜ); the tongue is altogether raised, but is nearly parallel to the palate throughout. The labial or 'round' form of (ə) is (*ə*h), scarcely distinguishable from (*o*) by unpractised ears.

[3] Mr. M. Bell gives it as the French *u* in *une*, but this is not my own pronunciation, nor does it agree with my own observations. M. Favarger considers the French *e muet* to be (*ə*h) the labialisation of (ɛ), rather than (*ə*) the labialisation of (*e*) and assigns the latter value to the French *eu*, which I have been in the habit of pronouncing as the wide of (*ə*). Thus *heureux* according to Féline has the first syllable as in *je* and the second as in *jeu*. These I pronounce (zh*ə*, zh*œ*), but M. Favarger considers they should be (zh*ə*h, zh*ə*). Undoubtedly the sounds vary from individual to individual, and hence the necessity of a diagrammatic vowel scale like Mr. Melville Bell's, which is independent of key words. The Swedish *u* or (ʉ) which is very peculiar is closely related to (ɪ), being produced in the same way, with rather a greater separation between the tongue and the palate.

verts them into (y, œ), which are the common forms, as I hear them, of the French *u* in *une* and *eu* in *jeu*. Hence (y) is the 'wide' form of (ɪ), and the 'round' or labialised form of (*i*). If we apply the widening to (u, *o*) we produce (*u*, o), and the Italian *o chiuso* or (*uh*) appears to be the 'wide' form of the Swedish (ʊ) already described.

We can then understand that (u, *u*) may be readily confused, for no modification is so subtle as that produced by the backward widening. Again, by merely neglecting to labialise, (u, *u*) are converted into (*ə*, ɐ), both of which are confused with (ə) by Englishmen. The last, (ɐ), is indeed a very common sound in English, but it is only looked upon as unaccented or indistinct (ə), in *motion*, *ocean*, etc.

Again, if when we are pronouncing (u) or (*u*) we suddenly throw the front of the tongue up to the (i) position without altering the form of the lips, we obtain (ɪ) or (y). There are some persons so used thus to throw up the front of the tongue that they have great difficulty in pronouncing (u) at all. To succeed they must exercise themselves in keeping down the front of the tongue by a muscular effort.

Roughly, we may say that (ə) is (u) deprived of its labial character, and that (y) is (u) with a palatal character, or that (y) is an attempt to pronounce both (i) and (u) at the same instant. The further step, then, to pronouncing first (i) and then (u), producing (iu), is easy, and since the (i) character predominates and gives the key to the sound, it would be natural in the absence of a proper sign for (y) to represent that sound by (iu).

U — XVI TH CENTURY.

1530. Palsgrave says: "*U*, in the frenche tong, wheresoeuer he is a vowel by hymselfe, shall be sownded like as we sownde *ew* in these wordes in our tong, *rewe* an herbe, a *mew* for a hauke, a *clew* of threde, and such lyke restyng apon[1] the pronounsyng of hym: as for these wordes *plus*, *nul*, *fus*, *usér*, *húmble*, *uertú*, they sound *plevus*, *nevul*, *fevus*, *evuser*, *hevumble*, *uertevu*, and so in all other wordes, where *v* is a vowel by hymselfe alone; so that in the soundynge of this vowel, they differe both from the Latin tong and from vs."

On referring to EU, p. 137, it will be seen that Palsgrave divided the English *eu* into two categories, *trewe*, *glewe*, *rewe*, *mewe* and *clew* having the sound of the French *u*, and *dewe*, *shrewe*, *fewe* having the sound of the Italian *eu*. The latter we have identified with (eu). There can be but little doubt

[1] Misprint for *vpon*.

that the former was (y), because we know from Meigret that it was not (o) or (u).

When Palsgrave here says that the sound of French *u* was different from that of Latin or English *u*, he must mean by the latter, English *u* short, because English *u* long was certainly not the same as the real Latin *u* long, even at a much earlier period than the XVI th century. Hence corroboration, and contemporary explanations, are necessary.

1547. Salesbury says: "U vowel, answers to the power of the two Welsh letters *u*, *w* and its usual power is *uw*, as shewn in the following words TRUE *truw* verus, VERTUE *vertuw* probitas. And sometimes they give it its own proper sound and pronounce it like the Latins or like our own *w* (u), as in the words BUCKE *buck* (buk) dama mas, LUST *lust* (lust) libido. But it is seldom this vowel sound corresponds with the sound we give the same letter, but it does in some cases, as in BUSY *busi*, occupatus aut se immiscens." Again in his pronunciation of Welsh he says: "*u* written after this manner *u*," that is, not as *v* which was at that time interchangeable with *u* in English and French but not in Welsh, "is a vowel and soundeth as the vulgar English *trust*, *bury*, *busy*, *Huberden*. But know well that it is neuer sounded in Welsh, as it is done in any of these two Englyshe wordes (notwythstanding the diuersitie of their sound) *sure*, *lucke*. Also the sound of *u* in French, or *ü* with two pricks over the heade in Duch, or the Scottish pronunciation of *u* alludeth somwhat nere vnto the sound of it in Welshe, thoughe yet none of them all, doeth so exactly (as I thynk) expresse it, as the Hebraick Kubuts doeth. For the Welsh *u* is none other thing, but a meane sounde betwyxte *u* and *y* beyng Latin vowels."

The precise value of the Welsh *u* is considered in a note on the above passage, chapter VIII, § 1, where it is shewn that it must be considered as the Welsh representative of (y), and that (ɪ) or (*y*) is practically the sound it receives. If then Salesbury had to represent the sound (yy), he could not have selected any more suggestive Welsh combination than *uw*. To have written *uu* would have been to give too much of the (i) or (*i*) character, for when *u* was short he did not distinguish the sound from (*i*), as shewn by BUSY which he writes *busi*, meaning (bɪ́z·ɪ).[1] If he had written *ww* he would have conveyed a completely false notion, and *iw* would have led to the diphthong (iu) which he wished to distinguish from *uw*.

[1] Germans who distinguish their *ü* from (ii) very clearly when it is long, readily pronounce short *ü* as (*i*) especially when *r* follows, as (bhɪ́r·de) for (bhyr·de, bhɪr·de) *würde*. The Welsh *u* long is heard by Englishmen as (ii) and often so pronounced by the Welsh in familiar conversation. In the same way *Stiele* handles and *Stühle* chairs, are identified in the common Dresden pronunciation of German.

Now my own Welsh master at Beaumaris told me that Welsh *Duw* and English *due, dew* were so distinct to a Welshman that he could tell an Englishman immediately by his faulty pronunciation. The difference may be (diu) Welsh and (diu) English. It is very difficult to seize, and some Welshmen themselves deny the difference.[1]

Adopting then the hypothesis that Salesbury's *uw* meant (yy), but his *u* short meant (*i*), so far as the English sounds which he wished to imitate are concerned,—an hypothesis which agrees with Palsgrave's remarks and will be confirmed shortly—we may represent all the English words containing *u*, (or *ew* pronounced as *u*, according to Palsgrave's intimation,) which are transcribed by Salesbury, as follows.

CHURCHE *tsurts tsiurts* (tshirtsh) ecclesia; DUKE *duck* (dyyk) dux, SUFFRE *swfffer* (suf·er) sinere, GUTTE *gut* (gut) viscera; JESU *tsiesuw* (Dzhee·zyy); BUCKE *buck* (buk) dama mas; BULL *bw* (buu) a rustic pronunciation, QUENE *kuin* (kwiin) regina; QUARTER *kuarter* (kwar·ter) quarta pars; MUSE *muuus* (myyz) meditari; TRESURE *tresuur* (trez·yyr) thesaurus; TRUE *truw* (tryy) verus, this is one of the words cited by Palsgrave, under the form *trewe*, as containing the sound of the French *u* (y); VERTUE *vertuw* (ver·tyy) probitas; LUST *lust* (lust) libido; BUSY *busi* (biz·i), MUCH GOOD DO IT YOU *mych goditio* (mitsh god·itjo). This much contracted phrase is also given by Cotgrave, 1611, who writes it *muskiditti*, meaning perhaps (mus·kidit·*i*), and translates *much good may doe unto you.*[2]

1555. CHEKE says: "Cum *duke tuke lute rebuke* δυκ τυκ λυτ ρεβυκ dicimus, Græcum υ sonaremus." Of this Greek υ he says "simplex est, nihil admixtum, nihil adjunctum habet," and it was therefore a pure vowel, with which he identifies the English long *u*. Mekerch in adopting Cheke's words changes his examples thus, "quum Gallicè *mule*, id est mula, Belgicè *duken*, id est abscondere, μυλ δυκ dicimus, Græcum υ sonamus." Mekerch, therefore, intending to give the same sound to Greek υ as Cheke did, makes it (yy). This was the sound which Cheke identified with English long *u* and declared to be a simple sound, that is, not a diphthong.

[1] Dr. Benjamin Davies could see no difference in ordinary conversation, but admitted that one was attempted to be made in "stilted utterance," and then it seemed to me to be like (diu).

[2] The same writer gives as the contraction for *God give you good evening*, Godigodin, meaning perhaps (God·i-gudiin·). In Romeo and Juliet, Folio 1623, Tragedies p. 70 col. 1, we find

Nur. I speake no treason.
Father, O Godigoden,

which is transliterated in the Globe edition, act iii, sc. 5, v. 173,

Nur. I speak no treason.
Cap. O, God ye god-den,

an evident mistake, as *Godi-* is a contraction for *God gi' you*. The sentence should be as much wrapped up into one word, as the ordinary *good bye*.

1568. SIR THOMAS SMITH is still more precise and circumstantial. He says:

"Y vel υ Græcum aut Gallicum, quod per se apud nos taxum arborem significat, taxus υ" meaning that *yew* = sound of Greek υ; i.e. as he immediately proceeds to shew, and as I shall assume in transcribing his characters, *yew* = (yy), though perhaps this particular word was (ɹyy). The following are his examples: "(snyy) ningebat, (slyy) occidit, (tryy) verum, (tyyn) tonus, (kyy) q. litera, (ryy) ruta, (myy) cavea in qua tene*n*tur accipitres, (nyy) novum; (tyyl*i*)[1] valetudinarius, (dyyk) dux, (myyl) mula, (flyyt) tibia Germanorum, (dyy) debitum, (lyyt) testudo, (bryy) ceruisia facere, (myy·let) mulus, (blyy) cæruleum, (akkyyz)[2] accusare."

In this list we have *true, rue, mew,* which are the same as Palsgrave's examples of *ew* sounded as French *u*; and *duke, true,* the same as Salesbury's examples of *u* sounded as Welsh *uw*. This would identify both sounds with (yy) if we could be satisfied of Smith's pronunciation. Now he says explicitly:—

"Quod genus pronunciationis nos à Gallis accepisse arguit, quòd rarius quidem nos Angli in pronuntiando hac utimur litera. Scoti autem qui Gallica lingua suam veterem quasi obliterarant, et qui trans Trentam fluvium habitant, vicinioresque sunt Scotis, frequentissimè, adeo vt quod nos per V Romanum sonamus (u), illi libenter proferunt per υ Græcum aut Gallicum (yy); nam et hic sonus tam Gallis est peculiaris, ut omnia fere Romane scripta per *u* et υ proferunt, vt pro Dominus (Dominyys) et Iesvs (Jes·yys),[3] intantum vt quæ brevia sint natura, vt illud macrum υ exprimant melius, sua pronunciatione longa faciunt. Hunc sonum Anglosaxones, de quibus postea mentionem faciemus, per ẏ exprimebant, ut verus Anglosaxonice ƶɲẏ. *Angli* (ʜuur) meretrix, (kuuk) coquus, (guud) bonum, (bluud) sanguis, (ʜuud) cucullus, (fluud) fluvius, (buuk) liber, (tuuk) cepit; *Scoti* (ʜyyr, kyyk, gyyd, blyyd, ʜyyd, flyyd, byyk, tyyk)." And again, "*O* rotundo ore *et* robustiùs qua*m* priores effertur, *u* angustiore, cætera similis τῷ *o*. Sed υ (yy) compressis propemodum labris, multò exilius tenuiusque resonat quàm

[1] "TULY, Poorly. '*Tuly*-stomached.' 'A well naaba, how de yeow fare?' 'Wa' naaba, but *tuly*.' ... *Twaly*, vexed, ill-tempered, Salop. ... *twily*, restless, wearisome, Somerset; *tewly*, small and weakly, Dorset. *Tewly*, qualmish, in delicate health, Essex, [Sir T. Smith's county] and Camb. *Twall*, a whim, Suff." *John Greaves Nall*, Chapters on the East Anglian Coast, 2 vols., 8vo, 1866, vol. 2. Etymological and Comparative Glossary of the Dialect and Provincialisms of East Anglia.

[2] Smith uses *c* for (tsh), but he has been in consequence often misled to write (tsh) for (k), thus he here prints *accv̈z*, which should mean (atshtshyyz·) an almost impossible combination, but really means (akyyz·), though I have kept the incorrectly doubled (k) in the text.

[3] The initial consonant must have been (dzh) or (zh). Probably it was mere carelessness on Smith's part to use (J), as when he wrote *c* for *k*. The first vowel, too, is accidentally short, so that (Dzhee·syys) or (Dyhee·zyys), represents the real sound he intended.

o aut *u*, (boot) scapha, (buut) ocrea, (byyt) Scoticâ pronunciatione, *ocrea*." And again in his Greek Pronunciation: "υ Græcum Scoti & Borei Angli tum exprimunt cùm taurum sonant, & pro *bul*, dicunt exiliter contractioribus labiis sono suppresso & quasi præfocato inter *i* & *u bül* (byl)."

It is scarcely possible to indicate the sound of (yy) more clearly and precisely in common language.

Respecting *u* short, Smith says:

"Y Latinam, apertissimam habemus Angli, quamvis illam non agnoscimus, jam longo tempore à Gallis magistris decepti: at pronunciatio sonusque noster non potest non agnoscere. *Brevis* (but) sed, (luk) fortuna, (buk) dama mas, (mud) limus, (ful) plenus, (pul) deplumare, (tu) ad; *longa* (buut) ocrea, (luuk) aspicere, (buuk) liber, (muud) ira aut affectus, (fuul) stultus, (puul) piscina, (tuu) duo, etiam."

(Buk) being in Salesbury's list serves to identify the two methods of symbolisation. Of course no such fine distinctions as (u, *u*) are to be expected, nor indeed are they generally necessary to be insisted on. An attentive examination of the sounds of *fool full* in our present pronunciation will however shew that they contain different vowels (fuul, f*u*ll), each of which can be pronounced long or short (fuul ful, f*uu*l f*u*l) and that these differ as (i, *i*) by the pharyngal action already explained. As however short (u) rarely if ever occurs in closed syllables, and (*uu*) long never occurs in accented syllables, except before *r* (ɹ), it would be generally intelligible to make no distinction between (u) and (*u*) except in rare instances. One marked difference between the sounds (*i*, *u*) and (i, u) is that (*i*) may be easily sung to a deep note, but (i) cannot; and on the contrary (*u*) may be sung to a very high note, but (u) cannot.

1569. Hart calls *u* long a diphthong, but in his explanation he makes it arise from the attempt to pronounce (i) and (u) simultaneously, and he clearly points out that both the lingual position of (i) and the labial position of (u) are held on steadily during the sound of long *u*, so that if the (i) position be relaxed, the sound of (u) results, and if the (u) position be relaxed the sound of (i) results. This, as we have seen, amounts to a very accurate description of the simple sound (yy), which is therefore the sound which he means by the inaccurate title and notation of "the diphthong *iu*." His words are:

"Now to come to the *u*. I sayde the French, Spanish, & Brutes,[1] I maye adde the Scottish, doe abuse it with vs in sounde and for

[1] That is, Welsh.

consonant, except the Brutes as is sayd: the French doe neuer sound it right, but vsurpe ou, for it, the Spanyard doth often vse it right as we doe, but often also abuse it with vs;[1] the French and the Scottish in the sounde of a Diphthong: which keeping the vowels in their due sounds, commeth of i & u, (or verie neare it) is made and put togither vnder one breath, confounding the soundes of i, & u, togither: which you may perceyue in shaping thereof, if you take away the inner part of the tongue, from the upper teeth or Gummes, then shall you sound the u right, or in sounding the French and Scottish u, holding still your tongue to the vpper teeth or gums, & opening your lippes somewhat, you shall perceyue the right sounde of *i*." Thus Hart writes: (ui did not mutsh abiuz dhem), meaning (wi did not mutsh abyyz dhem) as I shall hereafter transliterate his *iu*.

1573. BARET says, after speaking of the sound of *v* consonant:

"And as for the sound of V consonant[2] whether it be to be sounded more sharply as in spelling *blue* or more grosly like *oo*, as we sound *Booke*, it were long here to discusse. Some therefore think that this sharpe Scottish V is rather a diphthong than a vowell, being compounded of our English *e* and *u*, as indeed we may partly perceyue in pronouncing it, our tongue at the beginning lying flat in our mouth, and at the ende rising up with the lips also therewithall somewhat more drawen togither."

This would certainly make a diphthong because there would be a change of position, but what is the initial sound? The tongue does not certainly "lie flat in our mouth for *e*." The nearest sounds answering to this description are (Œ *a*, A ɔ) and it is impossible to suppose any of these to be the initial of such a diphthong. The only interpretation I can put on this somewhat confused description is, that Baret was speaking of the position of the tongue *before* commencing to utter any sound, and that when the sound was uttering, the tongue rose and the lips rounded simultaneously, and this agrees with the other descriptions, making the sound (yy).

1580. BULLOKAR says: "U also hath thrée soundes: The one of them a méere consonant, the other two soundes, are both vowels: the one of these vowels hath a sharpe sound, agréeing to his olde and continued name: the other is of flat sound, agreeing to the olde and continued sound of the diphthong :ou: but alwaies of short sounde." And further, translating his phonetic into ordinary spelling: "and for our three sounds used in, v, the French do at this day use only two unto it: that is, the sound agreeing to his old and continued name, and the sound of the consonant, *v*."

[1] That is, sometimes say (u), and sometimes (yy), but this is not the case certainly in modern Castillian.

[2] Evidently a misprint for vowel. I quote from the edition of 1580.

From these two passages it is clear that the "old and continued name" of long *u* in English was the sound of the French *u*, that is (yy). The flat sound we shewed in treating of *ou* (p. 152), was probably (*u*). Bullokar adds, where I translate his phonetic examples into palaeotype:

"U. sharpe, agréeing to the sound of his olde and continued name, is so sounded when it is a sillable by itself, or when it is the last letter in a sillable, or when it commeth before one consonant, & : e : ending next after the consonant, in one syllable thus: vnity, vniuersally procureth vse to be occupied, and leisure alloreth the vnruly to the lute: which I write, thus: (yyn*i*ti yyn*i*versaull*i* prokyyreth yys tuu bii okkyyp*i*ied and leizyyr allyyreth the un-ryyl*i* tuu dhe lyyt).

"*U* flat is used alwaies after : a : e : or o : in diphthongs, or next before a single consonant in one sillable, hauing no : e : after that consonant, or before a double consonant, or two consonants next after it: though : e : followe that double consonant, or two consonants all in one or diuerse sillables, thus: the vniust are vnlucky, not worth a button or rush, vntrusty, vpholding trumpery at their full lust: which I write, thus: (dhe un-dzhust aar un-luki, not wurth a but'n or rush up-noouldiq trumper*i* at dheir ful lust).

The word *full* is the same as one of Smith's examples of *u* short, and hence fixes the sound of Bullokar's *u* flat, which he does not otherwise explain.

1611. Cotgrave says: "V is sounded as if you whistle it out, as in the word *a lute*." Now the French *u* (yy) has a very whistling effect, both tongue and lip being disposed in a favourable position for the purpose.

1621. Gill is again not so distinct as could be wished, he merely says, preserving his notation, and his italics:

"V, *est tenuis, aut crassa: tenuis* v, *est in Verbo* tu vz vse *utor; crassa breuis est* u. *vt in pronomine* us *nos*[1]*; aut longa* ü: *vt in verbo tu* üz oose *scaturio, aut sensum exeo mori aquæ vi expressæ.*"

Gill never alludes to any diphthong (iu). He uniformly uses a single sign, the Roman v, for the sound of long *u*, employing the Italic *v* for (v). He also uses a single character for the diphthong long *i*, but then he admits that it is only slightly different from the diphthong (ei). There are very few indications of the sound he really meant to express by his v. First we must assume that it was a simple sound and "thinner" than (uu). This should mean that the entrance to the lingual aperture was diminished by bringing the tongue more into the (i) position. But this converts (u) into (y), and hence leads us to Gill's v = (yy), as the sound

[1] Misprinted *uos*.

is always long. Next in his alphabet he calls it *ὑψιλὸν*, which should imply that it had the theoretical sound assigned to the Greek *υ*. This we have seen from Cheke and Smith was (yy). But then the example in the alphabet is "sur SURE certus," and Salesbury says that Welsh *u* is unlike the sound of English *sure*. This may mean that *sure* must have been written *suer* in the nearest Welsh characters, because *sur* would have sounded too like (siir). Hart and Bullokar both give (syy·er). Lastly, in mentioning the words taken from the French he says: "Redvite *nupera vox est à reduco,*[1] *munimentum pro tempore aut occasione factum.*" This should be the French *réduit*, with a wrong *e* added, and hence ought to establish the value (yy) for Gill's v. This therefore is the result to which all parts of the investigation tend, so that we must assume it to be correct. On the other hand there can be no doubt that the ü, u of Gill were (uu, u).

1633. BUTLER is unsatisfactory, when he says that:

"*a*, *i*, *u* differing from themselves in quantity differ also in sound: having one sound when they are long, and another when they are short, as in *mane* and *man*, *shine* and *shin*, *tune* and *tun* appeareth . . . Likewise *oo* and *u* long differ much in sound: as in *fool* and *fule*, *rood* and *rude*, *moot* and *mute*, but when they are short, they are all one; for *good* and *gud*, *blood* and *blud*, *woolf* and *wulf* have the same sound."

From this we learn with certainty that short *u* was (u) or (*u*), and that long *u* was not (uu), but we cannot tell whether it was (yy) or (iu). As long *i* was (əi) at that time, and no allusion is made by Butler to its being a diphthong, we are unable to assume that long *u* was a simple sound. We might indeed be led by the following passage to suspect that Butler had begun to embrace the (iu) sound which must certainly have widely prevailed, when his work was published, although it is not distinctly acknowledged:

"*I* and *u* short have a manifest difference from the same long; as in *ride rid*, *rude rud*, *dine din*, *dune dun*, *tine tin*, *tune tun*; for as *i* short hath the sound of *ee* short; so has *u* short the sound of *oo* short. . . . *E* and *i* short with *w* have the very sound of *u* long: as in *kiw*, *kneew*, *true* appeareth. But because *u* is the more simple and ready way; and therefore is this sound rather to be expressed by it:" but he prefers *eew* for etymological reasons in "*breew*, *kneew*, *bleew*, *greew*, *treew*, *sneew*," where *breew*, *treew*, *sneew* are in Smith's list of words having the sound (yy). Butler finally asks "But why are some of these written with the diphthong *ew*? whose sound is manifestly different, as in *dew*, *ewe*, *few*, *hew*, *chew*, *rew*, *sew*, *strew*, *shew*, *shrew*, *pewter*."

[1] Misprinted *reàuco*.

Now *dew*, *few*, *shrew* are in Palsgrave's list of (eu) sounds; and the same, together with *strew*, are in Smith's (eu) list. Hence it is clear that Butler distinguished (eu) from the other sound of *u* long, and it is possible that his *u* long may have been (iu), but as Hart called (yy) a diphthong and represented it by (iu), while his careful description determined it to be (yy), so Butler may have said (yy).

At any rate it is clear that quite to the close of the XVI TH century, (yy) was the universal pronunciation of long *u* in the best circles of English life, and that it remained into the XVII th century we shall shortly have further evidence. Provincially it is still common. In East Anglia, in Devonshire, in Cumberland, as well as in Scotland, (yy) and its related sounds are quite at home. The southerns are apt to look upon these dialectic forms as mispronunciations, as mistakes on the part of rustics or provincials. They are now seen to be remnants of an older pronunciation which was once general, or of a peculiar dialectic form of our language of at least equal antiquity. The sound of short *u* was also always (u) or (*u*). There is no hint or allusion of any kind to such a sound as (ə). The (u), still common in the provinces, was then universal.

U — XVII TH CENTURY.

1640. Ben Jonson says: "V is sounded with a narrower, and meane compasse, and some depression of the middle of the tongue, and is, like our letter *i*. a letter of double power."

By this he probably only means that it was both a vowel and a consonant (v). In his notes he gives quotations concern- Greek *υ*, *ου*, the latter of which he identifies with (uu), though the cry of the owl, which is rendered *tu tu* in Plautus, Menechmi, act iv, sc. 2, v. 90.

Me. Egon' dedi? *Pe.* Tu, tu istic, inquam. vin' afferri noctuam,
Quæ, Tu, Tu, usque dicat tibi? nam nos, jam nos defessi sumus.

From these notes Jonson may have possibly distinguished long and short *u* as (yy, u).

1653. Wallis clearly recognizes (yy) as long *u* and distinguishes it carefully from the diphthong (iu). He says:

"Ibidem etiam," that is, *in labiis*, "sed Minori adhuc apertura" than (uu), "formatur *ú* exile; Anglis simul et Gallis notissimum. Hoc sono Angli suum *u* longum ubique proferunt (nonnunquam etiam *eu* et *ew* quæ tamen rectius pronunciantur retento etiam sono *e* masculi[1]): Ut *muse*, musa; *tune*, modulatio; *lute*, barbitum;

[1] That is, as (eu).

dure, duro; *mute*, mutus; *new*, novus; *brew*, misceo (cerevisiam coquo); *knew*, novi; *view*, aspicio; *lieu*, vice, etc. Hunc sonum extranei fere assequuntur, si diphthongum *iu* conentur pronunciare; nempe *ĭ* exile litteræ *u* vel *w* præponentes, (ut in Hispanorum *ciudad* civitas,[1]) non tamen idem est omninò sonus, quamvis ad illum proximè accedat; est enim *iu* sonus compositus, at Anglorum et Gallorum *ú* sonus simplex. Cambro-Britanni hunc fere sonum utcunque per *iw*, *yw*, *uw* describunt, ut in *lliw* color; *llyw* gubernaculum navis; *Duw* Deus, aliisque innumeris."

Wallis therefore distinctly recognized the identity of the English and French sounds, and says that they are different from the diphthong (iu) because they are simple and not compound sounds, but approach nearly to that diphthong, evidently because (yy) unites the lingual position of (i) with the labial position of (u). He also notices the proximity of the Welsh *iw*, *yw*, *uw* to the sound of (yy), and thus explains how Salesbury came to hit upon *uw* as the best combination of Welsh letters to convey an approximate idea of the sound to his countrymen. Further on he says:

"*U* longum effertur ut Gallorum *ú* exile. Ut in *lúte* barbitum, *múte* mutus, *múse* musa, *cúre* cura, etc. Sono nempe quasi composito ex *ĭ* et *w*,"

where he saves himself from the diphthong by a "quasi."

As regards short *u* he says:

"*U* vocalis quando corripitur effertur sono obscuro. Ut in *but* sed, *cut* seco, *bur* lappa, *burst* raptus, *curst* maledictus, etc. Sonum hunc Galli proferunt in ultima syllaba vocis *serviteur*. Differt à Gallorum *e* feminino, non aliter quam quod ore minus aperto efferatur. Discrimen hoc animadvertent Angli dum pronunciant voces Latinas *iter*, *itur*; *ter ter*, *turtur*; *cerdo surdo*; *ternus Turnus*; *terris turris*; *refertum*, *furtum*, &c."

In his theoretical part he gives the following further particulars of the French *e fœmininum* and the *ŭ obscurum*.

"Eodem loco," that is, *in summo gutture*, "sed apertura faucium mediocri," i.e. less than for (ɑɑ), "formatur Gallorum *e* fœmininum; sono nempe obscuro. Non aliter ipsius formatio differt à formatione præcedentis *â* aperti (ɑɑ), quam quod magis contrahantur fauces, minùs autem quam in formatione Vocalis sequentis (ə). Hunc sonum Angli vix uspiam agnoscunt; nisi cum vocalis *e* brevis immediatè præcedat literam *r* (atque hoc quidem non tam quia debeat sic efferri, sed quia vix commodè possit aliter; licet enim, si citra molestiam fieri possit, etiam illic sono vivido, hoc est, masculo, efferre;) ut *vertue* virtus, *liberty* libertas &c.

"Ibidem etiam, sed *Minori* adhuc faucium aperturâ sonatur ə vel *ŭ* obscurum. Differt à Gallorum *e* fœminino non aliter quàm

[1] The English usually call this word (thiudaad·), it is probably (ciucaac· = s†iuz†aaz†·); the *iu* represents the pure (iu) diphthong.

quòd ore minus aperto, labia proprius accedant. Eundem sonum ferè efferunt Galli in postrema syllaba vocum *serviteur*, *sacrificateur*, etc. Angli plerumque exprimunt per *ŭ* breue, in *turn*, verto; *burn*, uro; *dull*, signis, obtusus; *cut*, seco, etc. Nonnunquam *o* et *ou* negligentiùs pronuntiantes eodem sono efferunt, ut in *còme*, venio; *sòme*, aliquis; *dòne*, actum; *còmpany*, consortium; *country*, rus; *couple*, par; *còvet*, concupisco; *lòve*, amo, aliisque aliquot; quæ alio tamen sono rectius efferri deberent. Cambro-Britanni ubique per *y* scribunt; nisi quòd hanc literam in ultimis syllabis plerumque ut *i* efferant."

Wallis therefore heard the French feminine *e* in the last syllable of *serviteur*, *sacrificateur*. In this he agrees with Féline, who draws a distinction between the first and second syllable of *heureux*, making the first the same as the sound now considered.[1] But Wallis makes the aperture of the lingual passage grow smaller at the back for *â*, *e feminine*, *ŭ*, the first being (AA) with the greatest depression, and he has an action of the lips for *ŭ*. This ought to give (AA, ɜ, u) for the three sounds. But this cannot be right for *ŭ*, because Wallis distinguished it from (u). Hence we must disregard the lip action of the last, and write (AA, ɜ, ɷ). This however, is scarcely probable. There is another difficulty. The sound of *e* in *ternus* is not at present formed with a wider opening of the mouth than the sound of *u* in *Turnus*. When any distinction at all is made it is rather the reverse.[2] The

[1] See supra, p. 162, note 3. Tarver gives the same vowel sound to *le*, *feu*, *Europe*, *nœud*, *peut*. *œil*, *auteur*, *bonheur*. Féline makes the vowel sound in *le*, *Europe*, *peut*, *œil*, *auteur*, *bonheur* the same; but distinguishes it from that in *feu*, *nœud*. In M. Féline's *Mémoire sur la Réforme de l'Alphabet* prefixed to his *Dictionnaire de la prononciation de la langue Française*, giving an account of the deliberations of a committee on French pronunciation, formed at his request, he says: "La conclusion fut que l'*e* muet proprement dit existe dans l'orthographe, mais non pas dans la langue; que, dans tous les mots où il est nécessaire de le prononcer, il exprime un son réel comme tous les autres signes, et que ce son devrait être appelé sourd et non pas muet, cette dernière dénomination n'étant qu'un non-sens. Après l'*e* on passa au son *eu*. On reconnut qu'il existe bien dans la langue française, et l'on remarqua qu'il présente avec l'*e* que je viens d'appeler sourd le même rapport qu'on avait trouvé entre les deux sons des premières voyelles *a* et *â*, *é* et *ê*, *o* et *ô*. Ce rapport est en effet si bien marqué, que, dans une foule de mots, comme *jeune*, *pêcheur*, on fait entendre le son de l'*e* sourd et non celui de l'*eu* tel qu'il est donné par les mots *jeûne*, *pêcheuse*." Now to my ears *a â*, *é ê*. *o ô* are (a *a*, *e* ɛ, o *o*). In the first two pairs the circumflexed vowel expresses a deeper sound, formed by depressing the tongue; in the last pair the uncircumflexed vowel is the wide sound of the circumflexed. The relations then being different do not lead to the discovery of the relations between *e*, *eu*. These may be, that for *eu* the tongue is more depressed than for *e*, which would suit for *e*, *eu* = (ə, œ); or it may be that *eu* is the wide of *e*, this would suit *e*, *eu* = (ɔ, œ), which agrees with my own pronunciation.

[2] Mr. M. Bell who says (ɒ, ɜ) in *ternus*, *Turnus* respectively, makes the opening for (ɜ) wider than for (ɒ). I would rather write (t.ɛnɔs, T.ɜnɔs) respectively, if any difference at all has to be recognized.

peculiarity of the smaller lingual aperture and the action of the lips may however bring us to (*u*h) as the last sound, and induce us to consider the three sounds as (ʌʌ, ɔ, *u*h). So far as the English passage of short *u* from (u) or (*u*) to (ə), the present sound, is concerned (*u*h) forms a very appropriate link, because Englishmen find it difficult to distinguish the Italian *somma* (s*u*hm·ma) from (sum·a) on the one hand and (səm·a) on the other. And we have seen (p. 94) that in 1611, the Italian Florio actually identified English (*u*) with Italian (*u*h), just as 1685, Cooper identified (*u*, *o*), p. 101. But this sound hardly agrees with Wallis's identification of *ŭ* with the Welsh *y*. On this sound, see the footnote on Y, in Chapter VIII, § 1, when it appears that the Welsh sound represents the vowel (*ø*) but that in common discourse it passes into (ə) on the one hand, and (*i*) on the other, and may be always sounded (*i*). Wallis no doubt referred to the sound (ə).

Lastly, if we reflect that (*œ*) is the de-labialized (u), and that this would be a natural transition from (u) to (ə), we might revert to the original deduction from Wallis's description, and make his ŭ = (*œ*).

On the whole I am inclined to think that the three sounds he meant were (ʌʌ, ɜ, ɔ). Many English consider the French *e muet*, or *sourd*, to be deeper than (ə), but of the same nature. The question however is impossible to decide, and I think it safest to transliterate *â*, *e* feminine, *ŭ* by (ʌʌ, œ, ɔ), which indicates the modern pronunciation of the English vowels.

The great peculiarity, the marked singularity, of Wallis's account, is the recognition and introduction of a sound resembling (ə) into the English language in place of (u). Of this sound no trace appears in any former writer that I have consulted.[1] But from this time forth it becomes the common sound. Wallis in this respect marks an era in English pro-

[1] In the passage cited from Gill suprà p. 90, in which he inveighs against the thin utterance of affected women, we find (bŭtsherz) for (butsherz). This is quite comparable to the Eastern English (kŭv·er) for (kuv·er), which Gill had just mentioned, and appears to have no connection with the sound (bətsh·er) which is only heard from a small number of people at the present day. But when he says that these affected dames said (ɔa, ɔar skalerz, ta) for (ɔou, ɔuur skolars, tu), it is just possible that he might have intended to indicate the sounds (ɔə, ɔər skələrz, tə), for which he had no symbols. This is the closest allusion to the sound that I have discovered. For though the account given by Florio, 1611, p. 94, which identifies short (u) with (*u*h), might seem to indicate (ə) as well as (*u*), yet as the Italians confuse (ə) rather with (a), which is nearly its wide form, than with (*u*h), and as (*u*, *u*h) would probably be indistinguishable to an Italian ear, the inference is rather that the sound really uttered before Florio was (*u*) and not (ə).

nunciation, the transition between the old and the new. This is more striking, because as he is the first to give *u* short as (ə), so is he practically the last to give *u* long as (yy) except dialectically.

At the present day (yy) has vanished from polite society, and is only heard as a provincialism, from Norfolk, Devon, or Cumberland, or as a Scotticism. No pronouncing dictionary admits the sound under any pretence. Indeed most English people find it very difficult to pronounce, either long or short, and consequently play sad tricks with French. But the case is different with (*u*, ə). The two sounds coexist in many words. Several careful speakers say (tu pət, bətsh·er), though the majority say (tu p*u*t, b*u*tsh·er). All talk of a *put* (pət). Walker gives the following as the complete list of words in which *u* short is still (*u*).

bull, *pull*, *full*, and words compounded with *-ful*; *bullock*, *bully*, *bullet*, *bulwark*, *fuller*, *fullingmill*, *pulley*, *pullet*, *push*, *bush*, *bushel*, *pulpit*, *puss*, *bullion*, *butcher*, *cushion*, *cuckoo*, *pudding*, *sugar*, [he makes *sure* = (shiuɪ)], *hussar*, *huzza*, and to *put*, with *Fulham*,[1] but says that "some speakers, indeed, have attempted to give *bulk* and *punish* this obtuse sound of *u*, but luckily have not been followed. The words which have already adopted it are sufficiently numerous; and we cannot be too careful to check the growth of so unmeaning an irregularity."

Here the orthoepist unfortunately reverses the order of things, and esteems "the old and continued" sound of (*u*) an irregularity, and what is more, an "unmeaning irregularity," and is not aware that every change of (*u*) to (ə) has been a modern encroachment. But if the territories of (*u*) and (ə) can be so strictly defined in the south of England, in the middle[2] and north the war is still raging, and though education has imported large quantities of (ə) from the south, even magnates in the north often delight to use their old (*u*).[3]

[1] Smart adds, *bullace*, *fullage*, *fullery*, *cushat*, *hurrah !* to the above list. It is curious that Walker (art. 177) speaks of *fulsome* as a "pure English word," and Smart (art. 117) calls it a word "of classical derivation." Orthoepists are not always good in etymology, but Walker appears to have the best of it here, and if, as seems more than probable, *fulsome* is a derivative of *full*, (the Promptorium has *fulsunness of mete*, sacietas,) there would be a reason for retaining the sound (f*u*l) in the first syllable. At any rate the usage of speakers with regard to (f*u*l·səm) and (fəl·səm) varies greatly. As to (b*u*lk, ʜ*u*lk) they are not common, but may be heard; (p*u*n·ish) was heard lately from an educated gentleman in Cornwall.

[2] In the Midland counties the Southern usage is almost reversed, (pət, fət) standing beside (k*u*t, k*u*m).

[3] A Yorkshire country gentleman who wrote his name *Hutton*, and whom all his friends called (nət·n), always spoke of himself as (n*u*t·n), and on one occasion spelled his name so to me with phonetic letters. He would have been about 90 years old now, were he still alive. All the Yorkshire and Midland peasantry use (*u*) as a matter of course.

That there is nothing intrinsically pleasing in the sound of (ɔ), may be seen at once by calling *good, stood* (gɔd stɔd), to rhyme with *blood, flood*, (blɔd, flɔd). Those speakers, to whom (w*u*) presents a difficulty are apt to change it into (wɔ) as (wɔd, wɔm·ɐn) for (w*u*d, w*u*m·ɐn), and the effect is anything but pleasing. In general the long Saxon (oo), which first became (uu) and then fell into (u) or (*u*), has resisted the further change into (ɔ). This difference of evolution is similar to that which has befallen *i, ei, ai*, which Shakspere pronounced sufficiently alike to introduce a conceit upon them in one of his most tragic speeches, already cited (p. 112), but which have become three quite distinct sounds (ɔi, ii, *e*i), (p. 120). Both changes have occurred rather among the reading than the merely speaking section of our population.

1668. WILKINS and Wallis were contemporaries; although the latter was the elder, and born in Kent, and the former was born in Oxford, they lived as fellow collegians for some time in Oxford, and they mixed in the same society. Yet we have a striking difference in their pronunciation of long *u*. We have seen how Wallis identified the French and English *u*, how he considered the (yy) sound to be familiar to all Englishmen, and especially distinguished it from the diphthong (iu), and this he continued to do through all the editions of his grammar. Wilkins at the same moment can scarcely pronounce (yy) at all, denies that Englishmen use it, and makes every long *u* into (iu).

"As for the *u Gallicum* or *whistling u*" says he, p. 363, "though it cannot be denied to be a distinct simple vowel; yet it is of so laborious and difficult pronunciation to all those Nations amongst whom it is not used, (as to the English) especially in the distinction of long and short, and framing of Dipthongs, that though I have enumerated it with the rest, and shall make provision for the expression of it, yet shall I make less use of it, than of the others; and for that reason, not proceed to any further explication of it." And again, p. 382, "u," which is his character for (yy), "is I think proper to the French and used by none else."

This is a strong contradiction to Wallis, whose treatise Wilkins had read, and apparently studied.[1] The only word which contains long *u* that Wilkins transliterates, is *communion*, and this he writes (kammiuuniAn), using (iuu) and not (yy) in the accented syllable.

[1] He says, p. 357, "Dr. Wallis .... amongst all that I have seen published, seems to me, with greatest Accurateness and subtlety to have considered the Philosophy of Articulate sounds."

Short *u* is thus exemplified by Wilkins and distinguished from (uu, u), meaning (uu, *u*) most probably:

(u)	*short*		full	fut		pul	
(uu)	*long*	boote	foole	foote	moote	poole	roode
(ə)	*short*	but	full[1]	futt[1]	mutt-*on*	pull[1]	rudd-*er*
(əə)	*long*						amongst

The sound, which he represents by y with a peculiar flourish added to its tail, and which I have translated into my (ə), he describes as "a simple letter, apert, sonorous, guttural; being framed by a free emission of the breath from the throat."[2] Again, p. 364, he says "the vowel (ə) is wholly *Guttural*, being an emission of the breath from the throat without any particular motion of the tongue or lips. 'Tis expressed by this character," a variety of y, "which is already appropriated by the Welsh for the picture of this sound." As he here rejects both tongue and lips in the formation of (ə) he differs considerably from Wallis in explaining its formation. In another place he says that the Hebrew "Schevah" is rapidly pronounced "probably as our short (ə)." He gives (əi, əu) as the analysis of "our English *i* in bite," and of the sound in "*our*, *ou*le." And finally he says: "y" meaning (ə) "is scarce acknowledged by any nation except the Welsh." The words in which he employs this sign, omitting the combinations (əi, əu) are: *kingdom*, *come*, *done*, *but*, *Jesus*, *son*, *under*, *Pontius*, *buried*, *third*, *judge*, *church*, *resurrection*, which he writes (kiq·dəm, kəm, dən, bət, Dzhesəs, sən, ənder, Pansiəs, bəri,ed, thərd, dzhədzh, tshərtsh, resərreksioon), in which I give all his errors. I assume this sound to be (ə) both in Wallis and Wilkins, but what particular shade of this sound they pronounced, and whether they both used the same shade, it would be rash to assert.

1668. PRICE does not help us to the sound of short *u* when he says:

"The *u* is twofold, 1. short, as in *but*, *must*, *burst*, 2. long as in *lute*, *muse*, *refuse* as if it were the compound of *iw*."

This *iw* may mean (iu), agreeing with Wilkins, but it may also mean (yy) agreeing with Wallis. I am inclined to treat it as (iu). The short *u* I have, on the combined

[1] These words judging from *futt*, are all fancy words, (fəl, fət, pəl), introduced to contrast with the (ful, fut, pul), in a preceding line, and most probably the doubling of the final consonant was intended to indicate the sound (ə), whereas *fut*, *pul* were previously written with one final consonant to indicate the sound (u). If this theory be correct, the word *full* in the first line, was a misprint for *ful*.

[2] This description is made up from the different headings of the table p. 360.

authority of Wallis and Wilkins, been in the habit of considering to be (ɔ). The following notices agree with this:

"*O* after *w* soundes like short *u* as *world, sword, woman, won.* . . . *O* before *m* or *n* in the last syllable soundes like short *u* as *freedom, reckon, bacon.* . . . *Ou* soundes like short *u* in *cousin, double, courage.*"

But there is one notice which, thus interpreted, has a singular effect: "*Oo* soundes like short *u* in *good, wool, hood, wood, stood.*" The general use of (gɔd, wɔl, hɔd, wɔd, stɔd) is difficult to believe in, though it is well known provincially, and is also mentioned by Jones, (p. 183).

1669. Though HOLDER's work was not published till this year, Wilkins had seen it in manuscript, and speaks highly of it.[1] Yet in the letter *u*, both long and short, Holder differs from Wilkins. Holder has very acutely anticipated Mr. M. Bell's separation of the lingual and labial passages, and the possibility of adding a labial passage to every lingual one. He says:

In *o* the larynx is depressed, or rather drawn back by contraction of the aspera arteria. And the tongue likewise is drawn back and curved; and the throat more open to make a round passage: and though the lips be not of necessity, yet the drawing them a little rounder, helps to accomplish the pronunciation of it, which is not enough to denominate it a labial vowel, because it receives not its articulation from the lips. *Oo* seems to be made by a like posture of the tongue and throat with *o* but the larynx somewhat more depressed. And if at the same time the lips be contracted, and borne stiffly near together, then is made ʊ; *u* with the tongue in the posture of *i* but not so stiff, and the lip borne near the upper lip by a strong tension of the muscles, and bearing upon it at either corner of the mouth."

"ʊ is made by the throat and tongue and lip; in ʊ the tongue being in the posture, which makes *oo;* and in *u* in the same posture, which makes *i*, and in this ʊ and *u* are peculiar, that they are framed by a double motion of organs, that of the lip, added to that of the tongue; and yet either of them is a single letter, and not two, because the motions are at the same time, and not successive, as are

[1] He says: "But besides such," namely, "in later times . . . . Erasmus, both the Scaligers, Lipsius, Salmasius, Vossius, Jacobus Mathias, Adolphus Metkerchus, Bernardus Malinchot, etc., besides several of our countrymen, Sir Thomas Smith, Bullokar, Alexander Gill, and Doctor Wallis," "(whose considerations upon this subject are made publick) I must not forget to acknowledge the favour and good hap I have have had to peruse from their *private* papers the distinct Theories of some other Learned and Ingenious persons," Dr. William Holder and Mr. Lodowick are named in the margin, "who have with great judgment applyed their thoughts to this enquiry; in each of whose Papers, there are several suggestions that are new, out of the common rode, and very considerable."

eu, pla &c. Yet for this reason they seem not to be absolutely so simple vowels as the rest, because the voice passeth successively from the throat to the lips in ȣ and from the palate to the lips in *u*, being there first moulded into the figures of *oo* and *i*, before it be fully articulated by the lips. And yet either these two, ȣ and *u*, are to be admitted for single vowels, or else we must exclude the lips from being the organs of any single vowel since that the mouth being necessary to conduct the voice to the lips, will, according to the shape of its cavity, necessarily give the voice some particular affection of sound in its passage, before it come to the lips; which will seem to make some such composition in any vowel which is labial. I have been inclined to think, that there is no labial vowel, but that the same affection from the lips may, somewhat in the nature of a consonant, be added to every of the vowels, but most subtlely and aptly to two of them, whose figures are in the extremes of aperture and situation, one being the closest and forwardest, which is *i*, and the other most open and backward; there being reason to allow a vowel of like sound in the throat with ȣ, but distinct from it as not being labial, which will be more familiar to our eye if it be written *oo;* as in *cut coot, full fool, tut toot*, in which the lip does not concur; and this is that other. Thus *u* will be only *i* labial, and ȣ will be *oo* labial, that is, by adding that motion of the under-lip, *i* will become *u*, and *oo* will become ȣ." He proceeds to use his *i*, *u*, ȣ in the formation of diphthongs and concludes thus: "Concerning ȣ and *u*, this may be observed, that in subjoining them to another vowel, ȣ is apter to follow ɑ and *o*, because of their resemblance in the posture of the tongue, as hath been said; and for the like reason *u* is apter to follow *a* and *e*, as ȣɑȣ*l wawl; euge* etc. But generally if the vowels follow, then it is ȣ precedes and not *u*."

No doubt the descriptions give very accurately *oo* = (œœ), ȣ = (uu), *u* = (ɪ) or (y). And the short (œ) would then be Holder's sound in *full*. Now it is impossible to believe that *fool* was ever pronounced (fœœl), the sound being extremely difficult to any one but a Highlander (in whose word *laogh* it occurs), until the trick of removing the labial action from (uu) has been acquired. But if we remember that now *full* is rather (f*u*l) than (ful); and that the widening of the back of the throat, by which (*u*) differs from (u) is so much the most essential part of the sound, that a very good imitation of it can be produced with the mouth wide open, it is very probable that Holder called *fool full* at least when theorizing (f*uu*l f*u*l). The pairs of examples he gives are *cut coot, full fool, tut toot*, of which *cut, tut* would have been (kɔt, tɔt) according to Wallis and Wilkins, who would have perhaps preserved the old pronunciation (f*u*l) or (ful). Did Holder say or intend to say (k*u*t k*uu*t, f*u*l f*uu*l, t*u*t t*uu*t)? In this case he must have altogether ignored the vowel (ɔ). Or did

he mean to say (kət kəət, fəl fəəl, tət təət) ? or did he mean —what he has written—(kœt kœœt, fœl fœœl, tœt tœœt) ? sounds which he may have imagined he said, but which other people are scarcely likely to have really pronounced. The distinction which Holder makes between the vowels in *fool, two* is peculiar to himself. Wilkins gives *fool* as an example of the long (uu), and *full* as an example of both the short (u) or (*u*) and of (ɐ), suprà p. 177, note 1. This throws a doubt over the pronunciation of this particular word *full*, and renders Holder's explanations still more mysterious. Can it be that Holder's pronunciation was very peculiar so that he actually confused (*u*, ɔ) at a time when the transition from old (*u*) to (ə) was coming into vogue? His (*ʊ*) would not be a bad middle between the extremes of (*u*, ɔ). His long *u* in *rule*, which is usually now (uu), was manifestly (yy), if his explanation of superadding the labial to the lingual effect is to be trusted. His only notice of a diphthongal *u* is in the word *euge*, just cited, which must have been (ey·dzhe), if his explanation is to be relied on, but this is very doubtful.

1685. COOPER pairs the vowels in *full, fole*, or as he sometimes writes *foale*,[1] that is, in *full* he takes the vowel to be short (*o*). He may however have used (*u*) or (*u*h). See the discussion on p. 84, and the passage quoted on p. 101. The observations in that passage serve to shew that *u* in *full* had at that time much of the (*o*) element in it; that some persons may have pronounced it quite as (*o*); and others as (u) the usual sound into which (*o*) degenerates, or (*u*), which is the more common English sound; the true short (u) is so unusual to our organs, that when we hear it we take it for the long (uu), and we can hardly pronounce it except when long. The English (uu, *u*) as has been already mentioned, are related precisely like the English (ii, *i*). I shall, as already stated, p. 84, consider that Cooper pairs (*oo, u*). But Cooper also distinguished (uu, u) in *food foot*, see suprà p. 101. He illustrates this sound by German *zufluch* (misprint for *zuflucht* as shewn by the meaning *refugium*) and French *coupe* poculum, now (tsuu·flukht, kup).

Cooper is very copious upon short *u* which he clearly means to be (ə) or one of those vowels, as (ɜ, œ), which he would scarcely distinguish from (ə). The long *u* he makes (iu) and seems to have great difficulty in understanding the French *u* (yy). His words are:

"*U* formatur tantùm in gutture, à laryngе spiritum vibrante,

[1] As *fool* used to be written *fole*, nothing but Cooper's having once used the more common spelling *foale* could have shewn us what word he meant.

nndum efficiente murmur, quod idem est cum gemitu hominis ægritudine vel dolore excruciati; quodque infantes (priusquam loqui valeant) primùm edunt: Et fundamentum est, à quo *omnes cæteræ vocales*, variâ modificatione constituuntur[1] . . . . Hunc sonum correptum vix unquam aliter pronunciant *Angli* quàm in *nut* nux; prout etiam in linguâ latinâ, ni ubi consonans præcedens sit labialis, ut priùs dixi, et labiis dat formam quâ sonus plenior effertur, ut in *pull* vello, inter hos minima[2] datur, datur tamen specifica, differentia; ille etenim sonus dilutior est, hic plenior, ille formatur a larynge tantùm in gutture, hic à labiis contractis; dum itaque *o* labiis formatur in sono continuato, si recedant labia in oblongam formam formatur *u* gutturalis;[3] in quibusdam scribitur per *o* ut, *to come*[4] venire; *Galli* hoc modo, vel saltem persimili,[5] olim sonarunt

[1] The *natural vowel*, should be the sound of the voice, that is of the vocal ligaments or glottal reed, without any resonance tube, p. 161. This it is of course impossible to hear. But it must resemble the reed sound of the clarionet or hautboy, or the whistle of the flute or flageolet, and contain in itself all the tones which the variously formed resonance tubes prefixed to it in speaking, by means of the pharynx, nose, tongue, mouth and lips, develop or render audible. It is as the resonance tubes clearly separate the tones, or allow many nearly coincident to be heard together, that we obtain distinct or confused, coloured or colourless, vowel qualities of tone.

[2] This remark is important as shewing the ease with which (*u*, ɔ) were confused by speakers at the time of the transition of short *u* from (*u*) to (ɔ).

[3] If the lips be mechanically opened by the hands while we are pronouncing (*oo*) we shall pronounce (ɤɤ), which is the form that Mr. M. Bell adopts for the long sound of *u* in *up*. Hence Cooper is quite consistent when he makes *u* in *full* the short (*o*), and *u* in *nut* the delabialised short (*o*) or (ɤ). This is the most accurate description of the sound that I have met with in any old book, and may be advantageously compared with Holder's, given above p. 178.

[4] Probably *to* is not intended as an example, but only *come*. Both are italicized in the original.

[5] As Mr. M. Bell hears (ɤ) in English *up* and (ə) in French *que*, and (ɤ, ə) only differ as back and mixed vowels of the same class, Cooper's ear was not far out. To me however now, the French *e* in *que* sounds (ə), which is a 'round' vowel. English ears, however, readily confound (ɑ, ɤ, œ; ə, œ, əh) with one another and with (e), and (ɪ). What was however the *old* pronunciation of the present French mute *e*? Meigret, 1550, writes the same vowel in the first and last syllables of "merite, benite, perir, mere, pere," which Feline writes (merit, benit, perir, meer, peer) with two different vowels. I understand Meigret to mean (*e*) in both cases. But the lightly spoken unaccented (*e*) drifts very easily into (ʁ, ə, ɔ). From (*e*) therefore (ɔ) could have easily descended. In fact (ə) is only the 'round' or labialized (*e*). This recalls an apparently inexplicable remark by Palsgrave, 1530, who says: "If *e* be the laste vowell in a frenche worde beynge of many syllables, eyther alone or with an *s* folowynge him, the worde nat havyng his accent upon the same *e*, then shall he in that place be sounded almost like an *o* and very moche in the noose, as these words *hómme*, *fémme*, *honéste*, *párle*, *hómmes*, *fémmes*, *honéstes*, *avéques*, shall have theyr laste *e* sounded in maner lyke an *o*, as *hommo*, *femmo*, *honesto*, *parlo*, *hommos*, *femmos*, *honestos*, *avecquos*; so that, if the reder lyft up his voyce upon the syllable that commeth nexte before the same *e*, and sodaynly depresse his voyce whan he cometh to the soundynge of hym, and also sound hym very moche in the noose, he shall sounde *e* beyng written in this place accordyng as the Frenchmen do. Which upon this warnynge if the lerner wyll observe by the frenche mens spekynge, he shall easily perceyue." The nasality may be an erroneous observation, and the whole history may be a clumsy expression of the sound of (ɔ), for which the rounding of the lips suggested (*o*). See suprà, p. 119, note, col. 2.

fœminimum *e*, ut in *providence*. Germani syllabus *ham*[1] & *berg*[2] in propriis nominibus. Nunquam in proprio sono apud nos productum audivi, ni in musicâ modulatione,[3] vel inter populos, præcipuè pueros cunctanter pronunciantes; pro longâ enim vocali assumit dipthongum *eu* (iu); unde etiam denominatur; ut *mute* mutus; prout in *Neuter*, ψεῦδος, idem fere cum Gallorum *u* de quo inter dipthongos dicetur."

"*E* in *will*, *weal* (*i*, *ee*) cum *u* (u) coalescens nobis familiarissimus est, quem vocamus *u* longum; ut *funeral* funus, *huge* inus;[4] *juice* succus, scribimus per *ew*; ut *chew* mastico; *knew* cognovi; aliisque temporibus verborum præteritis; quando syllabam finalem claudit, additur *e*, *true* verus; rarò per *eu*, *rheum* rheuma; sic semper pronunciamus *eu* latinum, & ευ Græcum: et *Galli* plerumque illorum *u*, quandoque autem subtiliùs quasi sonus esset simplex, sed hæc difficilis & *Gallis* propria."

The last words shew that his confusion of (yy) with (iu) in French pronunciation was really fault of ear, and that he was quite ignorant of (yy) as an English sound. Cooper is very particular in shewing how all vowels fall into (ə) in unaccented syllables before *r*. These will be considered under R.

1688. MIEGE of course hears the English long *u* as the French, but as the diphthong (iu) does not occur in French, this only shews the same defect of ear which makes him identify short *u* in *cut* with French *o* (o), and short *u* in *us* with French *eu* (œ). He says:

"La Prononciation commune de l'U Voyelle en Anglois est la même qu'en François. Mais, entre deux Consonnes dans une même Syllabe, elle se prononce ordinairement en o; Comme *but*, *cut*, *rub*, *up*, *humble*, *under*, *run*. Quêquefois en ou; Exemple *chuse*, *puss*, *bull*, *pull*, *full*. En eu, comme *us*, *faculty*, *difficult*, *difficulty*. *Bury* & *busy* se prononcent bery, bisy. Et dans les Mots qui finissent en *ure*, l'*u* semble revetir le Son d'un e feminin, sur tout quand on parle vite. Comme *nature*, *picture*, *fracture*, qui se prononcent familierement naiter, picter, frecter." And again: "U vowel, by it self, is pronounced in French according to the Sound it has in the Word Abuse in English.

1701. JONES says: "the Sound of *ŭ* in *but*, *cut*, &c. is the Sound

[1] Dr. Froembling, in his *Elements of the German Language*, 2nd edit. 1865, p. 2, says that the German *a* "is pronounced like *a* in *father*, if long; and like *u* in *hut* if short." This is the only other instance I know in which German short *a* has been identified with English (ə); it is usually confused with English (ʌ), which however would give a very broad Austrian pronunciation, and it was to avoid this on the one hand, and (æ) on the other, that Dr. Froembling (who speaks English excellently) hit upon this contrivance. Cooper having heard *ham* as (həm) in proper names only, must have been mistaken; German proper names do not end in *ham* but in *heim*.

[2] This must have been a mere Anglicism.

[3] One of the best means of observing the prolonged effect of short vowel sounds.

[4] Misprint for *ingens* or *immensus*?

of the natural humane Voice, and therefore the easiest of all the *Sounds* that are made by the humane Voice."

And yet this easy sound is a stumbling block to all European nations, and is rarely heard except among Asiatics. It may be doubtful indeed whether the Asiatics pronounce the same variety of (ə) as we do. Many Welshmen do not admit it as a proper Welsh sound, though their language is supposed to have an appropriate letter *y* to represent it. As, however, *y* in Welsh also represents another sound, it cannot be more properly considered the special representative of (ə) than the English *u*, so that there is really no European means of representing the sound, although, owing to its supposed relation to the French *e* mute, (ə), so many writers have employed an inverted *e*, that this has been adopted as the best understood form in palaeotype. The sound of long *u*, Jones says, is compound, but he does not analyze it.

Jones gives many lists for the representation of the sound of short *u* by various vowel forms, which need not be cited at length as they agree generally with modern use. In the following words the italic letter might be, or occasionally was sounded as (ə) according to Jones.

Christm*a*s, Will*i*am, &c; cent*au*ry, rest*au*ration, &c; fast*e*n, list*e*n, &c; asp*e*n, burd*e*n, chick*e*n, coz*e*n, &c; *ye*oman; bez*i*l, civ*i*l, dev*i*l, &c; bas*i*n, cab*i*n, coff*i*n, &c; Westm*i*nster "sounded *Westmuster;*" b*oi*l, c*oi*l &c = (bəil, kəil) &c; an*o*ther, m*o*ther, p*o*ther &c; b*ou*l, b*ou*t, f*ou*t, l*ou*t, *ou*t, &c = (bəul, bəut, fəut) &c; d*o*ve, l*o*ve, m*o*ve—this is peculiar, sh*o*ve &c; c*ow*l, h*ow*l, &c = (kəul, nəul) &c, v*o*yage, &c; = (vəi·edzh); v*ou*ch, &c; w*o*rd, w*o*rk, w*o*rth, &c; y*o*nder, y*o*nker, &c; c*o*lonel, c*o*lour, &c; c*o*mfort, &c; c*o*ney, c*o*njure, &c; m*o*ney, m*o*nkey, &c; m*o*ngcorn, m*o*nger, &c; c*u*lly, &c; bl*o*mary, &c; (see under O, p. 102), c*o*me, s*o*me, &c; buckss*o*m, fulss*o*m, &c; kingd*o*m, &c; chib*o*l, gamb*o*l, symb*o*l; s*o*n, d*oe*s, rec*o*gnisance "sounded *recunnisance;*" f*oo*t, fors*oo*th, g*oo*d, h*oo*d, l*oo*k, s*oo*t, st*oo*d, t*oo*k, "when it may be sounded *oo* rather than *ŭ;*" w*oo*d, w*oo*f, w*oo*l "which some sound as with *ŭ* viz. wŭd wŭll &c"—adj*ou*rn, att*ou*rnment, att*ou*rney, bl*ou*d, B*ou*rdeaux,[1] c*ou*ntry, c*ou*rage, c*ou*rlass, c*ou*rteous, c*ou*rtesan, c*ou*rtesy, c*ou*sin, d*ou*ble, d*ou*blet, fl*ou*d, fl*ou*rish, h*ou*sewife, j*ou*rney, m*ou*rn, n*ou*rish, sc*ou*rge, soj*ou*rn, S*ou*thwark, t*ou*ch, tr*ou*ble, unc*ou*th, y*ou*ng, y*ou*r, y*ou*th "and all the Names of Seaport Towns as Falm*ou*th Portsm*ou*th Yarm*ou*th" &c; ath*wa*rt, th*wa*rt "sounded *athurt, thurt,*" ans*we*r, t*wo*pence "sounded tuppence," m*yr*rh, p*yr*amide &c; c*a*merade "sounded *cumrade,*" hicc*ough* "sounded *hiccup,*" frumenty "sounded *furmety,*" constr*ue* "sounded *constur,*" Catharine "sounded *Catturn.*"

[1] There is a place near Edinburgh called (Bar·di nəus) from the old *Bourdeaux House.* Jones also writes (Buur·doo), suprà p. 140.

In almost every instance (ə) is seen to be a substitute for an older (u), or (*u*) as (əu) was of an older (uu).

U — XVIII TH CENTURY.

1704. The EXPERT ORTHOGRAPHIST gives us no information on the nature of the sounds of *u* long and *u* short.

1710. The Anonymous instructor of the Palatines says that *u* at the beginning is like the German *ju*, meaning that long *u*=(iu). He also gives the pronunciation of the English words *church, much,* in German letters as *tschurtsch, mutsch* =(tshurtsh, mutsh), so that he does not acknowledge (ə) at all. This may have been designedly, because (ə) would have been so difficult to the Palatines, and because (u) would be intelligible to the English.

1766. The following are a few words from Buchanan: (ful, push, shug·*i*r) *sugar;* (put; bətsh·*i*r, pəs) *butcher, puss;* (tu pət) *to put;* (ber·*i*, biz·*i*) *bury, busy;* (triu, fiu·r*i*əs, liut, miuz) *true, furious, lute, muse.*

1768. Franklin has (sətsh, rənz, mətsh) *such, runs, much;* (fiu·r*i*əs, iu·sedzh, truu, ruulz, iuz·ed) *furious, usage, true, rules, used.*

1780. Sheridan gives as peculiar Irish faults, (bəl, bəsh, pəsh, pəl, pəl·p*i*t, pəd·*i*n, kəsh·ən, fət, pət) for (b*u*l, b*u*sh, p*u*sh, p*u*l, p*u*l·p*i*t, p*u*d·*i*q, k*u*sh·ən, f*u*t, p*u*t), all of which, as well as (drəv, strəv) for (dr*oo*v, str*oo*v) are, as is now manifest, remnants of the XVII th century. The other cases of Irish mispronunciations which he cites, and which have been already noticed, (pp. 76, 92, 103, 129, 160), shew very clearly that the so-called Irish mispronunciations are merely fossil relics of the XVII th century, preserved in a community separated by the sea from the mother country, see suprà p. 20.

§ 4. *The Consonants.*

Y, W, WH.

According to the present usages of English speech, Y and W are the consonants (j, w) when preceding a vowel, as in *ye woo* (ji wu), and those who can pronounce these words differently from (ii uu) can generally pronounce these consonants. But there has been a great dispute among orthoepists whether *y, w* should be considered as vowels or consonants,

and various terms have been invented to suit the case. As they do not occur in French, PALSGRAVE of course does not notice them. SALESBURY, with his Welsh habits always regards *y, w* as the vowels (i, u), and consequently writes (und'er, uu) for (wun'der, wuu). SMITH has the same opinion, but writes (i-is, i-it, u-ul, u-ud) for (ȷis, ȷit, wul, wud), although these sounds cannot be distinguished from (iis, iit, uul, uud) unless either a distinction in the vowels be made, which he does not allow, as (i*i*s, i*i*t, u*u*l, u*u*d), or else the vowel be repeated as (i,is i,it u,ul u,ud). HART carries the same principle to the extent of writing (iild uuld) for (ȷiild, wuuld) and even (ureit) for (wreit) meaning (r*u*eit) making that word therefore dissyllabic. GILL has distinct alphabetical characters for (ȷ, w), and says:

"Si quis sonorum æquus æstimator vsum earu*m* apud nos perpendat, inveniet esse consonas,"

but seems to consider that the principal test ("lapis Lydius") of the fact is that the indefinite article assumes the form *a* and not *an* before *y, w*. He adds:

"*W*, aspiratum, consona est, quam scribunt per *wh* et tamen aspiratio præcedit. Illæ[1] namq*ue* voces quæ per *wh* scribuntur; possunt atq*ue* etiam ad exempla maiorum scribi debent per (nw) aut (hu); ita enim, nihil aliud inde colligi queat, quàm quod ex ipso *wh*, intelligimus; vt (wiil) sive (uiil) WEELE nassa,[2] (nwiil) sive (huiil) WHEELE rota. Tamen quia nostra experientia docet, (w) et (wh) veras esse simplicesq*ue* consonas, in quarum elatione (u) suggrunnit tantum, non clara vocalis auditur; ideo illud (w) ante vocales aut diphthongos ius assignatum obtinebit; at (wh) mala tantum consuetudine[3] valebit in (what) quid, (whedher) uter & similibus."

We have here the first distinct recognition of a consonant peculiar to the English language, which is seldom acknowledged even by recent orthoepists, most of whom consider (wh) as = (hw) or (hu). The preceding writers had all used (hu). It is to be observed that Gill had no (ȷh); this must have been because, as he used (yy) in place of (ȷuu) initial, he said (hyym'ur) and not (ȷhuum'ur), for which most recent orthoepists have (hȷuu'moȷ), a combination as objectionable as (hwiil) for (whiil).

GATAKER 1646, goes to the extreme of making *y, w* always consonants, considering *ei, ew* to be (eȷ, ew). This, however,

[1] Misprinted *ille*.

[2] Narrow necked basket for catching fish.

[3] The fault in Gill was that he wrote two consonants (wh) when he only meant one (wh). This "bad custom" is evaded by the palaeotypic use of (h) for the aspirate and (ĥ) for the diacritic.

depends upon a diphthongal theory, to which writers have been led by observing that (ai) is not merely (a, i), see p. 51. WALLIS inclines to Gataker's opinion, and says:

"Diphthongi *ai, ei, oi, au, eu, ou*, &c, recte pronunciatæ componuntur ex vocalibus præpositivis et consonantibus *y* et *w* quæ tamen pro vocalibus subjunctivis vulgo habentur."

His contemporary WILKINS, alluding to the opinion of Gataker and others says on his p. 370, that they

"do earnestly contend that there are no such things as dipthongs. Their principal Arguments" he goes on to say, "depend upon this Supposition that (i) and (u), which are necessary Ingredients to the framing of all usual Dipthongs, are Consonants the same with (J) and (w). Others would have them to be of a middle nature, betwixt Vowels and Consonants; according to which opinion I have already described them: From whence the Reason is clear, why these Vowels concur to the making of Dipthongs because being the most *contract* of Vowels, as is also the vowel (ə) of which more hereafter. They do therefore approach very near to the nature of *Literæ clausæ*, or Consonants; there being no Transition amongst these, either from one another, or to the intermediate sounds, without such a kind of motion amongst the Instruments of speech, by reason of these different *Apertions*, as doth somewhat resemble that kind of Collision required to the framing of Consonants."

COOPER recognizes (J, W) as consonants and also (Jh, Wh) under the form, (nJ, HW), at the same time that he defines a diphthong as the "conglutinatio duarum vocalium in eâdem syllabâ."

This theory of "conglutination," effected by the "glide," is that which I have adopted (p. 51), and, consequently, believing that the sounds were in all cases the same, I shall, in transcribing the pronunciation of others, when they use (ia) or (aJ) consistently write (Ja, ai), having precisely the same intention, and representing the same sound, on different theoretical principles. I consider the sounds of (J, w) to have been the same throughout the period now considered. Whether there may not be or have been a sound (bh), leading to the confusion between (v) and (w), well marked in the South East of England, I leave unsettled. In Chapter V, § 4, No. 1, I shall adduce reasons for believing that the Anglosaxon *w* was not (bh). Although (wrəit) can be pronounced, yet (vrəit) or (bhrəit) is much easier for the lips, and in Mr. Melville Bell's Scotch specimen Chapter XI, § 4, the initial (vr) will be found in (vraq) *wrong*, which may however possibly have been (bhraq). As *qu* is now, and probably always was, (k*w*), the labial modification of (k), produced by rounding the lips at the same time that the (k) contact is made, and

releasing both contacts simultaneously, so (wr) probably always was (r*w*), the labial modification of (r), produced by keeping the lips rounded during the whole time that (r) is trilled. It is similar to the sound in French *roi*, which Féline writes (rua), and which English now call (rwAA), the true sound being (r*u*a), which produces a species of evanescent (u), but whether before (r) as Hart wrote (ureit), or *after* (r) as Féline writes, appears doubtful to the ear, simply because it is *during* (r), p. 131. Similarly (yy) is (*iiw*) or (*ii*) with a labial modification, and all the "round" vowels might be written as ordinary vowels followed by the labial modification (*w*), p. 161. At the same time, in transcribing the notation of others, I shall generally use (wr), although this is probably as incorrect as (rw) would be, and is very difficult to pronounce. The notation (wr) is similar to the notations (HW, HJ); in all three cases succession (w + r, H + w, H + J) is written where simultaneity (w*r = r*w*, H'*w = wh, H'*J = jh,) is intended. See *ew*, *wl*, *wr* in Anglosaxon, Chapter V, § 4, No. 1.

The interchange of the vowel (i) with the consonant (J), and the vowel (u) with one of the three consonants (w, bh, v) is an interesting phenomenon in all languages. In Europe (w) is thought to be peculiar to England; Wales also claims it, but the claim is doubtful, as its (w), if it exists, is confused by its writers with (u). In Arabic however (w) is quite at home, and also serves to mark the vowels (o, u). In Sanscrit, if the native grammarians are correct, the (i) between two other vowels fell into (J) and the (u) into (v), and not (w) or (bh). In Germany (u) generates (bh) not (w). Similarly in modern Greek (*ευ*, *αυ*) generated (ebh, abh) becoming (eph, aph) before mutes as (aphtos'), although modern theory makes *υ* a (v) or an (f) as (evris'koo, aftos'), *εὑρίσκω*, *αὐτός*. It seems probable that in precisely the same way, the original transition of the Sanscrit (u) was into (bh), and that the pronunciation (v), distinctly pointed out by the native grammarians, is a comparatively modern alteration, comparable with the change of (*k*, *k*H, *g*, *g*H, *q*) into (tsh, tshH, dzh, dzhH, nj) and of (*k*h) into (sh). The immediate change of (u) into (v) is difficult to conceive.

The letter (w), or (u) forming a diphthong with a following (a), formerly kept the sound of (a) pure. Thus Bullokar writes (waar, war'm, waar'n, war'en, war, waa'ter) for *ware*, *warm*, *warn*, *warren*, *war*, *water*. As late as Wilkins we have (wæz) for *was*. Price says that *a* is never sounded (AA) except before *l*, and hence he excludes the action of *w*.

Cooper does not mention the effect of *w*, and Jones 1701 only instances the word "*water*, sounded *wauter*." But the Expert Orthographist, 1704, says that *a* has its broad sound (AA) "between *w* and *r* as *war*, *ward-en*, *warm*, *warn-er*, *warren*, *watch*, *water*, *wrath*." It would appear then that this effect of *w* on a following *a* became prevalent at the beginning of the XVIII th century. It is by no means general in the provinces, where (wat·er, waɹm, warm, war'm,) etc. still exist. I have heard (waa·tɹ, k*w*æl·*i*t*i*, k*w*æn·t*i*t*i*,) from even educated speakers. Of course the effect of the (w) on the subsequent vowel arises from beginning to pronounce it before the lips are sufficiently opened, so that the vowel becomes round, as (wa*w* = wo), for which however either (WA), or (wɔ) has obtained in practise. Although in London and the South of England (wh) is seldom pronounced, so that (WAt) is the usual sound for both *Wat* and *what*, yet to write *wot* for *what* is thought to indicate a bad vulgar pronunciation. In the North of England (wh) is very well marked, and in Scotland it is often labialized to (k*w*h), owing probably to the intimate relation between (u) and (k).

M, N, NG.

These nasal sounds frequently disturb the pure sound of the preceding vowel, giving it more or less of a nasal twang, occasioned by allowing some of the breath to pass with more or less force through the nasal passages. We know that in modern French *in*, *an*, *on*, *un*, represent four distinct orinasal vowels, palaeotypically written (eʌ, aʌ, oʌ, əʌ) although their exact relation to the oral vowels is not pretended to be accurately determined.[1] It is very difficult to determine how soon this change occurred. Palsgrave, who, it must be remembered, finds the French *e* feminine to be "sounded almoste like an *o* and very moche in the noose,"[2] tells us that "if *m* or *n* folowe nexte after *a* in a frenche worde, all in one syllable, than *a* shall be sounded lyke this diphthong au and somethyng in the noose," so that the nasality was not "very moche" as in the other case where no other writer recognizes any nasality at all, but only "somethyng." This would lead to *am*, *an* = (a‚um a‚un). Palsgrave notes the exception when "the syllable next folowynge of any suche wordes begynne also with a lyke consonant," such as *flamme*, where the sound of *a* is not changed—and we are left to

[1] See above, p. 67, for a discussion of these sounds.

[2] See p. 181, note, col. 2.

suppose that the *m* and *n* have their normal sounds. As regards French *e* before *m* and *n* Palsgrave says it "shall be sounded lyke an italian *a* and some thynge in the noose," with a similar exception. See the passages cited for *a* on p. 143, near the top, and for *o*, on p. 149, near the bottom. In the latter place, no distinction is made (except as regards the final *e*) between *bon*, *bonne*, which must be (bun, bun·e) putting (*e*) for Palsgrave *e* feminine, at a venture. He makes no mention of *in*, *un*, but in his transcription he writes "imbévo, depaínz, poant, insasiáblo, inconsideré, uoazíns, mayn, évmblo, evnshemýn" for *imbue*, *depainetz*, *poynt*, *insaciable*, *inconsidere*, *voisins*, *maynt*, *humble*, *ung chemin*, in which there is no apparent trace of nasality.

On examining Meigret there is not so much evidence of nasality as in Palsgrave. From Meigret's notation, as may be seen in the numerous citations already given, there is no appearance of any nasal vowel. Indeed the following remark would seem to exclude the idea of any such nasals as now exist. He says:

"Je ne veu' pas aosi oublíer qe la prolaçíon Françoe·ze n'uze pas fort souuent de deus mm, ne de deus nn, ensemble, combien qe l'ecritture ne les eparne pas: come, en homme, comme, sommet, comment, commandement, honneur, donner, sonner, ançienne. Il et vrey qe les mm se rencontret aos Auerbes qi se terminet en ment qant a, ou e ouuert preçedet: come prudemment, suffizamment. Notez aosi qe *n* finall' ayant en suyte, vn vocable començant par voyelle (si çe ne sont qelqes aspirez) double sa puissançe: come en allant, en etant, qe nou' prononçons come en nallant, en netant: tellement q'aotant sone l'un qe l'aotre; e ny trouuons aocune difference."

That is Meigret heard no difference between the final *n* in "en" and the initial *n* in "nallant," he must therefore be understood to have said (en nalant) in lieu of the modern (aa nalaa). See also John Hart's transcription of French, Chapter VIII, § 3, and suprà p. 150. There seems to be no intimation of the French nasal in Cotgrave, and Miege only says that English final *m* and *n* are sounded "d'une manière plus forte en Anglais qu'en Français," which may mean almost anything. In his French part, he says nothing about *an*, *on*, but informs us that

"*em* in the same Syllable is pronounced am, the e taking the sound of a French a; as embleme, ensemble. Except where the word ends in *em*, or *emme*; as *item*, *dilemme*. And yet *femme* is pronounced *famme*. . . . So is *en* sounded *an*. Except 1. after *i* or *y*, in which case the *e* retains its proper Pronunciation, but that it takes somewhat of the sound of an *i*; as in these Words *bien*, *chien*

&c." with other exceptions, thus *antenne* has "*e* open" or *ai*, but *tienne* has "*e* masculine." "*In*, making the first syllable of a Word is pronounced in French as in English, except the *n*, which is but gently sounded; as *incapable*, *indivisible*. The same is to be understood of *in* at the end of a Word; as *fin*, *vin*, *venin*," very unlike the modern (EA, EA, AEA). "Before *m* and *n* in the same Syllable, it (*u*) takes the sound of the Dipthong *eu*; as *humble*, *lundi*."[1]

The investigation of the time of commencement, and the origin of the French and Portuguese nasality, would be extremely curious; at present, however, we are only concerned with the effect of the French sound upon English ears.

First then as regards *aim*, *ain*; *im*, *in*; *um*, *un*, the English seem to have heard in the XVI th century and previously (aim, ain; im, in; um, un), and to have pronounced accordingly. Thus Hart in his French Lord's prayer writes (indui, point, peen) for *indui*, *point*, *pain*, where Hart's (ee) represents the contemporary English (ai).

Next as to *am*, *an* the English generally heard an inserted (u), thus (aum, aun). This does not however appear in Hart, who writes (an, kotidian, ofanses, tantasion, pyysánse, aman) for *en*, *quotidien*, *offenses*, *tentation*, *puissance*, *Amen*. The omission of the (u) may perhaps be due to his usual mincing utterance. Palsgrave however distinctly notices it, and to this must be due the orthographies *aum*, *aun*, which are frequent at this and an earlier date in English words taken from the French. In Salesbury we have the example GALAUNT, *galawnt* (gal·aunt), and he particularly says that "A in the British . . . . is never sou*n*ded like the diphthong *au* as the Frenchmen sounde it in commyng before *m* or *n* in their tongue." Levins, 1570, spells *daunce*, *glaunce*, *launce*, *praunce*, *vaunt*, but he is not fond of the orthography, which seldom occurs. The pronunciation of such words is still marked by many speakers, (p. 147,) and although some, especially ladies, say (dæns, glæns, læns, præns, vænt), others lengthen the vowel at least to (dæəns) etc., while many say (dans, glans, lans, prans, vant), and others lengthening this vowel say (daans) etc., and the intermediate sounds (dahns, daahns,) are not unfrequent; but although some say (VAANT), no one perhaps will now be heard to say (DAANS, PRAANS).

In the combination *-nge*, although we have the *u* inserted in Chaucer's time, a peculiar thinness seems to have been introduced by the *-ge*, for Salesbury gives ORANGES, *orcintsys* (or·aindzhiz), (p. 120,) and Butler says that before *-nge*, a is

[1] See also the passage quoted suprà p. 126, and the observations upon it.

pronounced as *ai*, (ai) or occasionally (ee), as in *change*, *range*, *danger*, *stranger*, words which retain the evidence of this pronunciation in the modern form (tsheeindzh, reeindzh, deeindzh·ɹ, streeindzh·ɹ). The last word is said to exist in America under the form (straˌiˌndzh·ɹ).

As to *om*, *on*, the English as we have seen, p. 150, heard (um, un). In the older English, in which, as we see from Palsgrave and Bullokar, *ou* was pronounced (uu), we consequently find *oum*, *oun* = (uum, uun) for these sounds, and these became (oum, oun) in accented and (um, un) in unaccented syllables in the XVI th century. Hence the final (un) of Salesbury in CONDICYON, *condisyun* (kondisiun); EXHIBITION, *eesibisiun* (eksibisi,un); PROHIBITION, *proibisiun* (proo,ibisi,un). To the way in which Palsgrave heard *o* pronounced in French even before *ne*, we may attribute Salesbury's (truun) for *throne*. We have also in the XVI th century a distinct recognition of the vocal ('m, 'n) constituting a syllable. Bullokar has even separate signs for them, an accented *m'*, *n'*.

The guttural nasal (q) seems to have been the regular pronunciation of *ng* in English, but it was not recognized as a simple sound by the older writers. There is a difficulty in pronouncing the true dental (n) before (k, g) so that *nk* was commonly written for (qk) or (qhk) as Mr. Melville Bell, among others, thinks the sound should be more correctly written, and *ng* for either (q) or (qg), as in *singer*, *linger* (siq·ɹ, liq·gɹ). This was observed by the Latin Grammarians. Nigidius, quoted by Aulus Gellius, lib. xix. cap. 14, says:

"Inter literam N et G est alia vis; ut in nomine *anguis* et *angaria* et *ancoræ* et *increpat* et *incurrit* et *ingenuus*. In omnibus enim his non verum N, sed adulterinum ponitur. Nam N non esse, lingua indicio est. Nam si ea litera esset; lingua palatum tangeret."

Nigidius appears to have considered this *n* to be *g*, or perhaps only related to *g*. The Greeks wrote γγ, γκ, γχ for (qg, qk, qkh) and we find *gg* in Gothic, but it is not easy to separate (q) from (qg) and we may perhaps assume that (qg) was the older form in all cases. This would at any rate account for no special symbol having been assigned to (q), in most languages. It exists in Sanscrit ङ, but few Sanscrit transliterators think it necessary to provide a separate symbol for it. In recent English (q) occurs frequently as a final, did it so occur in early English? This is a difficult question to answer, when we consider the practice of modern Germany, because the present pronunciation of German and Dutch being less altered than English, represents an earlier stage of English pronunciation. Now

according to Rapp *ng* is (qg) when final, and (q) when medial over the greater part, especially the North, of Germany. Hence *Sänger Gesang* would be (szeq·er gezaqg·). Practically, however, as final (g) is very difficult for Germans to pronounce, they use (qk) so that *Gesang Dank* rhyme as (gezaqk· daqk).[1] This is not the case in central Germany, where (q) final is common, and where therefore (gezaq· daqk) do not rhyme. Even in England many speakers confuse *thing*, *think* under (thiqk), but this seems to be an exceptional word.

Gill appears to be the first writer who recognises (q) as a separate element. He says, leaving his notation unaltered:

"N in illis [literis] est quas nihil mutare diximus: at si *k*, aut *g*, sequatur paulùm minuenda est nostra sententia: neque enim (si accuratè expendas) planè ita profertur in *thank* et *think* quemadmodum pronunciatur in *hand* manus, et *nön* NOXE nullus. Sed ne adeo nasutuli videamur ut nihil vetustate rancidum ferre possimus: quia *k*, ibi clarè auditur, nec congruum esse reor quicquam veritati propinquum immutare; monuisse tantum volui, sed te invito non monuisse tamen. At si *g* subsequatur vt in *thing* res et *song* canticum: quia sonus literæ *g* ibi nullus est, at semivocalis planè alia quæ ab *n* non minùs distat quàm *m*; literæ *ng*. una erit ex illis compositis, quibus fas esse volui sonum simplicem indicare, ut in *sing* canta, et *among* inter. huc etiam refer illa in quibus *g*, ab *n*, ratione sequentis liquidæ quodammodo distrahitur, *a spangl* nitella, *tu intangl* implicare."

Hence he said (si̯q, amoq·, a spaq·g'l, tu intaq·g'l) according to the present usage of *ng*. It would appear therefore that we are justified in adopting this usage from at least the XVI th century, and, in the uncertainty which cannot be dispelled, it will be safest to adopt it also from the earliest times that English became distinct from Anglosaxon, although the North German custom may have been that of Anglosaxon itself, namely to call ng = (qg) when final, and (q) when medial.

Gill names (q) as a bad pronunciation of the Hebrew ע, which is still heard, being replaced by (gn) when initial, as Europeans generally find a difficulty in initial (q), although it is not unfrequent in extra-European languages.[1] Sales-

[1] Thus Voss in his *Minnelied* has

"Der Holdseligen
Sonder *Wank*
Sing' ich fröhlichen
Minne*sang*:
Denn die Reine,
Die ich meine,
Winkt mir liebliehen Habe*dank*."

And again in his address to Luther

"Sie tränkte dich mit Reben*trank*;
Und freudig tönte dein Ge*sang*."

I have not noticed such rhymes in Schiller and Goethe.

[2] The vulgar Parisian, however, says (qja pa) for *il n'y a pas*, and the Viennese porters will call a gentleman (ai qaad·n) or (ai qaahd·n) for *euer Gnaden*.

bury speaks of the "Latine vocables *agnus, magnus, ignis,* at what time they were thus barbarously sounded *angnus, mangnus, ingnis,*" meaning (aq·nus, maq·nus, *i*q·n*i*s). This nasalisation of (g) into (q) before the following nasal (n) seems to have been common in the middle ages, and has crept into the Latin orthography of the period. Gill in English gives both (ben*i*g·n) and (ben*i*q·n) for *benign*,[1] This (qn) is the regular pronunciation of *gn* in Modern Swedish, the poet *Tegnér* being (Teqneer·).[2]

The (qg, qk) are heard in Italian and Spanish, but they are unknown in French. The older orthography of French had *ng* in many cases where the nasal (ʌ) is now heard. But Meigret does not recognise this, writing *n* simply in such cases. The French confuse our (q) with their *gn* = (nj) and some Englishmen seem to have fallen into the converse error. The Spanish ñ,[3] Portuguese *nh*, Italian and French *gn*, are all (nj), or nearly (nɹ).

L

The great opening for the passage of the voice while L is pronounced and the very slight nature of the vibration of the sides of the tongue, tend to give it a strongly vocal character, and not unfrequently the L has been entirely lost in a vowel sound, produced simply by not bringing the tip of the tongue close enough to the palate to form a division of the passage and throw the voice out on both sides. Both French and English seem to have had a tendency to labialise (l) into (l*ʍ*) after (a, o), that is they rounded the lips either during the vowel or just as it glided into the consonant. The Latin *alter* thus became (al*ʍ*ter) or (a*ʊ*l*ʍ*ter) felt as (aol*ʍ*tre), till the (l) became absorbed, that is, neglected for convenience of utterance, thus (aotre), which is Meigret's

[1] Strange as the final combination (q'n) may seem, there is a well known London vulgarism in which it is very familiar (*i*q·'nz) for (ən·ɹɐnz) *onions*.

[2] In Sjöborg's *Swedische Sprachlehre*, p. 10, this is the rule laid down, but *mogna, tagne, stagne* are said exceptionally to preserve the (g) and in *lögn* the sound is (lœin). The irregularity of Swedish orthography as compared with pronunciation is considerable, shewing a great alteration of pronunciation in the comparatively short period since the orthography was established.

[3] In old Spanish *nn*, just as *ll* is the modern Spanish for (lj). The tilda over the *ñ* was merely the usual abbreviation for the second *n*. "En los tiempos mas antiguos de nuestra lengua se explicó con dos *nn* juntas esta pronunciacion, y algunos se han persuadido á que la tilde sobre la *n*, como hoy se usa, se introdnxo para denotar la otra *n* que se omitia, al modo que la tilde puesta sobre las vocales se usó freqüentemente en lugar de *n*." *Ortografia de la Lengua Castellana, compuesta por la Real Academia Española.* 7th ed. Madrid 16mo, 1792, p. 64.

form, and finally (*oo*tr'), the modern form. In England (al*w*) became felt as (aul) or (a*w*l*w*) and this degenerated into (ʌʌl), perhaps through (*a*ul). Finally when a consonant followed, it was more convenient to leave out the (l), and the lazy or the nimble tongue, as usual, took the most convenient or shortest road, and (l) disappeared. The Scotch even lost it without a following consonant as (kʌʌ ʌʌ) for (kʌʌl, ʌʌl). The passage was perhaps (talk, tal*w*k, taul*w*k, tauk, ta*w*k, tʌʌk). Whether (tʌʌlk) was ever said, except by Gill's "docti interdum" is more than doubtful.

Similarly after (oo) we had (ool*w*d, ooul*w*d, *oo*uld) or (ooul). In this case the (l) was not generally absorbed, but we have provincially (ɔɔd) for *old*.

Salesbury says that in the English *calme, call*, the *a* "is thought to decline toward the sound of the diphthong *au*." Again: "*o* in Welsh going before *ll*, soundeth nothing more boystous, that is to say, that it inclineth to the sound of the diphthong *ou* (as it doth in English) no more than if it had gone before any other letter." "L hath no nother differe*n*ce in sou*n*d in Welsh than in Englysh. And note that it neyther causeth *a* nor *o* when they come before it, to sound anye more fuller in the mouth, than they do else where sounde, commyng before anye other letter." "Sometimes *a* has the sounde of the diphthong *aw* especially when it precedes *l* or *ll*, as may be more clearly seen in these words: BALDE *bawld* (bauld) calvus, BALL, *bawl*, (baul) pila; WALL *wawl* (waul) murus." "*O* also before *ld* or *ll* is pronounced as though *w* were inserted between them, thus COLDE, *cowld* (kould) frigidus, BOLLE *bowl* (boul), TOLLE *towl* (toul) vectigal." "In some districts of England *ll* is sounded like *w*, thus *bowd* (booud) for BOLD, *bw* (buu) for BULL, *caw* (kau) for CALL. But this pronunciation is merely a provincialism, and not to be imitated unless you wish to mince like these blunderers." But this did not arise from mincing, but from broadening. The mincer, so far from dropping the front of the tongue from the palate, raises the middle part and produces (lj) which degenerates into (i), as in Modern French. The effect of *l* which Salesbury names is generally recognized and exists to this day in the modified form of (ʌʌ) for (au) and (*oo*u) for (oou) or (ou). The sound (ou) is however, heard in (ould) Ireland, either in its genuine form (ou) or its modified form (ɔu) at the present day. Buchanan in the XVIII th century wrote (səuld, kəuld, bəuld, skəuld, təuld, həuld, səuld·ǰir) for *sold, cold, bold, scold, told, hold, soldier*. Sheridan did not imitate him, but scrupulously

used (*ool*) and notes (bAuld, kAuld) as Irishisms for (*boold*, *koold*), in which again the Irish were only following the fashion of the English in the XVII th century.

Salesbury recognized ('l) or prolonged (l) as forming a syllable by itself in ABLE, SABLE, TWYNCLE, WRYNCLE, writing *abl*, *sabl*, *twinkl*, *wrinkl* = (aa·b'l, saa·b'l, tw*i*q·k'l, wr*i*q·k'l). In this he is fully borne out by all subsequent writers. Hart and Bullokar have special signs for ('l). Hart considers it to be the same as the Welsh *ll*, (lhh) which is the reason why he provides it with an especial character. He says

"Wée haue further the l, aspired lyke to the Spanishe and Walsh[1] often vse of the ll, which maketh the .xij. dumbe or dull sounde, but we vse it not that I know of, at the beginning of any words as they do: but often at thend of words, as in this sentence, the bedle is hable to fable. Where we wrest the e, which is but closely or (as it were) halfe sounded: wherfore we may with as smal cost and labour, as of the rest, vse a fit figure for it: and neuer néede to vse the ll, or lh, and for the reasons abouesaid not to abuse the h."

Smith says:

"Qui nescit quid sit esse semivocalem ex nostra lingua facilè poterit discere, ipsa enim litera L quandam quasi vocalem in se videtur continere, ita ut juncta mutæ sine vocali sonum faciat, ut (aabl) habilis, (staabl) stabilis, (faabl) fable, &c; alii *abil stabil fabil*, alii *abul stabul fabul* scribunt, sed ne quicquam pronuntiant; nam consideratius auscultanti nec *e* nec *i* nec *u* est, sed tinnitus quidam vocalis naturam habens, quæ naturaliter his liquidis inest. In omnibus his quidam *e* addunt in fine, vt *able*, *stable*, *fable*: sed certò illud *e* non tam sonat hic quam fuscum illud et fœmininum Francorum *e*,[2] nam ne quicquam sonat."

[1] Like Salesbury he confuses the Spanish (lj) with the Welsh (lhh).

[2] This is a recognition of an obscurely sounded final French *e*, the present (ə), in the XVI th century, agreeing with Palsgrave but disagreeing with Meigret. In the same way most Germans call their *e* final in *eine gute Gabe* a fine (*e*), and very many Englishman would call it (ə). Rapp, Physiologie der Sprache, vol. iv. p. 16, says (translating the passage for convenience): "Short (*e*) only occurs unaccented, as (be, ge, EUdə), *be*,*ge*,*ende*, doubtful, half-mute, or, when heard, with a faint nasal in *en* (GEEben) *geben*. On account of the uncertainty we generally prefer the orthography (gEEben)." Rapp uses *e* much as the palaeotypic (e), and represents (E, *e*) by *è*, *é*, but (EE, *ee*) by *ä*, *ê*. Generally I have used (e, ee) for his *è*, *ä*, but in this passage it was necessary to draw the distinction. In the same way I have represented the final *-e* in Chaucer by (e), as doubtful. Rapp continues: "Yet where the syllable *nen* with double *n* results, (nEnən) *nennen* is distinctly pronounced." Rapp writes (nEnnən) owing to his custom of doubling the consonant after a stopped vowel. "To exhaust what I have to say about the unaccented *e*, observe that the first *e* is taken as the natural vowel in the termination *enen*, (gefalənən) *gefallenen*, or else elided. The natural vowel is distinct before M, R, S and T, (aatəm, faatər, guutəs, bEEtət) *athem*, *vater*, *gutes*, *betet*, foreign names as (mooses) of course excepted; custom varies in (jupitər, jupitER). The enclities (ər, fər, tsər; ər, dər) *er*, *ver*, *zer*; *er*, *der* must be mentioned among the (ər). The *e* is always mute before L, as in all allied languages, as (mit'l, Eq'l)

In Bohemian the ('l) is fully recognized, and forms the only vocal element in some accented syllables, as *wlky* (bh'l·kʏ) wolves, *slza* (s'l·za) a tear. It seems probable that it was the sound intended to be represented by Sanscrit ऌ ॡ = ('l, ''l) commonly called (lri, lrii), unless these were originally cerebral, as ('ʟ, ''ʟ). The modern French do not possess the sound, but pronounce (tabl') or (tablh), sometimes merely (tab'), although their orthoepists write (tabl), and contend that (l) here forms a syllable by itself. As we have seen Hart indicates his own pronunciation of final *-le* to have been (-lh.)

R

In English at the present day *r* has at least two sounds, the first, when preceding a vowel, is a scarcely perceptible trill with the tip of the tongue (r) which in Scotland, and with some English speakers, as always in Italy, becomes a clear and strong trill (.r), but as this is only an accident of speech, it will not be further noticed, (r) being used indifferently for both. The second English *r* is always final or precedes a consonant. It is a vocal murmur, differing very slightly from (ɔ). I seem to hear it occasionally in two forms, differing nearly as (ɐ, ɛ) which I represent by (ɹ, ɻ). As however this distinction is, certainly, by no means always made, I do not usually mark it. This second (ɻ) may diphthongise with any preceding vowel. After (a, ʌ, ɔ) the effect is rather to lengthen the preceding vowel, than to produce a distinct diphthong. Thus *farther*, *lord*, scarcely differ from *father*, *laud*; that is, the diphthongs (aɻ, ɔɻ) are heard almost as the long vowels (aa, ʌʌ). That a distinction is made by many, by more perhaps than are aware of it, is certain, but it is also certain that in the mouths of by far the greater number of speakers in the South of England the absorption of the (ɻ) is as complete as the absorption of the (l) in *talk*,

mittel, *engel*, and this should be theoretically the case even when terminations are added on, although it is then certainly difficult to continue to make the vowelless L form a syllable by itself, as (shmaikh'l-ai, ɛq'l-lɛndər, mit'l-lɛndish) *schmeichelei*, *engelländer*, *mittelländisch*" This theory is partly wrong, for the vocal ('l) being only a lengthened (l) = (ll) is naturally shortened before a vowel, as (stee·b'l, stee·bliq; fɑd·'l, fɑd·lɪ); so it should be in German (shmaikhlai), but in fact (shmaikhelai) is said. Rapp continues: "The terminations (ɛq'ln, shmaikh'ln, gaab'ln) *engeln*, *schmeicheln*, *gabeln*, are difficult to pronounce with purity for foreigners and even for Germans. Finally the natural vowel or mute *e* is generated in popular speech by neglecting ancient terminations as in (nɛkər, iizər, ruud'lshtat, iq'lshtat, doktər, profɛsər) and among the uneducated even in (jeesus, jeena, goota)." This passage is interesting as serving to shew the state of a language in which the final *e* is in a transition state. See suprà p. 119, note, col. 2.

walk, psalm, where it has also left its mark on the preceding vowel. When Dickens wrote Count *Smorl Tork* he meant *Small Talk*, and no ordinary reader would distinguish between them. But in (aɹ, ɔɹ) proper, there is a slight change of lingual position generating a glide, and consequently Mr. M. Bell represents the effect by a glide character especially invented for the purpose, which he terms the "point glide" and describes "as a semivocalized sound of (r)." The diphthongs (eɹ, əɹ) are very difficult to separate from each other and from (əə). But the slight raising of the point of the tongue will distinguish the diphthongs from the vowel in the mouth of a careful speaker, that is, one who trains his organs to do so. No doubt the great majority of speakers do not make any difference, and I think that the best representation of these sounds is the simple (ɹ) or ('ɹ), which is in this respect wholly comparable to the ('l) already discussed. It seems to be an indistinct murmur, differing from ('l) by not having any contact between the tongue and the palate, but similar to it, in absorbing a variety of other vowels.

The following is a comparison of my notation of this murmur (ɹ) and its various diphthongs, with Mr. M. Bell's. The (ɹ) character will express Mr. Bell's glide, and (ɹw) its labialised form, as in Introduction, p. 15. The examples have been taken from Visible Speech, pp. 113–116.

BELL	ELLIS.	EXAMPLES.
ɜɹ	ɹ	w*or*d, j*our*ney, f*ur*nish = (wɹd, dzhm·*i*) &c.
ɐr	ɹ	pap*er*, *circ*uitous, answ*er*, mart*yr* = (peep·ɹ) &c.
aiɹ	ɔiɹ	f*ire*, l*yre*, cho*ir* = (fɔiɹ, lɔiɹ, kwɔiɹ)
ai'r	ɔiɹr	w*iry*, f*iery* = (wɔiɹ·*ri*, fɔiɹ·*ri*)
auɹ	ɔuɹ	h*our*, p*ower* = (ɔuɹ, pɔuɹ)
aɹw	ɔuɹ	*our*selves = (ɔuɹselvz·)
au'r, auɹ	ɔuɹr	d*ow*ery, fl*ow*ery, sh*ow*ery = (dɔuɹ·*ri*, flouɹ·*ri*) &c.
*a*ɹ	aaɹ	h*ar*d, cl*er*k, h*ea*rt, gu*ar*d = (ɹaaɹd, klaaɹk) &c.
aɹ	aɹ	b*ar*barian = (baɹbeeɹ·*ri*ɐn)
ahɹ	ɹ	alt*ar*, gramm*ar*, particul*ar* = (ʌʌl·tɹ) &c.
a'r, *aa*r	aar	st*ar*ry, t*ar*ry (adjective) = (staa·*ri*, taa·*ri*)
ɐɔɹ	ɹ, ɹ	prefe*r*, *ear*nest, *fir*m, m*yrrh*, g*uer*don = (prif·ɹ) &c
iɹ	iiɹ	n*ear*, b*eer*, h*ere*, w*e're*, p*ier* = (niiɹ, biiɹ) &c.
i'r	iiɹr	*aer*ie, *era*, w*eary*, p*eeress* = (iiɹ·*ri*?, iiɹ·re) &c.
eɹ	eeɹ	c*are*, *aer*, p*air*, *Ayr*, pr*ayer* (petition), th*ere*, b*ear*, ne'*er*, th*eir*, *eyre*, m*are* = (keeɹ) &c.
eɹw	eeɹ	m*ayor* = (meeɹ)
e'r	eeɹr	can*ary*, f*airy*, th*er*ein, b*ear*ing = (kneeɹ·*ri*), &c.
ʌɹ	ʌʌɹ	w*ar*, w*ar*d, sw*ar*m, dw*ar*f = (wʌʌɹ, wʌʌɹd) &c.
*u*ɹ	uuɹ	p*oor*, m*oor*, t*our*, *sure* = (puuɹ, muuɹ, tuuɹ) &c.
u'r	uuɹr	p*oor*er, s*ur*er, ass*ur*ing, t*our*ist = (puuɹ·*ri*) &c.
ɹuɹ	iuɹ	c*ure*, p*ure*, end*ure*, imm*ure* = (kiuɹ, piuɹ) &c.

BELL.	ELLIS.	EXAMPLES.
ɹu'r	iuɹ	*fury*, *purer*, *enduring* = (fiuɹ'ri, piuɹ'rɹ) &c.
iuɹ	iuɹ	*lure*, *allure* = (liuɹ, əliuɹ')
iu'r	iuɹ	*luri*d, *alluring* = (liuɹ'rid, əliuɹ'riq)
oɹ	*ooɹ*, ooɹ	*boar*, *o'er*, *door*, *floor*, *borne*, *torn*, *sore*, *corps*, *pour*, *tournament*, *towards* = (booɹ booɹ) &c.
o'r	*ooɹ*, ooɹ	*glory*, *soaring*, *pouring* = (glooɹ'ri, glooɹ'ri) &c.
ɔɹ	ɔɔɹ, ʌʌɹ	*extraordinary*, *George*, *order*, *born* = (bɔɔn) &c.
əhɹ	ɹ	*spectator*, *tailor*, *razor*, *orator* = (spekte'tɹ) &c.
ʒɹ	ɹ, iuɹ	*azure*, *fissure*, *measure*, *seizure* = (ee'zhɹ) &c.
ɹʒɹ	iuɹ, ɹɹ	*nature*, *feature*, *stature* = (nee'tiuɹ neet'ɹɹ) &c.

It will be observed that Mr. Bell has not marked a long vowel in many places where I have marked one. His general habit is not to distinguish the length of the first element in diphthongs. Simple *r* is used in ordinary spelling, after long vowels, for the combination (ɹr), or ('r) as Mr. Bell prefers writing. This combination is very peculiar in English; compare *dear*, *deary*, *mare*, *Mary*, *more*, *glory*, *poor*, *poorer*, with the French *dire*, *dirai*, *mère*, *mairie*, *Maure*, *aurai*, *tour*, *Touraine*.

The Scotch do not use (ɹ) at all, but only (r) or rather (.r), saying (wərd, serf, sərf, karv) *word*, *serf*, *surf*, *carve*.

In Italy (.r) is constant, in France and a great part of Germany (*r*) is pronounced in lieu of (r). Could it be to this sound that Palsgrave alluded when he said:

"*R* in the frenche tonge shalbe sounded as he is in latyn without any exception, so that, where as they of Parys do sounde somtyme *r* lyke *z*, sayeng *pazys* for *parys*, *pazisien* for *parisien*, *chaize* for *chayre*, *mazy* for *mary*, and suche lyke, in that thyng I wolde not have them folowed, albeit that in all this worke I moost folowe the Parisyens."

Certainly *z* would be the nearest character by which, without explanation, he could have given a conception of the true *r grasseyé ou provençal*, the French (*r*), which is not unlike the Arabic (grh),[1] and the Northumberland *burr*. The last is often confused by southerns with (g), (Hagrh'iet) *Harriet* sounding to them like (Hæg'iet). The Spanish *r suave* is (r), with no more trill than in English, but the *r fuerte* is, according to Mr. M. Bell, the usual (.r), but according to M. Favarger, (.*r*), a sharp uvula rattle without any moisture.[2]

[1] The French *razzia* (razia) is a corruption of the Arabic غَزَاة (grhazaat').

[2] See Ortografía de la lengua Castellana compuesta por la real Academia Española, 7th ed. Madrid, 1792, p. 70, where the strong *r* (.r) is said to occur, at the beginning of words as *razon*, *remo*, *rico*, *romo*, *rueda*; after *l*, *n*, *s* always, as *malrotar*, *enriquecer*, *honra*, *Israël*, *desreglado*; in compounds, where the second part begins with *r*; and where *rr* is written as *barra*, *carro*. In other cases the soft *r* (r) is to be pronounced.

No allusion to more than one sound of *r* is found in any of the older writers except Ben Jonson, yet it can hardly be supposed that even if the northerners have retained (r), the complicated (r, ɹ, ɹr) system could have grown up in a single century in the South. For the old *wr* = (*rw*), see p. 187.

1547. Salesbury has the following words which are now pronounced with (ɹ), the old spelling being in small capitals and the phonetic Welsh in italics.

PAPYR *papyr*, QUARTER *kwarter*, SYR *syr*, TRESURE *tresuwr*, VERTUE *vertuw*, CHURCHE *tsurts*, LADDER *lad-dr*, BLADD' *blad-dr*, EMPEROURE *emperwr*, EUERMORE *efermwor*, THONDRE *thwndr*, WONDRE *wndr*, SUFFRE *sufffer*, Gylbert *Gilbert*, GYNGER *tsintsir*, HONOURE *onor*.

Here we find the unaccented syllable *er* or *ir* represented by the Welsh *er*, *yr*, *ir*, and finally simple *r*. This points out to an indistinct murmur, where the writer tries first one vowel sound and then another and finally gives them all up in despair, and trusts to the simple consonant (r) as best representing the sound. Now in Bohemian (r) is recognized as sufficient to form even an accented syllable, as *srna* a roe, *zrno* kernel, *trn* thorn, *drn* turf, *chrt* greyhound. I do not know whether the sound is here (ɹ) or ('r), but as Ziak (Böhmische Sprachlehre) compares it with the German termination *-er*, which Rapp (suprà p. 194, note) declares to be (ər), it will be safest to consider it as ('r) or ('.r), though even the Germans are apt to fall into the convenient (ɹ) final. The examples from Salesbury would therefore lead us to conclude that ('r) was sufficiently common in English of the XVI th century, but would not allow us to assume either that the syllables he writes *er*, *yr*, *ir*, *r* were (ɹ), or that every final *r* was (ɹ) and middle *r* (ɹr).

1569. Hart says of *l m n r* that they are "rightly vsed in sounde when they be single."

1580. Bullokar, who has especial signs for ('l, 'm, 'n), has none for ('r) or (ɹ), writing (foormer, dheer, aar, severawl, letterz, figyyrz,) for *former*, *there*, *are*, *several*, *letters*, *figures*.

1621. Gill says: "*aeri* fere trissyllabum est; *earl* mobilis; apud alios enim diphthongus valet, hîc *ërl* auditur, illîc *erl*."

Here some tinge of ('r) or (ɹ) seems to come into play, (a'ri, e'rl, eerl). Gill also writes (fəi·er) *fire*, and complains that they say (fir) in place of (fəi·er) in the East of England. But the Germans also write *feuer* (fay·ər, foyr, foir), and this does not imply (ɹ).

1653, Wallis and 1668, Wilkins have no allusion to (ɹ).

If it was then heard it was possibly considered to be an erroneous utterance not worth naming.

1685. COOPER says: "Verba Anglicana & latina derivativa quæ in origine scribuntur cum *er* scribimus item *er*, pronunciamus autem *ar* (ɔr), non quia sic proferri debet, sed quia propter literæ *r* vibrationem vix aliter efferri potest; ut *adder* coluber, *prefer* præfero, *slender* tenuis."

Here the mention of the vibration excludes (ɹ) and insists on (ɔr) or ('r). Cooper proceeds to give lists of such words with final (ɔr) spelled *-ar*, *-er*, *-ir*, *-or*, and even *-ure*, shewing that he pronounced *-ture* as (-tɔr) in *adventure*, *juncture*, *lecture*, *nature*, *pasture*, *picture*, *rapture*, *scripture*, etc., which are vulgarisms at present under the form (-tɹ), although in *figure*, *injure*, *measure* the (ɹ) is common (fig'ɹ, in'dzhɹ, mezh'ɹ). Cooper also says: "*r* sonatur post *o* in *apron* gremiale, *citron* citreum, *environ* circundo, *gridiron* craticula, *iron* ferrum, *saffron* crocus; quasi scriberentur *apurn*, &c," almost as at present.

1688. MIEGE also says of *r*, "en certains mots la voyelle qui la suit se prononce devant, comme en *here*, *sire*, *spire*, *hundred*, *apron*, *citron*, *saffron*, *iron*;"

but this can only point to (ɔr) or ('ɹ) after what Cooper has said. Jones identifies the sounds of *er*, *ur*, referring from the latter to the former, and making both co-extensive with the modern (ɹ), but he does not help us to determine the double power of *r*.

1640. BEN JONSON says: "R is the *Dogs* letter, and hurreth in the sound; the tongue striking the inner palate, with a trembling about the teeth. It is sounded firme in the beginning of the words, and more *liquid* in the middle, and ends: as in *rarer*. *viper*. and so in the Latine."

This seems to imply that a difference was made so early as the end of the XVI th and beginning of the XVII th century. The precise meaning of the vague terms *firm* and *more liquid* cannot of course be assigned. But probably *firm* meant more consonantal and *liquid* more vocal, so that something like the difference between (r) and (ɹ) is indicated. The reference to the Latin is of no value, as it was only to its English pronunciation.

WALKER, 150 years later, refers to this passage and says:

"The rough *r* is formed by jarring the tip of the tongue against the roof of the mouth near the fore teeth: the smooth *r* is a vibration of the lower part of the tongue, near the root, against the inward region of the palate near the entrance of the throat. This latter *r* is that which marks the pronunciation of England, and the former that of Ireland."

But he does not proceed to point out where the rough and smooth *r* were pronounced, and his description of the smooth *r* better agrees with a gently pronounced (*r*) or (grh), the uvula trill, than with (ɹ). The theory of a vibration of the back or lower part of the tongue is untenable; that part of the tongue is too firm to vibrate in the manner conceived. And in England we do not perceptibly vibrate the uvula.

SMART, who has entered into the consideration of (ɹ) more than any preceding writer, calls (ɹ) a "guttural vowel sound." He says of (r) that "it is formed by a *strong* trill of the tongue against the upper gum," to which it may be objected, first, that the trill is *gentle* in English, and, secondly, that the tongue vibrates freely, near, but not striking the upper gum. For (ɹ) he says, "there is no trill, but the tongue being curled back during the progress of the vowel preceding it, the sound becomes guttural, while a slight vibration of the back part of the tongue is perceptible in the sound." Now I do not find the tongue to be "curled back," although it passes from the preceding vowel to the (ɹ) position, and I find no vibration of the back of the tongue, though vibration of the velum may occasionally be felt, and some persons may more or less vibrate the uvula.

On account of the resemblance of (ɹ) to (ə), a sound to which all unaccented vowels approximate in the mouths of of many southern speakers, and also because when (ɹ) is followed by a vowel, it is usual to interpose (r) thus (Heeɹ·r*i*, Hiiɹ·r*i*q), *hairy*, *hearing*, illiterate speakers—those who either do not know how to spell, or ignore the rules of spelling in their speech—usually interpose an (r) between any back vowel, as (a, A, ə) and a subsequent vowel, thus (drAA·r*i*q, lAAr ə-dhə-lænd, w*i*ndər ə dh*i* ,æus) for (drAA·*i*q, lAA ov dhe lænd, w*i*n·d*o* ov dhe Həus) *drawing*, *law of the land*, *window of the house*. From this habit, a very singular conclusion has been commonly drawn by a great many people, namely, that such persons habitually say (drAAr, lAAr, w*i*n·dər) when *not* before a vowel,—a feat which they are mostly incapable of performing. They will indeed rhyme *window*, *cinder*, not because they say (w*i*n·dər s*i*n·dər) as generally assumed, with the trilled (r), but because they say (w*i*ndə s*i*ndə) or (w*i*n·dɹ s*i*n·dɹ), omitting to trill the r in both cases.

Another point on which Smart insists is the distinction between *serf*, *surf*, which Mr. M. Bell writes (sɔɔɹf, sɜɹf), and I write either (sɹf, sɹf) by preference, or (seɹf, səɹf), or else, sinking the distinction, as is far the commonest practice, write (sɹf) for both words. A distinction of course can be made,

and without much difficulty, by those who think of it, and is made by those who have formed a habit of doing so; but the distinction is so rarely made as to amount almost to pedantry when carefully carried out, like so many other distinctions insisted on by orthoepists, but ignored by speakers whose heart is in the thought they wish to convey, not in the vehicle they are using. Smart, notwithstanding the pains he has bestowed on this subject, finds that the words *payer, player, slayer,* which are dissyllables = (pee',ɹ plee',ɹ, slee',ɹ), rhyme perfectly with *care, fair, hair, share,* which are monosyllables = (keeɹ, feeɹ, heeɹ, sheeɹ) with a different vowel.

The action of the ('l) in altering the preceding (a) into (au) and thence into (ʌʌ) has already been noticed. It is always the tendency of two sounds combined in rapid succession, to generate some alterations in one or both, or to fuse themselves into some new sound (p. 52). This is very marked with (ɹ). It is now not customary to pronounce (*ee*) or (*oo*) before (ɹ). Such words as (meeɹ, mooɹ) have a very peculiar effect, either antiquated or illiterate, and are replaced by (meeɹ, mooɹ) *mare, more.* Mr. M. Bell considers that (uu) is in like manner altered to (*uu*). This is certainly often the case, but (puuɹ) for (p*uu*ɹ) has no singularity in it. We certainly do not change (ii) into (*ii*) and say (*ii*ɹ) for (iiɹ) *ear.*[1] It is probably this action of the (ɹ) which has preserved the sound of (a) so that *art, part* are not (æɹt, pæɹt) but (aɹt, paɹt) or (aaɹt, paaɹt) or simply (aat, paat). Indeed, in ordinary spelling, many writers now habitually use *ar* to indicate the sound (aa), in the same way as they use *or* to represent (ʌʌ); (p. 197). At the same time (ær, æær) were certainly prevalent in the XVII th century, and are fossilized in America.

How far all these effects are modern, or how far they were heard even in Ben Jonson's time, I have been quite unable to determine. But as (r) may still be said, and is still used by Irishmen and Scotchmen (implying an older form of English) and, carefully inserting (') or (ə), is even now used by many Englishmen without giving offence to the ear (ii'r, iiər), it is certainly safer to assume that there was formerly only one sound of (r), but that a murmur (') was generally inserted before it when following a vowel. In my transcriptions, however, I have been obliged to omit this theoretical (') for which I have no proper authority.

[1] But observe the Norwich street cry, p. 138, note, col. 1.

P,B. T,D. C,K,Q. G. CH. J.

The pronunciation of P,B does not seem to have varied in any respect.

T,D have now a tendency, ignored by most orthoepists, under particular circumstances to pass into (tsh, dzh); thus *nature, verdure* are, perhaps most frequently, pronounced (nee·tshɹ, vɜ·dzhɹ), the last word being in that case identified with *verger*. This alteration takes place generally through the action of a palatal sound, originally (yy), then (iu, ɹu) so that the transition was (-tyyr, -tiur, -tɹuɹ, -tjɹ, -tshɹ). I have not found traces of the change however, but the pronunciation (nee·tɹ) or its equivalent given by Jones seems to shew an effort to avoid it by omitting the palatal element (ɹ). In the XVIII th century Sheridan carried this still further and allowed for such pronunciations as (tshuut·ɔɹ) for *tutor*. The palatals (i, ɹ) have always had a great effect upon preceding consonants of the dental and guttural class, as they tend to materially alter the position of the tongue, in order to facilitate the transition to a following vowel. The languages derived from the Latin are full of instances. It is a fashion in modern English to resist, or to believe that we resist, this tendency in the especial case of *-ture* and *-dure*, but we have given into it completely in *-tion*, where the *t*, hesitating in classical times between *c* and *t*, underwent a change which gave (-sioɹ) in French, whence in English, first (-siun) and then (-shən),—never, except in orthoepical fancies, (-shɔn),—and in Italian produced (-tsiuuh·ne). A similar change is recognized in *-cious, -cial*. And it is in vain to protest against *-ture, -dure* becoming (-tshɹ, -dzhɹ), at a time when even (-tjuɹ, -djuɹ), though far less pedantic than (-tiuɹ, -diuɹ), have a singularly orthoepistic effect.

C, G also underwent a similar change, not from the action of an (i) sound, but paradoxically, as it might appear, through the action of a following (a) sound. The letter *k* is not much used as an initial in English and hence the observation refers in spelling to *c* but in sound to (k). It would be interesting to know when the English began to introduce an (i) sound between (k, g) and an (a) sound. There is no trace of it in orthoepists, but there are traces of it in a very early stage of our language, in the Anglosaxon orthography, and there are traces of final (k, g), especially after (l, n, r) having been also palatalized to (*k, g*). The word *church*, now (tshɹtsh), but previously (tshirtsh) if we may trust Salesbury's Welsh tran-

scription *tsiurts*, is an excellent example. The Anglosaxon forms are *circ*, *ciric*, *cyric*, *circe*, *cyricea*, the Greek being *κυριακὸν*, which in the present Greek pronunciation, prevalent certainly in all its main points when the word was transplanted into Anglosaxon, is called (kiriakon·), and the word (kirik) or (kirk) probably arose [1] from omitting one or two of the intermediate vowels. Ormin's *kirrke* = (kirk·e) and the Scotch *kirk* (kerk, ke.rk), shew the unpalatalized form. That the initial consonant should have yielded to the following (i) was to be expected, and although in modern high German we have *kirche* (kir*k*h·e), the old high German often shewed an initial *ch* = (kh) or perhaps (*k*h), a palatal, although it possibly meant the upper German initial (kH). The final *k* in this word is palatalised in modern German, for it is (*k*h) and not (kh), and it is to be remarked that the Germans *always* use (*k*h) and not (kh) after (l n r) shewing the tendency of Germanic languages to this palatalisation. The transitional form between (kirk) and (tshirtsh) was (*kirk*). From (*k*) to (tsh) seems a great stride. Yet there is no doubt that the passage was accomplished in Italian, where every (tsh) results from a palatal (*k*), and every (sh) from a palatal (s*k*) precisely as in English. In modern Greek *καὶ*, properly (ke), becomes (*k*e, *k*i, tshi) in various dialectic pronunciations. In Sanscrit also there can be no doubt that the palatal series च छ ज झ ञ were originally (*k* *k*H *g* *g*H *q*) although they are said to be now (tsh tshH dzh dzhH nj).[2] This is not the only change of the palatised (*k*). The older French seem to have generally palatalized the Latin *c* before *a*, as (*k*amp) from *campus*, whence afterwards (shamp, shaA), (p. 53). But the change was often first into (s), whence (sh) became evolved by a further action of an (i) sound, so *oceanus*, *océan*, *ocean* (o*k*e·anus, os*c*aA, *oo*·shun).

In pronouncing (J) the middle of the tongue is arched up against the palate; while for (k) the back, and for (t) the tip of the tongue only come in contact with the palate. When then (kJ) or (tJ) come together rapidly, the first change is to produce (kj) and (tj). By (kj) is meant precisely the same as (*k*). The latter is generally the more convenient notation, but the former seems more suitable for the present discussion. For (kj) there is an attempt to pro-

[1] There is a possibility that *circ* is not of Greek origin, see Graff. iv, 481, Dieffenbach's Goth. Wört. ii, 450. This however will not affect the derivatives of the Anglosaxon.

[2] It is very possible that (*q*) may remain; few Englishmen would detect the difference between (nj) and (*q*) that is (qj), and some mispronounce the French *gn* as (*q*). The sound (nj) belongs to a series (tj tjH dj djH nj), not developed in Sanscrit.

nounce (k) and (ɟ) simultaneously. Hence the back of the tongue still remaining in contact with the palate, the middle of the tongue is also raised, so that both back and middle lie against the palate. This is rather a constrained position, and consequently the back of the tongue readily drops. The result is the exact position for (tj) which, originating in an attempt to sound (t) and (ɟ) simultaneously, brought the tip and middle of the tongue to the palate, and this being almost an impossible position dropped the tip. The two consonants (kj, tj) are therefore ready to interchange. The passage from (tj) to (tsh) is very short and swift, so much so that many writers, as Wallis, have considered (tsh) to be really (tɟ).[1] But the organs of different speakers have different tendencies, and in some (s) or (sh) are more readily evolved than (tsh) from (tj). It must be remembered that when the sound is thus spoken of as changing, it is not meant that it changes in the mouth of a single man from perfect (k) to perfect (tsh). Quite the contrary. It probably required many generations to complete the change, and the transitional forms were possibly in use by intermediate generations. From these must be excluded all intentional, that is, artificial inorganic changes, such as those induced by modern orthoepists. The (s, sh, tsh) were all imperfect attempts at imitating (tj), a sound which is said to have remained stable in the Hungarian language where it is written *ty*, while its congener (dj) is written *gy*, *Magyar* being called (M*a*dj'*ar*).

The reason why (k) should have been palatalized to (kj) after (l,n,r) is not so clear, but the example of the modern high German *milch*, *manch*, *durch* (milk*h*, man*k*h, dur*k*h) shews that the tendency is a reality not an hypothesis, and enables us to understand *milch* as well as *milk* ags. *milc*, *meolc*; *bench* as well as *bank*, ags. *banc*; *drench* ags. *drencan* as well as *drink* ags. *drincan*, *stark* and *starch* ags. *stearc*, *mark* and *march* a border, ags. *mearc*. Chaucer interchanges *werk*, *werch*, etc., to suit his rhyme. It would seem therefore that about this time there was a great tendency in the two sounds to fall into one another. The close connection also of the sounds of (k, tsh) naturally suggested the related signs *c*, *ch*, a notation early adopted. And as (sk) became

[1] Wallis says: "Anglorum *ch* vel *tch* sonat *ty* ... Si voci Anglicanae *yew* taxus sigillatim præponantur *d*, *t*, *s*, *z* fiunt *dyew*, *tyew*, *syew*, *zyew*, hoc est, Anglorum *Jew* Judæus, *chew* masticо, *shew* ostendo, et Gallorum *jeu* lusus. Qui syllabis *yan*, *yer* præposuerit *s*, *z* formabit Gallorum *changer*, hoc est, *syan-zyer*, at si præposuerit *t*, *d* formabit Anglorum *changer*, hoc est, *tyan-dyer*." There is no doubt of the readiness with which the first sounds generate the second, but the two are quite distinct, and a very little practice enables any one to distinguish them.

(skj, stj, sh), the earliest sign for the new sound was *sch*. This has been adopted in German where *ch* by itself has a different meaning. See also Chap. V, § 4, No. 1.

But the phenomenon which suggested these remarks, namely, the palatalisation of (k) before an (a) sound, is different. Generally the consonant follows the tendency of the vowel. A German is so imbued with the tendency of *ch* to become (kh, kjh, k*ch*) according to the preceding vowel, so used to say (akh, ikjh, auk*ch*), that his organs would find (akjh, ikh) an impossibility. But different speakers seem to have been affected with the very opposite tendency; some striving to render the consonant thinner, or more palatal, by inserting an (i) effect, between it and a following (a) sound; others avoiding the palatalisation of a consonant before an (i) sound by the introduction of an (u) sound. The first would convert (ka) into (kia), whence (kɹa, kja), the common Italian *schiacciato* (skjattshaa·to) effect; the second change (ki, ke) into (k*ui*, k*ue*) or (kwi, kwe). These tendencies are carried far beyond these limits in the Sclavonic palatalisation and the French labialisation of consonants. They are not widely developed in our own language, and, being inorganic, may prevail only partially both in time and place. In modern Italian both *chi* and *cui* (ki, cuui) occur, the French *qui* though written with the mark of thickening or labialisation, is palatalised into (kji) and similarly in all words where q*u* precedes a (i, e) sound in French.

As respects the particular usage, (*k*aɹt, *k*ɔind, s*k*aɹ·let, s*k*əi; *g*aɹd, *g*əid) for *cart, kind, scarlet, sky; guard, guide*, it is now antiquated in English. But in Walker's time it was so much the custom that he found it "impossible" to pronounce *garrison* and *carriage* with the pure (g, k), without any inserted (i) sound. I have however not been able to find any allusion to this practice in the older writers. The custom is now dying rapidly out. But we find the same tendency in other languages. Thus in Modern Greek, I have been told, that χ is always (*k*h) even before *ω, a*, and it seems that the Sanscrit ष्ण had the same sound.

What has been said of *k* applies directly to *g*, substituting sonants for mutes, and as (*k*) produced (tsh), so did (*g*) produce (dzh). The Anglosaxon *g* has however usually remained (g), and even in several cases, as *edge, bridge* in which the change to (dzh) has been made, the (g) is found as a dialectic form. The alteration of the Anglosaxon *g* has generally taken other directions, which will be considered under *gh*.

CH and J, G are also (tsh, dzh) when corresponding to the present French sounds (sh, zh). Palsgrave admits that French *ch* is English (sh), but he makes the French and English *j* identical. It is not easy to determine whether in very old French *ch*, *j* were read (tsh, dzh) or (sh, zh). Hart makes eight pairs of consonants (b p, v f, g k, dzh tsh, d t, dh th, z s) and two breaths (sh H'). The letters here transcribed (dzh, tsh), he identifies with Italian (gi, ci) and the last with the "High Dutch" *tsch*, by which their sounds are determined. Then he says, translating his phonetic orthography,

"The French do use the *j* consonant in a sound which we use not in our speech, whereof this (sh) serveth for the sister thereof, with us, as *ch* doth with them, having no inward sound, and are both framed with keeping of the tongue from the palate and bringing the teeth together, or the one or other lip to his counter teeth, and thrusting the breath through them with the inward sound for the French *j* consonant; which if we had in use, should make us the eighth pair. For want whereof the (sh) doth remain to us, a breath without fellow, which the other seven pairs have. But for want of that sound, we have four others which the French never use, to wit of (dzh, tsh) and (dh, th) which are very hard for any natural French to pronounce: other than such as are brought up amongst us somwhat in youth." And again in the theoretical part of his work, after an elaborate description of (sh) he adds: "For the felowe of which sh, the French do sounde their g, before e, and i, and the i. consonant before a, o, and u, and sometimes before e, and doe neuer sound perfitely our sounds beforesaid for (dzh) & (tsh), in all their speach."

Hence the French *j* is fixed as the voiced form of (sh), that is (zh), as Hart heard it in 1569. Yet Palsgrave, whose ear was unfortunately by no means delicate, confused (zh) with (dzh). The Welsh have no (sh, zh, tsh, dzh), and are forced to transcribe the two first by *si* and the two last by *tsi*, while they sometimes use *si* for all four. Thus Salesbury transcribes Jesu, John, joynt by *tsiesuw*, *tsion*, *tsioynt*, and makes a Jack ape into a (siak ab) in his dictionary. He admits that the Welsh *tsi* is as like the English (tsh) "as brass is to gold," and says of the English "ch, g and i" (tsh, dzh), that there is "the same likeness between these three English letters as exists between pewter and silver, that at first sight they appear very like each other, but on close examination they differ."

The letters *ch* when transcribing the Greek χ are called (k), and in the word *ache* which the Promptorium also writes *ake*, *ch* has generally the sound of (k). But Hart says: "We abuse thē name of h, calling it ache, which sounde

serueth very well to expresse an headache or some bone ache," so that as the name of the letter could only have been (aatsh), the words imply that *ache* was also so pronounced. Bullokar also notes it as (aatsh), and thus, by the very same collocation *bone ache*, is confirmed a fancy of John Kemble's, in pronouncing the line (Tempest, act i., sc. 2, v. 370):

Fill all thy bones with Aches, make thee rore.

It is true Kemble said (*ee*tsh·ez), and therefore erred in the vowel, though right in the consonant; and the feeling of the O. P. rioters in placarding, "Silence! Mr. Kemble's head *aitshes*," was in so far correct, that it was absurd to retain a single antique pronunciation in the midst of his modern sounds.

The initial *k* according to all the authorities was still heard in the XVIth century before *n*, as (knoou, knot, knuk·l) and hence probably initial *gn* was (gn), as both are used in present German *knochen*, *gnade* (knokh·*e*n, gn*aa*·d*e*), but I have not met with an instance of *gn*. Jones makes initial *gn* always (n), but says that initial *kn* "may be sounded *kn*," which was therefore unusual at that time. Wallis however fifty years before allowed (kn*o*u, knyy) *know*, *knew*, and Cooper, strangely enough says: "*Kn* sonatur ut *hn*; *knave* nebulo .... quasi *hnave* &c.," meaning (nh), but perhaps really simple (n), the aspiration being a theoretical difference to distinguish initial *kn* from simple *n*.

Labialised *l* or (l*w*) has already been shewn to have existed in our language, (p. 193,) but it has died out. Labialised *k* or (k*w*), the lips being opened simultaneously with the release of the *k* contact and not after it, is an ancient element of our own and probably of many other languages. In Anglosaxon it is written *cw*, in Latin *qu*, which is the form adopted in English. It is needless to say that no orthoepist has distinguished (kw, k*w*). *Gu* properly bears the same relation to *g* as *qu* to *k*, but as the form of the *g* remained unchanged, little attention was paid to it. It does not exist as part of the Saxon element of our language. Initially it is generally used superfluously for *g*. Occasionally it has the sound (g*w*) as in *language*, itself a modern form, *anguish*, *distinguish*, &c. Usage, however, varies, some saying (læq·g*w*ydzh, æq·g*w*ish) and others (læq·w*y*dzh, æq·w*i*sh). The Italian *quale*, *guanto* are apparently (k*w*uaa·le, g*w*uan·to). The final *-gue* for *-g* as in *tongue*, *plague* is quite a modernism. *Ague*, also spelled *agwe* in the Promptorium, was probably (aa·gyy) or (aa·guu) from *aiguë*, and hence does not belong to this category.

As we have (kj gj, k*w* g*w*), so also to our unacknowledged

(tj dj) correspond an equally unacknowledged (*tw dw*,) which, written *tw dw* as in *between, twain, twang, twist, twelve, twirl; dwindle, dwell, dwarf*, have been generally considered as (tw, dw), but many of those who have thought on phonetics have been more perplexed to decide whether *w* was here really a vowel (u) or a consonant (w), than in the corresponding words *wean, wain, wist, well, war*. The difficulty is resolved by observing that the opening of the lips is really simultaneous with the release of the (t, d) contact.

The termination *-age* is represented as having the sound (-aidzh) in Salesbury, in *domage, heritage, language*, all French words, and this agrees with Palsgrave, suprà, p. 120, note. Smith, Bullokar, Gill, and Butler, however, do not recognize this tendency in English, although Butler notes the similar change of (a) to (ai) before *-nge* (-ndzh), and both are confirmed by the modern sounds (-*y*dzh, -*ee*ndzh), of which the first is a degeneration of (-edzh, -*ee*dzh).

GH

The Anglosaxon alphabet having no especial letter to represent the guttural (kh), the single letter *h* was used, as in old High German the double letter *hh* was employed. As *g* often interchanges with *h* in Anglosaxon, as *lagu, lah*, law, it is possible that there was a tendency in those times to pronounce *g* final or medial as (gh), just as the Upper Germans now do, and as the Dutch pronounce their *g* in all positions. At a later period the Anglosaxon *g* seems to have become (*y*h) and then (ɹ), sounds even now confused by German phoneticians. Hence ȝ, which was also written ʒ, and occasionally printed *z*, became the regular sign for (ɹ) till it was supplanted by *y*. When, therefore, it was desirable to shew that *g* retained the sound of *h*, that is, (kh), it was natural to write *gh* in its place. In the Orrmulum we have all varieties; *fatlahht þohhtesst, mihhte* are instances of *h*, doubled merely to shew that the preceding vowel is short; *maȝȝ, eȝȝchar, aȝȝ, twiȝȝess* illustrate the use of ȝ, doubtful whether (*g*h) or (ɹ), while *reȝhell-boc, follȝhenn* shew the use of ȝ*h*. As in Dutch the *g* often sounds (kh) as well as (gh),[1] and as the Scotch adopted the orthography *ch*, it seems probable that (gh) early ac-

[1] Recent opportunities of hearing Dutch pronunciation have convinced me that the Dutch *ch*, *g* are rather (krh, grh) than simple (kh, gh). But the sounds are so lightly and gently pronounced that they rather resemble (*r*h, *r*) than (krh, grh), thus *schip* = (*s*r*h*e*p*) rather than (skrhe*p*, skhe*p*). The Dutch themselves consider the sound very soft. The Dutch final and medial *sch* is pronounced as simple *s*, thus *vleesch* (vlees), a modern example of an omitted guttural.

quired the sound of (kh) only. But it is by no means certain. The two sounds (kh, gh) are so easily confused by those not familiar with them, and may so readily interchange owing to the nature of the adjoining consonant, and so few languages have provided for their discrimination, that we cannot be certain of their not having both existed even though only one is named. It is the same with (sh, zh), the latter of which is scarcely ever noticed, so that it is not easy to say when it first came into use. Even (s, z) are constantly confused. They both exist in Italian, and have only one sign *s*. But only *one* of them (s) exists in Spanish and Welsh, having the same sign *s*. Hence it is impossible to tell from the orthography *gh* whether it represented only (kh), only (gh), or occasionally (kh) and (gh), nor would it be certain if a Welsh writer, for example, who only knew (kh) and was not acquainted with (gh), asserted that the English *gh* was (kh). Now Salesbury says: "*Gh* has the same sound as our *ch* (kh), except that we sound *ch* deeper in the throat and more harshly." The two expressions "deeper" and "more harshly" might be applied in Salesbury's popular language in two ways. For example, (kh) is deeper than (*k*h) and harsher. And (kh) being called 'hard' in contrast to (gh) 'soft,' (kh) might be esteemed harsher than (gh); or the reverse, when (kh) is a familiar and (gh) a strange sound. But certainly (kh) would be felt to be much deeper and harsher than (*g*h). There is another supposition, namely, that *gh* was merely (ʜ'), the simple jerk of the aspirated breath. In most cases (ʜ, ʜ') are confused, and the aspirate is considered to be (ʜ'). In my own opinion (ʜ') is much less frequent than (ʜ), but (ʜ') is occasionally said when only (ʜ) is intended. Sir T. Smith writes *h* for either sound, and this is the general custom of orthoepists. He also represents *gh* by *h* only, saying:

"Scio *tauht*, *niht*, *fiht* & cætera ejusmodi scribi etiam *g* adjuncta, vt *taught*, *night*, *fight*, sed sonum illius *g* quærant, quibus ita libet scribere, aures profecto meæ nunquam in illis vocibus sonitum τοῦ *g* poterant haurire."

This ought to imply that the sound was (ʜ') and that (tauʜ't, niʜ't, fiʜ't) was at that time the pronunciation of *taught*, *night*, *fight*. Hart at the same time writes *lauht*, *oht* = (lauʜ't, oʜ't) for *laught*, *ought*. Bullokar has also (*liht*, *bouht* = (liʜ'tbooʊʜ't). But then Gill finds it necessary to introduce a new sign, namely, *h* with its stem crossed like a *t*, to represent the sound of *gh* in *bought*, and says:

"X. ch. Græcorum in initio nunquam vsurpamus, in medio, et

fine sæpe; et per *gh*, male exprimimus: posthac sic (kh)[1] scribemus: vt in (waikht enukh) WEIGHT ENOUGH satis ponderis."

Now those who do not possess a symbol for (kh) often write *h* for it, as we have seen in Anglosaxon finals, and as Rapp considers to have been the case in the Anglosaxon initial *hl, hr, hw,* which I rather suppose to have been (lh, rh, wh). The sound of (khw) is very harsh, and in Scotland and North Wales it is modified into (k*u*h), corresponding to the English and South Welsh (wh). Those who wish to acquire the sound of (akh) may be led to it by endeavouring to say (aH'), and at the same time slightly raising the back of the tongue. Hence it is possible that Salesbury's *ch,* (which is not so "deep" and "harsh" as the Welsh *ch,*) Smith's, Hart's, Bullokar's *h,* and Gill's χ, may be all one and the same sound, either (H') or (kh). But it is certain that when Gill wrote, the sound (kh) was disappearing in the south of England, for Butler, who uses a *g* with a crossed stem, to represent *gh,* says that "the Northern Dialect doth yet rightly sound" it, implying of course that it had gone out in the South by 1633.

The safest conclusion seems to be that the sound in the XVI th century was really (kh), but was generally pronounced very lightly;[2] it might, however, have been (*k*h) after (i,e). This is still the custom in Scotland.

By the middle of the XVII th century the rule had become to omit the sound, after changing the preceding vowel, or to change it into some other sibilant, generally (f), in one or two cases provincially (th). WALLIS, 1653, after noticing that initial *gh* is simply (g), adds:

"alias vero nunc dierum prorsus omittitur; syllabam tamen producendam innuit. A quibusdam tamen (præsertim Septentrionalibus) per molliorem saltem aspirationem *h* effertur, ut *might* potestas, *light* lux, *night* nox, *right* rectus, *sight* visus, *sigh* singultus, *weigh* pondero, *weight* pondus, *though* quamvis, *thought* cogitatio, *wrought* operatus est, *brought* attulit, *taught* docuit, *sought* quæsivit, *fraught* refertus, *nought* nihil, *naught* malus, &c. In paucis vocabulis effertur plerumque per *ff;* nempe *cough* tussis,

[1] Gill misprints δ, which he uses for (dh) and in his errata endeavouring to correct this mistake and also (inukh) for (enukh), he has accidentally repeated the error instead of making the correction, as has been done here in the text.

[2] The Pedant in Love's Labour Lost, Act v. Sc. 1. 1623 comedies p. 136 complains of the pronunciation "neighbour *vocatur* nebour; neigh abreuiated ne." This seems to shew that both (neekh) and (nee) were heard in the first syllable of this word, and would imply that (neekh) was rather pedantic. Indeed if it were to be classed with the other pronunciations which the pedant recommends, as (doubt, debt, kalf, nalf) it might be considered as obsolete.

trough alveolus, *tough* tenax, *rough* asper, *laugh* rideo proferuntur, *cōff, trōff, tuff, ruff, laff. Inough* (singulare) sat multum, sonatur *inuff;* at *inough* (plurale) sat multa, sonatur *enow.*"

WILKINS, 1668, after saying that *gh* might have been (gh) adds: "this kind of sound is now by disuse lost among us." PRICE, however, in the same year, says: "Gh sounds now like *h* in *Almighty, although,*" etc., adding in the margin "but the Ancients did, as the Welch & Scots do still pronounce *gh* thorow the throat." He notes that *gh* sounds as (f) in *cough, laughter, enough, rough.* COOPER, 1685, says: "hodiè apud nos desuevit pronunciatio *gh,* retinetur tamen in scripturâ," but he makes it (f) in *cough, laugh, rough, tough, trough,* and makes Wallis's distinction between *enough* and *enow.* MIEGE, 1688, says also that *gh* is generally mute, but is (f) in *laugh, draught, rough, tough, enough* (not distinguishing *enow,*) but adds "*sigh,* un Soupir, et le Verbe *to Sigh* soupirer, ont un son particulier qui approche fort de celui du *th* en Anglois." JONES, 1701, extends both the (f) and the (th) list. According to him (f) is heard regularly in *draught, draughts, laugh, cough, enough, hough, rough, lough, trough;* and he adds "some also sound *daughter, bought, nought, taught,* &c., as with an f, saying *dafter, boft,* &c." And he states, that *gh, ght* are *th* "in *sigh,* sounded *sith;* in *drought, height* sounded *drouth, heith,*" but in other parts of his book he also admits the sounds (səi, draat, heet). In the XVIIIth century we may notice that Fielding in his Tom Jones, book vii, chap. 13, makes his landlady say *oft, thoft,* for *ought, thought,* and Mrs. Honour write *soft* for *sought,* book xv, chap. 10. These are meant to be West of England vulgarisms, but they sufficiently shew the tendency.

It would be vain to consider the changes thus indicated, without proceeding at once to the fountain head. In Anglo-saxon itself *g* became *h* before *t* very frequently, and was often omitted. Let us therefore consider the sound as sometimes (kh, gh) and sometimes (*k*h, *g*h). Let these sounds be kept as widely apart as possible. Then (gh) must be rounded, that is, there must be a rounding of the lips while the guttural is uttered, producing (k*w*h, g*w*h), thus German *auch, auge* are, as already mentioned, in reality (auk*w*h, aug*w*h·e), The Scotch *sough* is (suuk*w*h), and generally the (uu) sound before (kh) has a tendency to produce (k*w*h). This would then have a natural tendency towards (wh, w). On the other hand (kjh, gjh) are in themselves the closest allies of (ɔh, ɔ). Hence an effort to keep the two sounds of (gh, gjh) well apart would result in producing (w, ɔ), which, after

vowels, would diphthongise as (u, i), and after consonants would form the syllables (u, *i*). Now this is precisely what has happened in the passage from Anglosaxon into English.

First the (u) change. From *laga*, *lah* comes *law* (laau, lAA); from *dragan* comes *draw* (draau, drAA); from *boga* comes first *bough* (booukʍh) and then *bow* (boou) or (boukʍh, bou, bəu). From *halgian* comes *hallow* (hal·u, hal·oou, hæl·o) from *tælg* comes (tal·u, tal·oou, tæl·o). In *Edinburgh*, *Musselburgh*, etc., although *gh* is written, (*o*) is regularly sounded.

Next the (i) change. From *wægn* comes *wain* (wain, weein); from *fæger* comes *fair* (fair, feeɪ), from *régn* comes *rain* (rain, reein). From *bælg* come *bulge* (buldzh, bəldzh), *bellows* (bel·uz, bel·oouz), and *belly* (bel·*i*), shewing three changes of *g*.

If instead of falling to (u), the (kʍh), remained at (wh), this would after a vowel rapidly become (f). In Aberdeenshire (f) is the regular substitute for (wh) or rather the Scotch *quh*, which looks like an attempt to write (kʍh) under the form of (kwh). *Dwarf* from *dweorh* is an instructive example. The old English forms *dwerghe*, *durwe* and the dialectic *durgan* are found; a dialectic Swedish *dwerf*, and Dutch *dwarf*, *dorf* are said to exist (E. Mueller, Etym. Wört. d. Eng. Spr., i. 327). The Dutch *agter*, *kragt* and English *after*, *craft*, Anglosaxon *æfter*, *cræft*, are examples of the correspondence of (f) and (gh) in different forms of the same low German word. The chief English examples have been already cited, and it has been shewn that the change prevails dialectically much further than it has been admitted into the received forms of speech. Some words have even in English both forms, as *hough* (həf, hək), *trough* (trəf, troou), *slough* of a snake (slɔf), *slough* a quagmire (slɔu), *tough* (təf, toou), *enough* (enəf·, enəu·), the grammatical distinction made by Wallis and Cooper that the first is singular, *sat multum* and the second plural *sat multa*, although conformable to Scotch usage, does not seem to be historically justified.

The change of *gh* into (p) in *hiccough* (hik·əp) is mentioned by Jones 1701, and must be considered to be of the same nature as the change to (f), as (wh, w, p) are even more closely related than (wh, f). The curious but not admitted change to (th) seems to rest merely on the confusion of the (f, th) hisses.[1] When these are pronounced without any vowel it is very difficult to distinguish them at a little distance, as is well known to those who teach to spell by means of the powers of the letters.

[1] *Sigh*, which Jones and Miege give as (səith) is called (saif) in Devonshire.

When *gh* falls into (u) it naturally alters the preceding vowel, with which it diphthongises, hence (a) becomes (au, aau, AA). Similarly (o) should become (ou) and thence (əu), but in this case the tendency has been rather to (ɔu, ɔɔ, AA), as in *ought, bought*, etc. When *gh* falls into (i) we have alterations in the other direction, as (ai, *ei*, *ee*).

After the vowel (i), the (i) change of *gh*, which is the only natural one that could be expected, would simply prolong the (i), and hence, from *hih, niht* we might have (iii, iit), forms which really exist dialectically for *high, night;* and from the termination *-ig* we might expect (*-i*), the commonest form in present use.

We shall see in the next chapter that such were probably the original forms of transition. In Cumberland and Westmoreland *igh* is regularly replaced by (ii), and the change to (əi), which is constantly attributed to the omission of the guttural, seems to have no real connection with it, but forms part of the general change of long *i* from (*ii*) through (ei) to (əi), which will be minutely considered in Chap. IV, § 2, under I. If we are to trust Gill, the sound of (əi) and the guttural coexisted, as he always prints (nəikht) and neither (nikht), the pronunciation of Salesbury, nor (nəit) as became prevalent during the XVII th century.

With this *gh* proper must not be confounded *gh* written for *g*, in comparatively recent times, at the beginning of words. Jones tells us that the sound of *g* is written *gh* in *gherkin, ghess, gheus, ghittern, ghost*, where *ghess* is found in Spenser for *guess*.

S, C; Z. SH. X.

The use of *c* for (s) follows the same rules as at present, throughout the period under consideration. The letter *s* seems also to have been (s) or (z) under the same circumstances as at present, but as the sound of (z) does not exist in Welsh, Salesbury had no means of indicating it by Welsh letters, and he therefore writes *s* in all cases, although he names the *z* sound. Smith, Hart, and Gill all use *z*, but none of them are sufficiently careful. Still there can be no reasonable doubt that *s* was pronounced (z) under the same circumstances as it is at present. The letter *s* is now used for (sh), where the change has been generated by a subsequent (i) sound, and the same remark applies to *c, t*, as in *mission, pressure, special, motion;* and *s* passes in certain cases into (zh) under similar circumstances, as *vision, excision, measure.* There is no trace of this in the XVI th century. SALESBURY

has GRACYOUSE, *grasiws* (graa·si,us), CONDICYON, *condisywn* (kondis·iwn), EXHIBITION *ecsibisiwn* (eksibis·iun), PROHIBITION *proibisiwn* (proo,ibis·i,un), TRESURE *tresuwr* (trec·zyyr). BULLOKAR has (abrevias·ion, komposiz·ion, naa·sion, syy·or, syy·gar) for *abbreviation, composition, nation, suer, sugar.* And GILL writes (ekspektas·ion, habitaa·sion, naa·sion, okaa·zion, pas·ion) for *expectation, habitation, nation, occasion, passion.* In the XVII th century WALLIS generates (sh) from (sj), but WILKINS writes (resərreksion) for resurrection. PRICE, 1668, only recognizes "hard *s* in *passion*; soft *s* in *concision*, and *sh* in *cushion, fashion.*" COOPER, 1685, does not name the use of (sh) in such cases, but admits *shure, shugar*, which may have been, (shuur shəg·er), "facilitatis causâ," although he places such words immediately after his "vitanda barbara dialectus." MIEGE, 1688, writes *chûre, pennchoun* in French letters for *sure, pension*, states that in the termination *-ision*, *s* sounds as French *g* or *j* (zh) and writes *ûjual, traîngient, léjeur, ôjer, hôjer, crôjer* for *usual, transient, leisure, osier, hosier, crosier.* JONES, 1701, says: "Tho' you have the Sound of *sh* very often in the Beginning of the last Syllable of VVords, as in *action, nation*, &c. sounded, *acshon, nashon*, &c. yet is *sh* never written there in Words of two or more Syllables; except in *cushion, fashion, hogshead, lushious, Marshal.*" He admits that *s* is commonly sounded *sh* (sh) in *assume, assure, assurance, censure, consume, desume, ensue, ensure, fissure, issue, leisure, measure, pleasure, pressure, pursue, pursuer, pursuit, sue, suet, sugar, suit, sure, sute, tissue, treasure*, and says that *ocean* is "sounded *oshan.*" He does not recognize (zh), but says that *sh* is written *z* "in *azure*, sounded *ashure.*" The change was therefore fully established at the end of the XVII th century.

Though the orthoepists of the XVII th century were slow to recognize this change, and those of the XVIII th and XIX th even admit it rather grudgingly, while those of the XVI th do not seem to be even aware of such a "slovenly habit," yet we have at least two early traces of the degeneration of *suit* into *shoot*, in Shakspere and in Rowley, for a notice of which I am indebted to Mr. Aldis Wright. In Love's Labour Lost, Act iv. Sc. 1, written before 1598, the folio 1623, Comedies, p. 130,[1] there is apparently a play on *suitor* and

[1] "*Qu.* Who gaue thee this Letter?
Clo. I told you, my Lord.
Qu. To whom should'st thou giue it?
Clo. From my Lord to my Lady.
Qu. From which Lord, to which Lady?
Clo. From my Lord *Berowne*, a good master of mine.
To a Lady of *France*, that he called *Rosaline.*
Qu. Thou hast mistaken his letter.
Come Lords away.

shooter, *deer* and *dear*. The two latter words were pronounced alike by Smith. Were the two former really pronounced alike by Shakspere, as they were by Jones, 1701, and Buchanan, 1766, though Cooper, 1685, gives (*siut*) and Sheridan, 1780, (suut) for *suit?* Gill, 1621, only allows (syyt), Bullokar, 1580, has (syy·gar). Hart has (syy·er).[1] But some persons must have said (shuut), or such jokes would have been lost, and, whatever was the case in Shakspere,[2] we have this pun in Rowley's *Match in the Dark*, 1633, Act ii. Sc. 1:

Moll. Out upon him, what a *suiter* have I got. I am sorry you are so bad an Archer, sir.

Eare. Why Bird, why Bird?

Moll. Why to *shoote* at Buts, vvhen you shou'd use prick-shafts.

In the present day we have a joke of an Irish shopman telling his customer to *shoot* himself, meaning *suit* himself.

Here sweete, put vp this, 'twill be thine another day.
Exeunt.

Boy. Who is the shooter? Who is the shooter?

Rosa. Shall I teach you to know.

Boy. I my continent of beautie.

Rosa. Why she that beares the Bow. Finely put off.

Boy. My Lady goes to kill hornes.***

Rosa. Well then, I am the shooter.

Boy. And who is your Deare?"

In Boyet's first speech, Steevens, at the suggestion of Farmer, altered the *shooter* of all the quartos and folios, to *suitor*, which is the reading usually adopted. The preceding dialogue, which has been given for the purpose of comparison, seems at first sight to point to *suitor* as Boyet's meaning, which Rosaline perversely takes as *shooter*. But the connection is not evident. There is no allusion to *suitor*, but much to *shooter* in what follows. *Boyet* knew both the *suitor* (whether we take him as Biron or Armado), and the *shooter* (the Princess, apparently, who is represented as going to shoot a deer at the opening of the scene), but Rosaline's reply, and her remark that it is a "put off," look as if she was purposely misunderstanding him. In the absence of a tenable hypothesis for the introduction of the new word, *suitor*, we may suppose that Boyet, looking off after the shooting party which has just left, sees an arrow sped, and inquires of Rosaline who shot it, whereupon she puts him off with the truism that it was *she* (one of the Princess's company) who bore the bow.

[1] John Hart, in his first treatise, as cited in Chap. VIII, § 3, note 1, classes the three words "suer, shut, and bruer," as he spells them, together, and pronounces (syy·er, shyyt, bryy·er). The first may be *suer* or *sewer*, the last is, of course *brewer;* is the second *suit*, or *shoot* intended to be written *shute* (Scotch, *schute* = shoot), as Hart in that treatise constantly omits the final *c*? It is the only indication of such a change in the XVIth century, and the word *suer* renders it very doubtful. We can hardly suppose the word to have been *shut*. Stratman gives the old English forms for *shut*, schutten, schitte, schettin, shette; for *shoot*, sceoten, schetin, sheten, scheete, ssete, schete, seuten, soten, shoten, schoten. The original difference of the words is difficult to determine; Ettmüller does not give any ags. word *scyttan*, to shut, as different from *sceotan*, to shoot; E. Müller refers *shut* to *shoot* from shooting the bolt of the door.

[2] Steevens quotes an equivoque of *suters* and *shooters*, miscalled *archers* by a servant, from "The Puritan, 1607," and Malone a similar play upon *archers* and *suitors* in "Essays and Characters of a Prison and Prisoners, by G. M., 1618," and also Antony and Cleopatra Act v. Sc. 2, where Pope reads "a grief that *shoots* My very heart at root," and Capell reads *smites* for the folio, 1623, *suites*.

The Irish pronunciation however only shews an English pronunciation of the XVII th century. In England at the present day, *shoot* for *suit* would be vulgar, but the joke would be readily understood, though few persons use, or have even heard, the pronunciation. Might not this have been the case in Shakspere's time? At any rate there is no authority for supposing that such a pronunciation could have been used seriously by Shakspere himself.[1] But the sound

[1] Mr. Aldis Wright seems to suppose that the compositors might have had that pronunciation, and that it therefore might have crept into the text. In Lear, Act ii. Sc. 2, the word *three-suited* of the fo. 1623, is spelled *three shewted* in all the quartos but one, where it is *three snyted*, an evident misprint for *three suyted*. Now *shewted* would probably have been written for (shyyted), and may indicate the transitional pronunciation; on the other hand it may be itself a mere misprint for *sewted*, which would be a legitimate orthography for *suited*. This hypothesis is questioned by Mr. Aldis Wright, who says: "in books printed in the time of Shakespeare and Bacon variations occur in different copies of the same edition. I have never seen two copies of the 1625 edition of Bacon's Essays which were exactly alike. A list of the variations is given at the end of my edition. Now there are six copies of the quarto of King Lear printed in 1608, which we [Mr. W. G. Clark and himself, editors of the Cambridge Shakespeare] have in our notes erroneously (as we confess in the Preface) called Q_2, whereas we are now convinced that this edition was earlier than the one in the same year which we have called Q. These copies of Q_2 (so called) differ from each other in having some of them been corrected while passing through the press. The earliest of these which we have met with is one of the two copies in the Bodleian, and we call it for distinction sake Q_2 (Bodl. 1). This has the reading *three snyted:* but *all* the other copies of the *same* edition read *three shewted*. I suppose therefore that while the edition was in course of printing the error was discovered, and the correction communicated verbally to the compositor, who inserted it according to his own notions of spelling. It is not a question between the readings of two *different* editions, but between an uncorrected copy and a corrected copy of the *same* edition. The later quartos follow the corrected copy but their testimony is of no value, because their reading is merely a reprint." Hurried corrections, whether of print or manuscript, frequently introduce additional errors, and hence there is no guarantee in this curious history that the compositor who substituted *shewted* for *snyted*, did not himself put *shewted* when he meant to have inserted *sewted*. More instances are certainly required to decide the point. The Scotch wrote *schute* for *shoot*. Palsgrave writes *sute* for *suit*. In Henry V., Act iii. sc. 6, fol. 1623, p. 81, we find "what a beard of the Generalls Cut, and a horride Sute of the Campe, will doe among foming Bottles and Ale-washt Wits, is wonderfull to be thought on." In the Chronicle History of Henry the Fifth, printed in the fourth vol. of the Cambridge edition *shout* stands for *sute*. If we take Bullokar's old pronunciation, *shout* would be (shuut). Mr. Aldis Wright observes that this was "an instance of a play apparently taken down at the time of acting, and whether *shout* or *suit* be the true reading, one of them could not have been substituted for the other unless the pronunciation was something similar," and he thinks that these instances lead to the conclusion that the pronunciation (shuut) "was in existence at the beginning" of the XVII th century. The jokes upon *shooter* and *suitor* certainly establish that a sufficiently similar pronunciation of the words was in existence to make the joke appreciable. The various spellings, I fear, prove nothing, because, considering the frequency of the word—*suit* occurs 163 times, *suitable* once, *suited* 7, *suiting* 1, *suitor* 38 times in Mrs. Cowden Clarke's Concordance, —the rare variations can only pass for

may well have existed unrecognized, precisely as the sound of (sh) is supposed to be unknown in Welsh, although *ceisio* is now generally called (kəi'sho), and not (kəi'sio). Similarly in Dutch (sh) has been developed from (si-, (sj-) in several words, but it is not orthoepistically acknowledged. In the XVIII th century there was a decided tendency towards (sh). Thus *sue, suet, sugar, suicide, suit, suitable, suitor, sure, suture,* all commence with (sh) in Buchanan, *sue, suit, suitable, suitor,* have (s) in Sheridan, but the rest have (sh), which Sheridan also uses in *sudorific, sudorous, super-, superable, superb, superior, supernal, supine, supinity, supra-, supremacy, supreme, sural,* where Buchanan has (s).

The sound of (sh) was well known in the XVI th century. SALESBURY says:

"*Sh* when coming before a vowel is equivalent to this combination *ssi*, thus SHAPPE *ssiapp* (shapp), SHEPE *ssiip* (shiip). *Sh* coming after a vowel is pronounced *iss*, thus ASSHE *aiss* (ash, aish?), WASSHE *waiss* (wash, waish?). And wherever it is met with, it hisses like a roused serpent, not unlike the Hebrew letter called *schin*. And if you wish further information respecting this sound, you should listen to the hissing voice of shellfish when they begin to boil."

We learn from Hart, suprà p. 207, that (zh) was unknown in the XVI th century. Wilkins, 1668, says that (zh) is "facil and common .... amongst the French, who express it by *J*, as in the word *Jean*, &c., and is easily imitable by us," implying that it was not in use in England. But Miege, 1688, being a Frenchman, heard it, as we have seen, p. 215, in the words where we now use it. He is the only writer in the XVII th century who notices it, and, as he is a foreigner, his testimony is suspicious. Franklin, 1768, seems only to know it in French, as he has no special sign for it, and even in French writes (zshæme) for *jamais*. Just as Hart writes (ozdzhuurdwi) for *aujourd'hui*, for want of an appropriate sign, although he had recognized the sound. Sheridan, 1780, fully acknowledges it. It is always written (s) or (z), and arises in English from palatisation as (z*j). In French it seems to be a degeneration of (dzh) formed from a palatalised (g*j); or else to have arisen from (j)[1], pre-

misprints. The absence of any notice of such a practice in orthoepists of the XVI th century (if we except the very doubtful passage from Hart in the last note), together with the depreciating manner in which similar usages are mentioned in Cooper, shew that any such pronunciation was considered not worth mentioning.

[1] The Dutch at the Cape of Good Hope say (dzhaa, Dzhan) etc., for (jaa, Jan), *ja, Jan*. This is an alteration of precisely the same character, and is comparable with the Italian *Giugno, Giunone, Giuglio* (Dzhuu'njo, Dzhunuuh'ne, Dzhuu ljo) from the Latin *Junium, Junonem, Julium*.

cisely in the same way as (sh) derives in some parts of Germany, and still more frequently to English ears, from (*i*kh) as (ish) for (i*k*h).

X was usually (ks). Salesbury gives FLAXE *fflaes* (flaks), EXHIBITION *eesibisiun* (eksibis·i,un), OXE *oes* (oks), but, apparently by a misprint, AXE *ags* (agz).

F, V

F and *v* seem to have retained their sounds throughout, but in the earlier times *v* and *u* were interchangeable, and either could be used as a vowel or consonant. This was not the case in Welsh, where *u* was the vowel, and *v* the consonant. The consonant has been generally replaced by *f* in Welsh, *ff* being used for (f). Salesbury notices as a dialectic variety in "some countries of England" the use of (v) for (f), but he does not particularize the districts. Gill attributes it to East Anglia, "(v) pro (f), ut (vel·oou), pro (fel·oou)."

TH

The double sound of *th* as (th, dh) is fixed by Salesbury as the Welsh *th*, *dd*, and the two uses were distinguished almost exactly as at present; *with* seems however to have been always (with), though (widh) is now more common. Salesbury gives (th) to *through*, *thystle*, *thynne*, *wyth*, *thanke*, *thorowe*, *thyck*; and (dh) to *this*, *thyne*, *the*, *that*, *thou*. He also notices that *th* sounds (t) in *Thomas*, *threasure* and *throne*, which he writes *trwn* (truun); and (d) in *Thavies Inn*. Smith, Hart, Bullokar, Gill, Butler, have all different signs for (th, dh) and use them according to our present custom of speech. Jones makes *th* = (t) in *antheme*, or *anthymn*, *Anthony*, *apothecary*, *asthma*, *Author*, *authority*, *authorize*, *Catharine*, *Cantharides*, *Esther*, *Isthmus*, *Lithuania*, *posthumus*, *priesthood*, *Thames*, *Thannet*, *thea*, *Thomas*, *Thomson*, *Thomasin*, *Thuscany*, *thyme*.

It is difficult to determine when these uses were settled. The two Anglosaxon letters þ ð are usually taken to be (th, dh) but their employment is almost exactly opposite to modern use. In later Anglosaxon and Early English only one, either ð or, more usually, þ was employed, and even Orrmin makes no distinction. This might have been a peculiarity in writing names. It seems safest to infer the old use from the modern, which is found to hold for the XVI th century.

H

The question concerning *h* is simply when was it mute? for its sound, or rather its action on the following vowel was always the same as (ɪɪ) or (ɪɪ'). Palsgrave says *h* is mute in *honest, honour, habundaunce, habitation.* Gill does not agree in the last word, and the *h* has now disappeared, even in writing, from the last but one. Salesbury says *h* is mute in *honest, habitation, humble, habite, honeste, honoure, exhibition, prohibition.* Modern orthoepists will not admit the two last, though custom sanctions them, but *habite* and *habitation* have recovered their *h*, and humble is still doubtful. Gill adds the words *hour, hyssop,* which he writes (ɔi'zop). *Abhominable* was a common orthography in the XVI th century, and the *h* seems to have been occasionally pronounced or not pronounced, for the Pedant in Love's Labour Lost (1623, Comedies, p. 136) says: "neighbour *vocatur* nebour; neigh abreuiated ne; this is abhominable, which he would call abhominable."[1] It is usual to print the second abhominable without the *h* and the first with it, but it seems more proper to reverse this, and write "this is abominable, which he would call abhominable," for the Pedant ought certainly to have known that there was no *h* in the Latin, although in the Latin of that time *h* was used, as we see from the Promptorium, 1450, "*Abhominable,* abhominabilis, *abhominacyon* abhominacio," and Levins 1570, "*abhominate,* abhominari," as if the words referred to *ab-homine* instead of *ab-omine.*

In the XVII th century, Price 1668, says that *h* is mute in *ghost, rhetorick, catarrh, dunghill, host, hour, John, imposthume, myrrh, Rhene, rheum, rhode, Wadham.* Miege, a bad authority, because Frenchmen cannot rightly appreciate the English aspirate, having no such element of their own, declares that *hour, hourly* are the only two words in which *h* is mute, and especially instances *honour* as having an aspirated *h.*

1701. Jones says *h* "may be sounded in *halleluiah, harbergeon, habiliment, haver-du-pois,*" &c., but seems to imply that it is generally mute in these words, and says that *-ham* in names of places in England is *-am* as in *Broxham, Buckingham.* He also makes *h* mute in *cowherd, Nehemiah, shepherd, swine-herd,* and in *Heber, Hebraism, Hebrew, hecatomb, hectical, Hector, hedge, Hellen, hemorrhoids, herb, heriot, hermit,* &c., "which *h* may be found by putting a Vowel before them."

[1] The quarto 1631 also prints *abhominable* in both places.

He allows unaccented *his* to lose the *h*, "as in *told his* man, sounded *told is* man, &c." He says *o* is written *ho* "when it may be sounded *ho*, as in *homage*, *holster*, *homo*, in the beginning of all words, *hosannah*, *host*, *hostage*, *hostess*, *hostler*, *hostile*, *houlet*, *hour*, *so-ho*, *inkhorn*, &c., often sounded as with *o* only." Also he says *oo* is written *hoo*, "when it may be sounded *hoo* after a vowel, as *hood*, *hoof*, *hook*, *hoop*, *hoord*, and in *hood* in the End of Words as in *likelihood*, *manhood*, *Priesthood*, &c." Finally he says *u* is written *hu* "when it may be sounded *hu*, especially after a *Vowel*, as in *humble*, *humility*, *humour*, *Humphrey*." This frequent reference to the vowel depends on the following remark: "That *h* is hardly sounded before or after consonants; but more easily before and after *Vowels*, therefore the best *Way* to discover on *h*, is to sound the Word that begins with it after a vowel; as *a hat*, &c." Unfortunately this rule would make a vast number of *h*'s to be heard in London, as (a ʜ'ɔi, a ʜ'ass), *an eye*, *an ass*.

At the present day great strictness in pronouncing *h* is demanded as a test of education and position in society, and consequently most of the words mentioned in Jones are now aspirated. Smart, 1836, reduces the list of words with mute *h* to *heir*, *honest*, *honour*, *hostler*, (in which the *h* is now commonly not written) *hour*, *humble*, and *humour*. It is certainly at present very usual to say (ʜəm·b'l, ɹhuu·mɹ), so that the list is reduced to *five* words, which it would be considered social suicide to aspirate. But in practice, even of the most esteemed speakers, *-ham* in names of places has no aspirate, *exhaust*, *exhibit*, *exhibition*, lose *h*, and *his*, *him*, *her*, etc., after an accented consonant when perfectly unaccented, drop their *h*. It is extremely common in London to say (ɐ t*oo'ɯ*m) for *at home*. A vast majority of the less educated and refined in London, and a still greater majority in the Midland Counties, never use the *h*, pronouncing their words as if they never had had an *h* at all. The insertion of the *h*, generally in the form of a very strong (ʜ'), is also a remarkable phenomenon, not so common, and still more illiterate.

(H) is properly only a jerk of the voice, and as such forms part of the Sanscrit post aspirates (kʜ gʜ) etc., and is frequent as a post aspirate in the Irish brogue. It also occurs before every *o* in Tuscan pronunciation, in which dialect (k) is also changed into a strong (.ʜ') thus (.ʜ'onfrʜon·tʜo) for *confronto*. I have heard *Livorno* pronounced in the place itself, almost like (livʜ'or·nʜ'o) so that a foreigner might

easily persuade himself that he heard (lighor'no),[1] whence an Englishman's *Leghorn* is but a step. As an initial letter however (H) is not common. Thus Sanscrit has no initial (H), the letter ह being (gh). Precisely the same thing occurs in Russian, where the (gh) has also to be used for a foreign (H). The Gothic *h* may have been occasionally (H), but seems to have been frequently (kh), in place of which (H') as a milder form, became gradually prevalent in the Germanic languages. No German at present leaves out or puts in an initial *h* contrary to the orthography; but final *h* after a vowel, which is dialectically pronounced (kh) or (k*ch*) as (shuuk*ch*) *Schuh* shoe, has disappeared in the received pronunciation. No Scotsmen omit the aspirate. The old Greeks had an aspirate, the exact nature of which cannot be accurately known, as every trace of it has disappeared from the language, and its old relations were rather singular. It is a matter of dispute how far the Latins pronounced their *h*, but the Italians, Spaniards, and French have nothing resembling the true sound of (H), although the French have a trace of its former existence, asserted by Palsgrave but not recognized by Meigret, in that hiatus which they call an *h aspiré*. The French and Italian also have no (kh), which has been retained in the form (*k*h) by both the Sanscrit and Greek. The so-called (kh) *x, j*, of the Spaniards seems to be a Moorish importation, and is possibly an alteration of (*h*). In Spanish America it is said to be replaced by (H). The Spaniards used it to replace a foreign (sh), as in *Mexico;* the French transliterate it by *ch* = (sh), and the English have made *Xerez* (xee'reec) into *sherry*. The (H') is abundant in Arabic.

In England the use of the (H) among the illiterate seems to depend upon emphatic utterance. Many persons when speaking quietly will never introduce the (H), but when rendered nervous or excited, or when desiring to speak particularly well, they abound in strong and unusual aspirations. It is also singular how difficult it is for those accustomed to omit the *h*, to recover it, and how provokingly they sacrifice themselves on the most undesired occasions by this social shibboleth. In endeavouring to pronounce the fatal letter they generally give themselves great trouble, and conse-

[1] Rear-Adm. W. H. Smyth, The Mediterranean, London, 1854, p. 331, mentions that a map belonging to a Greek Pilot in 1550, now in Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 10,134, contains λεγορνο as the name of Livorno. This would be pronounced (leghor'no), and is a singular testimony to the antiquity of this custom of speech.

quently produce a harshness, quite unknown to those who pronounce (H) naturally. An English author, S. Hirst, writing an English Grammar in German,[1] in which 50 quarto pages are devoted to a minute account of the pronunciation of English, actually bestows 167 quarto lines of German, measuring about 90 feet, upon attempting to shew that formerly *h* was not pronounced in English, and that it was altogether an orthoepistic fancy to pronounce it, saying that almost all non-linguists would admit that *h* was generally mute, or at most scarcely audible, and that linguists who denied this in theory gave into the practice.[2] The division of the people is not exactly into linguists and non-linguists, but it must be owned that very large masses of the people, even of those tolerably educated and dressed in silk and broad cloth, agree with the French, Italians, Spaniards, and Greeks, in not pronouncing the letter H.

§ 5. *Realisation of the Pronunciation of English in the* XVI *th,* XVII *th, and* XVIII *th centuries.*

THE results of the two preceding sections are sufficiently minute to give an indication of the pronunciation of English during the XVI th century, but it is not easy from this mass of details respecting individual words, to arrive at a conception of the actual sounds of sentences. Hart, Bullokar, Gill and Butler have however given specimens of connected speech, and in Chapter VIII, §§ 3-6, sufficiently extensive extracts will be given from their works, and translated into palaeotype, to enable a reader to form an accurate conception of the sound of our language in the XVI th century. After these, follows, § 7, a vocabulary of the principal words pronounced by the authorities of this period, which will be very useful in endeavouring to read any other work of that time, because, even if the unknown word is not there found, some analogue will almost certainly present itself, which will suffice to determine the sound within the requisite limits.[3] Finally, applying all the results of previous investigations,

[1] Kritisches Lehrgebäudes der englischen Sprache von *S. Hirst*, Mitglied der Universität zu Cambridge, 2nd ed., Leipzig, 1847.

[2] His principal argument is the retention of *an, mine, thine*, etc., before words beginning with *h*, in the authorized version 1611. The lists of words with mute *h* given by Palsgrave, Salesbury, etc., were of course unknown to him. If, however, he had been aware of the loose manner in which *h* is inserted and omitted in Layamon, Genesis and Exodus, Prisoner's Prayer, and other writings of the XIII th century, he would doubtless have considered his point established. In practice I understood from a gentleman who conversed with him, he omitted the *h* altogether.

[3] See also the Index of Words.

I have in § 8, endeavoured to realise the pronunciation of Shakspere, and have reduced my conception to palaeotypic spelling, which will enable a reader of moderate perseverance to reproduce it orally. The result is peculiar, and has been generally well received by those to whom I have had an opportunity of communicating it *viva voce*. There can be no reasonable doubt, after the preceding discussions, of its very closely representing the pronunciation actually in use by the actors who performed Shakspere's plays in his lifetime.

In Chapters IX and X, I have endeavoured to give a similar realisation of the pronunciations which mark the XVII th and XVIII th centuries. The only connected phonetic writing of the XVII th century which I have found, is Bishop Wilkins's transcription of the Lord's Prayer and Creed, but this very inadequate specimen is eked out by a vocabulary collected from the principal authorities of the time. It is with considerable hesitation, that in the midst of such diversities of sound attached to the same symbols, and such numerous lists of rules and exceptions, relating to different parts of words and not furnishing the complete representation of entire words, that I have endeavoured to restore Dryden's pronunciation, or rather the pronunciation of some contemporary reader. It is impossible to feel the same certainty respecting his sounds as respecting Shakspere's, and the attempt should be viewed with indulgence.

For the XVIII th century, the complete vocabulary of Buchanan has enabled me to give his pronunciation of a passage of Shakspere, and Dr. Franklin's interesting letter furnishes a contemporary piece of phonetic writing, uncorrected certainly, but sufficiently suggestive. A vocabulary of the principal words in which Buchanan, Sheridan, and other authorities, differ from the received pronunciations of to-day, or anticipate them, will complete the account of this century.

It has not formed any part of the plan of this work to enter into detail upon the pronunciation now prevalent, although incidental allusions to it perpetually occur. This is a very difficult and very complex subject, which has been taken up by many other writers, but requires entirely new treatment, in reference not only to the results of the present investigation, but to those abnormal, cacoepistic, rare, vulgar, and dialectic forms, which the history of the past shews that we ought to collect for the benefit of the future, and for the thorough appreciation of the real state and possible development of our language, which is principally unwritten. Mr.

Melville Bell's Visible Speech, or my own Palaeotype, now give a means of writing all such forms with great accuracy, and the rougher Glossotype (p. 13 and Chapter VI, § 3), will enable those who do not wish to enter into minuter distinctions of sound, to write our dialects much more intelligibly than the generality of systems hitherto pursued. Those therefore who wish to assist in forming a written picture of our language for the first time, should neglect no opportunity of immediately noting diversities of pronunciation whenever heard, after some of these comprehensive systems, of which Palaeotype possesses the great advantage of requiring none but ordinary type. To shew the nature of the process required, I have in Chapter XI contrasted Mr. Melville Bell's and my own pronunciation of the parable of the Prodigal Son, and transliterated many specimens of Scotch dialectic pronunciation which he has furnished, both into palaeotype and glossotype, while the politeness of several correspondents in the provinces, has enabled me to give a first instalment of a greatly needed comparative phonology of the English dialects.

§ 6. *The Direction of Change.*

For determining older pronunciation than that of the XVI th century, it is important to consider the direction in which sounds have changed since that period, because we can then by continuing the line backwards, arrive at some conception of the sounds from which those in the XVI th century were derived. It is for this reason that so much space has been devoted to a consideration of the pronuncia- of the XVII th and XVIII th centuries.

TABLE OF CHANGES IN THE VALUE OF THE LETTERS.

1. *Short Vowels.*

A short, in XVI th century decidedly (a), became (æ) in the course of the XVII th and has so remained except in a small class of words, where the various sounds (aa, a, aah, ah, ææ, æ) are heard.

E short, has remained (e) throughout, but is locally (ɛ) and may have been (ɛ) at any period.

I short, has remained (*i*) throughout.

O short, seems to have been generally (o) and often (*u*) in the XVI th century. The (o) sounds became (ɔ) or (ʌ), it is impossible to determine which, in the XVII th century, and have so remained, the present sounds being generally (ɔ) in closed and

(*o*) in open syllables. In a few words (o) remains, as ***cross***, *gone*. The (*u*) sounds, as in the case of short *u*, became (ə) in the XVII th century and have so remained.

U short, was either (u) or (*u*), probably the latter, in the XVI th century, but during the XVII th become decidedly (ə), which has remained to the present day, with the exception of a few words which retain the old (*u*) sound, but some of these are occasionally pronounced (ə), and more of them probably were so pronounced in the XVIII th century.

2. *The Long Vowels.*

A long, was (aa) in the XVI th century, but inclined already to a very fine and thin pronunciation, nearly (aah), quite different from (*aa*).[1] In the XVII th century this seems to have become decidedly (ææ), advancing at the close of that century or the beginning of the XVIII th to (ee), which in the XIX th century, if not earlier, became (*ee*) and even (*eei*).

[1] In an unknown treatise on the pronunciation of French, of which two quarto leaves with the signatures B i, B ii, bearing date 1528, (two years prior to Palsgrave's book,) are preserved and described in Rev. S. R. Maitland's List of some of the Early Printed Books in the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth, 1843, p. 291 (but which did not fall under my notice till the preceding pages were printed), we read of the French A and E. "A. ought to be pronounced fro the botom of the stomak and all openly. E. a lytell hyer in the throte there properly where the englysshe man soundeth his a." This would imply that the French sound was (*aa*), unless it was rounded into (AA), as we know that it sounded to Englishmen in the XVII th century. The English *a* was quite distinct from this and sounded more like (EE) to French ears, than (*aa*). The sound could certainly not have been (EE), or Palsgrave would not have found it like the French *a*, and Salesbury like the Welch *a*. If we suppose the English *a*, *e* were (aa, ee) and the French were (*aa*, EE) we shall be probably very near the truth which underlay this and similar statements. Compare Gilles du Guez, suprà p. 61. Since the above was written, Mr. Payne has obligingly brought under my notice: "The French Garden: for English Ladyes and Gentlewomen to walke in. Or, A Sommer dayes labour. Being an instruction for the attayning vnto the knowledge of the French tongue .... By *Peter Erondell*. Professor of the same Language, London, 1605, 8vo., the English in black letter, the French in Roman type, unpaged, signatures extending to P 3, with two more leaves. The author has taken considerable pains, but not always successfully, to indicate the French sounds, and occasionally refers to the English, in passages which will be quoted as footnotes to this table. It must be remembered that as in the two cases just cited, the author was French. "Our *A* is not sounded altogether, as this english word *awe* as some haue written, but as the first voice of this word *Augustine* or *After* opening somewhat the mouth, as for example, *Baptiste, tacitement, sçauoir*: and not after the rate of the english word *ale*, for if a Frenchman should write it according to the English sound, hee would write it in this wise *esl* and sound it as if there were no *s*." This passage seems to indicate clearly that French *a* was rather (*aa*) than (AA). It also infers that this (*aa*) was heard in the English *after*, where we retain (aa, aah), but that in *ale* and other words of that class the Frenchman heard (EE). I may mention in illustration that Padre Secchi, the astronomer, when speaking English at the meeting of the British Association at Norwich, 1868, said (mEEd) for *made*, which to English ears sounded very nearly as (mææd), and very unlike (m*ee*d). It must be borne in mind that Erondell's *esl* was quite

E long was (ee) during the XVI th and XVII th centuries, except in a very few words, as *he*, *she*, *me*, etc., because in the XVI th century the spelling *ee* was introduced for those words in which the sound has actually altered to (ii), but no such alteration of spelling was afterwards admitted, and in the beginning of the XVIII th century the sound of (ii) began to prevail, and became general by the close of that century, as it now remains.

I long was a diphthong in the XVI th century, probably (ei) but occasionally (ai). In the XVII th century, and perhaps during the latter part of the XVI th, the sound of (ɔi) was introduced, which has remained. Even at the present day, however, (ei, ai, ɔi) and other varieties may still be heard.

O long was apparently (oo) in the XVI th century, a sound which is still generally heard before *r*, in *more*, *glory*, &c; but in the XVII th century, (*oo*) was introduced, and still remains, though frequently called (*oo'w*) or (*oo*u), and dialectically (ou). Some words containing *o* long were pronounced (uu) but in the XVI th century these were mostly written with *oo*, and hence *o* long is sounded (uu) in only a very few words, as *move*, *prove*.

U long does not occur in any Saxon words, and in the XVI th and down to the middle of the XVII th century had the sound of (yy) or some closely allied sound as (ıı, ʊʊ, əə) which may be still heard dialectically both in the East and West of England.[1] After the middle of the XVII th century the long *u* became (iu) after a consonant in the same syllable, and (Juu) at the beginning of a syllable, and this sound has remained; in the XVIII th century, as at present, after (r) it is pronounced (uu).

distinct from *éle* our present *ail* (eel). As in 1605 there must have been a large class of speakers who called long *a* (aah) or (æe), which could have sounded nothing but (EE) to a Frenchman, we may suppose that this was the sound with which *Erondell*, with his limited experience as a foreigner, was familiar. In: The French Littelton. A most easie, perfect and absolvte way to learne the French tongue, Set foorth by *Claudivs Holyband*, Gentil-homme Bourbonnois, London, 1609, 32mo., pp. 223, for a knowledge of which I am also indebted to Mr. Payne, the author says, p. 184: "*Ai*, and *ay*, have three diuers sounds: for the first person singular of the future tense of the Indicatiue moode, and these three verbes *ay*, and his compounds: *je sçay*, I know, *nay*, I am borne, be fully pronounced as, *é.* masculine: say then for *ay*, *j'ay* I have, *je diray* I will say, *je liray* I will reade, *j'aimeray* I will loue, &c., as if it were written *é*, *jé*, *je diré*, *je liré*, &c. But the first person singular of the first perfect tense of the Indicatiue moode, is sounded as it is written, as *j'aimay* I loued, *je trouvay* I sound, *je parlay* I spoke, &c. (ai ?). As for the rest, wheresoeuer you shall find *ai*, sound it as *gaye* [*gay* in p. 185] *gaping*." He means of course (EE), and he seems to agree with Hart partly in *gay*, and with the XVII th century pronunciation generally in *gaping*. The only English writer who would make *gay* = (GEE) is Cooper, suprà p. 125. Most probably the Frenchman heard an English (gæi) as his (GEE), and found the first syllable of *gaping* = (gæe), more like his *gai* than his *ga*.

[1] Erondell says of French *u*: "*v* Is sounded without any help of the tongue but ioyning of the lips as if you would whistle, say *u*, which *u*, maketh a sillable by it selfe, as *vnir*, *vniquement* as if it were written *v-neer*, pronounce then *musique*, *punir*, *subvenir* not after the English pronounciation, not as if it were written *muesique*, *puenir*, *suevenir*, but rather as the *u* in this word, *murtherer*.

3. *Combinations with A final.*

AA was not used in English words in the XVI th or subsequent centuries, except in Hebrew names, as *Isaac*.

EA, which had been used occasionally without any strictness for long *e*, was established towards the close of the XVI th century as (ee), and remained so throughout the XVII th century, with the exception of about 30 words. In the XVIII th century however it rapidly altered its sound to (ii), only a few words finally resisting the change, after having yielded to it for a time. Several words with (e) short, were from the middle of the XVI th century, and still are spelled with *ea*.

IA had no partienlar value separate from (*ia*), and has followed the fortunes of its components, one or the other letter being frequently omitted.

OA was introduced at the close of the XVI th century for the long (oo) in closed syllables, after *oo* had been appropriated to (uu). In the XVII th century it became (*oo*), except in *broad*, *groat*, where it was (AA). It has retained these sounds.

UA is not an English combination.

4. *Combination with E final.*

AE was so to speak, not used, in the XVI th century; even in Latin words *e* was often employed. When *æ* was introduced into English it was always pronounced as the long *e* of the period. This *æ* is one of Bullokar's signs for (ee).

EE was introduced in the middle of the XVI th century for the sound of (ii), which it has since retained. In the earlier part of the century no distinction was made between *ee* and long *e*.

IE was a combination having the same meaning as long *e* until the XVII th century, when it was considered the same as *ee*.

not making the *u* too long." It is very difficult to understand the meaning of this passage. It is possible that as Erondell may have met with those who said (ææ), he might have heard (iu), which of course must have been frequently used at this date, though it was not received, and as this sound did not satisfy him he took refuge in (u) or (*u*) as confused by a following (r), and perhaps was thinking of some individual pronunciation, which he had not satisfactorily appreciated, but conceived to be general. Holyband also (French Littelton, 1609, p. 152) seems to have recognized (iu) in English and not (yy), for he says: "Where you must take paine to pronounce our, v, otherwise then in English: for we do thinke that when Englishmen do profer, v, they say, you: and for, q, we suppose they say, kiou: but we sound, v, without any helpe of the tongue, ioyning the lips as if you would whistle: and after the manner that the Scots do sound Gud." Here we have the first distinct recognition of the English long *u* as (iu) distinct from the Scotch and French (yy). Hart, who in his first treatise (infrà, Chap. VIII, § 3, note,) also identifies English long *u* and *you*, makes both the same as the French and Scotch, and in his second treatise, suprà p. 167, distinctly describes (yy) and not (iu) for this sound. Wilkins, 1668, is the next author who distinctly recognizes (iu), Wallis, 1653, being the last who as distinctly insists on (yy).

OE was not an English combination; when it was introduced as *œ*, it followed the sound of the long *e* of the period.

UE was only used at the end of words in the XVII th century and later, for the long *u*, which had in this situation been previously written *ew*.

5. *Combinations with I or Y final.*

AI was (ai, aai) in the XVI th century and possibly (æi, ææi) in the XVII th; but towards the close of that century, and in the pronunciation of a minority even as early as the middle of the XVI th century, *ai* was called (ee).[1] Becoming thus identical with long *a*, it shared its fortunes and fell into (*ee*, *eei*).

EI was (ai) or (ei, eei) in the XVI th century, and seems to have retained the sound of (eei) or (ee) till a late period in the XVIII th century, when many, but by no means all the *ei* fell into (ii). In *either*, *neither*, the old (ei) developed (ɔi) as well as (ii), and both sounds are yet heard from the same speaker at different times.

II was never used.

OI was (oi) and nearly (ui) in the XVI th century, in some words (oi, uui) were heard indifferently. In the XVII th century though (ʌi) or (ɔi) was the rule, (oi) was frequently heard. In the XVIII th and XIX th centuries only (ɔi) was recognized, although some speakers still say (oi), now considered a vulgarism.

UI was not a genuine English combination, and was only a substitute for long *u*, or long and short *i*, and followed their laws.

6. *Combinations with O final.*

AO is only accidentally an English combination in *extraordinary*, where it is usually pronounced (ʌʌ).

EO when used at an earlier period seems to have been considered identical with long *e*, and has been generally so treated. In pig*eo*n, dung*eo*n, the combination *eo* is only apparent, for the *e* belongs to the preceding *g*.

IO is not found.

OO was used in the beginning of the XVI th century indifferently with long *o*, but was introduced towards the close of that century to indicate those long *o* which had come to be pronounced (uu), and it has retained this value.

UO is not used.

[1] Erondell says in the French Garden, 1605, speaking of French *ai*, which was then certainly (E): "Also if *s* doe follow *ai*, it maketh the word long, and the *s* vnsounded, as *Maistre*, *paistre*, where the *ai* or *ay* be pronounced as these english words *day*, *say*, *may*," which he therefore identifies with long *a*. No English writer of the period makes this confusion. But compare Holyband's *gay*, *gaping*, suprà, p. 227, note, col. 2.

7. *Combinations with U or W final.*

AU was (au, aau) in the XVI th century, and seems to have passed by the absorption of (u into (*w*), or simple labial modification, into (AA) in the XVII th century, which sound it generally retains although there is still a contest between (aa, AA) in a few words.

EU had in the XVI th century two sounds (yy) and (eu) which were not distinguished by any orthographical expedient. In the XVII th century the (yy) sounds became (iu, JUU), and the (eu) sounds either remained (eu), or became (*oo*). In the XVIII th century those which had become (*oo*) remained so, the rest fell into (iu, JUU) where they have since remained.

IU is not used.

OU in the earlier part of the XVI th century, and in the pronunciation of some writers even down to the latter part of that century, had the sound of (uu, u); by the middle of the XVI th century it was generally pronounced (ou), but occasionally (uu). A class of words in *ou*, however, derived from the Anglosaxon *aw*, *ow*, was by both set of speakers pronounced (oou). In the XVII th century the (oou) sounds became (*oo*u) as they have since remained, though theoretically considered as simple (*oo*). The (ou, u) sounds at the same time became (ɔu, ɔ) and have since retained these forms.

UU is not used.

8. *Consonants.*

B invariably (b).

C invariably (k) before *a*, *o*, *u* and (s) before (e,i), except that in the XVIII th century, and perhaps earlier, *c* before *a* became (*k*); and *ci-* before a vowel became (sh).

CH sometimes (k) in Greek works, generally (tsh) throughout the period.

D invariably (d) except that, in the XVIII th century, *d* in the termination *-dure*, *-dier* became (dj) or (dzh).

F invariably (f).

G invariably (g) before *a*, *o*, *u*, and almost invariably (g) in Saxon words before *e*, *i*; otherwise invariably (dzh) before *e*, *i*. In the XVIII th century and perhaps earlier, *g* before *a*, and *gu* before *i* long became (*g*).

GH in the beginning of the XVI th century, full (kh) or (*k*h); towards the middle and close, very gently pronounced, almost (h'); and in the XVII th century and subsequently entirely lost. In a few words of the XVI th century and more afterwards, *gh* was sounded as (f). In one word, *sigh*, in the XVII th and XVIII th centuries *gh* was called (th), and in one word, *hiccough*, (p). When *gh* was omitted in speech after *i*, the sound of that letter was changed from (*i*) to (ɔi); the sound of *augh* with silent *gh* was either (aa) or (AA); of *ough* with silent *gh*, (*oo*u) or (AA), sometimes (ɔu) and (uu).

H in many words in the XVII th century, where it is now never omitted, was not sounded.

J or "I consonant" had invariably the sound of (dzh).

K was (k) before all vowels, perhaps inclined to the palatalised (*k*) before the sound of (ii), and in the XVIII th century frequently became (*k*) before *a* (æ, aa), and long *i* (ɔi).

L invariably (l) or ('l). In the XVI th century it was beginning to disappear after *a*, after becoming labialised to (l*w*) and thus changing the sound of *a* from (a) into (au, ʌʌ), the latter prevailing in the XVII th century; (aa) is now commonly heard in the termination *-alm*.

M invariably (m) or ('m).

N invariably (n) or ('n).

NG invariably (q) or (qg), except in the combination *-nge* when it became (-ndzh) and had a tendency to change preceding (a) into (ai) which became subsequently (ee).

P invariably (p).

PH invariably (f), except perhaps in such combinations as *Clapham*, in which the *h* was omitted in the XVII th century.

QU invariably (k*w*), or labialised (k).

R preceding a vowel, invariably (r), following but not preceding a vowel, it was most probably (ɹ) as early as the XVIII th century, and possibly in the XVII th.

RH was the same as simple *r*.

S initially, invariably (s), medially and finally either (s) or (z) according to present usage. In the XVIII th century *s* before long *u*, and *si-* before a vowel became (sh), and *-isi-* became (-izh-); in the termination *-sure*, *s* became (sh) or (zh). None of these changes seem to have been acknowledged before the middle of the XVII th century.

T invariably (t), except that *ti-* in the terminations *-tion*, *-tious*, was (*si*) in the XVI th and XVII th centuries, and became (sh) in the XVII th. In the termination *-ture* in the XVIII th century, *t* fell into (tj) or (tsh).

TH either (th) or (dh) according to the present laws, except that in the XVI th century it was (t) in *Thomas* as now, and also in *throne*, and (d) in *Thavies Inn*; and generally (th) in *with* instead of (dh) as now.

V or "U consonant" invariably (v).

W as a consonant, whether confused with an initial (u) or not, invariably (w).

WH, whether confused with (ʍ) or (ʜw), was probably always (wh).

X invariably (ks), the present use as (gz) seems to have been unknown previously.

Y as a consonant, whether confused with an initial (i) or not, invariably (j).

Z invariably (z).

On examining this table of changes, it would appear that the consonants have been subject to little or no alteration, except under the action of an (i) or (u) sound. The action of an (i) sound changes (t, d, s, z,) to (tj tsh, dj dzh, sh, zh), but this action did not materially affect the English pronunciation of the XVIth and earlier part of the XVIIth centuries. The (u) sound was generated through the labialisation of (l) which gradually disappeared, labialising the preceding vowel.

The consonant *gh*, originally (kh), became gradually disagreeable and harsh to the Southern English and passing through (H') soon ceased to be appreciable, and was therefore neglected, although it was probably theoretically maintained long after it had practically disappeared. On examining the oldest forms of words, however, this sound appears to have passed through (i, u), and in its disappearance to have acted by palatisation and labialisation on the preceding vowel. The change of *igh* to long *i* is the only one that presents a difficulty, and this depends upon the same cause which changed long *i* generally from (*ii*) to (əi), p. 234.

For the vowels the following changes occur, taking the sounds only, independent of the spellings.

Short Vowels.	*Long Vowels.*	*Diphthongs.*
a, æ	aa, ææ, ee, *ee*, *ee*i	ai, æi, ei, eei, ee, *ee*, *ee*i
		au, *aa*', ʌʌ
	ee, ii	ei, əi
		ei, eei, ee, ii
		eu, iu
		eu, *oo*, *oo*u
o, ɔ	oo, uu	ou, ɔu
	oo, *oo oo*u	oou, *oo*, *oo*u
u, ə	uu, ou, ɔu	ui, oi, ʌi, əi
	yy, iu	

The directions of change are here seen to be three,—towards (i), towards (u), towards (ə). But the two last are not essentially different, as (u) may be considered as a labialised (ə), p. 162.

The long vowels have altered more than the short vowels. The voice being sustained there was more time for the vowel sound to be considered, and hence the fancy of the speaker may have come more into play. This has generally given rise to a refining process, consisting in diminishing the lingual or the labial aperture. The lingual aperture is materi-

ally diminished in the passages (aa, ææ, ee, *ee*) and (ee, ii). It seems curious that the first was not continued as far as the second. In the name *James*, however, which became (Dzheemz) in the XVII th century, and has passed to (Dzhiimz) in flunkey English, and to (Dzhim) as a common abbreviation, the series of changes is complete. Fashion and refinement have nearly banished (aa), but have not yet confounded in one (ii) all the words formerly distinguished by (aa, ee).

The change of (oo) to (uu) was a similar refinement, consisting first in the elevation of the tongue, and corresponding narrowing of the labial passage, producing (*uu*), and secondly in the narrowing of the pharynx. The change from (oo) to (*oo*) consisted simply in narrowing the pharyngal cavity.

One of the most remarkable changes is that from (uu) a simple vowel, into (ou) a diphthong. Both sounds held their own side by side for some years, Palsgrave in 1530 and Bullokar in 1580 both upholding (uu), while Salesbury, Smith, and Hart declared for (ou), which finally prevailed. Although the change is certain, there is no trace of any reason being given, and as the sound (uu) had been represented by the letters *ou* in those cases where it changed into (ou), whereas when (uu) was a change of (oo), it did not further change into (ou), and the orthography also did not give *ou*,—the mere accident of the spelling naturally presents itself as a cause. This hypothesis is strengthened by observing that in the north of England, where reading was perhaps less common than in the South, the sound of (uu) in these words still remains unaltered. But such a supposition can hardly be correct, because the change of (uu) into (ou) is precisely analogous to the change of (ii) into (ei), a change which must certainly have occurred in passing from the Anglosaxon period to the XVI th century, although it has not yet come distinctly before us, and had no connection with the orthography. In each case the change simply consists in commencing the vowel with a sound which is too open, (that is, with the tongue not sufficiently raised), and, as it were, correcting that error in the course of utterance. This variety of speech might easily be generated and become fashionable in one part of the country and not in another, and as it penetrated far beyond the classes whom orthography could affect at a time when books were rare, and readers rarer in proportion to the speakers, the physiological hypothesis seems more deserving of adoption than the orthographical. On further examination it will be found that this hypothesis has an analogue in a well known custom of the South of

England. In the North of England, in France, and Germany, no difficulty is felt in prolonging the pure sounds of (*ee*) and (*oo*), but in the South of England persons have in general such a habit of raising the tongue slightly after the sound of (*ee*), and both raising the tongue and partly closing the lips after the sound of (*oo*), that these sounds are converted into the diphthongs (*ee*i̯; *oo*'w̯), or (*ee*i̯; *oo*u̯) where the (*ee*, *oo*) parts are long and strongly marked, and the (i̯, u̯) terminals are very brief and lightly touched but still perceptible, so that a complete diphthong results, which however is disowned by many orthoepists and is not intended by the speaker. Now we have only to suppose a habit growing up of beginning the (ii, uu) sound with a tongue somewhat too depressed, and in the latter case with the lips also too open, but passing instantly and rapidly from these initial sounds to the true (ii, uu), and (*e*i̯; *o*u̯) would result. From the habit of accenting the first element of a diphthong, the initial touch of (*e*, *o*) would come to have the accent, and being very short and indistinct might readily vary in different mouths into (a, *a*, ɔ). We should thus obtain the diphthongs (*e*i̯, *o*u̯; ei̯, ou̯; ai̯, au̯; ɔi̯, ɔu̯) in which also the second element may be, and at present in the South of England seems to be (*i*, *u*) rather than (i̯, u̯). Thus on lengthening out the terminal sounds of *nigh*, *now*, I seem to hear in my own pronunciation (nɔ*iii*, nɔ*uuu*).

The generation of (*ee*i̯, *oo*u̯) from (*ee*, *oo*) consists then in subjoining brief (i̯, u̯) to long (*ee*, *oo*); while the generation of (*e*ii, *o*uu) from (ii, uu) consists in prefixing brief (*e*, *o*) to long (ii, uu). The elements in both cases are the same (*ee*i̯, *e*ii; *oo*u̯, *o*uu) and the accessary sounds are in both cases brief, but when terminal they are unaccented, when initial accented, just like an *appoggiatura* in music.

We might therefore expect to hear (*e*i̯, *o*u̯) developed either from (ii, uu) or from (*ee*, *oo*). Further reasons for supposing the first to have actually occurred will be given in Chap. IV, § 2, under I. For the second, it is not uncommon at present to hear (*e*i) for (*ee*), and (*o*u) for (*oo*), although these changes have not been generally recognized.

This change of (ii) into (ei̯, ai̯, ɔi̯), and (uu) into (ou̯, au̯, ɔu̯) is etymologically interesting because it is by no means confined to our own country. The Gothic (ii) corresponded to (ii) in Icelandic, Anglosaxon, Friesic, Old Saxon, Low German, and Upper German, and is still (ii) in Danish and Swedish, but is now (ɔi̯) in English and Swabian, and (ai̯) in Dutch, High German, Frankish, East Frankish and Bavarian,

according to Rapp (Phys. d. Spr. iv., 144) and the same writer says that (uu) in Gothic was (uu) in Icelandic, Anglo-saxon, Friesic, Old Saxon, Low German, Upper German, and is still (uu) in Danish, but it has become (ɔu) in English and Swabian, (au) in High German, Frankish, East Frankish and Bavarian, (ɔy) in Dutch, and (ʊʊ) in Swedish. Except the two last changes, the phenomena must be all referable to local habits of the kind named. The Dutch sound (ɔy), written *ui*, would appear to be an alteration of (ɔu), but whether there is any historical as well as phonetical ground for supposing such a form to have existed, I cannot say.[1] It is impossible not to be reminded in this historical change of (ii, uu) into (ei, ou) of the (guna) changes in Sanscrit, because they are phonetically the same, although they arise in a different manner.

We have then briefly the following changes of the principal vowel sounds, of which the change (ii) to (ei) was anterior to the XVIth century, unless, as seems to be the only legitimate inference, Palsgrave's and Bullokar's statements (pp. 109, 114) are held to imply that long *i* was still pronounced as *ii* in some words by them :—

From (aa) through (ææ) to (ee, *ee*, *ee*i)
From (ee) to (ii)
From (ii) through (*e*i) to (ei, ai, ɔi)
From (oo) to (uu), or to (*oo*, *oo*u)
From (uu) through (*o*u) to (ou, ɔu)

Proceeding backwards, then, we must, if there was any change, look for it in the same series. Thus (AA, *aa*) may have preceded (aa). Perhaps (EE) may have preceded (ee). The sounds (*ee*, *oo*) may have preceded (ii, uu), and it is possible that (aa) may have preceded (oo), as the latter is only the rounded form of the former.

The vowel (yy) can hardly have been an original vowel sound. Its relations to (i, u) and (iu) are so close, that it might have arisen from any one of the three, but it has principally the appearance of being an alteration of (u) caused by making the narrowest part of the lingual channel with the middle instead of the back of the tongue. This

[1] In the actual Dutch pronunciation of *huis*, *muis*, it is very difficult to distinguish the sound from (ɔu), and the difference seems mainly produced by altering the form of the lip into that for (yy), which is slightly flatter than for (uu), rather than by bringing the tongue into the (i) position. Still (ɔy) was the best analysis I was able to make on hearing the sound, not (ɔy) as Dr. Rapp remarks. The Dutch consider it to be the sound of the German *eu*, which Dr. Rapp also says is sounded (ɔy) in the North-East of Germany, Berlin, Brandenburg, and on the Baltic coast from Mecklenburg to Russia; the general sounds being (ay, oy, oi) and even (ɔi) in Hamburg.

à priori physiological conception is confirmed by finding that dialectically, in Scotland and in Devonshire, (yy) or some form of it as (ıı, ʊʊ), occurs as a substitute for (uu), as the Devonshire (myyr, myyn), or more properly (mʊʊr, mʊʊn) for (muur, muun). In German we find that (yy) has also been generated from (uu) by the retroactive effect of an (i) or (e) sound in an added syllable. In French, the substitution of (yy) for the Latin (uu) can only be traced to a national habit. The same seems to have occurred in Greek, where *υ* was at a very early period changed from (uu) into (yy). There is no historical evidence that (yy) can be considered in any case as an alteration of (iu), although we have in English the proof that (iu) may be an alteration of (yy), and we know by the Welsh *uw* and Hart's *iu*, that the use of *iu* as a representative of (yy), was natural. In fact the second vowel *u* in both *iu*, *au* naturally suggests a labialisation of the preceding, which would give *iu*, *au* = (i*w*, a*w*) = (ɪ, o), whence (y, ʌ) readily derive. This seems to have been the case with Ulphilas, who certainly uses *au* for (ʌ) and probably *iu* for (yy).[1]

In such languages as the English, French, and Greek, where the natural sound of *u* had been replaced by (yy), the only device left for marking the (uu) sound was to use the *o* from which it was derived, as in the Swedish, or to put an *o* before, after, or over the *u* to indicate more distinctly that the combination was to have the modified *o* sound. This seems to be the origin of the use of *ou* in older English, French, and Greek for the sound of (uu). Similarly in old High German *uo*, in Italian *uo*, in Bohemian *ů* are employed to indicate relations between *u* and *o*.[2]

[1] Weingärtner (Die Aussprache des Gothischen zur Zeit des Ulfilas, Leipzig, 1858, 8vo. pp. 68) sums up all the arguments bearing on the pronunciation of Gothic *iu* in favour of (ıı). The actual English change of (yy) into (iu), and the common German change of (yy) into (ii), seem sufficiently to account for the various forms, which the Gothic *iu* received, or rather to which it corresponded in various Germanic dialects. The alteration of *iu* into *iv* before vowels, as in *kniu*, *knivis*, may be explained as perhaps (knyy, knywis) the full written form *kniuvis* having been contracted into *knivis*, as the single letter *v* seemed most neatly to express first the labialisation of the *i*, and secondly the generation of a subsequent (w) by the lip action of (yy), which is nearly the same as that of (u), on the following vowels, precisely as in the case noticed on p. 133 note. The combination *iu* is the most difficult to appreciate in the Gothic and old high German orthographies.

[2] The Dutch use *oe* for (uu) or (u), their long and short *u* being (yy, ʏ), that is, nearly precisely the same as Wallis's English sounds. The older Dutch writers seem to have used *e* as a simple sign of prolongation in *ae*, *oe*, *ue*, so that *oe* can only be regarded as *o* used for (uu) with a special mark of prolongation. In modern Dutch the sound is frequently short, as there is no other means of representing (u, *u*). Siegenbeek (Nederduitsche Spelling, Amster-

In English the change of (yy) has been into (iu), but in German it changes into (ii), that is, in English the lips were not rounded at the beginning of the sound but were rounded at the end of the sound, producing first (iy) and afterwards (iyu, iu), while in German the lips are frequently not rounded at all.

For the long vowels, then, anterior to the XVI th century we may possibly have (*aa*) for (aa); (EE) for (ee); (ee) for (ii); (oo) for (uu), and (uu) for (yy); (oo) is not likely to have been changed.

For the short vowels we find no change in (*i*, e), which we therefore must suppose to have existed anteriorly in this form. The change (a) to (æ) could only give (*a*) for an anterior sound. The changes (o, ɔ) and (u, ɔ) could lead to no conclusions respecting any anterior sound. The first change (o, ɔ) consists merely in depressing the tongue, the second change (u, ɔ), as has been shewn, may consist only in neglecting to close the lips sufficiently. These changes do not give sufficient indication of direction. It would be safest to conclude that (a) or (*a*) and (e, *i*, o, u) were the sounds of the five vowels before the XVI th century,[1] but the words *busy*, *bury* (biz·*i*, ber·*i*) and the pronunciation (trist) for *trust*, leads us to suppose that *u* in writing may often indicate a short (y) which would be taken as (*i*).

We find then that there was probably an older pronunciation of the English vowels than that of the XVI th century,

dam, 1804, p. 139), denies that *ie* should be considered as long *i*, although it is now pronounced (ii), because long *i* used to be written *ii*, *ij*, and says that in the province of Zeeland *ie* is still heard as a distinctly mixed sound "duidelijk een gemengd geluid," probably (iiɔ). The same author (p. 82) accounts for the use of *e* as a mark of prolongation in *ae*, *oe*, *ue*, on the ground that when words anciently written *mate hope*, *mure*, came to be pronounced *mat'*, *hop'*, *mur'*, without the final *e*, the *e* was transposed in writing, thus *maet*, *hoep*, *muer*, precisely as Lane proposed to write English, suprà, p. 44, l. 3. The orthographies *oe*, *ue* for (oo, yy) had been replaced by *oo*, *uu* for more than two centuries before he wrote, and he proposed and prevailed on the Dutch to use *aa* for *ae*, an orthography jealously retained with *ue*, *y* for *uu*, *ij*, as marks of distinct nationality, in Belgium. This left *oe* free for (uu, u) without any danger of confusion, and even the Belgians admit the distinction *oo*, *oe*.

[1] Hart expressly says: "And to perswade you the better, that their auncient sounds are as I haue sayde," that is (a, e, i, o, u), "I report me to all Musitians of what nations soeuer they be, for a, e, i, and o; and for u, also, except the French, Scottish and Brutes as is sayd: for namely all English Musitians (as I can vnderstande) doe sounde them, teaching *vt*, *re*, *mi*, *fa*, *sol*, *la*; And so do all speakers and readers often and much in our speach, as in this sentence: The pratling Hostelер hath dressed, curried, and rubbed our horses well. Where none of the fiue vowels is missounded, but kept in their proper and auncient soundes: and so we maye vse them, to our great ease and profite."

and that we may not unnaturally expect to find in it (*aa*, ee, ii, oo, uu) for (aa, ii, ei, uu, ou) of the XVI th century.

As to the diphthongs they have followed two courses, according as the first or second element became the most conspicuous. In (ai) the (a) has been gradually made closer, changing in the diphthong (æi, ei), as in the simple sound (æ, e), and then the first element being lengthened (eei), the second gradually disappeared (ee), only to reappear as a faint aftersound in the present century (*eei*). Hence, before the XVI th century we can only expect the (ai) to have been the same, or at most to have been preceded by (*ai*). On the other hand (ei) may have had an antecedent (ai). It is a remarkable circumstance that (ai) in French also gave place to (ei) and then to (ee), p. 118. In Modern High German we also find a dialectic substitution of (ee) for (ai), as (een) for (ain) one, but it remains to be proved which is the older form, the old high German *ei* answering to the Gothic *ai* = (ee), and the modern high German *ei* often answering to an old high German *î* = (ii), of which (ee) may be a first degradation. In Latin (aaii) as in *pictaï* appears to have generated (ai, ee) as in *pictæ* (pik·tee). In Greek *αι*, which could hardly have been originally anything but (ai), is now (ee) and was so apparently at the time of Ulphilas. In Sanscrit the (guna) combination (ai) resulted in the present (*ee*) or (ee).

In (au) the (a) has been gradually made opener (*a*), and the (u) has acted more and more to produce a labialisation of this open (*a*), thus (A'*w*) till it disappeared altogether; leaving (AA) only. We cannot, therefore, well suppose (*a*u) to have preceded (au). The sound may have had an antecedent (eu), but was most probably original. It is remarkable that (au) in Welsh generated (oo), that is (a) was labialised to (o = a*w*), without being previously broadened to (*a*), in quite recent times, *pob*, *pawb* = (poob, paub) being still co-existent. In French (au) produced (*oo*). In German (au) is often dialectically (*oo*). In Latin (au) became Italian (oo), as *paucus poco* (poo·ko). In Sanscrit the (guna) combination (au) has become (*oo*) or (oo). In Greek the vowel (u) fell into the consonants (bh, ph) and hence the vowel was preserved. But Ulphilas used the combination (au) for the Greek *ὁ μικρόν*.

The change (ei, ɔi) hardly indicates a direction. But as (ou) had an antecedent (uu), so (ei) may have had an antecedent (ii).

The change of (eu) to (iu) on the one hand and (*oo*) on the other is recent. One or the other seems to have occurred

according as the first element (e) or second (u) prevailed. The number of words in which the sound of (eu) remained is so small that it is difficult to form any conclusions on the change.[1]

The change (ou, əu) would have been insufficient, if we had not known that (uu) generally preceded (ou).

As far as the xvi th century is concerned (oou) is original, but as (aa) may have preceded (oo) so (aau) may have preceded (oou).

There seems every reason to suppose that (ui) was the original form of the diphthong which is now (ɔi), and that the form (uui) which we find in the xvi th century, and which, altered to (əi), appeared in the xvii th century, and crops up even now, is not an alteration of (oi), but is rather a remnant of the older form. It does not appear possible to suggest an antecedent for (ui).

Combining the above observations on the direction of change, with the orthographical representation of sound, we should be led to expect that previous to the xvi th century the sounds attributable to the various letters in alphabetical order might possibly be as follows :—

Modern Spelling.	Possible Sounds before xvi th Century.	Modern Spelling.	Possible Sounds before xvi th Century.
a short	a, *a*	*i* short	*i*
a long	aa, *aa*	*i* long	ei, ii
ai	ai, *ai*	*ie*	ee
au	au	*o* short	o, a ; u
e short	e, ɛ	*o* long	oo, aa ; uu
e long	ee	*oa*	oo, aa
ea	ee	*oi*	oi, ui
ee	ee	*oo*	oo ; uu
ei	ei, ai	*ou*	oou, *aa*u ; uu, u
eu	yy, eu	*u* short	u ; *i*, y
		u long	yy, uu

But at what time any such combinations were prevalent, and how early the xvi th century pronunciation had prevailed, we must seek other evidence to shew. In the meanwhile, by

[1] The pronunciation cited on p. 141, (shɛu) for *shew*, must be some dialectic remnant of (sheu), and suggests an intermediate between (sheu) and (sh*oo*). Hart in his phonetic writing uses both (shio) and (sheu) for *shew*. Mr. M. Bell notices that there is a 'Cockney" habit of "separating the labio-lingual vowels (u, *o*) into their lingual & labial components, & pronouncing the latter successively instead of simultaneously," one result of which is saying (au) for (*oo*). Visible Speech, p. 117.

comparing this purely theoretical table, founded on no evidence of any kind, but purely deduced from a consideration of the direction of change, and not limited to any particular period of time preceding the XVIth century, with the table given by anticipation on p. 28, as an expression of the general general results of the following investigation respecting the XIVth century, it will be seen that there is a remarkable agreement between the two, so that all the results there obtained may be pronounced theoretically probable, however strange they would have appeared if the direction of change had not been previously ascertained. At the same time the great difference between the sounds here considered as possible, and those which, based upon present habits, are usually assumed, will serve to shew the value and importance of the preceding investigation. The subject has hitherto been considered from far too modern a point of sight, and with far too limited a range of vision. The changes in the last three centuries, of which we have contemporary evidence, not having been generally known, and the changes in the cognate Germanic dialects, although recorded by Rapp and Grimm, not having been duly weighed, and the habit of reading Spenser and Shakspere in our modern pronunciation having become ingrained, we were prepared to regard the sounds of our language as something fixed and settled in point of time, at most admitting a dialectic difference which we perhaps attributed solely to geographical causes. This must now be given up, and we must proceed to investigate pronunciation with a knowledge that it has changed, and must change chronologically, that at any time there must be, even at the same place, diversities of coexistent forms; and at different places, even when the language has been derived, at no very great interval, from the same sources, there must also be differences arising from want of communication, which will therefore be the more striking, the earlier the period and therefore the more imperfect the means of transit, and especially that any cause which will occasion the intercommunication of districts usually isolated, must have a great effect on pronunciation. Our endeavour therefore will be to discover, not what earlier English pronunciation was generally, but as definitely as possibly what it was at different particular times and places. Of course this can only be done by means of determining the value attributed to the alphabetic symbols by writers of known time and place. This is the object of the investigations contained in the two next chapters.

CHAPTER IV.

On the Pronunciation of English during the Fourteenth Century as Deduced from an Examination of the Rhymes in Chaucer and Gower.

§ 1. *Principles of the Investigation.*

The War of the Roses raged from 1455 to 1486. The Long Parliament met in 1640, and Charles II. returned in 1660. Hence the XV th and XVII th centuries were memorable in English history for two long continued civil wars, causing unprecedented communication between all parts of the country, and withdrawing the minds of men from literature to fix them upon the events of the day. This "commyxstion & mellynge," as Treuisa hath it, of men from the various counties of England necessarily produced an effect both on the structure and pronunciation of the language. The whole style of English at the close of the XVII th century is dissimilar from that at the close of the XVI th. A different mind reigned in the people and required a different instrument to express itself. And that this was not confined to an alteration of words, idiom, and composition of sentences, but extended itself also to pronunciation in a most distinctly characterised manner, we have already seen. The XVII th century produced a number of writers who paid attention to pronunciation, who sought either to investigate the relations of spoken sounds, or to supplement the deficiencies of orthography by lists of words and rules, by which the pronunciation could be tolerably ascertained. These lists and rules became so full towards the close of the XVII th century, that we have been able to trace the successive phases of alteration which words underwent, and to see how the sounds of the XVI th century gave place to those with which we are more familiar.

If then the civil commotions of the XVII th century produced such important changes in our language and pronunciation, what must we expect from the still longer and ruder

disturbances of the XVth century, when the language was in a more inchoate stage, when the French element was fusing with the Saxon into the familiar alloy of the XVIth century, when no printing had as yet called forth an abundance of readers,[1] so that the language altered organically from mouth to mouth untrammeled by literary fetters, and men of the north, middle, and south, jostling with each, wore down the angles of their dialectic differences, and gradually produced an English of England? Practically we know that the XVth century was a period of great change in the whole character of our language; the last remnants of our inflexional system were abandoned, the sharp distinction between the "gentilmans" French and the "vplondischemens" English, disappeared, and a "common dialect" was acknowledged by all writers.[2] The distinction between the English of Chaucer, writing down to the close of the XIVth century, and that of Spenser, the next great poet on our roll, who wrote after the country had well settled from its troubles, and printing had formed a reading public, is so sharp, that we seem to have fallen upon another language rather than upon a form of speech differing only by five generations.

As then the language altered so markedly, must we not look for similar changes in the pronunciation? The example of the XVIIth century irresistibly forces this conclusion upon us, and we also feel that if there had only been a succession of writers to chronicle them, we should have had a continual list of changes, comparable to those furnished while the XVIIth passed its meridian and drew to its termination, only more complex, more striking, more characteristic. Unfortunately we have no such writers, no such rules and lists to refer to; only a certainty of chaos and no guide. In shewing the development of the spellings *ee*, *ea* (p. 77) and *oo*, *oa* (p. 96) in the XVIth century, to mark distinctions in the sounds of long *e* and long *o*, familiar to the speaker, but ignored by the writer, and, without such a guide, impossible to discriminate by an ignorant reader, as one of the XIXth century must naturally be in this respect, we foreshadowed the confusion in the orthography of the latter end of the XVth and commencement of the XVIth

[1] Caxton set up his press in 1471; the effect on the masses did not make itself felt till the next century.

[2] Gill, after distinguishing the Northern, Eastern, and Western dialects, says "quod hic de dialectis loquor, ad rusticos tantùm pertinere velim intelligas; nam mitioribus ingenijs & cultiùs enutritis, unus est ubique sermo & sono, & significatu," and this he terms the "dialectus communis."

century, a confusion which it is as yet impossible to dissipate. We can, as in the estimate made at the end of the preceding chapter, be tolerably sure that a given written vowel or combination of vowels, was pronounced in one of two or three ways, but there does not appear to be, at present, any means of deciding which of those ways should be chosen in any particular case. After we have arrived at a more definite notion of the pronunciation of the XIV th century, the range of diversity will be somewhat narrowed, and by comparing the XIV th with the XVI th century pronunciation of any word, noticing the direction of change, and, theoretically estimating the time necessary to effect it—an estimate which must be always hazardous—we may feel somewhat more confident. As however it is advisable in a preliminary investigation like the present, to reduce theory to the narrowest possible limits, and to base results upon evidence, or a wide induction, I have thought it necessary to exclude the XV th century altogether from my researches, and to proceed by one step from the settled period of the XVI th to the settled period of the XIV th century. In § 7 of this chapter, however, I shall indicate a rough practical method which may be adopted for reading works of the XV th century, founded upon the comparison already indicated.

The manuscripts of the XIV th century poems, which the name of Chaucer points out as the principal subject of investigation, though all belonging to the XV th century were fortunately written in its early part, and the Harleian MS. of the Canterbury Tales, No. 7334, which will be here generally followed, was probably written before the Rose troubles had commenced, so that although it labours under the disadvantage of being a generation after time,[1] yet it was not subject to those more violent changes which render the earlier printed editions of Caxton and others useless for our present purpose. This manuscript has, in addition to its careful execution, early date, and accessibility in the British Museum, the advantage of having been twice recently printed, by Mr. Wright,[2] and by Mr. Morris.[3] In

[1] Mr. Morris in his Chaucer Extracts, (see note 3, below), p. xliv, calls this a "MS., not later perhaps than the year of Chaucer's death."

[2] Mr. Wright's edition has been reprinted in double columns large octavo, and is published by Richard Griffin and Co., London and Glasgow, for half-a-crown. It is the most convenient working edition.

[3] Mr. Morris's edition forms the second and third volumes of his complete edition of Chaucer's poetical works in six volumes, published by Bell and Daldy, London, 1866, at five shillings a volume, the only edition of Chaucer's works taken wholly from MS. authority where MSS exist. In the Clarendon Press series Mr. Morris has reprinted the Prologue and two

both editions the punctuation and capitals and the uses of *th*, *y*, *u*, *v*, are modern, and the contractions are all extended. In Mr. Morris's edition, the Lansdowne MS. 851 has been collated throughout, but every word not in the Harleian is printed in italics, and many final *e*'s have been also added in italics when considered to be grammatically necessary.[1] The long and tediously written *Confessio Amantis* of Gower, has not been properly edited. Dr. Reinhold Pauli's text, like Tyrwhitt's Chaucer, exhibits the text and orthography of no particular manuscript or time. But three good MSS. in the British Museum, and one at the Society of Antiquaries, are readily accessible, and Pauli's edition serves as a guide through the ponderous mass. The great regularity of Gower's verse and rhymes, renders his works a convenient supplement to Chaucer's, and I have found it necessary to make a complete examination of his rhymes. The mode of referring to Chaucer's and Gower's works will be explained at the end of this section.

The principles of the investigation on which I am about to enter, as to the sounds intended to be conveyed by the orthography used by the scribe of the Harleian MS. 7334 in particular, which may be assumed as the received Court pronunciation towards the close of the XIVth century, and will be briefly termed the pronunciation of Chaucer, are the following.

tales in a cheap form from this MS. This will be referred to as his Chaucer Extracts.

[1] In the numerous citations which I shall have to make I have generally followed Wright's edition, but in all important or doubtful cases I have referred to Morris's. One reason for using Wright's edition, besides convenience, was that the lines are numbered consecutively throughout, except the *Coke's Tale of Gamelyn*, which is numbered separately because it is omitted by Tyrwhitt as certainly not Chaucer's. Mr. Morris's edition has fresh sets of numbers for every prologue, tale, and part of tale throughout. This is theoretically the best, for it is certain that the poem is altogether fragmentary, and, as the manuscripts and editors do not all agree in the order of the pieces, it is probable that no order as yet adopted is that into which Chaucer would have cast the poems had he lived to give them the extension originally designed. For example, in the *Secounde Nonnes Tale*, supposed to be *told* by a *woman*, not *written* by a *man*, we have—

> And though that I, unworthy *sone* of Eve,
> Be synful, yet accepte my bileve. 11990.
> Yet pray I you that *reden that I write*. 12006.

Again, in the *Schipmannes Tale*, supposed to be told by a *man*, in speaking of wives we find—

> The sely housbond algat moste pay,
> He most *us* clothe in ful good array,
> Al for his oughne worschip richely;
> In which array *we* daunce jolily;
> And if that he may not, paraventure,
> Or elles wil not such dispens endure,
> But thynketh it is wasted and i-lost,
> Than moot another paye for *oure* cost,
> Or lene *us* gold, that is perilous. 14422

These expressions are in both cases irreconcilable with the supposed speaker, so that there must have been some jolting or oversight in the editing.

1.) *When few people can read, rhymes to be intelligible must be perfect.*

Owing probably to a change of sound which has not been accompanied by a change of spelling, English poets of the XVIIIth and XIXth centuries take the liberty of considering such words as *love move, pull cull, eternity I, pass was, none stone*, etc., to be rhymes, and readers are accustomed to pass them over as "licenses," although they always produce a disagreable effect upon children and unlettered adults. On the other hand words of which the final parts are pronounced almost identically, at any rate with a much nearer coincidence of sound than those cited above, are absolutely tabooed as rhymes. A XIXth century poet would be much sooner allowed to rhyme *whelk*, with *talk*, than *harm* with *psalm*, or *fork* with *hawk*, although an unlettered Southern makes no difference in the sound, and a lettered Southern rather imagines that he makes than really makes any distinction (p. 196). It is different with Northerns, Irish, or Scotch. It would be, perhaps, incorrect to push the theory too far, and say that in the very earliest attempts at rhyme an untutored audience would be satisfied with nothing less than that perfection which they could not possibly appreciate. But even then the general tendency becomes a sufficient guide. In finished and careful writers like Chaucer and Gower, such imperfections are not à priori likely to occur, and, as we shall see, are in fact unknown.

The various kinds of rhyme which are actually found are as follows. Let BAC, DEF represent two syllables, A, E being any vowels, and B, C; D, F any consonants. Then if B = D but AC is not = EF, as in *Bac, Bef*, we have *initial rhyme* or *alliteration*, which was used in the earliest form of English poetry, the Vision of William concerning Piers Plowman, 1362, being a comparatively modern instance. Next let A = E, but B-C not equal D-F, as *bAc, dAf*, the result is *middle rhyme* or *assonance*, which prevails in Spanish ballad poetry, where the same vowel occurs in the final syllable of alternate lines throughout the whole ballad, and the consonants must vary.[1] Thirdly let C = F but BA not = DE, as *baC deC* we have *final rhyme*, the English "rhymes to the

[1] This is the theory; in practice however the difficulty of keeping the consonants always distinct has occasioned rhymes to be occasionally mixed up with assonances. If a diphthong is introduced in place of a simple vowel, the assonance refers only to the accented vowel, *e.g.* in Spanish *ai, au* are assonant with *a, ia, ua*, and *ei, eu* with *e, ie, ue*. Thus in the Cid romance 'En las córtes de Toledo,' the assonant words are: Sesto, sentim*ie*nto, m*ue*rto, d*eu*do, dello, prop*ue*sto, p*ue*sto, s*ue*lo, as*ie*nto, den*ue*stos, r*ei*no, teneos, condeno, consejo, pl*ei*to, reto, escuderos, derecho, fecho, med*io*, alojam*ie*nto, fecho, mensageros, storgam*ie*nto, mancebos, ac*uer*do, arr*eo*, Pedro, heredero, contento, casam*ie*ntos. In 'Despues que retó á Zamora;' among others occur: Lara, h*aya*, contrar*ias*, c*aus*a. In 'Considerando los condes,' among others: vale, paces, b*ales*. In 'Morir vos queredes, padre;' Tajada, pre*cia*da, c*aig*a. See also the Cid ballads 'Con el cuerpo que agoniza,' 'Fablando estaba en el claustro,' 'Si atendeis que de los brazos,' 'De palacio sale el Cid,' 'Desterrado estaba el Cid,' 'Aquese famoso Cid,' 'Non quisiera, yernos

eye," like *love, more;* (the words *was, pass* form no rhyme at all). I am not aware that BA = DE, but C not = F, as *BAc, BAf* that is *double initial rhyme*, or B-C = D-F but A not = E, as *BaC, BeC,* that is *extreme rhyme*, are recognized as rhymes under any system. But AC = EF, and B not = D, as *bAC, dAC* or *double final rhyme*, is the ideal of a *perfect rhyme* in modern English and most European languages, and is the normal rhyme of Chaucer. Nevertheless modern French writers, as well as Chaucer, admit the *identical rhyme* BAC = DEF, that is *BAC, BAC,* which under the name of *rhyme riche* is constantly used in French versification. Either *perfect rhyme bAC, dAC,* or *identical rhyme BAC, BAC,* and even the assonance *bAe, dAf,* would obviously serve to determine either one of A and E from a knowledge of the other. This leads to the second principle—

2). *When a word containing a known vowel sound rhymes with a word containing an unknown vowel sound, the sound of the latter may generally be assumed to be the same as the former before* XV *th century.*

The difficulty consists in finding words whose vowel sounds are known. These are supplied in Chaucer from three sources, Latin, French, and those known sounds of the XVI th century which we have a right to suppose, according to the results of the last chapter, came down to that period in an unaltered form.

As regards the Latin words we may assume a Roman Catholic pronunciation, which will give *a, e, i, o* as certainly (a, e, i, o) long or short, and short *u* as (u). There may be a doubt whether long *u* had its general sound (uu), or its occasional Latin and general French sound (yy). I am rather disposed to think that Chaucer, to whom French was familiar, used the French sound (yy) for Latin long *u*. Even in 1580 we learn from Bullokar that Latin as pronounced in England did not possess the sounds of (eh, ii, uu, sh, dh, w, wh, ȝ), so that long *u* was pronounced by him in Latin as in English and French, namely as (yy).[1] We are

mios.' 'Despues que el Cid Campeador,' 'En Valencia estaba el Cid,' 'De Castilla van marchando,' &c. In 'Cuando el rejo y claro Apolo,' we find *lástima* quasi *last'ma*, assonancing with: estaba pasan. In the oldest Romance poems, assonances occur mixed with rhymes; the following are instances of diphthongal assonances: *Eulalia* (Diez: Altrom. Sprachdenkmale 1846, p. 21) tost coist v. 19, *Leodegar* (Diez: Zwei Altrom. Gedichte, 1852, pp. 39-46) fiet rei *stanza* 9, mesfait ralat 15, advuat estrai 16, mors toit 20, preier deu 25 and 31, talier queu 27, deus eel 40. In English poems of the XIII th century, assonances are well marked, see Chap. V, § 1, and especially No. 5, Havelok, and No. 6, King Horn. In more recent English they are avoided, or occur only from ignorance or carelessness, as in the Nursery Rhyme "Sit on a barn And keep himself warm," and in the old catch "Cinnamon and ginger, nutmegs and cloves, And that gave me this jolly red nose," or as Benedick (Much Ado, v. 2) "can finde out no rime to Ladie but babie, an innocent rime." In Goethe's song in Faust:

"Es war einmal ein König
Der hatt' einen groszen Floh,
Den liebt' er gar nicht wenig,
Als wie sein eignen Sohn,"

the apparent assonance: Floh Sohn, may have only been a reminiscence of his old Frankfurt pronunciation Soh for Sohn.

[1] See the example of Bullokar's phonetic writing Chap. VIII, § 4.

therefore hardly justified in assuming a different pronunciation for the Latin long *u* in Chaucer's time, as the English long *u* had most probably the same sound. The case is different with respect to long *i* which was (ei) or (ai) in the XVI th century both in English and the English pronunciation of Latin, but was I believe (*ii*) in both during the XIV th century.

The French of the XIV th century would, on this hypothesis, have the same set of vowels as the Latin. It would be useless attempting to distinguish in the French pronunciation of that time two sounds of *e* and two of *o;* we cannot even be sure that they existed at that early period, as we know from Meigret that they did in the XVI th century. The combination *ou* in French was in Chaucer's time (uu, u) and *eu* was probably (eu) or (ey) and occasionally (yy) as in the XVI th century; (œ) the modern sound of French *eu* appears not to have been developed in Chaucer's time, or Meigret would have been familiar with it. The French diphthongs *ai, au* could not have differed from (ai, au) or (ai, ao), since we find them in the latter form in Meigret. The syllables *an, in, on, un* now pronounced as the nasal vowels (aʌ, eʌ, oʌ, əʌ), seem to have been received in England as (aan, ann, en, oon nun, un), without any nasality, and it is difficult, if not impossible, to discover any trace of vowel nasality in the notices which exist of early French pronunciation; Beza, 1584, the earliest I have found, seems to confuse (ʌ) with (q). This tolerable certainty with regard to the sounds of French letters will be found extremely useful, especially when it is remembered that Chaucer not only used French phrases, but introduced a large number of French words into his poetry, and as these were familiar to the gentry in the pronunciation of the time, he could not have ventured to give them a different form in poetry intended especially for the delight of that gentry. We have modern examples of the same kind. Old French words we ruthlessly anglicize; we talk of a *feat* (fiit) of arms, as if it were *feet*, but we refuse the same sound to *fête*. We speak of *recoup* (rikuup·) and *estate* (esteet·) but of *coup d'état* (kudeta) not (kuup desteet·). We do not scruple to say *annoy* (ænɔi·) but we try to say *ennui* (aʌnyi), and even if the trial results in (ɔnwii·), it has not the true English ring with it like (ænɔi·). The old words *aid* (*ee*d) and *camp* (kæmp) will not allow us to call an *aide de camp* an (*ee*d di kæmp), although our (*ee*-di-kaʌ) is not the French (eed dɔ kaʌ). *Environs, envelope* are words in a transition state (envɔi·rənz, en·velo*o*p) and (ɔn·virən, ɔn·vilɔp) being both heard. *Chignon* and *crinoline*, constantly spoken of, remain French (shinjoʌ, krinolin) or as nearly so as the speaker can contrive.[1]

For old English words we shall have to lay most stress on the pronunciations of those now written with *ai, ea*, and pronounced in the XVI th century as (ai, ee). We might safely assume that these sounds must have been the same in the older periods, but we shall be generally able to establish the fact by the other two sources.

[1] This subject will have to be specially noticed in the next section, under I, Y.

In case of any marked peculiarity, the imperfection of manuscripts will make it necessary not to draw conclusions from isolated examples, but to collect as many examples as possible, and to search as carefully for exceptions as for corroborative instances. The exceptions will then have to be separately examined, and carefully investigated to see whether they are mere mistakes of the scribe, which other known orthographies would explain, whether they are simply solecisms not borne out by other instances and therefore incorrigible errors, or whether they really indicate a double pronunciation.

Having thus obtained an insight into the system of orthography used by the writer, having learned to estimate his various contrivances to represent sound, at their true worth, we may venture to assume as a third principle,—

3.) *Orthographies shewn by rhymes to have certain values, may be assumed to have those values even where they are not confirmed by rhymes.*

This assumes that the intention of the writer was to represent the sounds of the words, and that his variants arose, not from simple ignorance, but from the fact that he had to make his orthography, as he proceeded, after the usages which he had been taught in youth, and he naturally hesitated as to which usage was most appropriate at any time. Other variants of course occur from carelessness, for which the scribe who writes many hours a day is scarcely to be blamed,—he that is without such carelessness among us, let him throw the first stone, I cannot.[1] That the writers anterior to printing had any intention of representing the histories of words by means of the orthography, in place of the mere sounds, it is impossible to believe. Not only do the variants we meet with exclude this notion, but there was the all-sufficient reason that they could not indicate what they did not know. New French words would be written, of course, in the French way, but then this accorded so closely with the English way, that the scribe would hardly note the difference.[2]

[1] In reading over the first draft of this chapter, I found I had written *consequence* for *confident*, to such utter destruction of the meaning of the sentence, that I had some difficulty in recovering the original word. Similar examples will occur to every author, and his own difficulties in correcting his own errors will lead him to appreciate the difficulty and danger of a critical restoration of any corrupt text.

[2] So far as I can recall, there are very few decided examples of a French spelling being retained which did not represent the English sound. The only example I have noted where the rhyme pointed it out, is

But natheles, pas over, this is no fors,
I pray to God to save thi gentil *corps*.
13718.

Where the *p* is written although not pronounced, as in the French fashion. Yet we have now both *corse* and *corpse*, and it may have been mere accident that the copyist wrote *corps* for *cors*, just as if, because *corpse* is the more usual word, we made it in writing rhyme with remorse. In the middle of a line we find *temps* 12803. The use of *gn* in French words where we have reason to think only *n* was pronounced in English may be also considered as a case in point, as digne 519, atteigne 8323.

These are the principles on which I shall endeavour to determine Chaucer's pronunciation. The question naturally arises, how far is the first and most important principle, to which the two others are only subsidiary, justified by the manuscripts? A careful examination of all the rhymes, in the 17368 lines which compose the Canterbury Tales as exhibited in Wright's edition, has resulted in finding less than fifty rhymes in which the spelling indicates a difference of pronunciation. Of these a large number consist in one of the two words cited having a final *e* added or omitted, while there are constant examples in other places of an orthography which would render the rhyme perfect.

The principal instances are:—born biforne 1225, trace allas 1953, bere messager 5142, eeke leek 6153, potestate estaat 7599, wolde brynge, for her lyvyng 8101, of hew, at newe 8253, withoute youre witynge, in this thing, in your wirching 8368, mighte, to sight 8556, solace allas 9149, atte laste, it cast 9827, est beste 10773, her witte, it 8303, rest, he keste 10663, hert smerte 10793, kepyng rynge 10965, hoste wost 11007, ever dissevere 12802, Galiene Egipciene Arrabiene sleen 15822, matere gramer 14946, tresor Nabugodonosore 15629, gold olde 15645, may aye 17105, leye pray way 8753.

These cases are often mere slips of the pen and can easily be corrected. The considerations in §§ 4 & 5, will be sufficient to explain them all, and they must be all reckoned as errors of writing, not of rhyme. Poor Chaucer is very pathetic in reference to the damage done to his verse by scribes. In Troylus and Cryseyde 5·74 he says, addressing his "litel boke,"

> And for ther is so grete dyversite
> In Englissh, and in writynge of our tonge,
> So preye I to God, that non myswrite the
> Ne the mys-metere, for defaute of tonge!
> And red wher so thow be, or elles songe,
> That thou be understonde, God I beseche!
> But yet to purpos of my rather speche.

And what he suffered from the carelessness of scribes is well exhibited in his address to his own scrivener, which by the bye has itself been much injured in transcribing.[1] He is made to say: 6·307

> Adam Scrivener, if ever it the befall
> Boece or Troilus for to write new,
> Under thy long locks maist thou have the scall,
> But after my making thou write more trew!
> So oft a day I mote thy werke renew,
> It to correct and eke to rubbe and scrape;
> And all is thorow thy negligence and rape.

Would that we had a text corrected by Chaucer's hand!

[1] Mr. Morris had added several *e*'s required by the language. But the lines are quoted from Thynne's edition of 1532, and were evidently "improved" to suit the XVI th century pronunciation. It is a wonder we do not find *anew* in the second line; *for* in the second, *long* in the third, and

The cases in which short or long *i* rhyme with short or long *e*, may either belong to the class of accommodation rhymes, to be immediately noticed, or are explicable on the principles laid down in the next section under *i*. The following are the chief instances noted:

geven lyven 917, list best 6819, 7567, list rest 9299, 16559, abrigge alegge 9531, swere hire = *her* 11101, 12076, pulpit iset 13806, shitte = *shut* lette 14660.

There remain only nine instances of other classes to be considered, and some of these are patent clerical errors. Thus since *hye* is constantly found for *high*, it follows that in: charged hem in *hyghe*, some remedye 4629, the *gh* is a mere error of the writer. In: tyrant Buserus, serpent *reneneus* 15589, there is little doubt that *-neus* is a clerical error for *-mous*, which would give a perfect rhyme and be a correct form, as Mr. Morris reads and as is found in 16063. The common *yen* for *eyes*, shows that the initial *e*, in: thin outer *eyen*, may well aspien 12426, is a mere slip of the pen. The rhymes: alle *thastates*, of *debates*, desolat 4548 are manifestly clerical errors, and we have probably to read: thastat (= the estate) debat, desolat. The lines

> There saw he hartes with her hornes *hee*
> The gretest that were ever seen with eye, 11503

given in Wright and Tyrwhitt (who has *hie eie*) are not in Morris, and correspond to a gap in the Harleian MS. If genuine, the rhyming words should clearly be the common pair *hye ye* or *heighe eyghe*. In: more and *lasse*, marquisesse 8816, *lasse* is evidently a clerical error for *lesse*, which is the reading of the MS. Dd. 4. 24, University Library, Cambridge.

The rhyme: i-cased, *y-preised*, 6511, is given as: y-cased *y-presed* 2·234 by Morris, and: cesed ypreised by Tyrwhitt, but the Harl. 7334 reads: I cased, y pleased, and the Landsd. 851 esede yplesede.[1] These are usual rhymes. Lastly: jelousye me 1809,

more in the fourth line are evident insertions; *e* final was omitted in *befalle*, *newe*, *scalle*, *trewe*, *renewe*, and unnecessarily added in *mote*, *werke*, *eke*; and *thorow* should be *thurgh*. The lines may then have possibly sounded thus:

> (Aadaam Skri*i*neer', *if* eer it dhee befal·e
> Bo,ees· or Troo·ilus to *rwii*·te neu·e,
> Un·der dh*i* lok·es maist dhu nan dhe skal·e
> But aft·er ·m*ii* maak·*iq*· dhu *rwii*·te treu·e!
> So oft a dai *ii* moot dh*i* werk reneu·e,
> It to korekt· and eek to rub and skraa·pe,—
> And al is thurk*u*h ·dh*ii* negl*i*dzhens· and raa·pe!)

[1] Wright says in a footnote: "The Harl. MS. reads *y-pleased*: but the reading I have adopted seems to give the best sense." The context as well as the rhyme declares in favour of *y-pleased*, for flattery and pleasing, named at first, are repeated as *flattery* and *attendance*, *business*, afterwards. The whole passage, inserting the bracketed words, runs thus in the Harl. 7334:—

> Some fayden [þat] oure herte is moſt I eaſed
> Whan [þat] we ben y flaterid and y pleaſed
> He goþ ful neigh þe ſoth I wil not lye
> A man ſchal wynne vs beſt wiþ flatery*e*
> And with attendaunce and [wiþ] buſyneſſe
> Ben we y limed boþe more and leſſe.

is not even an approach to rhyme and is manifestly corrupt. I find on examination that all the other MSS. in the British Museum read *jolite*, which is Tyrwhitt's reading, and is no doubt correct. The rhyme: mercy sey 13308, will be specially examined in the next section, under I, when it will be shewn from other MSS. that the proper reading is: mercy sy.

This examination is calculated to make us feel confident in the correctness of our first principle as applied to the Canterbury Tales. On extending the examination over the whole of Chaucer's poems, the following faulty rhymes are all that I have noted, which do not admit of an immediate correction. Except in certain pieces, of which the originals are thereby proved to be of very doubtful authority, and of comparatively recent date, the faulty rhymes will be found exceedingly rare. The citations refer to the volume and page of Mr. Morris's edition, and the references to the original MSS. or editions, are all given.

VOLS. II. & III.

1. *The Canterbury Tales*, from the Harl. MS. 7334, collated with Lansdowne MS. 851. After the previous examination this may be said to have no faulty rhymes.

VOL. IV.

2. *The Court of Love*, pp. 1-50: from Trin. Coll. Cam. MS. R. iii. 20: write aright 1, discrive high 4, wonderly signifie 4, degree ye = *eye* 5, white delite hight 6, hie crye whye 10, I espye ye = *eye* 10, hie besyly ye = *eye* 11, fantasye merily 15, ye = *eye* pretily 15, white delite sight 16, eschewe newe due 17, ben engyne 19, ye = *eye* wonderly hie 24, se ye = *eye* 27, shewe hewe 34, by nye = *near* 34, modifie truly 35, avowe wowe = *woo* howe 42, I flye sodenly 45, trewe dewe pursue 48.

3. *The Parlement of Briddes, or the Assembly of Foules*, pp. 51-74, from Bodleian MS. Fairfax 16, collated with Harleian MS. 7333, and Bodleian MS. Seld. B. 24. None.

4. *The Boke of Cupide, God of Love, or the Cuckow and the Nightingale*, pp. 75-86, from Bodleian MS. Fairfax 16, collated with Harl. MS. 7333, and Bodleian MS. Seld. B 24. None.

5. *The Flower and the Leaf*, pp. 87-107, from Speght's edition of Chaucer 1597 and 1602, no manuscript copy being known: hie = *high* certainely 87, truly company 93, melody soothly 93, company lady richely 98, sautry craftely 98, womanly daisie 99, company friendly 103, properly company 103, chivalry worthy 104, victory mightily 104, company humbly hie = *haste* 107.

6. *Troylus and Cryseyde*, p. 108, from Harl. MS. 2280 collated with Harl. MSS. 1239, 2392, 3943, and Additional MS. 12044. Troye, joye, fro the 108, contrarie debonaire staire 116.

VOL. V.

Troylus and Cryseyde continued. pp. 1-77. None.

7. *Chauceres A. B. C. called La Priere de Nostre Dame*. pp. 78-85, from the Bodl. MS. Fairfax 16, collated with a MS. in the Hunterian Museum, Glasgow, medycine resygne 81, this rhyme is probably correct.

8. *Chaucer's Dream*, pp. 86-154, from Speght's edition of Chaucer 1597 and 1602, no manuscript copy being known: eene = *eyen* kene 87, was glasse 88, paire *here* (this word seems to have been supplied by the editor) 88, hie = *high* sie = *see* 88, be companie 89-90, come some 92, undertaketh scapeth 96, grene yene = *eyen* 96, place was 100, named attained 104, een = *eyen* queen 106, joyously harmony 107, gentilnesse peace (?) 107, be companie 108, destroid conclude 108, vertuous use 110, signe encline (?) 113, resigne nine (?) 120, found hond 126, remember tender 129, fiftene, an even 132, ligne compane 132, safety company 133-4, greene eene = *eyen* 138, cry company 138, softely harmony 141, nine greene (?) 142, vertuouse use 143, company by 147.

9. *The Boke of the Duchesse, or the Dethe of Blanche*, pp. 155-195, from the Bodl. MS. Fairfax. 16: Pythagoras ches 175.

10. *Of Quene Anelyda and False Arcyte*, pp. 196–208, from the Bodl. MS. Fairfax, 16. None.

11. *The House of Fame*, pp. 269–275, from the Bodl. MS. Fairfax, 16. None.

12. *The Legende of Goode Women*, pp. 276–361, from the Bodl. MS. Fairfax, 16, collated with Bodl. MS. Seld. B. 24, MSS. Harl. 9832, Addit. 12524 (British Museum) and Gg. 4. 27, in the University Library, Cambridge, privately printed by H. Bradshaw, Cambridge, 1864. None.

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13. *The Romaunt of the Rose*, pp. 1–234, from the unique MS. in the Hunterian Museum, Glasgow: be nycetie 1, samet delit (?) 27, loreyes oliveris 41, I maladie 57, hastily company 57, generaly vilanye 67, worthy curtesie 68, more are 68, abrode forweriede 78, annoy away (?) 82, escape make 84, joye conveye (?) 89, curtesie gladly 91, foly utterly 97, laste barste 97, foly hastily 99, 100, werye seye 99, redily maistrie 101, flaterie uttirly 103, affere debonaire 105, bothom salvacioun 106, angerly villanye 107, espie sikirlye 116, folilye jelousye 116-7, jelousie I 119, 126, I lechery 119, bothoms sesouns 122, high delyverly 123, certeynly jelousie 123, glotouns bothoms 131, storme corne 132, sikirly foly 136, bittirly foly 138, I curtesie 139, lorde rewarde 141, seignorie I 142, ever fer (?) 146, engendrure plesyng 147, companye disrewlilye 149, servise preise =*praise* 151, worthy drurie 154, vice wys 164, to bye hastely 171, sy=*part of the second syllable of fysic*, foly 175, covertly ipocrisie 186, company onterly 192, whye tregetrie=*trickery* 194, companye I 209, mekely trechery 223, sobrely, je vous die 225.

14. *Complaynte of a Loveres Lyfe, or the Complaint of the Black Knight*, pp. 235–259, from the Bodl. MS. Fairfax, 16: white bryght nyght 235, grevously petously malady 240, felyngly malady 242.

15. *The Complaynt of Mars and Venus*, pp. 260–274, from the Bodl. MS. Fairfax, 16, collated with MS. Ff. 1, 6, in the University Library, Cambridge, edition of H. Bradshaw, 1864. None.

16. *A goodly Ballade of Chaucer*, pp. 275–277, from Thynne's edition of 1532: supposeth ryseth 277.

17. *A Praise of Women*, pp. 278–284, from Thynne's edition of 1532. None.

18. *The Compleynte of the Dethe of Pite*, pp. 285–286, from Bodl. MS. Fairfax, 16, collated with Harl. MS. 78. None.

19. *Ballade de Vilage Sauns Peynture*, pp. 289–292, from Bodl. MS. Fairfax, 16. None.

20. *Ballade sent to King Richard*, pp. 292–293, from Bodl. MS. Fairfax, 16. None.

21. *The Compleynte of Chaucer to his Purse*, p. 294, from Bodl. MS. Fairfax, 16, collated with Harl. MS. 7333 and Bodl. Seld. B. 24. None.

22. *Good Counseil of Chaucer*, p. 295, from Bodl. MS. Fairfax, 16, collated with Cotton MS. Otho A. xviii., and MS. Gg. 4. 27, in Univ. Lib. Cam. And Add. MS. 10340, see *Athenæum*, 14 Sept. 1867, p. 333. None.

23. *Prosperity*, p. 296, from Bodl. MS, Seld. B. 24. None.

24. *A Ballade*, pp. 296–7, from Harl. MS. 7333. None.

25. *L'Envoy de Chaucer a Scogan*, pp. 297–8, from Bodl. MS. Fairfax, 16. None.

26. *L'Envoy de Chaucer a Bukton*, pp. 299–300, from Bodl. MS. Fairfax, 16. None.

27. *Ætas Prima*, pp. 300–302, from MS. Hh. 4. 12. 2, late MS. Moore 947, in the Univ. Lib. Cam. None.

28. *Leaulte vault Richesse*, pp. 302–303, from Bodl. MS. Seld. B. 24. None.

29. *Proverbes of Chaucer*, p. 303, from Bodl. MS. Fairfax, 16. None.

30. *Roundel*, pp. 304-5, reprinted from Percy's Reliques of Ancient English Poetry. None.

31. *Virelai*, pp. 305–6, from MS. R. iii. 20, Trin. Coll. Cam.: infortunate fate whate 305, hate desperate estate 306, certayn payn 306.

32. *Chaucer's Prophecy*, p. 307, from Sir Harris Nicolas's edition of a MS. belonging to Mr. Singer. None.

33. *Chaucer's Words unto his own Scrivener*, p. 307, from Thynne's edition, 1532. See suprà p. 250, note. None.

34. *Orisoune to the Holy Virgin*, pp. 308–312, from Bodl. MS. Seld. B. 24: honour cure 310.

In examining Gower's rhymes through the medium of Pauli's edition, I have put aside his orthography as of no value, and have reckoned as faulty rhymes only such as I could not immediately correct by means of the results obtained from an examination of Chaucer, and exhibited in the following sections. The citations refer to the volume and page of Pauli's edition.

Vol. i. sely privete 225, er = *formerly* ware 231,

Vol. ii. named proclaimed 84, joy money 147, Troy monaie 188, nine peine 261, enemy michery 355,

Vol. iii. accompteth amounteth 54, straught songht 374.

Nine faulty rhymes out of more than 33000 verses would not be much. But in fact the editor Dr. Pauli, and not the author, is the person really answerable for them, as the following examination will shew.

The reading: sely privete i 225, is wrong on the face of it, for *sely* makes no sense; the word is *celee* or *cele* as in Harl. 3490, 3869, 7184, and Soc. Ant. MS. 134, meaning *secret*, a purely French word. The passage runs thus in Harl. 3869.

As who saiþ. I am so celee
Ther mai no mannes priuete
Ben heled half so wel as myn.

The reading: er ware i 231, is: er war in Harl. 7184, but: ar war in Harl. 3490 and 3869, the passage in the last being

Of such enfamples as wer ar
Him oghte be þe more war.

The rhyme: named proclaimed ii 84, is given: named, proclamed, by the three Harl. MSS, and: naimd proclaimd, by the Soc. Ant. MS. The first reading is evidently correct from the French *proclamé*, and even Pauli in another place writes: named proclamed i 6.

For: joy money ii 147, Troy monaie ii 188, the Harl. MS. 3869, reads: ioye monoie, Troie monoie. These rhymes will be further considered in the next section under OI.

The rhyme: nine peine ii 261, is written: nyne peyne in Harl. 3869, but this is an evident slip for: nyne pyne, the reading of Harl. 3490 and 7184.

For: enemy michery ii 355, both Harl. 3490 and Harl. 3869 read: enemie micherie.[1] The enemy is Venus, and the word receives the French feminine form, thus, according to Harl. 3869

For Venus which was enemie
Of þilke loues micherie.

The words: accompteth amounteth iii 54, are so spelled in the three Harl. MS., but as it is certain that the two French words from which they have been taken, had the same sound, the rhyme was really perfect. This then is an example in Gower of the retention of a French spelling, which did not represent the English sound, suprà, p. 248, note 2. The orthography *accompt* is even yet

[1] Harl. 7184 is illegible; the word is like enme, that is, there are five strokes between the two e's, and what they mean it is hard to say; probably we should restore missing letters thus: enemie.

retained in our written language, though generally superseded by *account*.

The words: straught sought iii 374, were wrongly transcribed by Pauli from the Harl. 3490, which he professed to follow in this passage, and which reads: strauht cauht.

This examination must be held to establish the correctness of the first principle for all the writings of Chaucer and Gower. The exceptions are clearly due to some error of the editor or the scribe, or to certain varieties of pronunciation which will meet with an explanation hereafter. In Chaucer's time many words certainly existed in two or more forms either entirely different, as *tho* for *those*, *say* for *saw*, *they* for *though*, *mo* for *more*, etc., or only differing in a vowel as *kess* for *kiss*, *lest* for *list lust*, *stree* for *straw*, etc. We find instances of this double use even in prose, and in places where the use was optional,[1] but it was evidently a most convenient instrument in the rhymester's hand, and Chaucer, who, notwithstanding the far greater facilities for rhyme at his time than at the present, seems to have been frequently "hard up,"[2] to judge by those numerous little tags which appear in his poetry and are absent from his prose, has extensively availed himself of them. The following are a few examples of these *Accommodation Rhymes*, as I propose to term them:—

rood upon a *mere* (= a mare), and a mellere 543, gan the child to blesse, gan it *kesse* 8428, holde champartye, may sche *gye* 1951, Then pray I the, to morwe with a spere That Arcita me thurgh the herte *bere* = *bore* 2257, unto oon of *tho*, moche care and wo 2353, that on myn auter bren, that thou go *hen* = *hence* 2357, *stree* = *straw* three 2935, Paternoster *soster* = *sister* 3485, *compame*[3]

[1] A cook thei hadde with hem for the nones,
To boyle chiknes and the *mary* bones 381.
Hence *marrybones* for *marrow bones* (possibly a reference to St. Mary le bon) is not a recent vulgarism, but can boast a high antiquity.

[2] Compare Chaucer's own admission, 6·274:
And eke to me hit is a grete penaunce,
Syth ryme in Englissh hat*h* such skarsete,
To folowe worde by worde the curiosite
Of Graunson, floure of hem that maken in Fraunce.

[3] This reading is doubtful. Lansdown 851, Harl. 1758, MS. Reg. 18. C. ii.; and Sloane MSS. 1685, 1686, all agree in reading: *compame blame*. Harl. 7335 has *come bame*, Harl. 7334 and MS. Reg. 17 D. xv. have both *com pame*, which Wright prints *compame* in one word, and Morris misprints *compaine*, and it should be observed that there is a blotch on the parchment in Harl. MS. 7334, fol. 49 *b*, which looks at first sight as if *paine* and not *pame* were intended, but such a mark is never used throughout the MS. for the dot over an *i*, which is always represented, when written, as it would be in such a case, by a flourish like ı. The writer of MS. Harl. 7333 was so puzzled that he left out the line with *compame*, altered the next line to

= *compagne* blame 3709, beete *sheete* = *shoote* 3927, day *lay* = *law* 4795, *wirche* = *work* chirche 9257, Eve *prere* = *prore* 9203, feste *meste* = *moste* 10613, est *almest* = *almost* 15168, *als* = *also* fals 4315, speche *seche* = *seke* 4939, beech, theech = *the ich* = *prosper I* 12856, *sein* = *seen* agayn 5177, time *envenyme* 6055, *nobleye*, preye, seye 8704, therto, is *do* = *idon* 10313, glayre of an *ey*, eley 12734, seye *abeye* 13514, *mystrist* wist 13784, the mery orgon, in the chirche goon 16337.

These instances, which are only a few out of many, are abundantly sufficient to shew that the scribe was not content with continuing to write one form of a word, and allowing its different sounds to be elicited from the rhyme (as we should now write *a tear, to tear*) but that *he altered the spelling when he wished to shew a difference of sound*. Hence although we have detected him tripping at times, from mere carelessness, we can feel confident that when varieties of spelling as *eyen yen, hye hihe, deyde dyde*, etc. constantly occur, they really indicate different sounds, such as for example we shall learn to attribute to *ey, y, ih*, in other combinations, so that the words just cited should be read (ai·en, ii·en, hii·e hikh·e, daid·e diid·e), and we are thus led to a corroboration of our third principle as well as of our first.

Having thus established the trustworthiness of my instrument of investigation, not merely for the particular instance of this Harleian manuscript 7334, but for all good MSS. of the period, I shall proceed to apply it to discover a complete system of pronunciation, so as to allow us to declaim Chaucer's Canterbury Tales as they might have been read during his lifetime, although doubtless with a modern accent which would have failed to satisfy the poet's ear. Still this pronunciation would have probably been perfectly intelligible, while our modern English method of reading must have sounded as mere gibberish.[1]

rhyme, omitted the following which was then without a rhyme, and read:

Go from þe wyndowe, Jacke fole
thee fayde
I love bette o*þer* and elles I were to
blame
Welle more þan þe by Jhefu *and* his
dame
So lette me slepe a twenty devilweye.

The words: and his dame, in the last line but one, are in another ink, and are apparently written over an obliteration. The last line was originally preceded by:

Go forth thy weye or elles I wolle
caste a stone,

which has been scored out, as it was thus left without a rhyme, but is perfectly legible.

[1] This opinion I entertain so strongly, that I retain its expression in the text, notwithstanding that I have been informed, since it was written, that many Early English scholars adopt systems of pronunciation agreeing in the main with our barbarous method of reading Latin and Greek. While this sheet was passing through the press I received the following: "As to O.E. and A.S. Pronunciation, my scheme is í=i of *shine*, é=ee of *feet*, a=a of *father*,

Mode of Reference to Chaucer and Gower.

The lines of the Canterbury Tales will be cited by their numbers in Wright's *single volume* edition (p. 243 note), the number refers to the first line or word cited. The lines in any of Chaucer's other poetical works will be cited by the volume and page (not number of line) in which they occur in Morris's edition, a turned period being placed after the number of the volume; thus, 4·87 means vol. 4, p. 87. As final words are usually cited, hardly any difficulty will be thus experienced in finding the passage. The list of Chaucer's poems on pp. 251–2, will show at once from the reference the particular poem in which the passage occurs. The lines in Gower will be cited by the volume and page in Pauli's edition,[1] the number of the volume being in small roman letters and the number of the pages following without an intervening comma, thus ii 84 is vol. 2, p. 84. By this means the form of the reference distinguishes the book cited, which will therefore not be named.

As Mr. Morris's edition of the Canterbury Tales is not numbered throughout, and as Tyrwhitt's order of the Tales is not entirely the same as Wright's, the following comparison will be found useful. The numbers refer to the volume and page in Morris and the line in Wright and Tyrwhitt. Occasionally some lines are inserted in one of these editions and omitted in the others, hence it will not always be possible to refer from one to the other by the numbers with certainty, but the difference is always very small, and if allowed for, will create no confusion. In order to correspond as far as possible with Tyrwhitt's system, Mr. Wright's first line of a piece is not always numbered consecutively to the last line of the preceding piece, and his number 6440 is a misprint for 6439. The roman titles of the pieces in the following table follow Mr. Morris's edition; the italic titles of the tales have been added by the author in accordance with the text of the poems, for convenience of reference.

HARMONY OF THE REFERENCES TO MORRIS'S, WRIGHT'S, AND TYRWHITT'S EDITIONS OF THE CANTERBURY TALES.

Name of Piece.	*Morris.*	*Wright.*	*Tyrwhitt.*
1. The Prologue - - - - - - - - -	2·1	1	1
2. The Knightes Tale. *Palamon and Arcite*	2·27	861	861
3. The Prologue of the Myller - - - -	2·96	3111	3111
4. The Milleres Tale. *Nicholas, Absolon, and the Carpenteres Wyf* - - - - -	2·98	3187	3187
5. The Prologue of the Reeve - - - -	2·120	3853	3853
6. The Reeves Tale. *The Miller of Trompyngtoun* - - - - - - - - -	2·122	3919	3919
7. The Cokes Prologue - - - - - - -	2·135	4323	4323

á=o of *bone*, é=a of *fate*, ú=ou of *house*, &c." a scheme utterly irreconcilable with the direct evidence of the last chapter. See also Benjamin Thorpe on the pronunciation of Orrmin, (Analecta Anglo-Saxonica, 1846, 8vo, preface, p. xi) quoted below Chap. V, § 2, No. 1.

[1] Confessio Amantis of John Gower, edited and collated with the best manuscripts by Dr. Reinhold Pauli, London, Bell and Daldy, 1857, 8vo, 3 vols.

Name of Piece.	*Morris.*	*Wright.*	*Tyrwhitt.*
8. The Cokes Tale. *The Prentys* - - -	2·136	4363	4363
The Cokes Tale of Gamelyn - - - -	2 138		
9. The Man of Lawes Prologue - - - -	2·170	4121	4121
10. The Man of Lawes Tale. *Constance* - -	2·173	4519	4519
11. The Prologue of the Wyf of Bathe - -	2·206	5583	5583
12. The Wyf of Bathes Tale. *The Knight and the Foul Wyf.* - - - - - - -	2·232	6139	6139
13. The Prologue of the Frere - - - -	2·245	6817	6817
14. The Freres Tale. *The Sompnour and the Devyl* - - - - - - - - - -	2·246	6881	6883
15. The Sompnoures Prologue - - - - -	2·258	7217	7247
16. The Sompnoures Tale. *The Frere and the Housbond man* - - - - - -	2·259	7291	7291
17. The Clerk of Oxenfordes Prologue - -	2·278	7877	7877
18. The Clerkes Tale. *Grisildes.* - - -	2·280	7933	7933
Pars Secunda - - - - - - -	2·284	8073	8073
Incipit tertia pars - - - - - -	2·292	8325	8325
Incipit quarta pars - - - - - -	2·297	8486	8486
Incipit pars quinta - - - - - -	2·302	8661	8661
Pars sexta - - - - - - - -	2·307	8815	8815
L'Envoye de Chaucer - - - - -	2·315	9053	9053
19. Prologue of the Marchaundes Tale - -	2·317	9089	9089
20. The Marchaundes Tale. *January and May*	2·318	9121	9121
21. The Squyeres Prologue - - - - -	2·354	10293	10293
22. The Squyeres Tale. *Cambynskan.* - -	2·355	10323	10323
Incipit secunda pars - - - - -	2·365	10661	10661
23. The Frankeleynes Prologe - - - -	3·1	10985	10985
24. The Frankeleynes Tale. *Arveragus and Dorygen* - - - - - - - - -	3·2	11041	11041
25. The Secounde Nonnes Tale. *Ceelie.* -	3·29	11929	15469
26. The Prologe of the Chanounes Yeman -	3·46	12482	16022
27. The Chanounes Yemannes Tale. *The False Chanoun and the Prest* - - -	3·60	12940	16188
28. The Doctoures Prologe - - - - -	3 75	13410	11929
29. Tale of the Doctor of Phisik. *Virginius.*	3·75	13416	11935
30. The Prologue of the Pardoner - - -	3·85	13702	12221
31. The Pardoneres Tale. *The Thre Riottoures* - - - - - - - - - -	3·90	13878	12263
32. The Schipmannes Prologue - - - -	3·106	14384	12903
33. The Schipmannes Tale. *Dan Johan and the Marchaunt* - - - - - - -	3·107	14412	12931
34. The Prioresses Prologe - - - - -	3·121	14846	13365
35. The Prioresses Tale. *The litel Clergeoun and the Jewes.* - - - - - - -	3·122	14864	13383
36. Prologe to Sire Thopas - - - - -	3·130	15102	13621
37. The Tale of Sir Thopas - - - - -	3·131	15123	13642
38. Prologe to Melibeus - - - - - -	3·138	15327	13847
39. The Tale of Melibeus, *prose* - - - -	3·139		
40. The Prologe of the Monkes Tale - - -	3·198	15375	13895
41. The Monkes Tale. *The harm of hem that stood in heigh degre* - - - - - -	3·201	15477	13997
42. The Prologe of the Nonne Prestes Tale.	3·227	16253	14773
43. The Nonne Prest his Tale. *Chaunteclere.*	3·229	16307	14827
44. The Prologue of the Maunciples Tale -	3·249	16933	16950
45. The Maunciples Tale. *Phebus and the White Crow* - - - - - - - -	3·252	17037	17054
46. The Prologe of the Persones Tale - -	3·261	17295	17312
47. The Persones Tale, *prose* - - - - -	3·263		

§ 2.—*The Vowels.*

LONG AND SHORT VOWELS.

The orthographic custom of the Germanic languages is to consider a final vowel in an accented syllable long, and a vowel in a syllable closed by a consonant short. The physiological cause for the duplication of a consonant between two vowels to indicate the shortening of the first vowel has been already explained, p. 55. But long vowels also occur in syllables closed by a consonant, and here the writers have generally been put to great straits. Orrmin by simply leaving the consonant single after a long vowel, and always doubling it after a short one, escaped the difficulty. In the oldest Germanic monument, Uphilas's Gospels, the Greek custom of using different signs for long and short (e, o) was usually followed, thus *e ai, o au* were generally, = (*ee* e, *oo* o) Long *i* was represented by *ei*, following the Greek custom of pronouncing *ει* at that and the present time. Long *a, u*, were not distinguished from short, even if the real long (aa, uu) existed in Gothic.[1]

In Anglosaxon an accent is occasionally placed over the long vowel, but it is frequently omitted. In modern high German and Dutch *aa, ee, oo* are often used for the long vowels, but this system of reduplication does not extend to long *i* and long *u*. When the *i* was not dotted, it would have been difficult to distinguish *ii* from *u*, and the combination *uu* might be read *nu, un, im, mi, iui*, which seems sufficiently to explain the non-use of reduplication to express these prolongations. Still I find reduplication sufficiently distinct even in these cases, provided that the *i* is properly dotted, and hence I have employed it consistently in palaeotype.

In Chaucer, as represented by our MS., reduplication is not unfrequently resorted to in the case of *aa, ee, oo*, but as the writer often neglects to mark the distinction (compare: in such a *caas* 657, arwes in a *cas* 2081), and sometimes employs *ee* where we expect to find a short vowel (as *weel* for *wel* 2125), not much reliance can be placed upon this orthography. The fact, however, that both short and long *a, e, i, o* rhyme with each other, but that long *u* and short *u* never rhyme, leads at once to the conclusion that the sounds of the long and short *a, e, i, o* differed only in quantity, but the sounds of long and short *u* differed also in quality. This general conclusion, will be abundantly confirmed.

[1] See an account of the values of the Gothic letters, Chapter V, § 4, No. 3.

A — XIV TH CENTURY.

That long and short *a* could not be very different from (aa, a) we have already seen. It is not possible to distinguish after such a lapse of time between (*a*, a) and it is safer probably to consider (aa, a) as the real sounds. The effect of a preceding *w* does not appear to have been felt; that is, *a* in *was*, *warm* would not have differed from *a* in *has*, *harm*.

Latin rhymes. . . . as assoillyng saveth, a *significavit* 663, where the old habit of reading the Latin termination *-it* as (-ith) may have been alluded to;[1] the Psalm of David, *cor meum eructavit* 7515;

Yet spak this child, when spreynde was the water,
And song, *O alma redemptoris mater.* 15051
My teeme is alway oon, and ever was,
Radix malorum est cupiditas. 13748
On which was first i-writen a crowned A,
And after that, *Amor vincit omnia.* 161

These examples lead at once to the conclusion that *a* was called (aa), and that *saveth*, *David*, *water*, *was* were pronounced (saav·eth, Daa·vid, waa·ter, was). Hence also the words rhyming with *was* will have (-as) or (-aas), e.g. hire statue clothed was, arwes in a *cas* 2081, therto chosen was, such a *caas* 2111, he walketh forth a *pas*, ther hir temple was 2219, this hors of *bras*, siege of Troye was 10619, of Macedon he was, *alas*, such a *caas*, thyn sis fortune is torned into an *aas* 16142, where *sis*, *aas* are *six*, *ace*. These words give the key to many others, thus: in this caas, of *solas* 799, and all words of that kind now usually spelled *-ace*, as: paas Thomas 827. We should also conclude that in: caught in his *lace*, this *trespace* 1819, we ought to read *laas*, *trespas*, as in: a dagger hangyng on a *laas* 394 &c.

French rhymes. . . . hadde thei ben to blame, to be clept *madame* 377, hadde hosen of the same, no wight clepe hir but *madame* 3953, fy for shame, sayde thus Madame 16377, it happed him *par cas*, ther the poysoun was. 14300

This last example confirms one of the Latin rhymes. In the other examples observe that *Madame* is a word which has preserved its French sound (or what is meant to be such) down to the present day, and hence the rhymes with it are conclusive.

Short and long A rhymes.

A long surcote of pers uppon he hadde
And by his side he bar a rusty *bladde.* 619

Here, judging by the modern use, *blade* is spelled *bladde* simply to secure the rhyme, that is the long vowel is, for the occasion, treated as a short one. This of course could not be done if the quality of the vowels changed with the length, as in the present *had*, *blade*. In the following example—

Eaeh after other clad in clothes *blake*
But such a cry and such a woo they *make.* 901

[1] See Salesbury, infrà, Chap. VIII, § 1, under T.

we have exactly the converse, the vowel in *blacke* being lengthened to rhyme with *make*. This is also the case in: I may no lenger *tarry*, lady seinte *Mary* 7185, where the correct reading would probably be *tarie*, *Marie*. In ags. both *blæd* and *blæc* had short vowels.

The pronunciation of *a* in Chaucer, which scarcely admitted of doubt before, is so clearly indicated by these three classes of examples, that it is unnecessary to accumulate passages of the last kind, those cited in the first two cases are all that I have observed of that description in the Canterbury Tales. We must, therefore, conclude that

A in the XIV th century was always either (aa, a) or (*aa*, *a*).

E, EE, EA, EO, OE, IE — XIV TH CENTURY.

Final *e* presents peculiar difficulties, and will therefore be treated separately in the fourth section of this chapter after the other vowels and the consonants have been fully considered. At present it may be assumed to be pronounced as the inflexional German final *e* (p. 195, note) in all cases where it ends a line or seems to be required by the metre, and to be otherwise omitted in pronunciation, leaving the precise discrimination of these cases to future investigation.

The combination *ee* is used so frequently in place of *e* long, that it cannot be considered as a different letter. The combination *ea* is rare, but occurs most frequently in *ease*, *please*, which are also found without *a*. *Eo*, *oe* are occasionally used instead of *e*, when an *e* usurps the place of *o*, but there does not appear to have been any variation of sound. *Ie* and *e* alternate in some words, especially *matiere matere*, *hiere here*, but *ie* does not appear to have had any special signification distinct from *e*. The modern pronunciation of the *e*, and the separation of its long sound into (ee, ii) which was confirmed in the XVI th century, does not appear to have commenced.

LATIN RHYMES.—The only Latin word ending in *e* which concludes lines in Chaucer is *benedicite*, and this was almost always pronounced in *three* syllables, but whether (ben·diste) or (ben·aite, ben·ete),—compare Seint Beneyt 173, and the modern *Bennet*—I am not able to say, I incline however to (ben·ete).[1] The following are all the passages in which I have observed the occurrence of this word, and as most of them illustrate the sound of *e*, *ee*, it may be best to cite them all at length.

The god of love, a! *benedicite* (5 syllables)
How mighty and how gret a lord is he. 1787
To fighte for a lady; *benedieite*!
It were a lusty sighte for to see. 2117
What? Absolon, what? Cristes swete tree!
Why ryse ye so rathe? *benedieite*. 3765

[1] Prof. Child (infrà, § 5, art. 96) suggests *benicitè* as the contraction and suspects a lacuna in v. 1787, where it has five syllables. The word has always five syllables in Gower.

Ey, *benedicite*! than had I foule i-sped. 4218
What rowne ye with hir maydenes? *benedicte*,
Sir olde lecchour, let thi japes be. 5823
And chyding wyves maken men to flee
Out of here oughne hous; a, *benedicite*. 5861
And sayd, O deere housbond, *benedicite*,
Fareth every knight with his wyf as ye. 6669
I trowe thou hast som frere or prest with the.
Who clappith ther? sayd this widow, *benedicite*. 7165
Til atte last he sayde, God yow se!
This lord gan loke, and sayde, *Benedicite*. 7751
A wyf? a! seinte Mary, *benedicite*.
How might a man have eny adversite
That hath a wyf? 9211
Unto oure oost, he seyde, *Benedicite*!
This thing is wonder merveylous to me. 12556
I see wel that ye lerned men in lore
Can mochel good, by Goddes dignitee.
The Person him answerde: *Benedicite*! 14389
O, seinte Mary, *benedicite* (3 syllables)
What eylith this love at me
To bynde me so sore? 15195
So hidous was the noyse, a *benedicite*!
Certes he Jakke Straw, and his meyne,
Ne maden schoutes never half so schrille. 16879

These examples establish the pronunciation of, in modern spelling, *he*, *see*, *tree*, *bee*, *flee*, *ye*, *thee*, *me*, as (hee, see, tree, be, flee, jee, dhee, mee), so far as the vowel is concerned. The other rhyming words, *adversity*, *dignity*, *meny*, will be considered under I, Y. The words thus established suffice to prove the pronunciation of many others and shew that the personal pronouns, *he*, *she*, *we*, *ye*, which were exceptionally pronounced with (ii) in the XVI th century, (p. 77), and the combination *ee* which was confined to (ii) at the latter end of the same century (p. 79), had in Chaucer's time, exclusively the sound of (ee).

It might seem proper to reckon among these Latin rhymes

Yet schal I saven hir, and the, and me,
Hastow nat herd how saved was *Noe*. 3533
But certeynly no worde writeth he
Of thilke wikked ensample of *Canaee*. 4497

But the preceding examples will also shew that *Noe Canace* must have had a final (ee).

FRENCH RHYMES ... a sop in fyn *clarre*, than sittith he, 9717 away fro me, as well as thin *parde* 5891, the lasse light *parde!* the thar not pleyne the 5917.

For cosynage, and eek for *bele cheer*
That he hath had ful ofte time heer. 14820

LONG AND SHORT RHYMES . . . trapped in *steel*, dyapred *wel* 2159, here the long pronunciation of *wel* is not noted as it is in

Som wol been armed on here legges *weel*,
And have an ax, and eek, a mace of *steel*. 2125
Thanked be fortune, and hire false *wheel*,
That noon estat assureth to ben *weel*. 927
His eyen steep, and rollying in his *heed*
That stemed as a forneys of a *leed*. 401

Here *head, lead* are now both short (hed, led). They may have been both long occasionally, as *bread, dead* spelled *breed, deed* 147. In: Jerusalem, a straunge stream 465, both words may have been pronounced with (eem). But in: I holde my *pees*, al the *prees* 5096, we have either short and long rhyming, or else a short lengthened to rhyme with the long. In either case the sound of long *e* is shewn to be (ee).

In the following examples we have words written in the XVI th century with *ee* and then pronounced (ii), rhyming with words then written *ea* and pronounced (ee). Those afterwards written with *ee* will be italicised for distinction: ful lene, no calf y-*sene* 593, this cost (coast) so clene, that ther nys no ston y-*sene* 11307, his *speche*, gladly teche 309, it needeth nat the teche, I the *beseche* 3599, wolde han caught a *sleep*, Johan the clerk up leep 4225, in this drede, at thy grete *neede* 5077, at his *feet*, and of a man he eet 2049, a child that is i-bete, went he over the *strete* 3757, in word and *dede*, repentaunce and drede 1777, bodyes dede, of herneys and of *wede* 1007, glorious for to *see*, fletyng in the large see 1957, with leyghen *stepe*, noon in chepe 755.

In the next examples we find *ee* rhyming with words which the Latin rhymes have established to be sounded with (ee): so as it semed me, of what *degre* 39, so ofte of his degre, hadde he be 55.

The following are examples of words written with *ee* or simple *e*, which were afterwards written with *ea*. The *ea* words are italicised: humble cheer, ye schal *heer* 2221, piled *berd*, sore *aferd* 629, hem to *wreke*, scholde *speke* 963, *breeth, heeth* 5, as of the *deth*, upon an *heth* 608, agreved with here, to a *bere* 2059, pite to *heere*, Dyane gan *appeere* 2347, quod sche, in the salte *see* 5527, in the Greete *see*, hadde he be 59, or forge or *bete*, to counterfete, 13432. These examples might be greatly multiplied. *Ea* occurs in: for *ease*, nought *displease* 5709, sche wolde vertu *please*, noon ydel *ease* 8092, his spirit was at *ease*, nothing may me *displease* 9507.

The use of *eo* and *oe* is shewn by the spellings: theof 13498, theves 13499; eorthe 8557, boef 9295, poepel 9241, pepul 2536, reproef 10078, 10137, preef 5829, reproeve 17002, repreve 6759, these latter words having generally simple *e*.

The following shew the pronunciation of *ie* as (ee): with evel preef, a great *meschief* 5829, al your *greef*, an odious *meschief* 7771, a *theef, mescheef* 1327, me repreve, we *believe* 6759, ere that it was eve, made him *bilere* 4993, and eek a frere, dissche and *matiere* 6418, in this *matere*, quod the Frere 6421.

The following are some instances of words now spelled with *ie* but apparently only written with *e* in Chaucer. See the table, p. 104. I sawh no man him *grere*, Osewald the Reeve 3857, be *agrered*, be *releered* 4179, by youre leve, ye yow not *greeve* 7395, a frend, as a *fend* 5825, loth or *leef*, an ivy leef 1839, longen unto eelde, mowen be *unweelde* 3883, oon bar his *scheeld*, in his hondes *heeld* 2895. We also find *chierte* 5978 for *cherete*, and *whiel* 15482 for *wheel*.

These rhymes lead irresistibly to the conclusion that the one general sound of *e, ee, ea, eo, oe, ie* in Chaucer was (ee) long or (e) short, and they leave no room to conclude that *e* was ever pronounced as (i) except in the prefix *be* which we find written indifferently *be bi*. The double forms *lesse lasse, left laft*, seem however to indicate that *e* short was occasionally pronounced as broadly as (a). In the XIII th century this was certainly dialectic, and the various forms may have remained in use during the XIV th. Perhaps the *e* was generally broad, as (ɛ) rather than (e). In the same way we shall find *i* short to have been occasionally pronounced as (e), and this might be rather held to indicate the broader sound of (*i*), for *i*, or the finer sound of (*e*) for *e*. Such delicate distinctions, difficult to appreciate in actual living speech, are quite beyond our grasp at such a remote period, and we must be content with one form (e) for the, possibly, three forms (*e*, e, ɛ). It is indeed very probable that all three coexisted, and were not discriminated by the speakers themselves. Practically this is the case at present.

EI EY, AI AY, AU AW — XIV TH CENTURY.

It is needless to shew that *ai, ay* were generally (ai) and *au, aw* generally (au). They could not have had any other sound, as we saw at the conclusion of the last chapter, p. 238. But whether any distinction was made between *ei* and *ai* may be doubtful. In the greater part of modern Germany, *ei, ai* are both (ai), and they seem to have both had the same sound in Chaucer. Thus we have them rhyming together in

> That we with pitous hert unto yow *playne*
> And let youre eeris my vois not *disdeyne*. 7973

But *playne* is written *pleyne* in

> He was out cast to wo and into peyne.
> O glotony, wel ought us on the *pleyne*. 13926

Again: I wot it well certeyn, I dar well *sayn* 8185, may be compared with: myn harmes not bewreye, I may not *seye* 2231. In 13335, 13511 *thay* occurs for *they*. And generally the same words constantly vary from *ey* to *ay*, and conversely, so that the phonetic identity of *ey, ay* is the only legitimate inference. Thus: for sche was *feir*, to maken hir his *heir* 3975, what so men jape or *pleye*, holden the righte *weye* 9263, companyes *tweye*, that cowthe *seye* = say 2591,

> Kepeth this child, al be it foul or *fair*, ...
> Crist whan him lust may sende me an *hair*
> More agreable than this. 5184
> Well wiste he by the drought, and by the *reyn*,
> The yeeldyng of his seed and of his *greyn*. 597

And Venus faylith wher Mercury is *reysed*
Therfor no womman of clerkes is *preised*. 6287
Ben *thay* as sely men for to *desceyve*
And from a soth euer wel *thay weyve* = *they waive*. 10297

The assumption that *ai* was pronounced as (ai) is confirmed by the French rhyme: how lasteth hir *vitaille*, no wight but Crist *sanuz faile*, it was a gret mervaile 4919, and the Latin rhyme, as all rhymes with Scripture names must be considered: the mount of *Synay*, fasting many a *day*, 7469.

It would appear that (ai) was sometimes lengthened and divided into (aa,i) forming a dissyllable. Thus *seynt* is a monosyllable (saint) in

For by that lord that cleped is *seynt* Jame. 4262

But when prefixed to the same name it becomes a dissyllable (saa,int) in

Wel be we met, by God and *seint* Jame. 7025

Where, however, *by* may have been omitted after *and*. On the same principle I would explain

Hire grettest ooth nas but by *seynt* Loy. 120

That is (saa,int Luu·i), St. Louis, as Meigret writes his first name *Loys* in his *Traité touchant le common vsage*, etc., but *Louis* in his phonetic French Grammar. Prof. Child would read *othe*, but this form is not well established.

I had the printe of *seynt* Venus sel. 6186
That *seynt* Peter hadde, when that he wente. 699

So also *fair* in

To lede him forth into a *fair* mede. 7621

And *maistrye* in

Bachus had of hir mouth no *maistrye*. 13472

In the four last cases there is no simple means of altering the reading,[1] and on repeating the lines it will be readily perceived that this pronunciation is not at all strained, and immediately solves their metrical difficulties. In the Prisoner's Prayer, Chap. V, § 1, No. 2, it will be seen that the French diphthongs in: ueine 17, mayn 36, are given to two musical notes each, though they are frequently given to single notes, and other examples from Norman poems will be found near the end of Chap. V, § 1, No. 3.

As compared with Salesbury's observation that *a* in *ashe* is "thought to decline toward the sound of the diphthong *ai*," it is interesting to note *aisshen* 3880, *aissches* 12735. Four words now written *ai* were either always or occasionally written with *e*, *ee* and hence pronounced (ee). They are *sustain*, *hair*, *slay*, *strain*, and I have not observed more. Thus for *sustain*: to *susteene*, bright and

[1] And sayede twyes, Seynt Marye!
Thou arte noyouse for to carye. 5·226
we should probably read: *Seynte* Marye.
Compare
Twelf pens? quod sche, now lady seinte Marye. 7186
In: a goune cloth, by God, by seint Johan. 7833
the word *and* has been probably omitted before the second *by*.

schene 1995, sche myhte nouht hir *sustene*, sit adoun upon the grene 11173, o blisful queene, in my wyt *susteene* 11892,

> Then nys ther noon comparisoun bitwene
> Thy wo, and any woo may man *sustene*. 5265

For *hair* (ags. hær): a tufte of *heres*, a souwes eres 557, *heer* 677, *heres* 1390, kempt his *heere*, a trewe love he beere 3691, myn olde yeeres, so moulyd as myn *heeres* 3867, Sampson left his *heris*, kut hem with hir scheris 6303, under his lange *heris*, tuo asses eeris 6535. On the other hand as we have seen that *heir* is spelled *heir* and *hair*. But we have *heire* 12061, for *hair shirt*.

For *slay* (ags. slan, slean, sleahan): or elles *sle* his make 2558, the freisshe beaute *sleeth* me sodeynly 1120, for curs wol *slee* 663, hir self to *sle*, as it thenketh me 11709.

> The *sleer* of himself yet saugh I there,
> His herte-blood hath bathed al his *here*. 2007

For *strain*, in the sense of race (which is derived from ags. streon, streonan, strynan, and has nothing to do with the other word *strain*), we have

> For God it woot, that childer ofte been
> Unlik her worthy eldris hem bifore;
> Bounte cometh al of God, nought of the *streen*
> Of which thay been engendrid and i-bore. 8031

Strain, *hair*, *slay*, are clearly not proper instances of *ai* pronounced as (ee), but rather examples of a subsequently inserted *i*. But *susteene* would have naturally appeared as *susteigne*, as we have *atteigne* 8323.

Connected with this is the converse use of (ai) for (ee) or (e), thus: *fleissh* 147 for *flessh*, have ye not *seye* 5065 for *seen*; and *wayke* ben the oxen 889, this *weyke* woman 5352, to arreyse, at *eyse* 7683 for *ease*. That the word was then really pronounced (aiz·e) and not (eez·e), appears not only from this rhyme, but from the following lines in Gower, where Pauli incorrectly prints *ese*; the orthography is that of the Soc. Ant. MS. 134:

> Whyche hadde be feruant to Thaife
> So þat fche was þe worfe at ayfe. iii 320
> Anfwereþ and fayeþ my name is Thayfe
> That was fum tyme wel at ayfe. iii 332

The use of *fleissh*, *wayk*[1] is not so easy to explain, but *eyse*, *freissh* 367, 1120, *burgeys* 371, *paleys* 2201, 2697, 9585, 10374, *herneys* 2498, *harneys* 3760 are rather direct representatives of *ai*, *oi* in French, the latter being changed into *ei* in Norman French, so we have in the rhymes to the two last instances *palfreys* 2497, *Gerneys* 3759 and *deys* 9585 = *dais*. This is an argument in favour of the Norman pronunciation (ai) for *ei*.

We find *say* for *saw* 8543, 9810, 13642, 16600 and elsewhere, and in the same way we now have a *saw* for a *saying*.

The sound of *au* is of course generally (au), as is confirmed by

[1] It is remarkable that both words have *ei* in Modern German *fleisch*, *weich*. Compare *fleyes* Rel. Ant. i. 22, *fleiss*, ib. 57, and *veikr* in Icelandic.

the French rhyme: to make hir alliaunce, him happede *par chaunce* 14020, but the name of St. Paul, especially when applied to the cathedral church, was pronounced with (oou) as we have found for this particular case in the XVI th century (p. 145). The orthography by seint Paules belle 16266 is very unusual and probably erroneous, we have: seynte *Poules*, chaunterie for soules 511, in Petres wordes and in *Poules*, cristen mennes soules 7401, with *Powles* wyndowes corven on his schoos 3318, after the text of Crist, and *Powel* and Jon 7229,

> Of this matier, O *Poul*, wel canstow trete.
> Mete unto wombe, and wombe unto mete,
> Schal God destroyen bothe, as *Powel* saith. 12938

The most singular interchange, however, is that of (au) with (ee). Gill complained of his Mopse saying (leen) for (laun, (p. 91), but 200 years before that time we find: for *leeful* is with force force to schowve 3910, in mullok or in *stree*, so fare we 3871, of the *stree*, of the realite 5121 and elsewhere. The two forms *straw*, *stre* are due of course to ags. *straw*, *strea*. But *lee* must be a form of *lay*, as *ese* of *ayse*. The form *lay* for *law* occurs, for the rhyme, in: on a day, that sche wold rency hir lay 4795, and must be due to the French *loi*, *lei*, while *law* must come from the ags. *lah*. The interchange was therefore not phonetic, but etymologic.

Hence we conclude that EI, AI were always (ai), and AU was always (au) in the XIV th century.

O, OO, OA — XIV TH CENTURY.

O long and *oo* must be considered as the same letter in Chaucer. The regular sound was (oo), as shewn by the Latin rhyme,

> For though a widewe hadde but oo schoo
> So plesaunt was his *In principio*
> Yet wolde he haue a ferthing or he wente, 253

whether the sound was (*oo*) or (oo) is of course open to the same difficulty as in the XVI th century, but the perfect agreement of long and short vowels, turns the balance strongly in favour of (oo), which seems to have been the original Latin sound.

The sound of *scho* gives that of *do* by: may nought do, is not worth a scho 6289, which gives *to*, *therto*, a *hoo*, by: oon hole to sterte to, than is al i-do 6155, he addid yit therto, what schulde yren doo 501,

> An herowd on a skaffold made a hoo
> Til al the noyse of the pepul was i-doo. 2535

After this we may feel tolerably certain of the sound of long *o* and its identity with that of *oo* = (oo). The following examples are however worth attention: of symony also, did he grettest woo 6892, never the mo, tel me who 6273, for he saith us soth, that so doth 6523, ever in oon, thought anoon 1773, as stille as stoon, for ther ascapith noon, as we knowe everychon 7997, al ther sche goth, I have no thrifty cloth 5819, a fan right large and brood,

lay his jolly schood 3315, his eyghen grey as goos, corven on his schoos 3317, God amend it soone, ye wot what is to doone 7775, whan he awook, he the lettre took 5226,

Tel, quod the lord, and thou schalt have anoon
A goune cloth, by God, by seint Johan.[1] 7833
And every statute couthe he pleyn by roote
He rood but hoomly in a medled coote. 329
Wel may men knowe, but it be a fool,
That every partye dyryveth from his hool. 3007

As then *oo* seems to be always (oo) we must assume *wood* = mad, often spelt *wod*, *wode*, to have had (oo) and hence conclude the same of *blood*, *stood*, *good* from the rhymes: upon a carte stood, grym as we were wood 2013, jalous and eke wood, wel neyh al the blood 1331, that is so good, of blood 2565. The change of long *o* into (uu), developed in the XVI th century, had therefore not yet occurred.

But did short *o* always represent (o)? Generally it did so, but there must have been exceptions. It would be difficult to imagine an interregnum of (o) between two reigns of (u). It will be shewn soon that *ou* represented long (uu) and but rarely short (u) for which certainly *u* was available, but nevertheless *o* seems to have been often employed. Thus we have

Outher for ye han kept your honeste,
Other elles for ye han falle in frelete. 13492

So that in two consecutive lines *ou*, *o* are used in the same word; in the Knightes Tale Palamon seems to have had either (o) or (u) to suit the rhyme, as: oon, Palamon 1015, doun, Palamon 1072, prisoun, Palamon 1453, 1469, Palamon, opynyoun 1481, while we have the orthography: doun, Palamoun 1517. Again: he might not lenger *sojourne*, homward *most* he *torne* 6569, had I not done a frendes *torn* to the 14230, for fere of beres or of *boles* blake = *bulls* 16421, i-lyk to the stremes of *borned* hete = *burned* 13453, *bokeler* 112, asonder, thonder 493.

The fact is that short (u) is comparatively rarely represented by *u*, perhaps among other reasons because short *u* was as we shall see, frequently called (*i*) or (e), as in our modern words *busy*, *bury*, so that except in certain very well known words there might be more error induced by writing *u* than by writing *o*. Under these circumstances I have been compelled to adopt a theory, indicated at the commencement of the last paragraph, and I consider short *o* to be (u) in all those words where it replaces a former *u*, and was in the XVI th century pronounced (u); that is, as a practical rule where it is now called (ə). There will be exceptions to this practical rule, thus *word* is now (wəɹd) and Bullokar makes it (wurd) but in Chaucer it was (woord) as we see from

But al for nought, he herde nat o *word*,
An hole he fond right lowe upon the *boord*. 3439

There might seem to have been another sound of short *o* in a few

[1] Johan, written Jon, 7229, is regularly a monosyllable.

words, compare the uses: hadde we on *honde*, my fourth *housbonde* 6033, to *withstonde*, thral and *bonde* 7241, in londe, to telle it wol I fonde 15295, as liked Cristes sonde, approched unto *londe* 5322.[2] In comparing this *o* in place of *a* in *land*, *withstand*, *hrsband*, with *oa* in *loande* in the Proclamation of Henry III., and with the interchange of *a* and *o* in northern and southern dialects, the use of *nat* for *not* frequently by Chaucer, and later by Palsgrave, it was easy to imagine the pronunciation (*a*) or (*ah*) as an intermediate sound, which the scribe did not know whether to represent by *o* or *a*. Thus Englishmen now confuse Scotch (man) or (mahn), and Irish (sahr) with their (mɔn, sɔr), and write them *mon*, *sorr* = man, sir. But this conjecture will not explain such rhymes as the above. As *bonde*, *sonde* must have had (o) and *housbonde* ought to have it, we must read (o) in *londe*, *stonde*, and in *stronde* and elsewhere, compare: straunge strondes, sondry londes 13.

I have not noted any instance of the combination *oa*, but some cases may have escaped me. The modern *oa* is replaced regularly by *oo* or *o* as: *goot* 690, *boot* 9298, *brode* 2919, *loode* 2920, *ook* 10473 for *goat*, *boat*, *broad*, *load*, *oak*.

The conclusion seems to be that long *o* or *oo* in Chaucer was (oo), that short *o* was generally (o), but occasionally (u), the latter cases being those in which there was a previous Anglo-Saxon (u), and a XVI th century (u), now become (ə).

OI, OY — XIV TH CENTURY.

This is a rare diphthong and its sound cannot be satisfactorily established by the rhyme. If the identification of *Loy* 120 with *Loys*, that is, *Louis*, be correct, then: ful symple and coy, by seint Loy 119, should give (kuui) as the sound of *coy*. In my article on the Diphthong OY (Trans. of Phil. Soc., 1867, Supp. part I.), I have given reasons for supposing (ui) or (uui) to have been the original sound of this diphthong, which we have seen was frequently so pronounced in the XVI th century. Thus Hart gives the sound (buee) for *boy* (p. 133), and if we interpret this as (bui) or (buui), the above pronunciation of *Loy* is confirmed by the rhyme.

> That was wel twight, myn oughne lyard, boy,
> I pray God save thy body and seint Loy. 7143

The word *boist* 13722 is merely the French *boiste* now *boîte*, box, which historically would have the sound (buiste), and in our *bushel*, Fr. *boisseau*, which Chaucer writes *buisshel* 4310, we have preserved the (u) of the original. The two spellings *boist*, *buisshel* seem to shew two ways of writing the same sound, the writer, accustomed to use either *o* or *u* for short (u) hesitating between them. This is still more plainly shewn by the double orthography of the word *destroy*.

> It doth no good, to my wit, but *anoyeth*
> See ye nouht, lord, how mankind it *destroyeth*? 11187

[1] *Sonde* 5245 rhymes with *grounde*, indicating the pronunciation (sund·e).

Where *anoyeth* most probably had the old sound (annuieth), and *destroyeth* is used to make the spelling agree with its rhyming word. But where this motive did not act we find *uy* written, as

That hath *destruyed* wel neyh al the blood. 1332
How he *destruyed* the ryuer of Gysen. 7662

And in the prose tale of Melibeus (Wright's ed., p. 159, col. 2, l. 32, Morris's ed. 3·172, l. 13): by vengeaunce takynge be wikked men *destruyed*.

The words: fruit destroy i 137 are written in Harl. 3869 and 3490 fruit destruie, in Harl. 7184 fruit destroie, and in Soc. Ant. MS. 134, frute destriue, the last being clearly a mistake for *destruie*. It cannot be supposed that the combination *ui* was pronounced in the same way in both words. The last is the more common spelling of *fruit*, viz. *frute* = (fryyt). The same MSS. in the same order read in i 140 despuiled, despoiled, despuiled, despuiled. From these readings, it would seem to follow that (ui) was the sound meant, but that the writing *oy* was preferred, short *o* having as we have seen (p. 267), very commonly the sound (u) or (*u*), because *ui* rather suggested the sound (yy). Probably *oui* was not employed, because *ou* rather suggested the long sound (uu).[1] Thus *acloyeth* anoyeth 4·68, *encloied* annoied ii 47, must refer to a French *acloué*, *encloué*, and hence ought to have been written *oui* and to have had the sound (ui), which they therefore lead us to infer in *annoy*. See also the sound of (ui) cropping up even in the XVII th century (pp. 131 sqq.). But this was probably not the only sound of words generally written *oy* in the XIV th century. The French *oi* was as we have seen (p. 130), pronounced (oe, ue) with the stress on the second element, which was generally converted into English as (ue, u*i*) with the stress on the first element, but Gower probably retained the French pronunciation when he invented the rhymes: ioye monoie ii 147, Troie monoie ii 188, (p. 253). On the other hand, the Norman *ei*, pronounced originally perhaps (ei), but, on account of its interchange with *ai* in the XIV th century, pronounced in the same way (ai) at that time, see Chap. V, § 1, No. 3, regularly replaced the French *oi*, so that many French *oi* appear as *ey* in Chaucer. In: Gregois vois iii 188, the *oi* was probably the usual (ui), just as in: chois vois ii 181, 206. But Harl. 3869 writes: gregeis curteis ii 238, and considering that the latter was the usual form of this word, the reading is probably correct. If any dependence can be placed on the readings of the Hunterian MS. of the Romaunt of the Rose (p. 252), this must be the explanation of: joynt queynt 6·62-3, annoy away 6·82, joye conveye 6·89, but the passages are probably corrupt.[2] In the Canterbury Tales there

[1] It might have suggested a division of the diphthong into two syllables. Beza (Livet, p. 523) says of *oui*: "Quand ces trois lettres sont placées devant *ll*, l'*i* sert seulement à prévenir le lecteur qu'il faut mouillee *ll*; partout ailleurs *oui* forment deux syllabes, et ne sont pas, par conséquent, une triphthongue.'

[2] It must not be assumed that this is the origin of (oi) in a well known vulgarism, as (boil, point, dzhoint) for *boil*, *point*, *joint*, because this was a mere regular XVII th century trans-

seems to be no instance where (ui, uɛ) might not be used, with the stress on the first element, and the modern English (ʌi, ɔi) is so limited geographically, and appears to be so modern, that it would be merely truckling to present habits to introduce it into Chaucer.

We must therefore conclude that the most general pronunciation of OI in the XIVth Century, was (ui).

I, Y — XIVTH CENTURY.

It will probably prove the most difficult conclusion for the reader to admit, that long *i* in Chaucer's time had not that diphthongal sound (ɔi) with which we are so familiar, and which we have since the XVIth century at least, recklessly introduced into our pronunciation of Latin and Greek, and into our method of reading Anglo-Saxon and Gothic. The belief that long *i* was anciently (ɔi) or (ai) is not simply shared by those only acquainted with modern English, it is adopted by men eminent for their knowledge of the older languages. To assert, then, that so recently as the XIVth century this sound (ɔi), now so universal, in different modifications, was never associated with the letter *i*, is a thesis which will require ample justification. As regards the present writer it may be mentioned that before he began his researches he simply wondered whether it was possible to establish any conclusion whatever, that he inclined to the supposition of (ɔi) or (ai),[1] and that, even after having established the general pronunciation (ii), misled as he now believes by an isolated instance, he for a long time imagined that he could point to a whole class of words in which long *i* had the sound of (ai). A rhyme in Gower first induced him to reconsider this conclusion, and he then undertook the examination of the rhymes in the whole poetical works of Chaucer, in addition to the *Canterbury Tales*, and in Gower's *Confessio Amantis*, with the sole view of discovering something which might help to decide the point, and he examined or caused to be examined all the available manuscripts containing the passage in question,[2] seventeen in number, to see whether there were not sufficient orthographic variants to render it doubtful. He also made inquiries into various existing dialectic

formation of the XVIth century (buil, puint, dzhuint), see p. 134. The Dorsetshire (pwaint, bwail) etc. is probably a descendant of (*puint*, bu*il*) etc. the stress falling on the second element, which then became transformed from (*ii*) to (ei, ai, ɔi) as almost all other accented long (*ii*) in that dialect, *cheem*, *sheen* for *chime*, *shine* being the only exceptions noted by Mr. Barnes (*Poems of Rural Life*, 1848, p. 28.

[1] In a theoretical attempt to assign the pronunciation of the account of the Prioresse, 117-162 in my *Essentials of Phonetics*, 1848, I find (ɔi) given in: smiling, by, wiped, eyen, I, and (ii) in: prioresse, hire, Eglentine, service, devine, swetely etc., Paris, curtesie, digne, tretis.

[2] Quoth the chanoun, and far wel, *graunt mercy*.
He went his way, and never the priest him sey.
After this day. 13308.

pronunciations, of long *i* and the pronoun *I* in England and Scotland[1] to see what corroboration there was for any theory on the subject. These various researches have led to one conclusion, already anticipated as the only possible explanation of Palsgrave's and Bullokar's otherwise enigmatical treatment of the letter *i* (pp. 110, 114), namely that

The vowel *i* in the XIV th century was probably called (*ii*) when long, and (*i*) when short.

The sounds of (*ii*, *i*) as distinguished from (ii, i), the true Italian vowels, have been already carefully considered (p. 106). The first point which strikes an Englishman in endeavouring to teach the common short sound (*i*) to a foreigner, is that the latter most generally confuse it with (*e*, e), p. 83. The words in French final *-té*, the representatives of the Latin *-tas*, and similar words, Chaucer still distinctly pronounced (-te, -tee), etc., rhyming them with *he*, *me*, *we*, *be*, *see*, *three*, *degree*, as: be chastite 2237, charite me 1723, we felicite 1267, he faculte 243, vanite thre 3833, degre destyne 1843, destene be 1467, possibilite free 1293, subtilitees bees 10295, citee iniquite 941, adversite parde 1313, thentre see 1985. In all these cases we now use (*-i*), and it is curious to trace the change in the spelling. *Promptorium* 1440, chastyte, charyte, faculte, vanite, desteyne destenye,[2] cyte, entre. *Palsgrave* 1530, chastyte, charyte, vanyte, desteny, cytie, entre = *entree*, entrye = *auant portail*, entry = *introite*. Levins, 1570, chastitie, faultie, vanitie, destenie, citie, entrie, and he classes *-ie*, *-ye*, *-y* as identical endings. We have here then an example of the change of (-e) into (*-i*) while any living Frenchmen will prove that the best way to teach him to pronounce *pity* (pi'ti) is to tell him to consider it as written, in French letters, pété (pe'te). Again in Scotland the short *i* in closed syllables is almost invariably pronounced (e), our words *ill*, *pit*, *bid*, *bit* becoming (el, pet, bed, bet), but are saved from any confusion with *ell*, *pet*, *bed*, *bet* because a Scotchman calls the latter (EL, PET, BED, BET). In Scotland moreover (*ii*) is considered to occur. But when Mr. Murray pronounced some words to me in which he thought he said (*ii*), and which he writes *weade*, *beate*, *keate*, I seemed to hear rather (*ee*) than (*ii*). In examining Cooper's vowel system, 1685 (p. 83), we were led to consider his pair *will*, *weal* to mean (wil, weel) rather than (wil wiil), that is, Cooper classed as (*ii*) a sound which in the general opinion of other writers was (*ee*) or (ee).

These facts serve to shew that (*ii*, *i*) are now often confused with

[1] He is particularly indebted to the elaborate observations of Mr James A. H. Murray, F.E.I.S., of the Philological Society, on the Scotch dialects which were kindly placed at his disposal, and had their value enhanced by oral explanation and pronunciation of the difficulties. One lady and several gentlemen from different parts of England (p. 277, n. 1) have also most obligingly answered a general invitation in the *Athenæum* to give the author information on this point, by which traces of the older pronunciation, as he believes, have been unexpectedly brought to light.

[2] This is the reading of one MS., and is probably erroneous, as indeed *desteyne* for *destene* would appear to be.

(*ee*, e, *e*), and hence we should be led to expect, if there be any truth in the theory advanced that we should not unfrequently find *i*, *e* confused by the scribe, and allowed to rhyme by the poet, both when long and short. Cases of the short vowel are not uncommon, for example: list best 6819, list rest 9299, abrigge alegge 9531, abregge tallegge 3001, pulpit i-set 13806, shitte lette 14660, blesse kesse 8428, schert, hert 9757, yett witt 4·117. Cases of the long vowel also occur, as: swere hire 11101, 12076, geven[1] lyven 917, enquere lere 5049, there requere 6633, enquere were 8646, afered requered 4·244,[2] matere desire 4·333, desire manere 6·85, lere desire 6·143, and in Gower, her sir i 161, here spire i 198, yere fire, i 302. These rhymes are not only reconcilable with the theory that (*ii*, *i*) were the usual and proper sounds of *i*, but are exactly what we should expect from the mistakes which occur at the present day. If indeed long *i* had been pronounced (ei) and the first element had been slightly lengthened, as (eei), we should get a sound almost identical with a pronunciation of long *a* now much in use in London.[3] In this case the rhyme might also appear to be explained. But this theory would not account for writing a simple *e* for long *i*; we should rather expect to find *ey*, and this never occurs except in a few words, as *eye*, *high*, *die*, *dry*, *sly*, etc. to be especially considered presently, in which there is every reason to conclude that there was a double pronunciation. Hence the specimens of long *i* rhyming to long *e*, and being frequently replaced by long *e*, throw great difficulty in assuming any diphthongal sound for long *i*, and tend greatly to confirm the hypothesis that the sound was not pure (ii), but such a modification of it, as would easily fall into (ee), namely (*ii*). Add to which there is the negative evidence that long *i* does not rhyme to *ey*, *ay* and that, except in the few cases of a double pronunciation, long *i* is never written *ey* by an error of the scribe in any decent manuscript.

There are a number of words of French origin which have now the accent on the penultim or antepenultim, but which were used as if with an accent on the last or penultim respectively, in Chaucer's verses. In the French language when these syllables, which are now unaccented, had the vowel *i*, it was pronounced (i) or (ii), and it would be difficult to suppose that Chaucer, who was familiar with French, and, in the spirit of the times as shewn by the contemporary practice of Gower, was introducing it into English, could have changed the French sound and have pronounced the words with (ai). Still more difficult would it be to suppose, that at a time when the (ai) or (ei) or (ɔi) pronunciation of long *i* was

[1] This is from the ags. form *geofan*, and is therefore not an instance of *e* written for *i*, but of *e* long rhyming with *i* long.

[2] The French forms sufficiently explain the termination *-quere*.

[3] A correspondent informs me that when Mr. Matthew Arnold visited a school at Tenby, Pembrokeshire, where an ancient Flemish colony seems to have materially affected the language and pronunciation of the people, the children had great difficulty in distinguishing his *fate* (feeit) from their *fight* (feit).

common, as at the close of the xvth and beginning of the xvi th century, it should have been deliberately rejected from these words, and replaced by (*i*) when the accent was thrown back permanently. But we know that such words had (*i*) in the xvi th century, and that this sound has continued to the present day. For my own part I cannot force myself to suppose that *i* in the last syllable of the following words ever had any other sound but (ii, i, *ii*, *i*): Venise, lycorise, coveytise, servyse, justise, merite, Evaungiles, malice, sangwyn, famyn, Latyn, Jankyn, opposit, superlatif, notif, Phisik, ypocrite, practike, riche, cherice, office, Cupide, visite, avarice, cowardyse, Ovide, authentik, sybil, retorike, magike, cubit, Virgile, famyne, ruyne, apprentys, relyke, doctrine, profit, positife, peril, musike, chronique, inquisitife, mechanique, elixir, olive, etc., etc.; or that the *i* was ever diphthongal in the penultim of: possible, digestible, fusible, etc., etc. Now if we admit that *i* in these words was (*i*) or (*ii*), or if we even allow it to have had the purer French sounds (ii, i),—and there is absolutely no ground whatever for any other conjecture, and great reason for this,—we have gone a long way to prove that long *i* in Chaucer was (*ii*) or (ii), and was not (ei, ai, ɔi). For in the first place these words rhyme as having long vowels, and rhyme with words which are by no means always French, and which in modern pronunciation have (ɔi), and had generally received (ei) by the xvi th century. That is, from undoubted cases of long (*ii*) or (ii), we are led to infer that the rhyming words had also long (*ii*) and not (ɔi, ei, ai). If at present we saw *machine* rhyming with *seen*, we certainly should rather conclude that the *i* in the first word was (ii), than that the *ee* in the second word was (ɔi), and we should never dream of rhyming *mine*, *seen*, even in these lax rhyming times. Perhaps even Butler has not such a rhyme in his Hudibras.[1] Hence it is of great importance to study and weigh the rhymes to the words just cited. They are as follows: and to Venise, were to *deryse* 7927, at point *devys*, eheweth greyn and lycoris 3689, which I shall *deryse*, augur coveytise 3881, ther any profyt should *arise*, lowe of servyse 249, for that thay ben *wyse*, sittyng as as a justise 6609, so wel to *write*, do me *endite*, thurgh hire merite 11958, i-write with evaungiles, in the mene *whiles* 5085, to pitous and to *nyce*, of his crouned malice 10838, he was sangwyn, a sop of *wyn* 335, sterve for famyn, licour of *wyn* 13866, wel dronken hadde the *wyn*, he speke no word but Latyn 639, oure apprentys Jankyn, schynyng as gold so *fyn* 5885, a gate of marbul *whit*, another in opposit 1895,[2] in gre superlatif, an humble *wyf* 9249, of me tak this notif, a court man al my *lyf* 9365, Doctour of Phisik, he was ther non him *lyk* 413, to *byte*, ypocrite 10826, of youre practike, syns it may yow *like* 5769, solempne and so riche, was there noon it *liche* 10375, cherice *vice* 4·148, *nyce vyce* cherice 4·182, office *vice* 4·283, cupide *tabide gyde* 4·298-9, *cryede*

[1] On p. 16 of the Grammar of 1713, suprà p. 47, we find *incline* rhyming for the nonce with *magazine* and *join*, but when memorial lines are attempted, all sense of rhythm, accent, quantity or rhyme seems to vanish, p. 275, note 3.

[2] Compare the modern names *Whitby* and *Whitsunday*, both from *white*.

glide Cupide 4·349, Cupide *syde* 5·25, *beside* Cupide *abide* 6·238, Cupide *side* i 160, Cupide *guide* i 328, *Ocide* Cupide iii 351, vysite *wyte* 4·227, visite *delite myte* 4·328, avarice *vice* 4·298, *emprise* cowardyse 4·324, *slyde* Ovide 5·172, Ovide *wide* 5·254, *lyke* autentyke 5·188, Sybile *yle* 5·22, retorike *lyke* 5·235, magike syke 5·248, *lyte* cubite 5·251, Virgile *while* 5·254, famyne *ruyne* 5·269, apprentys *wys* 6·22, relyke *lyke* 6·82, doctrine *discipline* 6·146, profite *myte* 6·176, positife *strife* i 12, *vile* peril i 33, musike *beswike* i 58, cronique *like* i 145, inquisitife *life* i 226, mechanique *like* iii 142, *fire* elixir ii 86, *blive* olive ii 266.

If that were possible, and more *penyble* 8589, digestible, on the *Bible* 439, in the *Bible*, it is an impossible 6269, on the *Bible*, so redy and so penyble 7427, metal fusible, wold passen eny *bible* 12784.

The last cited rhymes to *Bible* were the first which gave me any hope of being able to discover the pronunciation of Chaucer, approximately, by a study of his rhymes. The above list does not contain by any means all the rhymes of this sort which I have noted as important; but it is obviously sufficient to establish that in the words: devyse, devys, arise, wyse, write, endite, whiles, nyce, wyn, fyn, whit, wyf, lyf, lyk, byte, vice, abide, gyde, cryede, glide, side, beside, delyte, myte, wide, yle, while, strife, vile, fire, &c, all of which have now (ɔi), the *i* could not have been diphthongal in Chaucer's time. And these words admitted, determine so many others, that the proposition might almost be considered proved; but it is one which many will find so difficult to believe that it is worth while accumulating proofs.

Besides the French words already dealt with, in which the accent has been thrown back and the sound (*i*) preserved, there are many others which have either not become part of our modern language, or have not been left without at least a secondary accent on the *i*. We may divide them into three categories, which however do not include all, such words as *sacrifice*, &c. being omitted. The first class comprehends those French words in which the *i* is followed by a simple consonant, the second those in which *i* ends the word, and the last those in which *i* is immediately followed by an *e* final. Now we have at present in our language a series of French, Italian, and other foreign words containing *i*, of comparatively recent introduction, which we may therefore properly compare with the words then recently introduced into English by Chaucer, Gower, and others. The following list is taken from Walker, into which a few words in [] have been introduced; the † marks words which have become obsolete since Walker's time, and the *italics* words in which the French (ii) has become (*i*); in all other cases the sound (ii) has been retained in modern English, notwithstanding our predilection for (ɔi) and our association of (ɔi) with long *i*.

Ambergris, verdegris, antique, beccafico, bombasin, *brasil*, *capivi*, *capuchin*, †colbertine, chioppine or *chopin*, caprice, chagrin, chevaux-de-frise, [chignon, crinoline,] critique, †festucine, frize, gabardine,

haberdine, sordine, †rugine, trephine, quarantine, routine, fascine, fatigue, intrigue, glacis, invalid', machine, magazine, marine, palanquin, pique, police, profile, recitative, mandarine, †tabourine, tambourine, tontine, transmarine, ultramarine.

Now if it would sound hideous in our ears to talk of 'Luɔi·zaz shɔin·ɹɔn ænd krɔi·nɔlɔin,) notwithstanding our acknowledging (*I*lɔi·za ænd Kær·ɔlɔin), can we imagine Chaucer having called *lys* (lɔis),[1] *parvys* (parvɔis), *agrise* (agrɔiz·), *sophime* (sɔfɔim·), *desir* (dezɔir·), *avys devys* (avɔis· devɔis·), *assise* (asɔiz·), *devyne*, devɔin·), &c.? Such a supposition appears to be monstrous, unless we also adopt the theory that French in England in that day was pronounced with (ɔi, ai, ei) for (ii) as now used. Of this there seems to be no shadow of proof, nor even a germ of probability.[2] Since the present habit of Englishmen is to make long *i* into (ɔi) in all words not of recent introduction, it would be necessary to establish that the Normans so pronounced and that that pronunciation of French was general in England during the XIIIth and XIVth centuries, in order to use this hypothesis in opposition to the usually accepted theory that the French sound was (ii). We shall find however that any doubt of this kind affects the present argument very slightly, because most of the words rhyming with those just cited, are also found rhyming to words of the preceding class, in which there can be no reasonable doubt of the old sound having been preserved by the throwing back of the accent. The following are some of the rhymes which belong to this class :—

he bar utterly the *prys*, the flour-de-lys 237, war and *wys*, atte parvys 311, might agrise, may *devyse* 7231, som sophime, hath *time* 7881, to wilde *fuyr*, it hath desir 5955, to *avyse*, I you devyse 33, make it *wys*, more avys 787, ne non novys, wily and *wys* 15425, so *wise*, in assise 315, madame *Englentyne*, service devyne 121, lord and sire, knight of the *shire* 357,[3] *Areyte* quyte 1033,

[1] For convenience the modern (ɔi) is written for whatever diphthongal form (ei, ai, ɔi) etc. the reader may choose to adopt.

[2] M. Le Héricher's opinion to the contrary will be considered in Chap. V, § 1, No. 3, at the end, together with the value of the Old Norman French *ai*, *ei*, and some other matters relating to modern Norman French pronunciation.

[3] The pronunciation (shɔiɹ) is very recent and by no means general. Walker gives (shiir), and says that this "irregularity," as it appeared to him, "is so fixed as to give the regular sound a pedantic stiffness." Even his recent editor Smart, 1836, gives (shiiɹ). Webster has (shɔir). This is an excellent example of the change of sound, and the difficulty with which a new fashion of pronunciation forces its way into notice. Walker quotes the following lines from "the Grammar called Bickerstaff's, recommended by Steel," which this quotation identifies with the Anonymous Grammar of 1713, suprà p. 47, in which they occur, p. 16.— Bickerstaff's recommendation is quoted opposite the title page—

"To sound like double *e*, *i* does incline,
As in *Machine*, and *Shire*, and *Magazine*."

Walker adds: "It may likewise be observed, that this word, when unaccented at the end of words, as *Nottinghamshire*, *Wiltshire*, &c., is always pronounced with *i* like *ee*." Smart says: "Letter *i* or *y* under the accent, and final in a syllable, or followed by a consonant and *e* mute, is irregular in no word purely English except the verbs *to live* and *to give*, and the noun *shire*; but there are several semi-French and other foreign words in which the French

Areite *endite* 1381, Areyte, a *lite* 1335, *lite*, quyte 3861, delyte *lyte* 4·52, vyne *deryne* 4·57, devyse *gyse* 4·64, *suffice nyse* devyse *vise* agrise 4·75, desire *fire* 4·76, enelyne *pyne myne* 4·180, *arise forbise*[1] empryse 4·209, atlile *while* 4·221, ire *fire* 4·225, desire *fyre* enspire 4·251, *myne Proserpyne* pyne 4·319, ile *wile* 5·321, *rys* (= rice) tretys 6·32, ile *while* i 95, Cecile *while* i 104.

The word *lyte*, which seems shewn to have been (liit) or (*lit*) by some rhymes above, being the origin of our *little*, can hardly be conceived as (lɔit).[2] The following among other rhymes to this word, however, not only establish the sound as (liit, *lit*), but settle many other words as well.

Lite *rhymes with* delyte 4·52, quyte 4·55, kyte 4·63, white 4·76, white delite 4·94, 6·237, wyte = *know* 4·141, delite endyte 4·163, plite 4·202, write 4·202, 5·269, 6·256, wyte = *wit* 4·255, myte = *mite* 4·259, white 4·289, 5·195, 5·282, Areite wite = *punish* 5·200, smyte 5·232, enbite 5·251.

The word *Inde* must be considered French, and most probably had the sound (ind·*e*) which the English heard (ind·e). The present nasal pronunciation of French *in* is certainly not at all indicated in any of the numerous words beginning with *in*, which we have taken from the French, and without any intimation of this nasality or any trace of it in English derivation we have no right to assume it. The vowel in *India* is short in the original language, and in the Greek and Latin derivatives. It is still so pronounced in English, and although I have heard some persons read (ɔind), for the sake of a modern rhyme, I doubt whether they would venture to talk of (ɔin·dia). It seems therefore just to conclude that the Saxon words which rhymed with it, most or all of which had acquired the sound (eind) in the xvi th century had also the sound (ind . Thus we have kynde Inde 6405, and fynde kynde mynde Inde lynde lynde 9057, 9063, 9069, 9075, 9081, 9087, rhyming together in *L'Envoye de Chaucer*, at the end of the *Clerkes Tale*. The last worde *lynde* = linden or lime tree, still has the sound (ind) and confirms the other conclusions. The use of *mende*

sound of *i* is retained; as *marine, police, profile*, &c.: .... The word *oblige*, which formerly classed with *marine*, &c., is now pronounced regularly." *Live*, gothic *liban*, ags. *libban*, Orrmin *libbenn*, had from the first a short vowel, with which, however a long vowel alternated in Orrmin in *lifeþþ*, *lifenn*, and a long vowel seems general in Chaucer, and hence we have simply the usual continuation of the short vowel. *Give*, gothic *giban*, ags. *gifan*, *geofan*, also had a short vowel, but in Orrmin, all parts except the imperative *ȝiff* and preterit *gaff*, have long vowels. From *geofan*, we have the frequent form *ȝeve* in Chaucer. In this case we have then perhaps rather the preservation of quality by shortening of quantity, as in p. 273. *Shire*, ags. *scir* is said to have a long vowel by Bosworth, and a short vowel by Ettmüller. But the vowel became decidedly long, and, as we have seen, it has preserved the (ii) sound. The cognate word *sheer*, ags. *scir* with long *i*, which has preserved its sound in all Germanic dialects, will be especially noted in Chap. V, § 1, No. 5, at the end, as a rhyme to *fire*.

[1] "Set an example to," from ags. *bisen*, example.

[2] *Lile*, however, the Danish *lille* for little, is called (lail) in the North of England.

for *minde* to rhyme with *ende* in the carefully spelled Harl. MS. 3869 of Gower, ii 23, ii 67, and *kende* for *kinde* also to rhyme with *ende* iii 120, is scarcely reconcilable with the present diphthongal sound of *i* in *mind*.

Through the kindness of several gentlemen[1] I am enabled to say that in South Shields, Kendal, Westmoreland, and Cumberland generally, and parts of Lancashire, the short vowel (*i*) is still heard in the words *bind, blind* a., *behind, hinder* a., *hindmost, find, grind, wind*[2] v. = (bind, blind, binint', hind'a, hin'most, find, grind, wind). See also the Scotch pronunciation infrà p. 289. With these analogies it would be considerably more difficult to imagine the diphthongal sound than the short vowel in such words.

The French words of the next class are those which end in *i* or *y*, and which are referred to in that paragraph of Palsgrave which occasioned so much difficulty in the last chapter (p. 109), and they are also remarkable for the English words which rhyme with them in Chaucer. The French words are themselves not numerous. In the Canterbury Tales, there seem to be only *merey, fy, enemy, foolhardy, cry, quirboily*, to which perhaps *yvory, vicory*, although the final *y* is difficult to account for.[3] These words rhyme, first with each other, next and very frequently with the termination *-ly*, and these words and this termination rhyme with the Dutch (?) *courtepy*, and with the Anglosaxon *I, why, by, thereby, sty*. The only words among these which could have a plural, *enemy, sty*, do not occur in the plural in rhymes in the Canterbury Tales. It was with special reference to this investigation that I enlarged the field of enquiry, extending it over the rest of Chaucer's poems and Gower. Some of these poems, as we have seen, are not in a trustworthy form, especially the *Court of Love* (p. 251), *Flower and Leaf* (p. 251), *Chaucer's Dream* (p. 251), and *Romaunt of the Rose* (p. 252), because they admit of rhymes which belong to a later period. The best manuscripts are altogether free from such rhymes. The spelling in Pauli's Gower must always be corrected by the manuscripts. Allowance must be made also for those words which had a twofold pronunciation, as (ai) and (*ii*), not always marked with sufficient care in the

[1] Rev. C. Y. Potts, of Ledbury, for South Shields; Mr. Brown, of St. Peter's College, Peterborough, for Kendal; Mr. J. N. Hetherington, Clifton Parsonage, Workington, for Cumberland; Messrs. Jackson, Fielding, and Axon, for Lancashire,—have supplied me with information from personal knowledge on this and other points; and Mr. Shelly, of Plymouth, for Devonshire; Messrs. Atkinson and Moore, for Yorkshire; Mr. Hallam, for Derbyshire; and a lady near Norwich, have also supplied much information on dialectic pronunciation. I beg to express my thanks to these and other correspondents who have at great trouble to themselves enabled me to supply these illustrations. Messrs. Potts, Brown, Hetherington, and Shelly have been particularly liberal with the time they have bestowed on me. I shall term these assistants generally my dialectic correspondents.

[2] The substantive *wind* is generally (wind), but in Cumberland it seems to be always (wahind, waind), so that *wind* s. *wind* v. have precisely the opposite pronunciation to what they generally receive in the south.

[3] Diez says that *avori, ivori* are Provençal forms, which it is singular to encounter in English. For *vicory* I know no authority.

spelling, to be carefully considered presently. With the exception of such words no case has yet come before my notice in which *-i* or *-y* final rhymes with *-ey* or *-ay*. In the following list of rhymes all cases of *-ly* rhyming to *-ly*, which are very frequent and convey no information, are omitted; and by no means all the rhymes, except in the Canterbury Tales, of *I* with *-ly*, *-by*, *forthi*, etc., are given.

Soburly courtepy 291, pitously mercy 951, enemy I 1645, ryally by 1689, fy mercy 1775, ryally enemy 1795, synfully fy 4499, mercy solempnely 5110, pitously, mercy I 5479, by specially 5544, therby I 6597, prively therby 6925, yvory fetisly 7323, sty I 7411, comunly why 7839, stedefastly mercy tenderly 8970, why I 9315, uncurteisly cry 10237, cry pitously 10727, therby I 12650, mercy sey 13308, therby ydelly 13860, subtily by 13980, redily forthby 14082, pitously, ther by 15011, quirboily yvory 15283, I fool-hardy 15401, trewely by 15411, sodeinly enemy 16889, lustily vicory 17315.

I mercy 4·65-6, truly unlusty I 4·76, by prively 4·77, by I cry[1] 4·78, cry ocy 4·79, ny cry I[2] 4·81, wrongfully I 4·125, redy I 4·148, trewely I by 4·175, tyme, bi me, pryme 4·193, by hertely 4·205, whi by bisily 4·272, I fynaly 4·336, pitously by hastily 4·337, I certeinly therby 4·341, y why 5·173, why comelely 5·180, trewely lady 5·190, hooly mercy 5·193, I why 5·239, I mercy 5·266, by, domus Dedaly = *Dædali* 5·267, y by 5·269, by and by, curteysly 5·285, y by 5·341.

I openly i 44, why I i 47, forthy pleinly i 51, forthy therby i 53, cry unhappily i 54, redily by i 93, sodeinly by i 102, I, graunt mercy i 103, forthy mercy i 106, I forthy i 107, worthy mercy i 107, sky sodeinly i 109, why forthy i 114, openly cry i 115, mercy why i 116, why prively i 148, comunly why i 172, why forthy i 173, comely awry i 174, redely forthy i 200, kindely why i 205, sely privete i 225, time, by me i 227, 309, 370, ii 41, 49, 114, iii 6, 369, I truely i 227, bodely why i 259, why forthy i 280, lady thereby i 292, cry buxomly i 297, by lady i 298, cry therby i 314, forthy enemy i 330, I forthy i 332, enemy why i 347, why forthy ii 20, I by ii 24, 41, sky by ii 29, bodely therby ii 34, forthy therby ii 50, openly forthy ii 51, truely sky ii 59, why I ii 69, besily enemy ii 75, I forthy ii 95, why cry ii 122, bodely forthy ii 133, redely by ii 137, why sky ii 158 forthy Eoly = *Æoli* ii 160, forthy by ii 161, forthy why ii 163, sky why ii 167, Satiry = *Satyri* properly ii 171, forthy proprely ii 187, by I ii 219, why buxomly ii 228, by mercy ii 278, esely mercy ii 295, why therby ii 301, mercy redy ii 314, mercy therby ii 373, I worthy ii 379, sodeinly askry ii 386, mercy rudely ii 396, why almighty iii 61, mercy thereby iii 82, forthy mightily iii 92, high sky iii 93, by and by sky iii 116, Gemini redely iii 119, Gemini forthy iii 119, Gemini proprely iii 127, I by iii 168, I forthy iii 185, mercy redely iii 198, sodeinly

[1] Erroneously spelled *bye, crie*.

[2] Erroneously spelled *nye, crie*.

askry iii 217, why pitously iii 260, why Genesy iii 276, by and by, prively iii 305, pitously I iii 315, enemy envy iii 320, cry by iii 321, lady prively iii 325, forthy by iii 348, redely why iii 368, I mercy iii 372, sodeinly sky iii 375.

It is impossible to glance over the above list without feeling that whatever was the pronunciation of this final *-y* in any one word, it must have been the same in all the words, and hence if there is a certain clue to any one word, we have a clue to all the rest. Two rhymes are very noteworthy: mercy sey 13308, and sely privete i 225, but their very peculiarity and the absence of any corroborative instance whatever, render them suspicious. Yet, as the first of these was the only clue which I could obtain for some time, I was misled by it to suppose that this termination *-y* had like *sey* the sound (sai). This shews the danger of trusting to single instances. Even in the Harl. 7334, which is followed by Wright and Morris, we find: an hihe, sihe 11161, which should be: hih, sih, probably (ɪ*i*kh, s*i*kh). But an examination of seventeen MS. which contain v. 13308, shews the following variants.

In the British Museum.[1]

Harl 7333	mercy	sey
Harl 7334	mercy	sey
Lansdowne 851	mercie	sihe
Sloane 1685	mercye	say
Reg. 17 D xv	mercy	sy
Reg. 18 C ii	mercy	sey

At Oxford.[2]

Laud 600	mercy	sie
Laud 739	mercy	sey
Rawl. MS. Poet 149	mercy	sey
Halton 1	mercy	say
Barlow 20	mercy	syhe
Arch. Seld. B 14	mercy	sy
C. C. Coll. MS. 198 F. 3. 2	mercy	sey

At Cambridge.[3]

Gg. 4. 27 (No. 1)		sey
Ii. 3. 26		se
Mm. 2. 5.		seye
Trin. Coll. R. 3. 3.	mercy	sigh.

It is clear that the passage has much exercised the scribes who have occasionally ventured to add an *e* to *mercy*, which is quite illegitimate, and the majority have inclined to the more usual form in Chaucer, *sey*. The usual form, however, in Gower is *sih*, written *sigh* by Pauli. The above 17 instances may be divided into an (ai) class and an (*ii*) class, thus—

(ai) sey sey say sey sey sey say sey sey seye . . 10
(*ii*) sihe sy sie syhe sy se sigh 7

The word clearly belongs to those doubly sounded and doubly spelled words to be presently examined, and we must conclude that those scribes who used the (ai) class of forms were misled by habit, and should have used an (*ii*) class, and, since the guttural could not have been pronounced in French, the scribes ought to have omitted it in the English word. It will be seen that when *eye*, *high* are pronounced with (*ii*) the guttural is frequently omitted. This leads us to prefer *sy*, given by two MS, of which *sie*, *se* are mere accidental varieties. The preterite (sii) as: I see him do it yesterday, is not yet obsolete among the uneducated, while (sai) is unknown.

[1] Examined by myself.
[2] Examined by Mr. G. Parker.
[3] Examined by Messrs. H. Bradshaw and Aldis Wright.

The second instance: sely privete i 225, although unparalleled among these rhymes, would not be unprecedented, for we saw at the beginning of this investigation that long *i* and long *e* occasionally interchange, but we already know that the proper reading is: rele privete, (p. 253).

Rejecting these isolated instances, we are struck by the rhyme: tyme, bi me, pryme 4·193 in Chaucer, and the eight times repeated rhyme: time, by me, in Gower. The rhyme: sophime, time 7881, has already (p. 275) led us to consider (t*ii*me) a probable pronunciation, and hence these repeated rhymes lead to calling *by* (b*ii*). More than this, *by* is often spelled *be*, be thy trouthe 5·227, alle be hemselve 5·246, be God 5·256, and indeed *be*, *by* occur in the same line: be strengthe and by his might. 5·348, from the *Legende of Good Women*, following the Bodleian MS. Fairfax 16, a good manuscript. These variants strongly confirm the hypothesis that *by* = (b*ii*).

It is certainly fair to conclude that the purely French words in these rhymes had the sound (ii) or (*ii*), the latter probably in England, and the former in France. We were driven to this supposition on comparing Palsgrave with Meigret in the XVI th century (p. 110). We might therefore assume that: mercy, enemy, fy, cry, quirboily, fool-hardy, envy, had the sound (ii) or (*ii*), and these would be fully sufficient to determine all the rest. But as this assumption in fact involves the whole question, it will be better not to lay great stress upon it.

The cry *ocy* attributed by the cuckow to the nightingale 4·79—

> For thou hast mony a *feyned* queint cry,
> I have herd the seye, 'ocy, ocy;'
> But who myghte wete what that shulde be?

leaves us in the same ignorance as the cuckow, and can be of no assistance if we go to the real cry of the bird; but if we take it as a French spelling of an imitation of that cry,[1] then we have simply two French sounds *cry*, *ocy* rhyming.

There are several instances of Latin final *-i*, one in Chaucer: Dedaly 5·267, and several in Gower: Eoly ii 160, Satiry ii 171, Gemini iii 119, twice, and iii 127, and it is difficult to suppose that Latin was at that time so mispronounced as to have *i* called (ɔi). The Roman Catholic tradition must have saved this heresy, which seems to have only crept in with the XVI th century, and was even then reprobated by many, as by Salesbury. At least these rhymes must be considered to add to the probability of the (ii) or (*ii*) pronunciation.

With regard to the termination *-ly* which plays so great a part in all these rhymes, it is to this day generally pronounced (l*i*) in conversation, although declaimers will sometimes permit themselves to

[1] "FIER, FIER, OCY, OCY: Sons onomatopés représentant le chant du rossignol (répetés plus bas dans une chanson)." Roquefort, sub. *fier*, where he cites: "il y avoit au-dessus de luy ung chesne sur lequel avoit ung rossignol qui chantoit très melodieusement et cryoit ainsy que tout endesvé *et fier, fier, ocy, ocy*," from *Roman de Perce-Forest.*

say (ɔi), and we find Gill in his transcript of the Psalms constantly using this sound, apparently to add dignity. He also says (madzh·estɔi), and, at least in one place (mer·sɔi, but the latter is probably a misprint, for he generally writes (mer·si). Modern poets, working upon an old foundation, permit themselves to consider *-y*, under a secondary accent, as either (-ɔi) or (-ii). This belongs to the licentiousness of modern rhyming, superinduced by an unphonetic orthography. I cannot consider this early usage of Gill to indicate in any way the old pronunciation. It was undoubtedly wrong in words which had formerly *-ie*, *-e*, and was probably fanciful in other cases. Dr. Gill had a notion that the (ɔi) added to the beauty and strength of the English language,[1] and hence his employment of it is suspicious unless well corroborated. As to the practice of modern times, it is sufficient to cite Walker and Smart, who, not recognizing the difference between (i, *i*) identify this termination with (-li), but that is properly an Irishism. As, then, there seems no reason to suppose that this termination *-ly* ever had, in natural speech, the sound of (-lɔi) but only (-lii, -l*ii*, -li, -l*i*), the conclusion in favour of the (ii, *ii*) pronunciation of the other words seems inevitable. But those who have made up their minds to the (ɔi) pronunciation of long *i*, and especially of the pronoun *I*, will object that we have in Gill an actual example of the (ɔi) sound, and that we hear occasionally, under peculiar circumstances perhaps, and by no means uniformly in the same speaker, but still we *do* hear (-lɔi) now and then, and that it is possible that (-l*i*) may be a "corruption" of (-lɔi), rather than (-lɔi) a mistaken intensification of (-l*i*). It is therefore necessary to try some other words, which are free from Gill's imputed (ɔi). *Enemy* is not such a word, for he writes (en·emɔiz), suprà p. 110, note. But lady 5·190, i 292, 298, iii 325; almighty iii 61, worthy i 107, seem unexceptional. The words do not occur in Gill, but *lady* does occur in Salesbury, who transcribes it in Welsh letters *ladi* = (laa·di). In modern ballad poetry we have constantly to read (l*ee*dii·),[1] but the pronunciations (l*ee*·dɔi, l*ee*dɔi·) are utterly unknown. As this word determines *-ly -by*, by its rhymes, and these are sufficient to determine all the rest, the difficulty may be considered as solved.

But there are still important considerations which lead the same way, and which must therefore still be adduced. It is difficult to suppose that *a cry* and the verb to *crye*, had their *y* differently pronounced. This *y* would probably retain its sound in the inflected form *cryede*, often a dissyllable as *cry'de*. Now we find: eryede glide Cupide 4·349 in Troilus and Cryseyde from a good manuscript, and *Cupide* is one of those words in which we have already recognized the persistence of the (*ii*) sound. Again: criede Cupide Cipride 5·9 occur in the same poem. Gower has: cride hide i 149, cride wide iii 213. All this points to the pronunciation (cr*ii*·de) and hence (cr*ii*) for the substantive. But there is one

[1] "Retinebimus antiquum illum et masculum sonum." *Logonomia*, p. 7.

[2] As in Sir W. Scott's Jock of Hazeldean, in which the first stanza is said to be ancient: "Why weep ye by the tide, ladie?"

word which seems at first sight to run counter to this conclusion: reneye 4796, 12196, 12376, 16047 etc, always meaning to renounce, abjure, in modern French *renier*, so that *ey* seems to answer to French *i*. But Roquefort (Gloss. de la lang. rom. ii, 463) gives the old forms *renoier*, *renoier*, and Kelham (Dict. of the Norman or old French language 1779) has *reneyee* renegado, *reneign* refuse. So that the *i* is a modern French development, which does not affect the present investigation.

Perhaps the strongest evidence of all is furnished by the very word *enemies*, which was lately rejected on account of Gill's (en·e·mɘiz). Of course there is no doubt whatever of the sound of *i* in the words *is*, *his*. These words never could have been (ɔis, ʜɔis) at any time. No champion of (ɔi) could ever entertain such a notion as this. Now in Gower we have: pris is ii 341, wis is iii 226, which may be taken to settle the pronunciation of *pris*, *wis* i.e. price, wise, in the XIVth century, and strongly corroborate the method by which we have already arrived at this result. Bearing this in mind, the rhymes: enemies pris ii 67, iii 199, enemies is ii 342, enemis his iii 214, enemies wis iii 216, leave no doubt that Gower said (en·em*iz*) or (en·em*is*), and that he therefore must have said (en·em*i*) as the natural pronunciation of his time, or have occasionally lengthened the final vowel into (*ii*, ii). But if so, all the rest follows from the rhymes: enemy I 1645, ryally enemy 1795, sodeinly enemy 16889, forthy enemy i 330, enemy why i 347, besily enemy ii 75, enemy envy iii 320.

It seems impossible to form a stronger chain of evidence in favour of an unknown pronunciation, but the strength is rendered more evident by the circumstance that there is no instance of *-i* rhyming with *-ey*, except such as are explicable by the fact that the word had several sounds and several modes of writing, often used in other places, and that the scribe accidentally employed a wrong orthography, as in the instance: mercy sey 13308, already considered. Everything is therefore so far reconcilable with the hypothesis *i* = (*ii*, *i*), and many circumstances are irreconcilable with the hypothesis *i* = (ɔi, *i*). Hence I feel compelled to admit that even the personal pronoun *I* was called (*ii*) by Chaucer. This personal pronoun had three forms, *I* most commonly, *ic*, *ich*, rarely. That in these latter forms the *i* was (*i*) short, seems proved by such contractions as theek 3862, theech 12857, 14362, = thee ik, thee ich. The diphthong could hardly have been so lost. Again the change *ic*, *ich*, would be unusual, though possible, if *i* were (ai). But *I* seems formed from *ic*, *ich*, just as *a* is from *an*. The original pronunciation of the indefinite article was of course (a), and it is now frequently (ɔ, ɐ), but the emphatic pronunciation (*ee*) is of modern growth, and seems precisely comparable to the emphatic use of (ɔi) for (*i*) in *I*.

Further corroboration of the above conclusion will be afforded by considering the termination *-ie*, *-ye*. In two instances Chaucer uses the French words *par compaignye*, at the end of a line, not as Anglicised, but as a real French phrase. There may be some doubt

as to the sound of *gn*, whether (nj, nɹ) or simply (n), as will be hereafter considered, but as it is also written as a simple *n*, it will be sufficient to consider it here as (n). The two last letters must have had the French sound, which cannot well be conceived as anything but (ii·e), or the English modification (*ii*·e), a change so slight that the Englishman would have thought he was exactly correct. Hence: par compaignye, fantasye 3837, par companye, molodye 4165, must be considered as establishing the English pronunciation (fantas*ii*·e, melod*ii*·e) of these Anglo-French words. The following rhymes strongly confirm this conclusion:

hostelrie companye 23, multiplie Marie 15100, Emelye melodye 873, Emelye, gan to crie 2343, signified, sche cryed[1] 2345, philosophie, wolde he crye 647, envye[2] crie 909, tyrrannye espye 1113, chyvalrye curtesie 45, I made him frie, jalousie 6069, rageric, as a pye 6037, maladye manye = *mania* 1375.

I schal not *lye*, companye 765, curtesye *lye* 7251, vilonye, nat a *flye* 4189, Emelye, gan sche *hye* = *hie*, *hasten* 2275, harlotries, tollen *thries* 563, boille and frie, bake a *pye* 385, melodie, my body *gye* 12062, curtesie, for to *gye* 7950, maladye, moist or *drye* 421.

The first list consist entirely of Anglo-French words, the second gives rhymes of such with other words. Now throughout Harl. 7334 this termination *-ye* never rhymes[3] with any other termination, such as *-y*, *-e*, which has now received the same sound (*-i*). But during the XVth century the final *e* was thrown off, and then these words fell into (mel·od*i*, fan·tas*i*) etc, and became rhymes to *-ly*. These rhymes therefore not only shew a later date, but indicate an identity in the pronunciation of *i* in the two sets of words. As then we have no conception of there having been an (oi) sound in the *-ye* endings, (except in such words as *signify*, where of course it is due to the accent), we have a corroboration of our former conclusion that long *i* was (*ii*, ii). Whenever we see in any manuscript of Chaucer or Gower such rhymes as *-y*, *-ye*, or as *-e*, *-ye*, we may be sure either that there has been some accidental orthographical error of the scribe, or that some words of a more recent period have been substituted. The error is often very obvious and easy to remedy, thus: *high* testifie 4·1, *majestie* dignyte kne 4·3, see *ryaltie* 4·5, *libertie* degree 4·10, *crueltie* pyte 4·12, should have: hye, majeste, ryalte, liberte, cruelte. But degree ye = *eye* 4·5, I dye high 4·8, hie crye whye 4·10, I espye ye = *eye* 4·10, hie besyly ye = *eye* 4·11, fantasye merily 4·15, ye = *eye* pretily 4·15, se ye = *eye* 4·27 etc., are certainly erroneous, and could not have been written by a XIVth century writer. They serve therefore to discredit the MS. (R. iii. 20, Trinity College, Cambridge,) of the *Court of Love*.

[1] Probably *signifiede*, *eryede* are the proper forms.

[2] Both French forms *envi*, *envie* occur, old and recent, and both *envy*, *envie* are found in old English.

[3] The mistakes *hyghe* remedye 4629, *eyen* aspien 12426, *hee eye* 11503, *jelousye* me 1809, have already been noticed (p. 250); the proper readings are hye, yen, hye ye, jolite.

Three other corroborative circumstances may be mentioned. First, if long *i* had been (əi) in the XIV th century and earlier, English would have presented the extraordinary spectacle of a language without a long (ii, *ii*), one of the primitive vowel forms. Sir Thomas Smith had indeed reduced Latin to such a condition, but this was a purely artificial formation, due to a mistaken theory, and we may safely say could never occur in practice. Secondly, if long *i* had been (əi), we should have to account for its common unaccented form (*i*). There is a dispute among orthoepists as to whether (əi) or (*i*) should be pronounced in certain unaccented syllables, such as (*sivilizee*·shun) or (*sivi*ləizee·shun), or (d*i*dzhest·, dəidzhest·), (in·f*i*n*i*t, *i*n·fəinəit). These disputes at least serve to shew that there is no difficulty whatever in using (əi) in an unaccented syllable, and hence make the employment of (*i*) inexplicable, except on the theory that it was the original normal sound. The change of (əi) into (*i*) is of course possible, but it is generally through (ei, ee, ii). We have this very transition in *deceive*, which was (desaiv·) in the XIV th and even XVI th centuries, became (deseiv·) and passed into (deseev·) in the XVII th, and fell into (disiiv·) in the XVIII th century. But the transition took a long time. This was probably the course by which the old Greek ει reached the modern Greek (ii). We have no trace of such a change in the words considered. The third circumstance is, that the scribes of the XIV th and early part of the XV th centuries seem to have had no hesitation in writing *i* and *ei* or *y* and *ey* according as they wished to indicate a difference of pronunciation. This is especially the case with the words *die*, *dry*, *eye*, *high*, *lie*, *sih*, *tie*, *pine*, which must therefore be considered individually.

Die = (dai·e, dii·e). This common old English word is not Anglosaxon. The old Norse is deyja, ek dey, dô (dei·ɹa, ek dei, doo), and deʒenn in Ormin, deiʒen in Laʒamon, deyin' in the Promptorium, point out (dai·e) or (dei·e) as the older pronunciation. The same sound is indicated by: seye deye 4944, 7207, waye deye 5010, 5238, 11649, disobeye deye 8239, deyth seith 7623, seyde deyde 2847, preyde deyde 8424, sayde abrayde deyde 8935, and generally. In: brayde prayde *dyde* 16022, we have therefore a clerical error for *deyde*. But we have a different spelling and a different set of rhymes in: Marie dye 5261, Emelye dye 1569, 1589, 1595, dye, folye 1799, ye = *eye*[1] dye 7913, Lombardye hye allie dye 15886, die Galaxye 4·53. Hence in: deye vilonye 11715, deye bigamye 5667, deye sloggardye 11943, *deye* is a clerical error for *dye*. Whether this double pronunciation was of a much older date or not, it is difficult to say. The point to note here is, that there was a double method of spelling, and that, except from mere carelessness of the scribe, each method answered to its own rhymes, which we had previously recognised as (ai, *ii*). At present (dəi) is the common form, but (dii) is more usual in South Shields, Kendal, Westmoreland, and Lancashire.

[1] MS. Univ. Lib. Cam. Dd. 4. 24, reads eye deye, which is also legitimate.

Buy = (bii·e, bai·e). The first seems the older form as an alteration of biggen, the second is not so frequent: to byen 11467, bye housbondrie 5869, preye beye 12564.

Dry = (drii·e, drai·e). Here (*ii*) seems to have been the original form corresponding to ags. (yy), and (ai) the derived. Ags. dryge drige drege dry, Orrm. drigge. Hence: maladye drye 422, drye remedye 4·56, drye dye drie crie guye 5·208, where the first *drye* means *to suffer*, still found in Scotch as *dree* (drii). On the other hand: weye dreye 8773, drye seye preye 4·64, where *drye* is evidently an error for *dreye*, aweie drey(e) i 220, but: drie deie iii 93 might be: drye dye, or: dreye deye, probably the former. The form *dreye* seems proved, but it is not so common, and what is most important for the present purpose, it was a derived, not an original form, which the scribe was not content to leave under the old spelling *drye*. The legitimate inference is, therefore, that if in other words (ai) had been pronounced, *ey* would have been written. At present (drəi, drai) are the common sounds, but (drii) is known in South Shields.

Eye = (ai·e, *ii*·e). The older sound seems to have been (aikh·e, eikh·e). The more usual orthography is *eyghe*, *eyghen*, or *eyhen* when the word does not occur final. I have not noted it in a rhyme in Chaucer, but we have: eie scie i 72, eye awey(e) i 127, and Pauli constantly writes *eie* when the MSS. have *yhe*. The guttural (*kh*) seems to have been often entirely lost, passing probably through (ɹh), and then becoming absorbed in the preceding (i); or more properly the diphthong ·ei grew out of (eɹh). The value (*ii*·e) results from: melodie yhe 9, companye dayesye = *daisy* = *day's eye* 333, (for dayse hie 4·77, read daysye hye,) crye yhe 1097, ye = *eye* plye 9044, yen wryen 17193. For: specifie eye i 3, highe eye i 106, sigh eye i 116, as Pauli writes, read: specifye ye, hye ye, syhe yhe. Although ·əi is very general, yet (ii) is almost the only form known in Newcastle, Cumberland, and Lancashire, and is even used in Devon.

High = (ʜai, ʜii). The older form is here (ʜei, ʜai) the (i) being generated from (ɹh), the representative of (*kh*). The usual forms when the rhyme does not require the others, are *heih*, *heigh*, frequently with an added *e*. Possibly, as in *eye*, the guttural was early lost in developing the diphthong, compare Orrmin's heh, heghe. In rhymes this older form is not common, and is often doubtful, thus: heye eyghe 3243, heyghe eyghe 10587, might have been: hye ye. More certain seems: heyghe piggesneyghe 3268, on heigh seigh = *saw* 1067, which may have been: on hih sih, compare 11162. This form often occurs in Gower, where Pauli writes: high sigh i 2, i 24, i 137. On the other hand the form (ʜii) is very common: hye crye 10725, hye prye 7319, hihe eye, *read* yhe 11317, eyen *read* yen, prien 9985; prye hye compaignie 4·222, hye gye compaignye 4·296, hye navye 5·215, hye jurye 5·253, hye skye 5·258, high *read* hye, poesie ii 36. (Hii) is used in Cumberland and Scotland.

Sly = (slai, slii). The first is the old form, in Orrmin sleh, and (slii) is more recent. The rhyme slye, lye *mentiri*, ye *oculus* 5·37-8 is ambiguous; but if: high testifie sly 4·1 should be hye, testifie, slye, this is a rhyme in point. Sleigh occurs 3201, 4·339 v. 944. (Slii) is still found in Cumberland and South Shields.

Tie = (tai·e, tii·e). The first is the old form, from ags. tegan, the second seems to have come from a second form ags. tygan; seyd teyd 10305, gives the first distinctly, the form: tyȝed, *Allit. Poems by Morris* A. 464, suggests the second sound, for which I have noted no rhymes. (Tii) is found in Kendal, Cumberland, and Lancashire.

Pine, *pain* = (pii·ne, pai·ne), are really two separate words, but they are used so much in the same sense that they might be easily supposed to be different forms of the same word. The first is Anglosaxon, the second French, but both apparently come from Latin *poena*. They have come down to the present day also with different pronunciations (poin, peen), and different meanings. The following passages will shew how the words are confused by Chaucer as the exigencies of the rhyme require.

And whan a beste is deed, he ne hath no *peyne*,	
But man after his deth moot wepe and pleyne,	
Though in this world he have care and woo:	
Withouten doute it may stonde so.	
The answer of this I lete to divinis.	
But wel I woot, that in this world gret *pyne* is.	1321
In which ther be som merthe or doctrine.	
Gladly, quod I, by Goddes swete *pyne*.	15343
That telleth us the *peyne* of Jhesu Crist.	15352
And sythen that I knewe of loves *peyne*	
And wot how sore it can a man destreyne.	1817
Ful gultelees, by Goddes swete *pyne*,	
For as an hors, I couthe bothe bite and whyne.	5967
who wolde suppose	
The wo that in my herte was and *pyne*?	
And whan I saugh he nolde never fyne	
To reden on this cursed book.	6369
In Armorik, that clepid is Bretaigne	
Ther was a knyght, that loved and dide his *peyne*	
To serven a lady	11041

We thus see that in the XIVth century there was a tendency to two forms in certain words, and that in general the original form has (ai) and the secondary form (*ii*). In one case, however, at least, *dry*, the (*ii*) form appears to be the older. In every case, however, except from mere carelessness of the scribe, the two sounds were carefully distinguished as *ei*, *i* or *ey*, *y*. There can therefore be very little doubt that when only one form *i* or *y*, was employed, there was only *one* pronunciation, (*ii*), because the scribe, who was hampered by no historical associations, must have many a time and oft written *ey* if he had ever heard the sound (ai). In all of these cases the (*ii*) sound has been dialectically preserved.

This completes the argument in favour of the proposition with which I started, viz., that the sound of *i* in Chaucer's time was (*ii*, *i*) and not (ai, *i*). But the result admits of illustration by

dialectic peculiarities in addition to those just adduced. Isolated and small societies necessarily preserve idiomatic expressions, peculiar words and peculiar pronunciations. Of course the so-called Anglosaxon which established itself in England was not uniform. The languages with which our dialects began, so to speak, were remarkably different in many respects. It is not merely the pronunciation of a few words which now distinguishes the men of the North, North-west, North-east, West, East, Midland, South-west, and South-east, from each other and from those who speak literary English. The whole intonation, many of the words, the idioms, the grammatical constructions, are different. The effects of isolation are shewn strongly among the scanty population that speaks what we call Scotch, and consider it as a single language. Mr. Murray has been able to distinguish eight Scotch dialects so sharply as to translate the book of Ruth into each of them. In some of these dialects the differences of pronunciation are as great as those which separate English utterances in distant centuries.[1] Nevertheless we feel that all these dialects have one common origin with the literary English, and that an examination of their peculiarities, as respects this vowel *i*, will be of some assistance in conceiving the former existence of a pronunciation so extremely different from our own. It was with this view that I requested the cooperation of those personally acquainted with these modes of speech—which every one must regret to see at present so imperfectly written, that the spelling conveys but little knowledge to a reader who is ignorant of the dialect, and whom the writing ought principally to aim at instructing.

Mr. James A. H. Murray's native dialect was that of Teviotdale, and this possesses a very remarkable peculiarity. The following words which are pronounced with (ii) in all other Scotch dialects, are in this dialect, which extends over Roxburghshire, Selkirkshire, and part of Dumfries, pronounced with (ei): eye, be, bee, die, dree *endure*, fee *mad*, a fly, to fly, free, gi' ye *give you*, glee *squint*, gree *agree*, he, key, lie *falsehood*, me, knee, pea, plea, pree *try*, see, stee *steep*, spree, tea, ti' ye *to you*, tree, thigh, three, wi' ye *with you*, agee *aslant*. That is where other Scots say: (ii, bii, dii, drii, fii) etc, the Borderers say (ei, bei, dei, drei, fei) etc. This one peculiarity is very striking. Some of these words as: eye, fly, lie, thigh, are pronounced with (əi) in the South, but what Englishman would say (bəi) for *bee*, (frəi) for *free* and so on? Conjoined with this curious correspondence of (ei) with the (ii) of other dialects is another of precisely the same character. The sentence: *You and me will go over the dyke and pull a pea*, is a perfect shibboleth in this dialect. Alone, in all Scotland, it says: (Jau ɔn mei ɔl gɐq *our* dh*i* deik ɔn pɐu ɐ pei).[2] On the other hand, the Edinburgher

[1] See Mr. Murray's paper on the Lowland Scotch Dialect, read before the Philological Society on the 4th and 18th Dec., 1868.

[2] Mr. M. Bell writes (m*y*i p*y*i) for (mei pei). The latter were the sounds as I appreciated them when Mr. Murray pronounced them.

would say: (Juu ən mii·əl gjɐq ɛur dh*i* dɛik ən puu ɐ pii). Observe the (ɹɐu pɐu) for (juu puu) corresponding with (mei pei) for (mii pii). We have here, then, two sets of words in a living dialect corresponding in precisely the same way as the XVI th century (ei ou) with the XIV th century (*ii* uu),[1] and similarly in the Netherlands, we shall find (əi, ii) coexisting in adjacent provinces, as pronunciations of the written *ij*. The phenomenon, then, of the change of (*ii* uu) to (ei ou) ought not to present any very serious difficulties. Nor ought we to feel any great surprise at Palsgrave and Bullokar having retained (*ii* uu), while their fellow countrymen generally said (ei ou).

The sound (ii) for long *i* is by no means extinct, and the double use of (ii) and one of the (əi) sounds is, as we have seen, familiar in the very words which have been noted above. Mr. Murray, notwithstanding his residence in England, and his critical knowledge of our language, confesses that he is "continually discovering words which he has all his life pronounced with (ii) which Englishmen pronounce (əi)." "In fact," says he, "long (ii) is the sound we instinctively associate with the letter *i* unless we have been taught to pronounce it as in English." The following is taken from some remarks which Mr. Murray obligingly communicated in writing.

Fly s. and v. general Scotch (flii), but Teviotdale (flei). Cleveland (flii) a fly, but (fl*i*g) to fly, compare *lie*.

Lie (mentiri), general Scotch, Westmoreland, and Cumberland (lii), Teviotdale and Dumfriesshire (lei).

Lie (procumbere), Westm. Cumb. Lanc. and Cleveland (l*i*g, leg); this does not seem to cross the border where the word is (lai, la', ləhi), although the older Scotch always wrote *lig*, *lyg*.

By preposition of the agent, (bi). Teviotdale (Hei wɜz sin bi si'verelz) = he was seen by several.

By of place is always (bai, bəhi).

Thigh Scotch, Westm. Cumb. and Cleveland (thii), Tev. and Dumf. (thei).

Friar = (friir), thus a part of Jedburgh is called *the Freirs*.[2]

Briar = (briir), Cleveland (briir) and (brii), *inquire* (enkwiir·), *choir* (kwiir) and (kw*eer*) (?), *squire* (skwiir).

Site, old people pronounce (sit, zit).

Neighbour = (nib·er), with a short vowel, not (nii·ber) as Englishmen hear.

Like = (lek, leik), the latter more common, but (lek·l*i*z) is used for likely; in Cleveland also, like = (lah'k), but likely = (lek·l*i*, l*i*k·l*i*).[3]

[1] The difference between (ɜu *ou*) is very slight, the latter having simply labialised the first element of the former, which effect readily produced by the action of the subsequent (u). The difference between (*ou* ou) is merely that the first element of the latter is widened, and it would be presumptuous to attempt to discriminate between (*ou* ou) in an ancient form of speech, when it would be difficult to do so in living pronunciation.

[2] A well of very fine water at Workington, Cumberland, is always called the (frii·ɹ).

[3] An old Scotch jeweller, who had

Oblige, obliged = (*o*bliidzh·, *o*bli*i*st·)[1] and similarly in numerous French words, as *invite, polite*, and words of classical origin as *idol* (iid·l) *type* (tip), *baptize, chastize, civilized* (siv·əliizt), *advertise-ment.*

Eye, general Scotch (ii), Teviotdale (ei), plural in both (in) with short (i). Cumb., Westm., Lanc., and North Yorkshire (ii, iin) with long (ii). Barnsley, South Yorkshire (ii, iiz).

High Tev. (нe*k*h, нei, нai), other Scotch (нekh, нikh, нii), as (as нi·lahnt az dhe нii rood) = as highland as the high road.[2] The guttural form is common but is passing away, and (нii) is used instead in Centre, West, and North of Scotland, as also in Cumb., and Westm., (нai, нəhi) are the common recent forms in Teviotdale.

Die, general Scotch, Cumb., Westm., Lanc., (dii). Teviotdale, Eskdale, Annandale (dei).

Dree (drii) endure, and so in Cleveland; but *dry* (drai dr*a*i dr*a*' drəhi), and so with *buy*.

Sly follows the analogy of *high*, but the guttural form seems only to occur in *sleight* (sle*k*ht) like *height* (ne*k*ht). The usual Scotch, Cumb., Westm., and Lanc. is (slii), Tev. (slei), or more commonly (slai, sləhi).

Hie is not known to Mr. Murray in living speech, in reading ballads it is called (нai нəhi) in Tev. In Westm. dialects it is sometimes written *hii*.[3]

-Ight, words of this class, as right, might, light, sight, which in Scotland are (lekht, le*k*ht) are in Cumb., Westm., Lanc., and Yorkshire, (riit, niit, liit, siit) etc.[4] In cases where *-ight* does not represent ags. *-iht*, the pronunciation is different, so *fight* ags. feoht, Tev. (fœi*k*ht), Lanc. (feit) not (fiit).[5]

Sigh (se*k*h).

China, the ware or the country (tshin·ə, tshin·*i*), as in (Wh*a*ht est ʊts ʊt Jens unt ʊ tshin·*i* ʊn en·ʊ tshin·*i*? Tei) = *What is-it that-is at once out of China and in-of China? Tea.* Walker

lived from youth in London, always said (lek) for *like*, in all senses. He was constantly using the word, and never seemed to hear that other persons pronounced it differently.

[1] Observe the form of the past tense. I quite lately heard (*o*bliidzh·, *o*bliitsht·) from a noble lord at a public meeting.

[2] Perthshire simile in describing one who is ultra Celtic. Observe here the different use of (as, az).

[3] A gentleman in Derby informed me that in North Derbyshire the peasantry say (mak нii) for make haste. Compare: I se where come a messengere *in hie=in haste* 4·10. ags. higian *v.* higð *s.* Orrmin hih *s.* Promptorium hyyn' p. 229.

[4] Prof. Sedgwick, a native of the dale of Dent, Yorkshire, writing at upwards of eighty years of age, says: "I remember the day when all the old men in the Dales sounded such words as *sigh, night, light*, &c., with a gentle guttural breathing." which, he adds in a footnote, "seemed partly to come from the palate," and was therefore (*k*h). See: A Memorial by the Trustees of Cowgill (Koo·gil) Chapel, with a Preface and Appendix, on the Climate, History, and Dialects of Dent, by *Adam Sedgwick, LL.D.*, senior fellow of Trinity College, and professor of Geology in the University of Cambridge. Cambridge, 1868, 8vo. privately printed, p. 103—a book of affectionate and interesting reminiscences of manners and speech, extending over nearly 120 years, through Prof. Sedgwick's father, the honoured clergyman of Dent, who was 50 years older than his son.

[5] Several correspondents have confirmed this rule, and the exception.

gives (tshee'ni) for china ware or orange, but (Tshɔi'næ) for the country, and has a long note on it.

Bind, find, hind, blind, grind = (bend, fend, nent, blend, grend), *wind* v. and s. = (wand), but *kind, mind, wynd* = (kaind, maind, waind), and *little* is often (lait'l) especially as a proper name.

Why! as an exclamation, not *why?* the interrogative, is (wi!) in Scotch, and (wiio!) in Cumb., Westm., Lane., and Cleveland. (Wiio! sez ai) = *Why! says I*, is a common formula in the Northern counties.

Can this existence of the (ii) sound, and its general association with *i* in Scotland, be considered a modern development? Has it not rather the appearance of an ancient form? The latter view seems confirmed by seeing that numerous words are pronounced with one of the (ɔi) forms as (ei, *e*i, æi, ai, *a*i, ɔhi, ɜi), and that these various forms are differently distributed in different localities, whereas the (ii) form when it occurs is almost general. Mr. Murray gives the two following lists of words which have (ei, *e*i) in Teviotdale, but (ɜi) in Western Scotch, the first element of these diphthongs being more distinctly heard than in English (ɔi, ɔu).

Tev. (ei), west Scotch (ɜi): bike *wasp's nest*, dyke, fike *to irk*, like, pike *pick*, sike *wet hollow*, spike, strike, tike; bite, clyte *clot*, dite *doit*, flite *scold*, gite *crazy*, kite *a belly*, mite, knite (kneit) *rap the knuckles*, quite, white (*kw*heit), spite, snite *blow the nose*, wite *blame*, write (w'reit),[1] yite (ɹeit) *yellow hammer*, gype (geip) *impudent fellow*, (neipelt) *awkward clown*, pipe, ripe, sipe *ooze*, snipe, tripe, wipe;—bice, Brice, Christ, dice, grice, lice, mice, nice, price, rice, spice, sklice *slice*, trice, wise (weis), twice, thrice, fife *Fife*, *five*, life, knife (kneif), rife, strife;—pint (peint), ninth (neint).

Tev. (*e*i), West Scotch (ɜi): bide, bride, guide, hide, pride, ride, side, slide, tidy, wide;—jibe, kibe, siba (sei'ba) *onion* Lat. cepa; —guize, prize, rise, stays (steiz);—kithe *shew*, lithe, writh;—dive, drive, hive, alive, lives, knives, deprive, schive *slice*, strives, thrives, wives;—tings (teiqz) *tongs*, whings (wheiqz) *shoe-strings*;—brine, cryne *dry in*, fine, line, mine, nine, pine, sine *since*, swine, shine, tine *lose*, twine, wine, vine;—crime, dime, glime *glimpse*, lime, prime, rime, stime *indistinct form*, time;—bile, file *befoul*, guile, kile *hay-cock*, mile, pile, sile *strain milk*, tile, vile, wile, stile, smile;—bire *cowshed*, chair (tsheir), fire, hire, mire, sire *sewer*, swire tire, wire;—wild, mild;—mind, hind, kind, rind, sind *rinse*.

In the second list the consonant is a liquid, nasal, or voiced letter, which distinguishes it from the first. Generally in Scotland when English long *i* or *y* is final in monosyllables, as *cry*, *dye*, or a long *i* occurs in underived words, as *dial*, *trial*, the sound is (ai), and in Teviotdale (ai, ɔhi). Derivatives follow their root sounds.

The *two* sounds, that is the (ei, *e*i, ɜi, ɔi) series, and the (æi, ai, *a*i, ɔhi) series, attributed to the Scotch long *i*, are strongly insisted on by Scotchmen, and in 1848 when I was printing much English in a phonetic form, the Scotch always exclaimed against the use of

[1] In Aberdeen (vriit) or (bhriit).

one sign for the two forms. The late Professor W. Gregory, of Edinburgh, divided the sounds into (ɔi) and (ai),[1] in which case they answer to the two sounds heard in *Isaiah* in England. Mr. Melville Bell in a private letter says that: "in different districts you hear (*a'*, a', ahi), but the representative sound is (æi). This is heard regularly when the sound is final, before a vowel, or before final *r*, and generally when it occurs before (z) or (v). This (æi) is the 'genteel' form of *ī*. I hear it from all my educated Scotch pupils; though they come from widely separated districts they give (æi) for 'I' etc., with absolute uniformity.[2] The other sound (ei) is the regular one for *i* in other syllables, and in a few words for *ā*," as aye, pay, clay, Tay, May, way, plague, etc. In Teviotdale, *aye, may*, are called (*e*i, m*e*i) to distinguish them from (ei, mei) = *ee, me*.

My dialectic correspondents (p. 277 note), and Mr. Murray have furnished me with the following words in which (ii) or (*ii*)[3] remains in the provinces. Abbreviations—C. Cumberland, D. Devon, Db. Derbyshire, K. Kendal, L. Lancashire, N. Norfolk, S. Shields, generally South Shields, sometimes North Shields, and occasionally Newcastle, Sc. general Scotch, W. Westmoreland, Y. Yorkshire, Yc. Cleveland, Yorkshire The list is of course very incomplete, both in words and localities. The numerous French and classical words pronounced in Scotland with (ii), p. 289, are omitted.

WORDS SPELLED WITH I, USUALLY SOUNDED (ɔi), BUT PROVINCIALLY PRONOUNCED (ii).

alike D	fly *v.* CKSScWY	liar S	sight CWS
briar CYc	fly *s.* CKLSScYYc	lie *s.* CKLSScW	sly CLSScW
bright CKLSW	friar CSc	light CDWSY	stile C
by *preposition of agent* Sc	fright S	lightning S	thigh CSScWYc
child D	hie Db	mice DN	thy LW
die CKLSScW	high C	might *s.* D	tie *v.* CKL
dry S	hind *s.* C	mind D	why! CLScWYc
dyke N	Ide D	my *passim*	wright SY
eye CDLSScWY	I'll C	night CDKLSY	write S
eyesight Y	kindly D	nighest (niist) D	
	kite Y	right CSWY	

It would be difficult to suppose that in all these cases, widely differing from ordinary use, and extending over several counties, the (ii) should have been a recent transformation of (ɔi). The probabilities are all the other way.

The personal pronoun *I* is one of the greatest difficulties. In the Aryan languages its changes have been great. The original word seems to have been (a) to which a strengthening termination (gham)

[1] See my *Essentials of Phonetics*, p. 172, note, where (ai) is used when not followed by a consonant and before the inflectional (d, z), and also before (v, z), but otherwise (ɔi) is more common.

[2] Mr. Murray accounts for this abnormal uniformity, by saying that (æi) is not a Scotch sound, but the Scotch conception of the proper pronunciation of the English long *i*. In England (æi) is rather cockneyfied.

[3] It is impossible to trust the unaccustomed ear to distinguish these sounds, though they have separate letters *i*, *í*, in Icelandic.

was affixed, producing (agham) as in Sanscrit.[1] The vowel (a) was retained, and the following guttural altered to a sibilant in Zend, Lithuanian, and old Sclavonic. In Greek, Latin, and Gothic, the guttural was retained, but the vowel palatalized, into (e) in Greek ἐγών (eghoon·), and Latin *ego* (eg·oo, eg·o) which retained portions of the following syllable, and into (i) in Gothic (ik), which dropped the following letters. This low German form (ik) was the normal Saxon form, probably (*i*k), and the orthography *icc* in Orrmin, guarantees the shortness of the vowel. In Icelandic we find *ec*, *ek*, *ég*, where the vowel seems to have become long, and (j) was prefixed in speaking. The Modern Danish is *jeg* (jei, jai). In Chaucer as we have seen (p. 282), the form *ie* still occurs, and is sometimes palatalized to *ieh* (*i*tsh), but the usual form in Chaucer and Gower is *I*.[2] By Shakspere the words *I*, *eye*, *aye* were identified in sound (p. 112). The frequent phrase *quoth-a*, may sometimes mean, *quoth I*, but is often interpreted *quoth he*, and the well-known passage in Henry V, act ii, sc. 3, describing the death of Falstaff, is full of *a* for *he*. Now as *he* was certainly generally pronounced (hii), as it was frequently written *hee*, at that time, the provincial, or vulgar, or dialectic correspondence of (a) with (hii), would be precisely similar to a dialectic use of (a) for (*ii*), supposing the last to have been Chaucer's personal pronoun. At the same time the acknowledged form (hii) for *he*, would lead us to expect some acknowledged forms (ii) or (*ii*) for *I*, existing in dialects.

Now both of the forms (a) and (ii) exist in the provinces for *I*, though the traces of (ii) are very few and very slight, but few as they are, it would be difficult to account for them except by the action of an old tradition, and as in some cases the pronunciation is only known among very old people and is fast going out, it may have been much more common as lately as one or two hundred years ago.

"*Eed* = I had: If eed done soa, it wad sartainly hev been better."[3] "*I*, *aye*, *eigh*. Yes. I is sometimes pronounced like E, particularly when the pronoun follows the verb, as 'do E,' for I do."[4] "I is often sounded like E, in *in*,"[5] probably (*i*) as a contracted form of (*i*n).

[1] *F. C. August Fick*, Wörterbuch der Indogermanischen Grundsprache in ihrem Bestande vor der Völkertrennung, 1868, p. 4. *C. F. Koch*, Historische Grammatik der Englischen Sprache, vol. 3, p. 3.

[2] The omission of the guttural is quite similar to the (ai, i, mi, di, si, aa, do, no) for euch, ich, mich, dich, sich, auch, doch, noch, in the neighbourhood of the Danube, Bavaria. *Schmeller*, Grammatik art. 427. So in old high German, and old English we find *ine* for *ih ne*, *ic ne*, Graff, 1, 118, Rel. Ant. 1, 235.

[3] *Rev. W. Carr*, Craven Glossary, vol. i. p. 127, 2nd ed.

[4] Ibid., p. 241. The author cites as an illustration, what looks like a couplet, from Cant. Tales, 12530, by which it seems as if *me*, *I* rhymed. Of course this was not the case. The author has taken together two lines belonging to different couplets, and the whole rhymes are *jolite me*, *I thriftily*.

[5] Ibid. The author has unfortunately not followed any strict orthography, and has not attempted to explain that which he has used.

In Lancashire (*i*) is used when unemphatic, as (mən *i* tel dhe?) must I tell you.[1]

In Blackburn "the old fashioned way" of pronouncing *I*," is (*i*) very short."[2]

"I have frequently heard old people pronounce *I* like our own *ee* (ii), especially in the interrogative form, did ee do it? will ee go? must ee do it? etc. This is very common, in fact about twenty years ago it was the invariable pronunciation. In the phrase: (aiz gaa·an нjam, at *iz* ii!) = *I am going home, that am I, ee* (ii) is as decidedly emphatic as *I* ordinarily is. The contraction *I'll* for *I shall*, is frequently given *ee'll*. *Ee* is also used occasionally but very seldom in every tense and form. This pronunciation is only used by old people here, but in central Cumberland it is more general. The same people use the form (aa) and sometimes (a), but *never* in questions or in the direct future."[3]

Scarcely less convincing as respects the vowel in English *ich* are the contractions *cham*, *chas*, *chil* (tsham, tshas, tshil) for ich am, ich was, ich will, mentioned by Gill (*Logonomia* p. 17) as a Southern pronunciation, in Rev. W. Barnes's edition of the Glossary of the Dialect of Forth and Bargy, and in the Glossary to his Poems in the Dorset dialect, 1858, p. 150. See also J. *Jennings*, Dialects of the West of England.[4]

The dialectic pronunciations *Ise*, *'ch* are preserved in Shakspere, *King Lear*, act iv, sc. 6, l. 240, Globe ed., Tragedies p. 304, col. 2, folio 1623, which reads:

Edg. Chill[5] not let go Zir,
Without vurther 'casion.
Stew. Let go Slaue, or thou dy'ft.
Edg. Good Gentleman goe your gate, and let poore volke paſſe: and 'chud[6] ha'bin zwaggerd out of my life, 'twould not ha'bin zo long as 'tis, by a vortnight. Nay, come not neere th'old man: keepe out che vor'ye,[7] or Ice[8] try whither your Costard, or my Ballow be the harder; chill[5] be plaine with you.
Stew. Out Dunghill.
Edg. Chill[5] picke your teeth Zir: come, no matter vor your foynes.

About thirty years ago *utchy* (ətsh·*i*?) was in use for *I* in the Eastern border of Devonshire and in Dorset, and examples of *cham*, *chould* = I am, I would, occur in the "Exmoor Scolding," which dates from the beginning of the last century.[9]

The prevailing dialectic forms of the pronoun are however (a, *a*, ʌ, ɔh) occasionally (ə, ɐ), and (ai, *ai*, ɔhi, ʌi, oi). In Derbyshire I generally heard (a), but in the northern parts it is said to be (ʌi). Mr. Murray writes: "*I* in the Northern dialects of England is

[1] Letter from Mr. John J. L. Jackson, teacher of languages, Manchester.

[2] Letter from Mr. T. Fielding, Manchester.

[3] Letter from Mr. J. N. Hetherington, Clifton Parsonage, Workington, Cumberland.

[4] For these references to Glossaries I am indebted to Mr. W. Aldis Wright, Trin. Coll. Cambridge.

[5] I will.

[6] I would.

[7] Printed *cheuore ye* in the 4to, 1608. "*Australes*—(Tshi voor ji), *pro* (ɔi war·ant jou) *certum do*," Gill, *Logonomia*, p. 17.

[8] Ice = Ise = I; printed *ile* = I'll, in the 4to. 1608.

[9] Letter from Mr. John Shelly, Plymouth.

usually a simple vowel of the (a, *a*, ɔh) series. In some dialects it is, when accented, a diphthong composed of the same first element and (i,'). In Scotch (ɔh, aa), even when emphatic (ˈɔh wɔhdˈne gɔhq) = I would not go. In Ayrshire it would probably be (aai, aaˈj) in such a case, so also in Cumb. and Westm. In Lancashire it is (AA) even when emphatic, in Barnsley, Yorkshire, (*aa*). When unemphatic it is in all the dialects an obscure (a, ɜ, ɐ), it is hard to say what." Unemphatic syllables have always a tendency to fall into this colourless (ɔ, ɐ) sound. Even in Germany, where there is no tendency to pronounce *ich* (i*k*h) with an (ai), rapid speaking will generate (ɔ), as (ʜabˈɔdi, lasˈɔmi, taaˈtɔdɔ, deqkˈɔmɔ) = habe ich dich, lasse ich mich, thäte ich dir, denke ich mir, in Bavaria.[1]

The confusion of (*i*) with (e) penetrated, as we have seen, into orthography, p. 272. But during the XV th century there also arose a tendency to thin (ee) into (ii), whereby so many (ee) of the XIV th century became (ii) by the XVI th. This tendency was precisely the same as that which converted so many of the remaining (ee) into (ii) at the beginning of the XVIII th century, p. 88. Now if we suppose these two tendencies to act together, which is no extravagant hypothesis, since they certainly co-existed, the result would be that (*ii*) would be begun as (ee) and ended as (ii), that is that (*ii*) would become first (eei) and then (ei). During the same time we know also that (oo) was in many instances refined to (uu). We might therefore suppose that there was the converse tendency to take (uu) as (*uu*), and then as (*oo*), which is by no means uncommon, and then that the joint action of these two tendencies produced first (*oo*u), then (*o*u) or (ou) as it would have been certainly accepted. This supposition as to the mode of generating (ei, ou) from (*ii*, uu), has the advantage of being based upon known facts. But the considerations adduced on p. 233, are quite sufficient to account for the change. At the present moment the (*ee*, *oo*) of the South of England are actually changing into (*e*i, *o*u), and these sounds have been developed by the less educated, and therefore more advanced speakers, the more educated and therefore less advanced having only reached (*ee*i, *oo*u)[2] although many of them are not conscious of saying anything by (*ee*, *oo*).

[1] *Schmeller*, Mund. Bay. art. 284.

[2] "The English alphabetic accented *a*, in the mouth of a well-educated Londoner .... is not quite simple, but finishes more slenderly than it begins, tapering so to speak, towards the sound (i) .... ō in a Londoner's mouth is not always quite simple, but is apt to contract towards the end, finishing almost as oo in *too*." B. H. Smart, Walker Remodelled, 1836, Principles, arts. 1 and 7. Mr. M. Bell, among "English Characteristics" reckons: "The tendency of long vowels to become diphthongs. This is illustrated .... in the regular pronunciation of the vowels in *aid*, *ail*, *aim*, *ache*, &c. (*e*i), *ode*, *oak*, *globe*, &c. (ou). The same tendency leads to the 'Cockney' peculiarity of separating the labio-lingual vowels (u, *o*) into their lingual and labial components, and pronouncing the latter successively instead of simultaneously. Thus we hear (*œu*, *ɐu*, *y*u) for (u), and (*oˈw*, *oˈw*, ahˈ*w*) for (*o*)." Visible Speech, p. 117. As Mr. Bell marks the second element by the glide sign he does not distinguish the length of

As has been already remarked, p. 234, the change from (ii, uu) to sounds of the (ai, au) order has not been confined to England, but took place in the literary language of the other Germanic countries, nearly at the same time, that is, during the XV th and XVI th centuries; and in these countries as well as in England traces of the original pronunciation remain in the provinces.

Siegenbeek, whose work on Dutch Spelling originated the orthography now in use, tells us that old Dutch manuscripts employed *i, ii,* for their long *i,* which, partly for distinctness and partly for ornament, became *ij,* and hence that the inhabitants of Friesland, Zeeland, Guelders, Overyssel, and Gröningen, who still pronounce (ii), evidently preserve the ancient sound; but that the inhabitants of the province of Holland had at an early period changed the sound into one very like (ei)[1] and that after the Spanish disturbances, that is, about the end of the XVI th century, this province having become the seat of learning and civilisation, its pronunciation necessarily became prevalent, and is now the literary pronunciation of the country.[2] Hence we have an indubitably ancient (ii), preserved in those provinces of the Netherlands whose dialect most resembles ancient English, and passing into an (əi) in other provinces which by a political accident was able to set the fashion of pronunciation.

the first element, so that with him (*ee, oo*) have already in appearance become (*ei, ou*), but this does not represent his actual pronunciation, which is rather (*ee*'j, *oo*'*w*).

[1] The Dutch *ij, ei* differ slightly, if at all. Sir Hendrik Gehle, D.D., minister of the Dutch Reformed Church in Austin Friars, London, who kindly pointed out to me the passage in Siegenbeek (Sii·ghenbeek) referred to in the text, and confirmed what is there said of the provincial (ii), said that he felt more of the *e* in pronouncing *ei* than *ij,* reminding me much of Gill's remark (suprà p. 114), of being diffuse over the *e.* At first he seemed to call both (ei), but afterwards he recognized my (əi, ei) as the two sounds, and, assuming the English as (ai), he said he considered the Dutch a neater sound. The distinction (əi, ei) is precisely that which I had to make in Gill, and, considering the close connection between Dutch and English, the coincidence is remarkable.

[2] "Doch deze enkele *i* kon geene plaats hebben in lettergrepen, op eenen medeklinker stuitende, als *mijn, zijn, bliif* en soortgelijke; maar moest hier noodzakelijk verdubbeld worden.—Men schreef dus oudtijds, met eene dubbele *i, bliif, wiin, schriif,* von welke schrijfwijze, in oude handschriften, nog vele sporen voorhanden zijn. Doch, om de gelijkheid der dubbele *i* met de *u,* waaruit ligtelijk verwarring kon ontstaan, en misschien ook sieraadshalve, begon men de tweede *i* reeds vroeg met een' langen staart te schrijven, 't welk man, bij hare platsing vóór eine vokaal aan het begin der woorden, insgelijks in zwang bragt. Wij kunnen niet voorbij, hier te doen opmerken, dat zij, die, in de woorden *blijven, schrijven, mijn, zijn,* bij de uitspraak den klank der enkele en dubbele *i* doen hooren, als de Vriezen, Zeeuwen, Gelderschen, Overijselschen en Groningers, blijkens het voorgestelde, de echte en oorspronkelijke uitspraak dezer woorden behouden hebben. Doch op de tong der Hollanders is deze echte klank reeds vroeg verloren geraakt, en voor eenen anderen, eenigzins zwemende naar den klank *ei,* verwisseld geworden. Nadat nu Holland, werwaards, na de Spaansche beroeringen, de voornaame zetel der beschaafdheid en wetenschappen werd overgebragt, door middel van dit uitstekend voorregt, zijne uitspraak meer en meer als de algemeene en heerschende heeft doen gelden, is ook die verbastering in de meest beschaafde uitspraak en daarop gebouwde schrijfwijze ingevoerd, en

We have precisely the same phenomena in the less closely related High German dialects. An old and middle high German *î* (ii) became a modern High German *ei* (ai). All these latter *ei* are however not derived from *î* (ii), but some come from a middle and old High German *ei* (ei), answering to the Gothic *ai* (ee).[1] Moreover we have the same phenomenon of a persistence of the sound of (ii) in the provinces, notwithstanding the real change of orthography from *i* to *ei*, whereas in Dutch the change is only apparent, from *ii* to *ij*, and hence resembles the English retention of *i* through a change of sound. Schmeller says: "*ei* sounds, conformably with its origin, like a long (ii) by the lake of Constanz, i.e. on the Upper Rhine, and by the tributaries to the Weser from the Rhön-chain of hills;[2] (miin, diin, siin,—bii, drii, Iis, Fliis, Liim, Liib, bhiis, Tsiit —bis·e$_{\iota}$, blii·be$_{\iota}$, grif·e$_{\iota}$, ii·le$_{\iota}$, lii·de$_{\iota}$, shnii·de$_{\iota}$, shrii·be$_{\iota}$, trii·be$_{\iota}$), = mein, dein, sein,—bei, drei, Eis, Fleiss, Leim, Leib, weiss, Zeit,— beissen, bleiben, greifen, eilen, leiden, schneiden, schreiben, treiben. Also on the Lauter (siin) for *seyn*, on the Ilz (ii$_{\iota}$) for *ein*, as in (ii$_{\iota}$span·e$_{\iota}$) = einspannen; on the east of the Lech, (drii)-fach, (drii)-fuesz, (shliif)stain."[3]

Dr. Rapp in the passage previously cited (suprà p. 235) has endeavoured to give the relations of all the long vowels throughout the Germanic languages, and it seems worth while to reproduce his table here, although it is only a sketch, and requires much filling in to make it at all complete. The first line gives what Dr. Rapp imagines to have been the seven primary vowels in this system of languages. The lines 2 to 6, refer to the older, the lines 7 and 8 to the intermediate, and the following lines to modern forms. The pronunciations assigned may be occasionally disputed, but they are near enough for the present purposes, and without attempting to make any change, I have translated the phonetic symbols as well as I could understand them. The uniformity with which the Germanic, as distinguished from the Scandinavian, branches have in recent times adopted the (ai, au) forms in place of (ii, uu) is very striking. Many persons may feel that it is an argument in favour of the pronunciation of *i* long as (ii) in Anglosaxon, and therefore in Early English, that the Scandinavians certainly called their long *i* (ii), as their descendants in Iceland, Norway, Sweden and Denmark continue to do. But that conterminous districts may differ precisely upon this point we have already seen in the case of Scotland (p. 287) and Holland (p. 294), and another instance may be cited from the

daarin reeds zoo vast geworteld, dat het thans volstrekt onmogelijk is, dezelve uit te roeijen." Verhandeling over de Nederduitsche Spelling ter bevordering van eenparigheid in dezelve, door *Matthys Siegenbeek*, hoogleerar in de Nederduitsche Letterkunde te Leyden: uitgegeven in naam en op last van het Staats-Bewind der Bataafsche Republiek. Amsterdam (1804, 8vo., pp. 380), p. 65. See also *Rapp*, Phys. der Sprache, iii, 267. *Grimm*, Deutsche Gram., 3rd ed. i, 285, 317.

[1] *Rapp*, Phys. d. Spr. iv, 11. *Grimm*, ib. 95, 106, 175, 182, 225. Grimm assumes Gothic *ei*, *ái* = (ei, ai) apparently; in Chap. V, § 4, No. 3, the sounds (ii, ee) are preferred.

[2] In the same district, *au* sounds as (uu) conformably with its origin.

[3] *Mundarten Bayern's* Art. 244.

Norman peninsula containing Cherbourg. At Montebourg, only fifteen miles SSE of Cherbourg, the pronunciation of *i* as (ai) is very common, whereas at Beaumont Hague, on the same peninsula and only twenty-five miles NW of Montebourg, this pronunciation is unknown.[1] Such examples shew the necessity of examining existing phases of pronunciation before attempting to decide upon extinct usages.

RELATIONS OF THE SEVEN LONG VOWELS IN THE GERMANIC LANGUAGES ACCORDING TO DR. M. RAPP.

Long Vowels.	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
1. Primary - - -	aa	ee	*ee*	ii	AA	*oo*	uu
2. Gothic - - -	*ee*	ee	iu	ii	AA	*oo*	uu
3. Icelandic - - -	AA	ei	iu	ii	*ou*	*oo*	uu
4. Anglosaxon - -	ee	AA	*éo*	ii	*éa*	*oo*	uu
5. Friesian - - -	ee	*ee*	ia	ii	AA	*oo*	uu
6. Old Saxon - -	aa	ee	iu	ii	AA	*oo*	uu
7. Middle Saxon -	AA	*ee*	*ee*	ii	*oo*	*oo*	uu
8. Middle German -	aa	ei	ie	ii	*ou*	*uo*	uu
9. English - - -	ii	*oo*	ii	ai	ii	uu	əu
10. Danish - - -	AA	*ee*	yy	ii	œœ	*oo*	uu
11. Swedish - - -	*oo*	*ee*	JUU	ii	œœ	uu	UU
12. Dutch - - - -	aa	*ee*	ii	ai	*oo*	*uu*	*ɔy*
13. High German -	aa	ai	ii	ai	au	uu	au
14. Suabian - - -	AA	oi	iɔ	ɔi	au	uɔ	ɔu
15. Frankish - - -	*oo*	ee	ii	ai	aa	uu	au
16. East Frankish -	əu	aa	ɔi	ai	aa	ɔu	au
17. Bavarian - - -	AA	oɔ	iɔ	ai	aa	uɔ	au
Examples. - - -	*Jahr*	*breit*	*Dieb*	*weit*	*Laub*	*gut*	*Haus*
English - - -	year	broad	thief	wide	leaf	good	house

Although the subject is far from exhausted, as we are thus led into an examination of the cognate dialects, sufficient has been adduced to shew the antecedent probability of the theory that in the XIV th century long *i* was pronounced as (*ii*), and as all the facts which we have been able to discover, agree with and are explicable by this theory, whereas the usual hypothesis that long *i* was one of the (ɔi) diphthongs during all periods of our language, is not reconcilable with many of the facts adduced, and is opposed to the general tendency of the cognate dialects on the continent, it seems to be the only legitimate inference that in Chaucer's time long *i* was (*ii*) and short (*i*) was (*i*).

[1] This curious fact is given on the authority of Dr. Le Taillis, mayor of Beaumont Hague, but a native of Montebourg. See the note on M. Le Héricher and Norman *i*, at the close of Chap. V. § 1, No. 3.

U — XIV TH CENTURY.

After the lengthened proof which has been given that long *u* in the XVI th century had the French sound (yy), it follows almost as a matter of course, that those words in Chaucer which have long *u*, and which are as a general rule all taken from the French or Latin, had also the sound of (yy),[1] and this will be further confirmed when we find that (uu) the only other sound it was likely to represent had a different symbolisation, *ou*. We may, however, notice the pure French rhyme—

Another day he wil *par adventure*
Reclayme the, and bring the to lure. 17003

compare *by aventure* 25, the English phrase. With this French sound there was also a tendency to dwell on the syllable *ure* with more accentual stress, so (naa·tyyr·) 11, and

Venus, if it be youre wil
Yow in this gardyn thus to *transfigure*
Biforn me sorwful wreeched *creature*. 1106

Short *u* was properly (*u*) or (u) as in the XVI th century, and as in the Anglosaxon times. This we see from the Latin rhymes—

Sayde Plato. Ye, sire, and is it *thus?*
This is *ignotum per ignotius*. 13384
In which I pleyne upon *Virginius*.
And if he wile seyn it is nought *thus*. 13582

At the same time we find *u* short occasionally used as a substitute, apparently, for *e* and *i* short, where we cannot imagine that a difference of pronunciation was intended, as for example in the verbal termination *-ed*, *bathud* 3, *enspirud* 6, *esud* 29, while in the same passage occur *perced* 2, *engendred* 4, *semed* 39. In connection with the common forms *list*, *lest* should *lust* 102 be taken as different, or as another way of writing the same sound? *Suster* 1835, 8465, seems to have some claim to be called (sus·ter) on account of the form *soster* 3486 rhyming with *Pater-noster*, and the Anglosaxon form *suster* as well as *sweoster*, *swyster*, but it *may* have been likewise generally called (*si*s·ter).

In *fithul* 298 = fiddle, *fadur* 100 = father, *gult* 10142 = guilt,

[1] Mr. Murray informs me that *u* still retains its French sound in Scotch in words taken from the French, as: tune, lute, cure, sure, Bruce, reduce, conduce, consume, assume, bruise, judge, endure, rude, mute, secure, use, abuse, suit, mule, fule, just, [is the Cockney (dzhist) a corruption of (dzhyst)? it looks very like it,] justice, humour (y·mər), ulzie (y·l*i*, y·lj*i*) *oil*, and similarly *lz*, *nz* are representatives of (lj, nj), changed in some districts into (l*i*, n*i*) in: assuilzie *acquit*, tuilzie *a quarrel*, fuilzie *contents of the parish dust cart*, *the toon's fuilzie*, gaberluinzie *wallet*, cuinzie *coin*. But when *ue* is final, and where *ew* is pronounced (iu) in English, whether derived from French or Anglosaxon sources, it is sounded (*i*u) or rather (yu) with the accent on the first element, as in: blue, due, duty, sue, ensue, hue, few, dew, rue, crew, blew, flew, grew, threw, brew, drew, view, new, clew, Jew, rule (r*i*ul, ryul), sew, skew, beauty, feu, feud, feudal, queue (kyu), lewd, ruin (ryu·*i*n), Euen (Yu·ən) not (Ju·en). But the *mew* of the cat, and *wew* of the kitten are in Teviotdale called (mæu, wæu).

furst 1920 = first, compare *ferst* 530, *huld* 16699 = held, *hulden* 15802 = holden, *hulles* 7921 = hills, *put* 14982 = pit, and many other cases there seems to be no doubt that *u* must be read as *i* or *e*. Compare *Canturbury* 16, with : from *Canturbery*, the more *mery* 803, and this again with the three rhymes—

And thus I lete him sitte in the *pirie*
And January and May romynge *mirye*. 10091
thow poete Marcian,
That writest us that ilke weddyng *meryc*
Of hir Philologie and he *Mercurie*. 9606
Him thought that how the wenged god *Mercurie*
Byforn him stood, and bad him to be *murye*. 1387

Here we have all three spellings *mirye*, *merye*, *murye* of the same word, the first rhyming distinctly with *i* short or long, (*i*) or (*ii*), and the two last rhyming with *u* long which we must consider as (yy). Now in the Schipmannes Tale there is occasion to mention the town of *Bruges*, and we find it spelled *Bruges* 14466, but *Brigges* 14472, 14669, 14712, which must have been intended for the same sound. Recollecting that the sound of (y) short is in Sweden, Denmark, and most of Germany scarcely distinguished from (*i*) short, into which it very often entirely falls, it occurred to me that the explanation of this use of *u* short as *i* might be a similar vagueness or indistinctness of pronunciation, and that the scribe, writing from dictation, either actual or internal, (for it will be found that the copyist usually pronounces the words to himself as he writes, with a mental effort which reproduces the sound to his consciousness although it is externally inaudible, and although the organs of speech are not even put into the corresponding positions), feeling doubtful, ocaasionally wrote *u*, but generally *i* or *e*. This theory supposes that the (y) was a known English sound, and that the *u* represented the Anglosaxon *y*. In the words *busy*, *bury* where the old *u* spelling has clung to the words notwithstanding the (*i*, e) sounds, we have *y* in Anglosaxon *bysig*, *byrigean*. *Trust* is marked by Salesbury as having the sound (*i*), and so it has in Scotch, where (p*i*t) or (pet) is also said occasionally for *put*. This again calls to mind the East Anglian (k*i*v·er)[1] for (kuv·er), now (kəv·ɹ) = *cover*, mentioned in Gill, and also his denunciation of the Mopsey transformation of (butsh·erz meet) into (b*i*tsh·erz miit). There would seem therefore to be some physiological connection between *u* short, and *i* short, which must be sought for in the elevation of the tongue, both being high wide vowels, although (*u*) is back and (*i*) front, (*u*) round and (*i*) primary.

This theory that, when short *u* stood for short *i* or *e*, it was in fact meant for the short sound of the French *u* (y), of which the long sound was at that time represented also by *u*, will receive additional corroboration in the next chapter.

[1] The East Anglian *Promptorium* writes *cuverynge*, and, in connection with the words we have been previously considering, it is interesting to note the spellings *fydyll* fiddle, *fadyr* father, *gylte* guilt, *furst* first, *hyllys* hills, *pyt* pit, *putt* put, *lysty lusty* lusty, *cystyr* sister, *Mercurye* Mercury, *myry* merry.

In Trevisa's Higden, taking the chapter 59, *De Incolarum Linguis* and comparing the text in Mr. Morris's Specimens of Early English, p. 338, taken from the Brit. Mus. MS. Tiberius, D. vii., with the Harleian MS. 1900, and Caxton's edition (Brit. Mus. C. 21. d) I find the following spellings:

Tiberius D. vii.	*Harleian*, 1900.	*Caxton.*
buþ	beþ	ben
furste	first	first
burþetonge	birþetonge	langage
suþthe	siþþe	syn, syth
lurnede	lerned	lerned
wondur	wonder	wonder
undurstondeþ	vnderstondeþ	vnderstande

This comparison at any rate shews that different scribes had a different feeling as to the vowel that should be employed, and proves the practical identity of this short *u* with short *i* or *e*. If any one will resolutely say,[1] (byth, fyrst, byrth·etuq, syth·e, lyr·nede, wun·dyr, un·dyrstondeth), and then compare his pronunciation with provincial utterances of the same words, which are the best living representatives of the ancient, he will be better able to appreciate the trouble of the scribe in selecting the proper letter, on the theory here advanced. It must be borne in mind that the scribe was quite familiar with long (yy) and had a letter for it, *u*, and that he had no other letter for short (y) but the same *u*, although he had three signs for short (*u*), viz. *u*, *o*, *ou*. In such a case he most probably felt it to be a greater liberty to use *i*, or *e*, than *u* in many words, although, to avoid the ambiguity of sound (y, u) in the letter *u*, he often employed *i*, *e*.

Although it is of course possible that there was a dialectic West of England pronunciation (*u*) which replaced (y) or (*i*),[2] it is at least extremely doubtful, and certainly cannot apply to the indifferent use by the same writer of *u* and *e* in similar situations in the same sentence as already pointed out (p. 298).

[1] Without considerable practice an Englishman may find the distinct enunciation of these words very troublesome, especially when he feels bound to keep himself clear of (u, *i*, e). The true short (y) in a closed syllable is an especial stumbling block to Englishmen. Prof. Max Müller, gets so often called (Məl·ɹ) and (Mɯl·ɹ), that it is a pity English people do not know that these sounds would be unintelligible in Germany, where their own (Mɯl·ɹ) would be readily understood. Even Wilkins, who lived at a time when we know from Wallis that (yy) was a common sound in England, and who must have constantly heard the sound from Wallis himself, says that this vowel is of "laborious and difficult pronunciation . . . . . especially in the distinction of long and short." See suprà p. 176.

[2] Mr. Barnes, in his Poems of Rural Life in the Dorset Dialect, 1848, p. 31, says: "*U* in *wull*, will, is rather unsettled, being mostly sounded in the Vale of Blackmore as *u* in *bull* (*u*); but in some parts *will* is *wul*, *u* in *lull* (ə), and sometimes *wüll* with the *ü* of German *müller* (y). . . . In the Vale of Blackmoor *will* is at different times *wŏŏl*, *wull* and *wüll* (wɯl, wəl, wyl) even in the same mouth." In the introductory letter to Nathan Hogg's Letters in the Devonshire Dialect, by Mr. Henry Baird, of Exeter, 1847, 12mo, pp. 51, I find the following orthographies kindly interpreted for me

The conclusion is that U in the XIV th century was generally (yy, *u*), but short U was occasionally employed for (*i*, e), which were generally sounds into which a more ancient, originally Anglosaxon (y), had fallen, although through errors of the scribe U was employed in many words for I, E simply.

EU, EW — XIV TH CENTURY.

In the XVI th century there were two pronunciations of this combination, as there were also in the French language, (yy, eu). The following lists may be collected from Chap. III., under the headings *eu* (p. 137) and *u* (p. 163), where the italicised words *in ew* are now spelled with *ue*.

Eu = (yy); *blew*, brew, *glewe*, knew, mew (of hawks), new, *rewe* (a plant), slew, snew, *trewe*

Eu = (eu); dewe (moisture), ewe, fewe, to hew, mew (of cats), sewer (a waiter), shew, shrewe, strew

Rhymes in *ew* are necessarily few in number. I have noted rather more than thirty in the Canterbury Tales. For the purposes of comparison an alphabetical list of all the words in these rhymes, including one Latin word, and a few words whose spellings seemed of importance, though they do not occur in rhyming syllables, has been annexed. Against each word its pronunciation in the XVI th century has been written, when it could be ascertained, on the authority of Bull. (Bullokar), But. (Butler), G. (Gill), P. (Palsgrave), Sa. (Salesbury), Sm. (Smith). The immediate ags. (Anglosaxon), or fr. (French, often old French), origin follows, together with the orthography, when it could be found, in the Pr. (Promptorium), the first being the reading in Mr. Albert Way's text, and the subsequent ones those which he adds from other MS. Next follow the rhymes in which the word occurs, with its orthography in the place and the reference number. By this means a complete comparative view of all the words is furnished, which will enable us to draw a satisfactory conclusion.

by Mr. J. Shelly, of Plymouth, in which *u* is apparently used for (ə, *o*, *u*, y, yy, *ə*, *əə*); *vur* (vəɹ) for, *vury* (vəɹrɪ) very, *gude* (gəəd) good, *du* (dyy, dy) do, *purmoting* (pəɹmoot·ɪn) promoting, *dude* (dəd) did, *yu've* (jyyv) you've, *uv* (əv) of, *kuse* (kəəs) course, *tull* (təl) tell, *spull* (spəl) spell, *bewtivul* (bɨu·tɪvul) beautiful, *ulse* (əls) else, *abul* (eb'l, eb·əl) able, *uny* (on·ɪ) only, *thur* (dhə) thee, *wulling* (wəl·ɪn) willing, *bukes* (bəəks) books, *adu* (adyy·) adieu. Here we have *dude* (dəd) precisely as in the XIII th century, in Robert of Gloucester etc, but *tull*, *spull* (təl, spəl) seem to indicate an ancient (tul, spul); yet this may not be the case, for (təl, spəl) may be representatives of (tɔl, spɔl). The Devonshire (y) is here seen to be uncertain and to admit (ə) as well. The same is the case in Norfolk. Mr. M. Bell hears French *u* as (ə). In Nathan Hogg's New Series of poems, including 'Macksy Lane' a ghost story in the Devonshire Dialect, dedicated by permission to H.I.R. Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte, London, 1864, 12mo, pp. 52, Mr. Baird uses an italic *u* for the (yy, əə) sound, reserving roman u for the others, and similarly uses *a* for (a), and the whole orthography is much improved.

A careful examination of this list would shew that if attention is confined only to the words for which we have XVIth century authority, the old classes would remain undisturbed, because no (y) word rhymes with an (eu) word or conversely. But if we remark that *hue* rhymes with *true*, *knew*, and also *rue*, and that *rue*, which rhymes with *hue*, also rhymes with *true* and with *shrew*, we are led to conclude that *true* and *shrew* would have rhymed in the XIVth, as they do in the XIXth century. But this breaks up the old classification altogether. On examining the etymological relations, it will be seen that the old classification is at variance with them, but taking them as a basis we can divide the words into two classes, French and Anglosaxon,—including in the latter, words certainly Germanic, though not accurately traced,—as follows:

French—*blue*, *due*, *eschew*, *glue*, *mew*, *remew*, *stew*, *sue*.

Anglosaxon—*drunkelew*, *few*, *hew* to hack, *hew* servant, *hue*, *knew*, *new*, *rew* row, *rue*, *shew*, *shrew*, *threw*, *true*.

The following table then shews that words of the first class rhyme together, but no word of the first class rhymes with any word of the second class. The first class corresponds to a French *u*, the second to an Anglosaxon *iw*, *eow*. Taking into consideration the Latin rhyme: de coitu, eschieu 9685, as well as the derivation of these words, there can be little doubt that in Chaucer's time the first class had (y) and the second (eu). This distinction, then so carefully kept, was not understood in the XVIth century in which several of the (eu) words, as *knew*, *new*, *true*, had fallen into the (y) class. At present all the (y) class, and most of the (eu) class have formed an (iu) class,[1] except when, through the influence of a preceding (r), the modern English organs naturally change (iu) into (uu), but some of the (eu) class have become (*oo*) as *shew*, now more frequently written *show*. In such a word as *Theseus* 862, there is no diphthong, and we have to read (Thee·se,us).

In the XIVth century then it will be safest to call EU, EW, (yy), in words of French origin, and (eu) in all other words.

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF EW RHYMES, ETC.

beauty (beu·ti) G., fr. beauté, Pr. bewte, beawtye *decor*, bewte 2387

blue (blyy) Sm. ags. bleoh, bleow, bleo, blio, Pr. bloo *lividus;* blewe mewe (for hawks) 10957

coitu, Lt. de coitu, eschieu 9685. As the practical identity of the spelling *ie* with *e* has already been established, no weight can be laid on the variant *ieu* as distinct from *eu*.

drunkelew, Pr. drunkelew (see Mr. Albert Way's note there) *ebriosus*, dronkelewe schrewe 7627, 9407, 13910

due (dyy) Sm. G., fr. dû, Pr. duly *debite*, due eschiewe 9325, eschewe dewe 3045

eschew, fr. eschiver, eschever, eschuir, esquiver, Pr. achwyn *vito;* eschieu coitu 9685, eschiewe due 9325, eschewe dewe 3045, eschiewed sewed = *followed* 16823

few (feu) P. Sm. G., ags. feawa; Pr. fewe *paucus;* fewe schewe 7431, 12546, 13758, fewe schrewe 14234

glue (glyy) P., fr. glu *birdlime*, gluyer *stick together*, Pr. glwyn *visco*, i-glewed remewed 10495

[1] For the Scotch sounds, see p. 298, note 1, at the end.

hew (heu) Bull., ags. heawan, heawian, Pr. hewyn *seco*, hakke and hewe, lay hem on a rewe = *row*, 2867

hew = hind, domestic servant, ags. hiwa; hewe untrewe 9659.

hue, ags. hiw, hiw, heow; hiewe trewe 13836, hewe trewe 10901, 17207, hewe newe 1039, 10953, 11327, hewe rewe = *have compassion* 12656

knew (knyy) But., ags. cneow perf. from *cnáwan;* knewe newe 14995, knewe rewe = *repent*, 3081

mew, for hawks, (myy) P. Sm. fr. mue *place for putting poultry to fatten;* P. mue for haukes *meve;* Pr. mv of hawkys, *falconarium*, mwe or cowle, mv, *saginarium;* mewe (for poultry) stewe 351, mewe (for hawks) blewe 10957

new (nyy) Sm. G., ags. neowe, niwe, nywe; Pr. nwe, nev, *novus;* newe hewe, 1039, 10953, 11327, newe trewe 14344, 16535, newe untrewe 737, 12970, 15514, newe knewe 14995, newe threw (error for *threwe*) 14983

remew, fr. remuer; Pr. remown or remevyn, *amoveo;* remewed i-glewed 10495.

row, ags. rawa, Pr. rowe *series;* lay hem on a rewe = *row*, hakke and hewe 2867

rue, pain, repentance, repent; ags. hreowe, hreowan; Pr. ruwyn *poeniteo compatior;* rewe = *pain* schrewe 6087, rewe = *have compassion* trewe 1865, rewe = *repent* trewe 3529, rewe = *have compassion* hewe = *hue* 12656, rewe = *repent* knewe 3081

rule, fr. riule *monastic rule*, Pr. rewle of techynge, *regula, norma;* reule 173, reuled 1674

ruth, see *rue*, quasi hreowþe Pr. ruthe *compassio;* reuthe = *compassion* 5074, reuthe = *compassion* treuthe 14608, routhe = *compassion*, trowthe slouthe = *sloth* 4949

shew (sheu) Sm. G. Bull. ags. sceawian sceawian; Pr. schewe or schewynge *monstracio;* schewe schrewe 5865, 12844, schewe fewe 7431, 12546, 13758

shrew (shreu) P., etymology unknown, see Wedgewood 3, 176. Pr. schrewe *prarus*, schrewyd *pravatus*, schrewyd hertyd *praricors*, schrewdenesse *praritas*, schrewe rewe = *pain* 6087; schrewe shewe 5865, 12844, schrewe dronkelewe 7627, 9407, 13910, schrewe fewe 14234

stew, fr. estuve, Pr. stuwyn mete, stuyn, *stupho;* stuwyn menn or bathyn, stuyn in a stw, *balneo;* stwe fysche pond, stewe, *vivarium;* stwe bathe, *stupha;* stewe = *fish pond* mewe (for poultry) 351, styves = *brothels* lyves 6914

sue, fr. suir, sivire, sivre, sewir; Pr. svyn or pursvyn *persequor*, suwynge *sequela*, svinge *successus;* sewed esehiewed 16823

surety (syyr) Sa. Bull., fr. seur; seurte 1606, sewerte 6485

threw ags. þreow; threw (error for 12970, *threwe*) newe 14983

true (tryy) P. Sa. Bull. G, ags. treowe, trywe; Pr. trwe *verus*, truwe mann *verax*, trewe hewe = *hue* 10901, 17207, trewe hiewe = *hue* 13836, trewe rewe 1865, 3529, trewe newe 14344, 16535.

truth, ags. treowð, Pr. trowthe *veritas*, treuth reuth 14608, trowthe routhe slouthe = *sloth* 4949

untrue, see *true*, untrewe hewe = *servant* 9659, untrewe newe 737, 15514

value, fr. value; valieu 14582

OU, OW — XIV TH CENTURY.

As we have already had occasion to remark (p. 236), when the letter *u*, which is the natural representative of the (uu) sound in all languages that have adopted the Roman alphabet, has come to lose its proper sound, as in French, Dutch, Swedish, English, but that sound remains in the language, it becomes necessary to adopt some other notation for (uu). The (uu) sound in these cases has been generally a transformed (oo). Hence it lay ready at hand to use *o* simply for this sound, as we have seen was occasionally done in Chaucer (p. 267), and is still done in *move*, etc., and as the Swedes have been content to do. The Dutch employ *oe* for (uu), as they

use *oo* and *o* for (oo), but, as appears from the history of this orthography (p. 236, note 3), *oe* was in fact long *o* used as (uu), precisely as in the last case. The French used *ou*, in the earliest existing documents,[1] though the Normans used *u* for both (yy) and (uu) apparently, as may be seen in the French original of Henry III.'rds English proclamation, Chap. V, § 3, No. 1. On an examination of the documents of the XIII th century it will be found that the use of *u* for *i*, *e*, representing the *y*, that is (y), of the Anglosaxon, greatly increased towards the end of the period, so that confusions between the values of *u* as (uu, yy) became annoying. Writers then appear to have introduced the spelling *ou* towards the close of that period, in conjunction with *u*, to represent (uu), but, the convenience being manifest, *ou* became general by the early part of the XIV th century. These facts will be established in the next chapter, and are here only stated by way of anticipation. There was one disadvantage in the use of *ou*, namely that it had also to be employed for (oou), but this occasions very slight inconvenience. In the present place we have only to establish that *ou* really represented (uu) generally, and consequently (u) occasionally, in Chaucer.

As the use of *u* for short (u, *u*) was already well fixed, and its use for *i*, *e* was rapidly going out, *ou* was of course not so frequently employed for short (u) as for long (uu). Examples however occur, thus: *ous* 5729 stands for *us*, *outerly* 6245 for *utterly*, and the orthographies *Arrious* 6344 for *Arrius*, *Caukasous* 6722 for *Caucasus*, leave no doubt of the use of *ou* as short (u). Curiously enough the sound of (uu) fell into (ou) about the XVI th century (p. 150), and *ou* served then to represent that sound without change of spelling. But after this it became important to distinguish the (uu) and (oo) sounds of long *o*, and the orthography *oo*, adopted for the former (p. 96), has remained in use to the present day. In the unaccented syllables *-our*, representing -(uur), the orthography was left unchanged as well as the pronunciation. In the XVII th century these syllables fell into (-ər), and either the *o* or *u* in *-our* was felt to be superfluous. In quite recent times factions have been formed, one requiring *-or* to be used universally, others maintaining that *-our* should be preserved to distinguish the words that come from the French, which now exhibits *-eur*, corresponding to a later development of that language. In Chaucer's time however *-our* was used, simply because the pronunciation was (-uur), as *-oun* was used for the present common termination *-on*, compare corrupcioun 13950, confessioun 1735, regioun 2083, visioun 7259, leoun 6377, etc., which were pronounced (un) or (uun) even in the XVI th century (p. 99). We have retained *-ous* unaltered, and this was also (*-us*) in the XVI th century (p. 150).

[1] *Diez*, Gram. d. Rom. Spr. 1, 429, 2nd ed., where he quotes Benary Röm. Lautlehre, 82, to shew that the Old Romans occasionally used *ou* as a mere orthographical sign for *u*, and remarks that it was even employed for a short vowel, as NAVEBOUS = *navibus*, observing that Mommsen (Unterit. Dialecte, 217) and Ritschl (De milliario Popillano, p. 34) are of a different opinion, and consider that in really old inscriptions OU = *or*, and not *ū*.

As Palsgrave (p. 149), and Bullokar (p. 152), in the XVIth century recognized this (uu) sound of *ou*, it will only be necessary to introduce a few examples.

RHYMES WITH LATIN NAMES:—Theseus, desirous 1675, curious, Darius 6079, Venus, contrarious 6279, Apius, leccherous 13680, Claudius, corrageous 15821, vicious, Swethoneus = *Suetonius* 15949, Antiochius, venemous 16061.

RHYMES WITH FRENCH WORDS:—

What will ye dine? I will go *there aboute*.
Now, dame, quod he, *jeo vous dy sauuz doute*. 7419
Full many mayde bright in *bour*
They mourne for him, *par amour*. 15153

Compare—

And but thou do my noriee honoure
And to my chamberer withinne my *boure*. 5882

NATURAL SOUND.—The cry of the *cuckoo* was certainly intended to be (kuk·kuu·), and this determines *ow* in

This erowe song, Cuckow, cuckow, *cuckow!*
What brid, quod Phebus, what song syngistow *now?* 17175

Perfectly Saxon words as *bour, now, aboute*, having thus the sound of (uu) established, we may feel sure of it in other cases, as: hous Caukasous 6721, thus vicious 7629, dowte aboute 489, tour honour 2029, Arthour honour 6440, dortour hour 7437, powre labourc 185, flour odour 2939, hour schour 3519, emperour honour flour 5507, in an hour (error for *houre*), to honoure 14954, houres schoures 3195, 10431, and hence schowres 1 = (shuur·es); yow how 7982, youthe nouthe 463, to give the child to souke, all in the crouke 4155, colours (error for *coloures*) floures 10824, licour flour· 3, adoun broun 394, licorous mous 3345, pitous mous 143, houndes stoundes 5867, stounde founde 5441, vertuous hous 251, for to touche, in his couche 5669, untrouthe routhe 5107. Whence also we conclude that: cowde 110, flowtynge 91, drowpud 107, embrowdid 88, so woweth hire 3372, thay blew and *powped*, thay schryked and thay *howped* 16885, facound 13465, and numerous other words in *ou*, have also (uu) or (u).

As examples of those cases in which *ou, ow*, had the sound (oou) maintained in the XIX th century as (*oou*) practically, but (*oo*) theoretically, we may take: anoon the *soules*, with fleischhok or with *oules* = *awls*, ags. sawl, awul 7311, Bowe, unknowe 125, lowe knowe 2301, I trowe, undurgrowe 155.

In the provinces two sounds of *ou, ow* are also common. One of these is (uu) in almost all districts, but the others varies as (aa, AA, au, iau, ou, iou), and even (ɔu, ou), and there is great difficulty in obtaining a satisfactory account of what the sounds really are, and consequently in classifying them. The following lists referring to the dialect of South Shields,[1] will serve as a specimen. For the

[1] Obligingly communicated by the Rev. C. Y. Potts, of Ledbury.

present purpose the most important point to dwell on is the persistence of the (uu) sound.

ow = (uu) in: down, town, crown, tower, now, trowsers, how, flower, power, drowned, cow, sow, bow *s.* & *v. flectere*, bow *arcus* = (bau).

ou = (uu) in: plough, round, sound, mound, hound, doubt, thou, about, count, out, house, sour, flour;—found, bound, ground, these three words are also pronounced with (*o*), but this is for the dialect even, very vulgar;—our, which is vulgarly (wɔr).

ou = (au) in: brought, sought, fought, bought, thought, ought *s.* & *v.*, nought, soul, four, loup *s.* & *v.* = *leap*, coup = *exchange*.

ow = (aa) in: blow, snow, low *adj.*, row *s.*, crow, slow, below, know, callow, arrow, barrow;—owe, own, another and less vulgar pronunciation of these words would be (au, aun), and in these words generally (au) not (*oo*) would be the alternative pronunciation.

o = (au) in: old, cold, also (aad, kaad);—sold, told, also (seld, teld);—old, bold, fold;— stroll, toll, roll;—over (au·er).

(au) is heard in: daughter, neither, either, loose, sew, chew, mew, row *v.* & *s.*, low = *flame*, bow *arcus*.

Mr. Murray has been kind enough to furnish the following interesting account of the Scotch usages:

"In all the Scottish dialects the Anglosaxon long *u*, and French *ou*, retain their old sound (uu, u) before a consonant as: bour (buur) *bower*, clour *a swelling caused by a blow*, dour, *stubborn*, flower (fluur), hour (uur), power (puur), tour (ets uur tuur to plee) *its your turn to play*, tower, sour, stour[1] *loose dust*, shower, scour, devour (di-vuur), our (uur), your, pour (puur), cower (kuur), spout (spuut), shout, lout (luut) A.S. *lútian, to stoop*, rouse, bouse (ruuz, buuz).

"In the following the vowel is shortened in quantity but unchanged in quality: brown (brun), crown, doun (dun), drown (drun), gown, loun, town (tun), bowl Fr. *boule* (bul), foul, fowl (ful), swim (sum), sum (sum), howl, yowl, scowl, owl, howlet Fr. *houlette* (ɯl·ət), mouldy, course, court (kurs, kurt), source, douce, croose (krus) *sprighthy*, house, mouse, louse, mouth (muth), drouth *drought*, south, Soutra,[2] souter, snout, out, about, (ut, əbut·), doubt, clout, bout (ɐ dreqk·in but) *a drinking bout*, stout, scout, pouch, vouch, crouch, often (kruutsh), couch, bulk (buk), duck *verb*—

[1] The first stanza of Burns's address "to a Mountain Daisy, on turning one down with the plough, in April, 1786," well illustrates these (uu) sounds. The pronunciation is that heard by Mr. Murray from a townsman of the poet.

Wee, modest, crimson-tipped flower,
Thou's met me in an evil hour;
For I maun crush amang the stoure
Thy slender stem;
To spare thee now is past my pow'r,
Thou bonnie gem,

(Wii, mod·əst, kremz·n-tep·it fluur,
Dhuu -z mɛt mə en ɐn iiv·l uur;
For *aai* man krash əmaq· dhə stuur
Dhai slɛnd·ər stɛm;
Tə speer dhi nuu ez past mə puur,
Dhuu bon·i dzhɛm.)

[2] The hilly ridge which separates the Lothians from the south country.

the noun is (dyk, dœk),—dronk *to drench*, jouk *to elude*, louk, pouk *to pick, pilfer*, ploock *to pluck*, suck, toue o'drum, stouk *a shock of corn.*

"The combination *-ound* is, like *-ind*, in a transition state; the past participles: bound, found, ground, wound, are usually (bɜn, fɜnd, grɜn, wɜn), and ground *s.* (grɜnd), but I consider this to be recent, for I have heard (u) in some of these from old people, and we always hear it in: Where are ye (bun) er (bund) for, to beat the (bunds), boondit, boondarie, boun'tree: and the sound is always used in round (rund), sound, to found, founded, foundation, stound *a fit or 'spell'* as (ɐ stund ɔ dhə tœthˑɐk) = *a fit of the toothache. Hound* is occasionally (hɜnd), usually (hund).

"Anglosaxon *u* final is also (uu) in most of the Scottish dialects. but in that of the Southern counties, the same law which has developed long *i* into (ei), here develops (uu) into (ɜu). The following words therefore pronounced in the other dialects with (uu) are pronounced in Teviotdale and Dumfriesshire with (ɜu): cow, sow, how, you, now, bow *to bend*, through, doo *dove*,[1] loe *to love*, brow, fu' *full, tipsy*, goût, *an after taste* (guu), Tev. (gɜu), as (it hæs ɐ kwiir gɜu əbutˑ *it*) = *it has a queer flavour about it*, pu' *pull*, (suprà p. 287,) mou' *mouth.*

"The Borderers thus pronouncing (ɛu) where the other Scots say (uu),—where the others say (ɜu) they advance a step and say (ou), so that the following words are in the Lothians pronounced (ɜu), in Teviotdale (ou), in English (*oo*) or (*oon*): bow *arcus*, grow, dow *to avail*, howe *a hollow*, knowe *a knoll*, bowe *a boll*,[2] lowe[3] *a flame*, powe *a poll*, rowe *roll*, *row*, stow, tow, trow, thowe *to thaw*, drow *a Scotch mist*, *a drizzle*, bowl, soul, four, glower *to stare*, ower over.

"The two pronunciations may be shewn thus:

Central Scotch: (fɜur bɜulz fuu *e* nɹnu məlk fe dhə kuu)
Teviotdale: (four boulz fɜu ɔ nɹu melk thræ[4] dhe kɜu)
English: four bowls full of new milk from the cow."

The conclusion seems therefore to be that OU, OW in the XIV th century should be read as (uu, *u*) except in those cases where *aw*, or simple *o* was used in Anglosaxon.

[1] A school inspector wishing to get the sound of (uu) out of a Hawick girl, and unaware of this peculiarity of pronunciation, asked her what she called a pigeon, (A dɜu) replied she, and posed him as much as the child posed the teacher, who, wanting to obtain from him the word *take*, asked him: "What would you do, if I gave you a piece of cake?" and received the very natural reply: "Eat it."

[2] Compare Sir T. Smith's βωῦ, βωῦλ, suprà p. 151.

[3] Compare—
(Dhərz let'l wɜt en dhə pou
Dhət leḵhts dhə kɜn'l ət dhə lou)
= There's little wit in the poll or head
That lights the candle at the low or flame;
and the pun on the names of Messrs. Lowe and Bright at the Edinburgh Reform Demonstration: "The Lowe that'll never burn Bright" (Dhe lou dhət'l nevˑər bɜrn breḵht).

[4] So likewise in the *Barnsley* dialect *throo* is used for *from.*

§ 3. *The Consonants.*

Very little is to be learned from the rhymes respecting the consonants. With our knowledge of the XVI th century consonants, however, there can be but little doubt as to the values of any one of them.

B, C, CH, D, F.

B when silent as in *doubt, debt*, was not written thus: *dowte* 489, *dette* 282. It was otherwise (b) of course.

C was (s) or (k), according to the same rules as at present, but *ci-* remained (si-) and had not become (sh). In the termination *-tion*, we find *c, s, t* interchanging, shewing the identity of sound, but it always formed two syllables. Compare

Lo, heer hath kynd his domina*cioun*,
And appetit fleeth discre*tioun*. 17114
O wantrust, ful of fals suspe*ccioun*
Where was thy wit and thy discre*ccioun*. 17214
And eke he was of such discres*sioun*. 16795

CH was generally (tsh), see J, K.

D was (d) of course.

F seems to have been always (f), so that *of* must be called (of) not (ov). Judging from other writing, as Robert of Gloucester and Trevisa, *u* or *v* would have been used had (v) been pronounced. Mr. Murray says that *of* is still pronounced (of) in the North, when the consonant is retained before a vowel, as (dhə nid of ə bist) *the head of a beast.*

G, GN.

G followed the same rule as at present, and was (g) in all Saxon words, but in French words (g) before *a, o, u*, and (dzh) before (e, i). See J.

GN occasionally represented simple *n*, as in the couplet

Sche may unto a knave child *atteigne*
By liklihed, sith sche nys not *bareigne*. 8323

where *gn* represents an old French *gn*, in *baraigne*, which was probably (nj) as now, so that (atain· barain·) would be the natural English representatives. Accordingly the MS. Univ. Cam. Dd. 4. 24, here writes *atteyne, bareyne*; a spelling found also in Harl. 7334, in

Thou maist to thy desir somtyme *atteyne*
But I that am exiled, and *bareyne*
Of alle grace. 1245

while *gn* and *n* rhyme in

And of his oughne vertu unconstrei*gned*
Sche hath ful ofte tyme hire seek *y-feyned*. 13476

where we should have expected *gn* in the second line as much as in the first. Companye 24, was also commonly written for: compaignye 3837.

How were *digne, benigne* 519, pronounced? As Anglo-French (di*i*n·e, ben*i*n·e)?[1] Or after the custom of Latin pronunciation (maq·nus, iq·nis) in the middle ages — testified by the medieval Latin orthography, and still existing in Salesbury's time, — as (diq·ne, beniq·ne)? The question affects also such words as *dignite, signifie, sign.* Here the modern use *condign dignity, benign benignity, sign signify* (kundəin dig·ni*t*i, binəin· binig·ni*t*i, səin sig·ni-fəi) would seem to lead to an anterior (di*i*n dig·ni*t*e, ben*i*n· benig·ni*t*e, si*i*n signifi*i*·e). But the old example of *i-seined* for *signed* in Henry III.'rds English proclamation, throws a doubt over this. As however the special word *sign*, had assumed a thoroughly Saxon form, *segnian* to sign or bless, *segnung* a signing with the cross or blessing, the (ai) sound would be developed naturally by the passage of the guttural *g* into (ɹ).

Can we consider the forms: deynous 3939, 6·114, deyne 3961, 5·204, deyneth 5·288 as conclusive. The French digne, daigner, shew a double form in these words, and hence leave us still in doubt. The word: dyne 4·200, 4·201, = *dine*, was in French disgner, dispner, and is considered by Roquefort to be derived from the commencement of the grace *dignare, domine*, but the etymology is so doubtful[2] that no weight can be attached to this. The termination *-igne* is not found rhyming either with *-eyne* or *-yne*, and this would à priori lead us to conclude that the sound was different from either, that is, neither (-ain·e) nor (-*i*n·e). But we find: digne benigne resigne 4·125, 4·225, sygne benygne 5·183, digne signe 5·330, so that the old and proved (sain) and the occasional (dain) would seem to imply also (benain·, resain·). On the other hand Gill writes (beni*g*·n) or (beniq·n) for *benign*, and this ought to imply that he did not know the pronunciation (benəin·), which may nevertheless have existed, and been ignored. Jones, however, 1701, gives only (bini*g*·ən), though he admits (səin, rezəin·), and Salesbury and Smith give (sein), Gill (səin), Buchanan and Sheridan in the XVIII th century give (binəin· biinain·). Similar difficulties have existed in the pronunciations of *impugn, impregn.*

If the sound (ain) had prevailed in Chaucer's time, we should have expected (ain), not (ein) in the XVI th century. Bullokar seems to write (si*i*n), and the (sein) of the XVI th and (səin) of the XIX th century are in harmony with this, which would imply (si*i*n) in Chaucer also. In this doubt the safest plan seems to be to adopt (*i*in) for Chaucer's pronunciation, admitting the secondary form (ain) when *eyn* is written. This will be consistent with the present and intermediate pronunciation, with the general use of *i* in Chaucer,

[1] Diez (Gr. de R.S. i, 439 note, 2nd ed) says that *digne* occurs in old French with silent *z*, as *brigans dignes* rhymed with *brigandines* citing Ducange sub voce *briga*. And the MS. 188 of Mag. Coll. Oxford, cited by M. Génin (Introduction to the French reprint of Palsgrave, p. 29) says, rule 92: item, quandoeunque *n* sequitur *i* in media diccione, in diversis sillabis *g* debet interponi, ut *certaignement, benignement;* sed *g* non debet sonari."

[2] Among the etymons given are δειπνεῖν, decoenare, deeima (hora), sdigiunare, déjeûner = disjejunare. See Donkin's Diez, sub *desinare.*

and with his use of *-gne* in other words, and as regards the word *sign* would imply that he took it from the French with the other words, or designedly adopted a French in preference to the antiquated pronunciation (sain). The question is one of extreme difficulty and the conclusion is doubtful.

GH, Y, Z

The modern editors usually represent ȝ or rather ȝ[1] by *gh* when medial and final, and by *g* or *y* when initial. In Mr. Morris's Chaucer Extracts he purposed to shew where the manuscript exhibited ȝ for his printed *gh*, *y*, by italicising these letters. He has not carried out his plan with sufficient accuracy to make an examination of the MS. unnecessary.[2] Assuming, however, that where he has used the italics, ȝ was employed in the MS., we obtain the following results for the Prologue, Knightes Tale, and Nonne Prestes Tale, in which I have here used a common *z* in place of ȝ or ȝ. The numbers annexed to the words indicate the observed number of occurrences of this orthography.

azens	1	sauz	1	zelwe	1	zolden	1
brouzt	1	thouzte	1	zemen	3	zollyng	1
deyzen	1	unzolden	1	zerd	6	zolo	1
douzter	3	upzaf	1	zerde	1	zolow	1
drauzt	1	weyzede	1	zeres	1	zolw	1
eyzen	9	wizt	1	zet	8	zolwe	3
fiztyng	1	ynowz	1	zette	1	zomanly	1
forzete	1	yze	1	zeve	5	zonder	1
forzeve	2	zaf	5	zeven	3	zong	3
heyz	1	zalwe	1	zevest	1	zonge	6
heizer	1	zate	1	zeveth	1	zore	2
knizt	2	zeddynges	1	zif	3	zou	2
nozt	8	zeeldyng	1	ziftes	2	zoung	1
nouzt	9	zeer	14	zit	18	zouthe	5
perfizt	4	zeldehalle	1	zive	3	zou	1
rizt	1	zelleden	1	ziven	1		

But the orthography is not consistent, for *gh* is often employed in the MS. Thus, accepting Mr. Morris's edition as correct, except in the words *you*, etc., we find in the Prologue only

brought	1	caughte	1	foughte	1	herbergh	2
bythought	1	draught	1	foughten	1	heye	1
caught	1	drought	2	heih	1	heygh	1

[1] This character in the MSS. is generally indistinguishable from z, so that when an editor prints some words with ȝ and others with *z* he is making an arbitrary distinction like that of separating *u*, *v*. In Mr. Morris's edition of *Sir Gawaine* for the *Early English Text Society*, ȝ is printed for both ȝ and z. It would have been more consistent with the employment of Roman types to use *z* instead of ȝ in both cases. This is the plan I have pursued in the following lists, and it is one followed by older printers and embalmed in the Scotch Menzies, Dalzel, Mackenzie, which are often called (Meq·*iz*, Di·EL, De·EL, Maken·J*i*) in Scotland, see p. 298, n.

[2] Thus in v. 34 and 38 he prints 'yow' in place of '*y*ow' that is 'ȝow.'

high	1	neigh	2	oughte	1	taughte	1
highte	1	neighe	1	raught	1	though	2
inough	1	night	1	right	4	thought	2
knight	2	nightertale	1	seigh	1	wight	1
might	4	nightyngale	1	sleight	1	wright	1
mighte	1	nought	1	streight	1	wroughte	1
mighten	1						

It may be doubtful whether *y* is ever used initially, in the modern sense. I have not observed any instance in the MS., but I have not examined it thoroughly with this view. The use of *y* was quite established however before the time of printing.

The reader is requested to refer to the remarks on *gh* in Chap. III. (pp. 209–214). As *gh* still retained its guttural sounds in the XVI th century,[1] we cannot but believe that it had these sounds in the XV th, whatever may have been the Anglosaxon original sounds. The divarications of (kh) into (kjh, k*w*h) pointed out in the remarks referred to, so that it sank to (ɹ, i) on the one hand, and (wh, u) on the other, are well shewn. Thus, to the first class belong *theigh* =(dhai*kh*) for though,

> For *theigh* thou night and day take of hem heede. 10926

which becomes simply *they* (dhai) in

> That Chaucer, *they* he can but lewedly
> On metres and on rhyming craftely. 4467

and similarly *seigh* 9605, *sey* 13307 for *saw*.

[1] The sound is hardly lost yet in the provnces, thus Prof. Sedgwick in the work cited above, p. 289, note 4, says: "The *suppression of the guttural sounds* is, I think, the greatest of all the modern changes in the spoken language of the northern counties. Every syllable which has a vowel or diphthong followed by *gh* was once the symbol of a guttural sound: and I remember the day when all the old men in the Dales sounded such words as *sigh*, *night*, *right*, (si*kh*, ni*kh*t, si*kh*t), &c., with a gentle guttural breathing, and many other words, such as *trough*, *rough*, *ough* (troo*kh*, ruuk*w*h, tuuk*w*h), had their utterance, each in a grand sonorous guttural. The former of these guttural sounds seemed partly to come from the palate; the latter from the chest. Both were aspirated and articulate; and differed entirely from the natural and simple vocal sounds of the guttural vowels *á*, *ó* (aa, AA). All the old people who remember the contested elections of Westmoreland, must have [p. 104] heard in the Dales of that county the deep guttural thunder in which the name—*Harry Brougham* (Br*u*k*w*h·ɐm)—was reverberated among the mountains. But we no longer hear the first syllable of *Brougham* sounded from the caverns of the chest, —thereby at once reminding us of our grand northern ancestry, and of an ancient fortress of which Brough (Br*u*k*w*h) was the written symbol. The sound first fell down to Brŭff'ham (Br*u*f·ɐm, Brəf·ɐm), but was too vigorous for the nerves of modern ears; and then fell lower still into the monosyllabic broom (Bruum, p. 153)—an implement of servile use. We may polish and soften our language by this smoothing process; yet in so doing we we are forgetting the tongue of our fathers; and, like degenerate children, we are cutting ourselves off from true sympathy with our great northern progenitors, and depriving our spoken language of a goodly part of its variety of form and grandeur of expression."—p. 103–4. palaeotype introduced. Mr. Murray notes that the Southern (ə) is always (*u*) in Cumberland and Westmoreland, and that (r*u*f, t*u*f, Br*u*f,) are the present pronunciations of *rough*, *tough*, *Brough*, in those counties, and (Bruum) for *Brougham* in Cumberland.

To the second class belong *laurghe* 476, *lowh* 3117 = laugh, *saugh* 5268, 9726, *sawh* 5265 = saw.[1] Compare also herbergh 767, herberwh 4117, herberw 4143. Sometimes the transition is complete as in

For, as I trowe, I have yow told *ynowe*
To reyse a feend, al loke he never so *rowe*. 12788

where *y-nowe*, *rowe* (inuu·, ruu) stand for *enough*, *rough*, in which the modern sound of (f), as already suggested in p. 213, has arisen from (wh). So frequent was this change in the word *enough*, that it is sometimes neglected in writing as

For had we him, than were we syker *y-nough*,
But unto God of heven I make *avow*. 12792

only a couplet beyond the last example quoted, where we must read (inuu·, avuu·). Similarly *ynough*, *now* 12946, where *ynow* should be read as in *you*, *y-now* 11019. *Plough* which rhymes with *inough* 889, 3159, had generally the pronunciation (pluukh), and this reduced to (pluu), (shewn in the spelling *plow*, which I have noticed elsewhere, but not in Harl. 7334, an orthography found also in the authorized version of the Bible in the XVII th century,)[2] generated the modern (plɔu).[3] The following rhymes may also be noted:

When that he saugh that al the peple *lough*.
No more of this, for it is right *y-nough*. 14376
He also hath to do more than *y-nough*
To kepe him & his capil out of the *slough*. 16995

Compare

Now is my cart out of the *sloo* parde. 7147
In which ther ran a swymbul in a *swough*
As it were a storme schuld berst every *bough*. 1981
He siketh with ful many a sory *swough*
And goth, and geteth him a kneedyng *trough*. 3619

The regular pronunciation of all these *ough* words seems to have been (uukʷh), whence (uuwh, uu), which afterwards changed to (uf, ou), and finally to (ɔf, ɔu). That *gh* was occasionally written without being pronounced, we see by the rhymes: at his *retenue*, Sir *Hughe* 6937, melodie yhe 9, etc. We shall see that this is the case also in Shakspere, whenever it was convenient for the rhyme.

The form *augh* may have had similar varieties of sound, as the spellings already cited indicate. In both cases we cannot do better than follow the spelling of the moment, except the rhyme requires

[1] There is a similar resolution of medial *g* in Icelandic. Thus *liúga* to tell a falsehood, is theoretically (ljuu·gʷha), and practically (ljuu·wa). See Chap. V. § 4, No. 2.

[2] The passages are: *plough* Ps. 37, 12; *plow* Deut. 22, 10, i Sam. 14, 14, Job 4, 8, Prov. 20, 4, Isa. 28, 24, Hos. 10, 11, Amos 6, 12, i Cor. 9, 10; *plowed* Judg. 14, 18, Ps. 129, 3, Jer. 26, 18, Hos. 10, 13, Micah 3, 12; *plowers* Ps. 129, 3; *ploweth* i Cor. 9, 10; *plowing* i Kings 19, 19, Job 1, 14, Prov. 21, 4, Luke 17, 7; *plowman* Isa. 28, 24, Amos 9, 13; *plowmen* Isa. 61, 5, Jer. 14, 4; *plowshares* Isa. 2, 4, Joel 3, 10. Suprà p. 159, note 4.

[3] Mr. Murray observes: "*ynough* and *ynow* (ənikʷh·) and (ənú·) or rather (ənykʷh·, ənyu·) are both used in Scotch with a difference of application. *Plough* and *plow* are synonymous for the noun (plykʷh, plyu), the former the more common: for the verb the latter alone is used as (ɐ plyud fild, ɐ plyu·in matsh.)"

one of two forms to be altered, and then the *first* should generally be accomodated to the second, as there is a probability of its having been written down without consideration of what was to follow, and of its having been then left uncorrected, as being of slight importance. Thus augh, auwh, auh, aw = (auk*w*h, auwh, auʜ', au), where (aukh) may be used for (auk*w*h).

When the letter *t* follows fresh difficulty arises. How should *drought*, *foughten*, *doughter*, *nouht*, be pronounced? There seems nothing but theory to guide us. At present we say (drəut, drAAt, fAA·t'n, dAA·t.ɪ, nAAt), but these are all quite recent developments. We find *fought* = (fauʜ't) in Smith, *daughter* = (daukh·ter) in Gill, *nought* = (nouʜ't, nauʜ't) in Smith, and (nooukht) in Gill. There is no XVI th century authority for *drought*. Taking into consideration the double use of *ou* (uu, oou), it seems probable that when the original vowel was *u* in ags. as *drugoð*, the sound should be (uu) as (druukht, druuk*w*ht) of which the modern (drəut) would be a legitimate descendant; and that when the original vowel was *o* as ags. *dohtor*, the sound was (oou) or perhaps simply (ou), the (u) having been developed by a (k*w*h) sound of *gh*. This would give (druukht, fooukh·t'n, dooukh·ter, nooukht) or (druk*w*ht, fouk*w*h·t'n, douk*w*h·ter, nouk*w*ht). It will probably be as near the truth as we are able to get to write (drukht, foukh·ten, doukh·ter, noukht). The spelling *nouht*, however, indicates a very light sound of the guttural, as (nouʜ't), which rapidly disappeared in (not, nat).[1]

What the initial sound of ȝ or ȝ might have been, it is more difficult to say. Probably the sound of the ags. letter became (*k*h) or (*g*h) at an early period. Now in modern Germany (*k*h) is often considered to be the hiss of (ɹ), that is (ɹh), and the difference is certainly very slight. The ease with which initial (*k*h) will pass into (ɹ) may be well studied in modern German pronunciation. During the XV th century when initial ȝ was replaced by *y*, the transition was certainly complete. In the next chapter (§ 2) reasons will be given for thinking that this transition may have been prevalent in the time of Laȝamon and Orrmin, the preceeding (*k*h, *g*h) stage being relegated to the Old Anglosaxon period. It will therefore be safest to pronounce the initial ȝ as (ɹ) where it corresponds to the modern *y*.

We shall have an opportunity of seeing *g* in every stage of transition, from (g) through (*g*, *g*h, ɹ) to (i) on the one hand, and through (g*w*h) to (w) on the other, and even absolutely disappearing through a scarcely pronounced (gh, g*w*h), in the living Icelandic tongue, the very interesting phonetic phenomena of which will be considered in Chap. V. § 4, No. 2.

[1] Mr. Murray says that in Teviotdale *drought* is (druth) *doughter*, *foughten*, *sought*, *bought*, *brought*, *thought*, *nought*, *wrought* are (douk*w*htər, fouk*w*ht·n, bouk*w*ht, w'rouk*w*ht), &c., or perhaps (dooouk*w*htər, fooouk*w*ht), he prefers the former, though the o is absolutely long. In the other dialect they are (fokht, bokht, sokht, w'rokht), Aberdeen (vrokht) with simple (o) and (kh). So also with *loch*, *hough*, *cough*, *trough*, &c. Tev. (louk*w*h, looouk*w*h), Central Scotch (lokh, lookh).

H

H, by its substitution for *gh*, is shewn to have been pronounced when final distinctly as (ʜ). In what cases, when initial, it became (ʜ) or vanished, it is now impossible to say. It appears by many old MSS. that there was often great confusion as to the use of initial *h* in many words, indicating local and partial peculiarities of pronunciation, similar to those now found. But the MS. under consideration seems to be quite consistent in the use of initial *h*,[1] and there is therefore nothing to shew that it was not pronounced in *honour*, *honest*, *hour*, as well as other words. However, in this doubt, I have thought it safest in my transcriptions, to follow the modern use. In the words *he*, *his*, *him*, *hire*, *hem*, before which, especially when enclitic, the final *e* is, as we shall see, generally elided as freely as before a vowel, it is extremely probable that the *h* was silent under the same circumstances. It is known to be constantly so in modern English, and some orthoepists even admit that it should be silent.[2] The apostrophe in *catch'em* indicates the absent *h*, not an omitted *th*. When *hath*, *have*, *hadde*, were similarly placed they also probably lost the *h*, as they also admitted the elision of the vowel. The modern contractions *I've*, *we're*, *they'd*, and the old *nadde* = ne hadde 3751, point to the same conclusion. Hence when those words beginning with *h* stand in such a position that a final *e* might be elided before them, I omit the *h* in my transcriptions, but indicate the omission by a hyphen in the usual way, thus: (wel kuud -e *s*it on ʜors) 94.

J

J when representing the French consonant *j*, is now called (dzh) and was so in the XVIth century. Was the old French sound (dzh) or (zh)? Diez (Gr. d. R. S. i. 400, 402) shews good reason to suppose that the Provençal pronunciation of *ch*, *j*, was (tsh, dzh), as for example Petrarch's *ciant* for Provençal *chant*, and Dante's *giausen* for Pr. *jauzen*. Again (ib. p. 448, 451) Diez shews reason for supposing (tsh) to be an old French sound of *ch*, although in Palsgrave's time it had sunk to (sh), and observes that in middle Greek, the French *Jean*, *Geoffroi*, are rendered *Τζάν*, *Τζεφρέ*, which are the present combinations for (tshan, tshefree·). Considering that the Greek had no means of representing (dzh),[3] this would stand for an original (dzh) rather than for (zh), which would have been best rendered by

[1] *Host* and *ost*, *hostelrie* and *ostelrie*, both occur.

[2] Thus in: Phonotypy by Modification, a means by which unusual types can be dispensed with on a plan proposed by *T. W. Hill* (the father of Sir Rowland Hill, and a well known orthoepist and educationalist) printed in 1848 for private circulation only, the last sentence runs thus (it is a quotation from Goldsmith's Citizen of the World, the italics are mine): °Λus *iz* feis undurwen't un invʌl'untury ablw'-j°un und *i*[2] fuwnd *imself* ridyw'st tw *iz* prim'itiv cnmplek'j°un and in'di-djens; that is: Thus *his* face underwent an involuntary ablution and *he* found *himself* reduced to *his* primitive complexion and indigence.

[3] In the most recent Greek *ντζ* is used initially for (dzh), as *ντζαμί* (dzhami·) a mosque.

ζ or ζι. The middle Greeks according to Diez also wrote τζ for *ch*, as Ῥιτζάρδος = (ritshard·os) for *Richard*. These transcriptions are precisely similar to Salesbury's *tsiurts*, *tsiff*, *tsiesuw*, *tsion*, for *churche*, *chefe*, *Jesu*, *John*, and should evidently be interpreted in the same way. Even in Palsgrave's time he makes French *j* = English *j*, which we know (p. 207) was then (dzh), but this certainly only implies a rooted mispronunciation, because we know that although (zh) had not then been developed in English, it existed in French (p. 207). But it implies the traditional pronunciation in English, because Palsgrave was decidedly archaic in his tendencies, as we have seen in his retention of (*ii*) for long *i* (p. 110), and (uu) for *ou*, *ow* (p. 149), out of the xv th into the xvi th century. This mispronunciation therefore is in itself a strong proof of the old pronunciation of *j* as (dzh). If to this we add that in the present pronunciation of the Norman peasantry (tsh, dzh) are occasionally used for (sh, zh),[1] it will be difficult to suppose that *ch*, *j*, in Chaucer had any other meaning than (tsh, dzh).

K

K in Anglosaxon constantly generated *tsh* in English, as already explained (p. 205). The orthography of our MS. and the alterations of words to suit the rhyme, shew that although in many cases the custom was firmly established, in others there was a fluctuation of use similar to that in the present day between *breeks*, *breeches*, Scotch *brigg*, *kirk*, English *bridge*, *church*. The termination *-liȝ* or *-lic* has become generally *-ly* = (-l*ii*) in Chaucer, but traces of the original form remain as *-lik*, *lich*; thus we have: sikurly 137, 154, against: sikirlik 3889, and: smoterlich, dich 3961 = (smoo·terlitsh, ditsh), = dirty, ditch. Against: the holy blisful martir for to *seeke* 17, we have: withoute more speche, not longe for to *seche* 785, I schuld yow *seeche*, in softe speche 6993, and we may compare our modern words *seek*, *beseech*. Against the common form *werk*, as in: that was a clerk, al this werk, 11417, we have the altered forms: wirche, 2761, 7559, 9535, werche 4986, and so on. Such changes, which have been shewn to be common to other languages, confirm the value of *ch* as (tsh) even in Saxon words. The pronunciation of *ich* as (itsh), in the phrase: so theech 12857, for example, = so the ich (soo thee-tsh) is singularly corroborated by Gill's observation that in the East of England "pro (s) substituunt (z), ut (z*i*q) pro (s*i*q) cano; et (*i*tsh) pro (ɔi) ego: (tsham) pro (ɔi am) sum: (tsh*i*l) pro (ɔi wil) volo: (tsh*i* voor ji) pro (ɔi war·ant jou) certum do," see suprà, p. 293.

L, M, N, NG

L, M, N must have been (l, m, n) as in all languages. The termination *-le* from the French is occasionally written *-ul*, *-il*, *-yl*. It

[1] "Comme en anglais, D se fait sentir devant G et J, comme dans *Gerce*, brebis [Dgerce], ... CH se prononce souvent comme en anglais TCH; *Tchien*, chien, *Tchidbourg*, Cherbourg." Le Héricher, Glossaire Normand, vol. i. pp. 30 and 32.

will be best to call it ('l) as in modern English. Before a following vowel it probably became (l) as: simple and coy 119 = (s*i*mpl-and cui) just as in modern English we have *double, doubling* not *doubleing*, i.e. (dəb'l dəb'liq) not (dəb'liq). As there is a difficulty in establishing a nasal value of *n* in Old French,[1] there can be no thought of its occurrence in Chaucer.

NG was either (q) or (qg) or occasionally one and occasionally the other as in modern English. Modern use can be our only guide.

P, PH, QU

There is no reason for supposing *p, ph, qu* to have been anything but (p, f, k*w*), but of course it is impossible to determine whether *qu* was not (kw, ku) instead of (k*w*). In Chap. V, § 4, No. 1 & 3, the fact of the Runic and Gothic alphabets having a single sign for this sound, has led me to suppose that it was really simple (k*w*), and not double (kw, ku), even at that early epoch. The use of two letters *cw* in Anglosaxon would not decide anything, as (kw, ku) would be a sufficient approximation for all purposes of writing.

R

R presents the same difficulties as in the XVI th century, yet we cannot allow it to have any value but (r). It must however have affected the preceding vowel,[2] as we could otherwise scarcely account for the use of *or, er, ir* in the same words, as *worche* 9231, *werk* 481, *wirching* 8371. In one case at least we find *ar* where the modern form is *er*, as: thurgh the cite large, with cloth of gold and not with *surge* 2569, but both *serge, sarge* are old French forms. It is also observable that many words in which the sound was (ar) in the XVI th century appear as (er), thus, *yerde, smerte, herte* 149, *werre, ferre* 47; serve, *sterve* 1145, prive and *pert* 6696, pryvy and *apert* 10845, deere, *steere* 4867, 5252, *stere*, bere 2151. Against wors 9183, we have: wers, ers 3731; I moot reherse, al be they better or *werse* 3173, it needeth nat to reherse, who can do *werse*

[1] The chief reasons assigned by Diez (Gram. der rom. Sprach., 2 ed. vol. 1, p. 437), for considering the use of the French nasals to be old are the identity of the assonances *on* and *en*; and the constant confusion of the forms *androit endroit*. But the modern *femme* rhymes with *dame*, and yet there is no trace of nasality here. Diez also names the ancient rhymes of *Salomon fereulum, zabulon convivium;* but these may have been due rather to a peculiar (-om) pronunciation of the Latin, the *m* and *n* being allowed to rhyme, as in many English popular songs. At any rate these forms are not incompatible with non-nasality, which was the rule in Provençal, and Walloon, and there are absolutely no grounds for supposing that *i, u*, were pronounced as nasals even in the XVI th century. Rapp reads nasal *n* = (q). See Chap. V, § 4, note 1.

[2] Mr. Murray says: "*R* affects preceding vowel in Scotch even while remaining (r). A simple vowel, short before other consonants is long before final *r*: heat hear, bat bar, not nor, stout stoor, (nit niir, bat baar, not noor, stut stuur). And *a* before a consonant followed by *e* mute is in the South of Scotland ea (*ie*) but before *r* it remains (*ee*) so *main* and *mane* are distinguished (men, m*ie*n) but *fair, fare* are both (f*ee*r, f*ee*r) not (f*ee*r, f*ie*r) the *r* preventing the closing of the sound." Compare Cooper's observations, suprà p. 70, where his (ɑɑə) is the counterpart of (*ie*).

10913. Since the xvii th century there has been a great tendency to pronounce *er* as (ar) or (aɹ), as in *clerk*, *Derby*, *sergeant*, and formerly *servant*, but the contrary tendency to use (er) for (ar) does not seem to have been at all developed except at this earlier time.[1] The confusion of (ur, er) as in *wors*, *wers*, is very like the modern confusion of (əɹ, eɹ) with ('ɹ). By a change of *re* into *er* the rhyme: ers, kers 3753 is obtained. The terminations *-re*, *-er* alternate, as: mordre 16538, morder 16539, at the commencement of two consecutive lines. It would seem then that we should always sound (*-er*), as (mur'der). The metathesis of *r* is frequent. § 5, art. 98, *d*.

S, SCH

S = (s) also represented (z) in plural terminations, but never had the sound of (sh), which was always represented by

SCH a combination derived from the Saxon *sc*, in the same way as *ch* from Saxon *c*, to shew the effect of palatisation. In later times the *c* was omitted.

T, TH, þ

T seems to have been generally (t), but it became (s) in the termination *-tion*, see examples under C.

TH, which is used promiscuously with þ in the MS., had probably the same sounds as at present, and distributed in the same manner. Occasionally we meet with *d* in places where we should have expected *th* = (dh), as in fadur 100 = father, hider 674, thider, slider 1265, where the rhyme shews that the sound was really (d) and not (dh), but the (d) seems to guarantee the pronunciation of *th* as (dh) when written in these words.

V, W, WH, X

These letters as consonants seem to have had precisely the same sounds as at present, but *w* was also used occasionally as a vowel, as herberw 4143. In *arwes* 104, *halwes* 14, which had *arwe*, *halwe* in the singular, there seems no reason for not giving *w* its usual sound.

WR was probably pronounced (r*w*) as in ags. and down to the xvi th century (p. 186).

Y, Z, ȝ

The Y consonant is always represented by ȝ which is the same form as the letter used for z. The meanings of this letter must be disentangled by a consideration of modern usage, see suprà under GH (p. 310).

The consonants seem to call for no further remark, and the rules laid down in this and the preceeding section are sufficiently general to permit the reader to read any line in this edition of Chaucer with tolerable certainty, except as regards the use of the E final, which has now to be considered.

[1] For the xvii th century see p. 86. The Rev. C. Y. Potts remarks that in South Shields *er* is usually pronounced (ar) or (aa') in: clergy, person, mercy, eternal, universal, learning, the last word being also called (leer'niq).

§ 4. *On the Pronunciation of E Final in the* XIV *th Century.*[1]

That *e* final was at least occasionally pronounced, and that its sound did not differ, except in accent, from that of *me*, *the* = (mee, dhee) is conclusively proved by the following rhymes. It must be remembered that *to me*, *to the*, when the accent is thrown on to the preposition, become (too·me, too·dhe), with brief and indistinct (e), that is nearly (too·mə, too·dhə), or as in modern High German (p. 321, n. 1). Hence the following rhymes shew that *Rome*, *eynamome*, *sothe* must have been (Roo·me, sinamoo·me, soo·dhe), although there may have been, as frequently at present, a little liberty taken with double rhymes, and (soo·dhe) may have been used for (soo·the), and similarly (juu·dhe) for (juu·the), (swii·dhe) for (swith·e)[2] in the following couplets:

That streyt was comen from the court of *Rome*.
Ful lowde he sang, Come hider, love, *to me*. 673
My fayre bryd, my swete *eynamome*,
Awake, lemman myn, and speketh *to me*. 3699
So faren we, if I schal say the *sothe*.
Now, quod oure ost, yit let me talke *to the*. 12590
Quod the Frankeleyn, considering thin *youthe*
So felingly thou spekest, sire, I *aloue the*. 10987
Elles go bye som, and that as *swithe*.
Now good sire, go forth thy way and *hy the*. 13222
Al esily now, for the love of Marte,
Quod Pandarus, for every thynge hath *tyme;*
So long abid til that the nyght departe,
For also siker as thow list here *bi me*,
And God toforne I wol be thare at *pryme*.[3] 4·193
Bot fader, if it fo betide
That I aproche at eny fide
The place wher my ladi is
And þanne þat hire like ywyff
To ſpeke a goodly word *entome*,
For al þe gold þat is in *Rome*
Ne cowþe. I. after that bewroþ,
Bot all myn Ange*r* ouergoþ.[4] i 282

Here *hy the* stands for *hye the*, but the final *e* of *hye* is not pronounced, as also it is not pronounced in *aloue the*, so that we read (aluu· dhe, hii dhe). This omission will be considered afterwards.

The middle *e* in Dertemouthe holds the position of a final *e* in: For ought I woot he was of Dertemouthe 391, where it is necessary for the metre, and it is observable that the *e* is here pronounced to this day by the peasantry in the neighbourhood of Dartëmouth and Dartëmoor.[5]

[1] This section was written before I had had an opportunity of seeing Prof. F. J. Child's admirable Observations on the Language of Chaucer and Gower. I have thought it best to leave my investigation almost in its original state, and to give a complete account of these observations in the following section.

[2] Just as *f*, *v* rhyme in thevys, gref is 7755.

[3] The rhyme time, by me, occurs eight times in Gower, i 227, 309, 370, ii 41, 49, 114, iii 6, 369.

[4] Printed from the Harl. MS. 3869.

[5] Private letter from Mr. Shelly, of Plymouth.

In the Man of Lawes Tale, there is a king called *Alla*, whose name on one occasion is reduced to *Alle*, which must have been pronounced (Al·e), so that *calle* and *bifalle* which rhyme with it must have also been (kal·e, bifal·e) in—

Mauricius atte funtstone men him *calle*.
This constabil doth come forth a messager,
And wrot to his kyng that cleped was *Alle*,
How that this blisful tydyng is *bifalle*. 5143

Scarcely less convincing than the above instances is the case of the plurals in *-es*, where they do not at present form a distinct syllable.[1] Not only are these frequently spelled *-is*,[2] as is the case still in Scotch,[3] but they also often rhyme with the verb *is*. Thus, taking first those spelled with *es*:—

For sondry scolis maken subtil *clerkes*;
Womman of many a scole half a *clerk is*. 9301
How schuld I thanne, that live in such pleasaunce
As alle weddid men doon with their *wyres*,
Come to blisse ther Crist eterne on *lyve is*? 9525
Him wolde he snybbe scharply for the *nones*,
A bettre preest I trowe ther nowher *non is*. 525
Crist, which that is to every harm triacle,
By certeyn menes ofte, as knowen *clerkes*,
Doth thing for certeyn ende, that feel *derk is*. 4900
Thy wyf eek and thy wenche sinfully
Dronke of the same vessel sondry *wynes*;
And heriest false goddes cursedly;
Therefore to the schapen ful gret *pyne es*. 15713
Withinne the cloyster of thi blisful *sydes*
Took mannes schap the eternal love and pees,
That of the trine compas lord and *guyde is*. 11971
And nyl himselve doo no gentil *dedes*
Ne folw his gentil aunceter, that *deed is*. 6737

In the following the plural is written *-is*, but it rhymes with *is* in precisely the same way.

Of catapus, or of gaytre *beriis*
Of erbe yve that groweth in our yerd, ther *merey is*.[4] 16451
Ther schuln ye se expresse, that no *dred is*,
That he is gentil that doth gentil *dedis*. 6751
Ye loke as though the woode were ful of *therys*,
Sit doun anoon, and tel me what your *gref is*. 7755
After the opynyoun of certeyn *clerkis*.
Witnesse on him, that eny parfit *clerk is*. 16721
And for that faith is deth withouten *werkis*,
So for to werken give me witt and space,
That I be quit fro thennes that most *derk is*. 11992
Which gift of God had he for all his *wyvis*?
No man hath such, that in the world on *lyve is*. 5621

[1] In the difficult combinations *wrists*, *priests*, we hear generally in the provinces, (*rist·iz*, priist·*iz*).

[2] Sometimes *us* is used, with the same pronunciation as *-is* or *-es*, (p. 298).

[3] This Scotch final *-is*, generally formed a distinct syllable in serious poetry, but was practically reduced to *-s* in familiar versification, and in prose, even in the XIV th and XV th century, as shewn in Mr. Murray's paper, supra p. 287, note 1.

[4] These lines are evidently corrupt as they stand. Morris reads 3·233, Of erbe yve grow*inge* in our yerd, ther mery is.

So made he eek a temple of fals *godis*,
How might he do a thing that more *forbod is?* 10169
But me was taught, nought longe tyme *goon is*,
That symnes Crist went never but *onys*
To weddyng. 5591
Allas! and can ye ben agast of *swevenys?*
Nought, God wot, but vanite in *sweven is*. 16407

Since in *placis*, *place is* 7349, the final *-is* must of necessity be pronounced, it is not reckoned among these examples, which are all that I have noted in the Canterbury Tales. To these, however, should be added, as equally convincing,—

Take youre disport: I nyl lieve no *talis;*
I know yow for a trewe wif, dame *Alis*. 5901
From hous to hous, to here sondry *talis*,
That Jankyn clerk, and my gossib dame *Alis*. 6129

It would be impossible to read many lines in Chaucer without finding that the number of syllables in a line would be constantly in default, if the final *e*'s were not reckoned. At the same time the number of syllables in a line would often be in excess, if every *e* final were reckoned. Again, the slightest examination shews us words which are at present identical, differing in different places by having and not having a final *e*. That this insertion or omission of the *e* final is not due simply to carelessness or option of the scribe,[1] is apparent from the presence or absence of the *e* being generally essential to the metre, or the rhyme, and a notion seems to have possessed some persons, that lines could be made to scan by omitting or inserting these *e*'s *at pleasure*. The examination of the prose tales, where these final *e*'s are also found, ought to disabuse us of this absurd notion. We must admit that these final *e*'s formed a part of the language of the time, and that there must have been some reasons for their insertion and omission. These we have, if possible, to discover, and the first step is to examine two modern languages, German and French, in which final *e*'s also occur, and which are the living representatives of the Saxon and Norman elements of which Chaucer's poems were composed.

Final *e* in German, which is always pronounced where written, arises in several ways:

1) it is a natural final of many words as *Ruhe*, *Weise*, *Reise*, *Mütze*, *Rabe*, *Käse*, *Knabe*, *Heerde*, *Herberge*, *weise*, *leise*, *sachte*,

[1] This refers to the Harleian, No. 7334; other manuscripts are much less strict, and the confusion in the use of the final *e* seems to indicate a date of writing about the middle of xv th century or later, or else a scribe of Northern origin. In the first 42 lines of the prologue in the Lansdowne MS. No. 851, with which Wright and Morris collated the Harleian 7334 to form their texts, we find: 1 wyþe, 2 haþe, 3 suche lycoure, 4 whiche floure, 5 eke breþe, 6 haþe hethe, 7 haþe ramme, 12 one, 13 straungere, 14 sundre (for sondry), 19 sesone daie, 20 laie, 22 devoute, 23 nighte, 24 twente (for twenty), 25 sondrie folke be (for by), 26 pilgrimes, 27 towarde, 29 esede, 31 euerychone, 32 anone, 34 þare ȝowe, 37 resnone, 38 condicionne, 40 whiche whate 41 eke whatte araie, 42 knighte, where the Harleian shews no *e*, and: 8 half, 9 smal, 11 her, 30 sonn, 31 had, 32 felawschep, where the Harleian has the final *e*. It is obvious that no conclusions respecting *e* final could be deduced from such an orthography.

lange = (ruu·*e*,[1] bhai·*ze*, rai·*ze*, myts·*e*, *raa*·*be*, KEE·*ze*, kn*aa*·*be*, HEER·*de*, HEER·*de*, HER·BER·*ghe*, bhai·*ze*, lai·*ze*, szakht·*e*, *laq*·*e*), and so forth, mostly representing some other vowel in old high German.

2) it is inflexional, frequently expressing—

a) plurals as *der Wind die Winde, der Zug die Züge, der Herzog die Herzoge*, &c. = (der bhind dii bhind·*e*, der tsuug*ch* die tsyy*gh*·*e*, der HERTS·OG dii HERTS·OGH*e*).

b) dative cases singular, as *dem Winde, dem Zuge, dem Herzoge* = (deem bhind·*e*, deem tsuug*ch*·*e*, deem HERTS·OGH*e*).

c) the plural of the indefinite adjective, as *gute Götter, alle Menschen, lange Reisen* = (guut·*e* gœt·er, al·*e* mensh·*en*, *laq*·*e* raiz·*en*).

d) the feminine singular of the indefinite adjective, as *gute Mutter, arme Frau, keine Frucht* = (guut·*e* mut·er, *arm*·*e* frau, kain·*e* fruk*ch*t).

e) the nominative singular of the definite adjective in all genders, and accusative feminine and neuter, as *der gute Mann die gute Frau, das gute Weib, ich ehre die gute Frau und das gute Weib* = (der guut·*e* man, dii guut·*e* frau, das guut·*e* bhaib, *ikh* ee·r*e*), &c.

f) the imperative singular of verbs, as *liebe Gott, ehre den König* = (liib·*e* got, ee·r*e* deen kœœ·nig*h*).

g) the first person singular of the indicative mood present tense of verbs, as *ich liebe ihn, ich fange an* = (*ikh* liib·*e* iin, *ikh* *faq*·*e* *an*).

h) the first and third person singular of the present and past tenses of the subjunctive mood of verbs, as *er sagt, sie komme; sie sagten er käme* = (er zaaght, szii kom·*e*, szii zaaght·*en*, er KEEM·*e*).

i) the first and third person singular of the past tense of weak verbs, as *ich liebte und er liebte dieselbe Freundin* = (*ikh* liibt·*e* und eer liibt·*e* dii·zelb·*e* froynd·in).[2]

j) it is frequently added on to numbers in familiar counting, as *eine, zweie, dreie, viere, fünfe*, &c. = (ain·*e*, tsbhai·*e*, drai·*e*, fii·r*e*, fynf·*e*).

With all these reasons for adding on *e*, and the very similar syllable *en*, (which on the Rhine is constantly called *e*), the language is necessarily full to overflowing with this termination, which is consequently very often dropped or slurred over with great rapidity in conversation. But that poets with perfect sensations of rhythm, and immense power of expression, accept this final *e* and even multiply it in a single line, may be collected from this one example in Goethe's most finished drama, *Tasso*, Act I., Sc. 1.

Ich bring' ihm seinen Sohn . . . . (*Ikh* briq iim zain·*en* *zoon* . . . .
Und theil*e* sein*e* väterlich*e* Freud*e* unt tail·*e* zain·*e* fee·terli*kh*·*e* froyd·*e*.)[3]

[1] The final German *e*, *en*, in these transcriptions have been generally represented by (*e*, *en*) as they are theoretically held to represent these sounds, but the reader should consult p. 119, note 1, col. 2, and p. 195, note 2, where these cases are fully discussed.

[2] In these transcriptions the German *eu* has been represented by (oy), the sound preferred by Dr. Rapp, but (oi, ɔi) are frequent in the North, and (*ai*) in the South of Germany. Some theoreticians prefer (ɔy), and others (ay).

[3] There are as many final e's in Chaucer's—

Him thoughte that his herte wolde breke 956
(H*i*m thouk*ch*·te dhat *his* HEER·te wol·de bree·ke),

where the repeated *e* gives a melancholy softness to the line.

At the same time the first line gives an example of the elision of an *e*—ich bringe ihm—before a following vowel. This is not a rule, or a necessity, it is merely a matter of feeling. In such a verse as

Wie brennt meine alte Wunde.—(*Heine's Die Grenadiere*)
(Bhii brent main·*e alt·e* bhund·*e*)

the elision *mein'* would have been impossible, on account of the concord, although it would have avoided a trisyllabic measure and improved the metre. But throughout the first act of Tasso I have only noticed one instance in which Goethe has not avoided the necessity of an open vowel which he could not elide, namely

Für holde Früchte *ei*ner wahren Liebe
(Fyr hold·*e* fry*kh*t·*e* ainer bhaar·*en* liib·*e*).

where the natural pause at the cæsura assist the reader. Thus when *ich, er, ihn, es* follows a verbal *-e*, the *e* is always elided, as: gar oft beneid' ich, irr' ich mich nicht, besser wär's = wäre es, ich geb' ihm oft = (gar oft benaid· i*k*h, i.r i*k*h mi*k*h ni*k*ht, bes·er bhEErz, i*k*h geeb iim oft), and so on. The feeling is strongly shewn in

Erwach'! Erwache! Lass uns nicht empfinden,
Dass du das Gegenwärt'ge ganz verkennst.
(Erbha*k*h·, erbha*k*h·*e*! La*s* uns ni*k*ht empfind·*en*
Da*s* duu das gee*gh*·enbhert·*ghe* ga*n*ts ferkenst·),

Where there are two other elisions one marked in: Gegenwärt*ige*, the other unmarked in: verkenn*est*, both similar to what might occur in Old English as *semde* for seme*de* = seemed, *singst* for sing*est*.

But Goethe does not hesitate to add on his *e* to an open vowel, as: ich thue was ich kann = (i*k*h tuu·*e* bha*s* i*k*h ka*n*).

The *e* of the dative case is frequently omitted, as after the italicized words in—

Und lass mich der Gelegenheit, dem *Glück*—
Mir ist an diesem *Augenblick* genug—
Ach! sie versagt mir eben jetzt! Im *Glück*—
Doch war an Wissenschaft, an rechtem *Sinn*—

(Und la*s* mi*k*h der gelee*gh*·enhait, deem glyk—
Miir ist an dii·zem au·*gu*·henblik genuug*u*·—
Akh! szii ferzaaght· miir eeb·*en* jetst! Im glyk—
Dokh bhaar an bhis·enshaft, an re*k*ht·em zin—)

The imperative *e* is frequently omitted even when no vowel follows, as

Und liebt er nicht—*verzeih'* dass ich es sage!
(Und liibt er ni*k*ht—fertsai· da*s* i*k*h es szaagh·*e*.)

The final *e* is omitted in many other cases where the feeling of the poet requires it, even before a consonant, or at the end of a line where the elision is not absolutely necessary to the metre, as

Fest bleibt dein Sinn, und richtig dein Geschmack,
Dein Urtheil *g'rad*, stets ist dein Antheil gross
Am Grossen.—
Uns für den Schatz erkennte, den er *lang'*
Vergebens in der weiten Welt gesucht—
heiligt er
Den Pfad, den *leis'* ihr schöner Fuss betrat—
Ich sah ihn *heut'* von fern; er hielt ein Buch—
Und bist du zu *gelind'*, so will ich treiben—

Die Menge macht den Künstler *irr'* und scheu—
Von fremden Heerden *Wies'* und Busch erfüllt—

(Fest blaipt dain zin, und *rikht·igh* dain geshmak,
Dain ur·tail gr*aa*d, shteets ist dain an·tail gr*oo*s
Am gr*oo*s·*en*—
Uns fyr deen sh*a*ts erkent·*e*, deen er l*a*q
Fergeeb·enz in der bhait·en bhelt gezunk*u*ht—
nai·lik*h*t eer
Deen pfaad, deen laiz iir shœœn·er fuus betraat·—
I*k*h zaa iin noyt fon fern : er niilt ain bunk*u*h
Und bist duu tsu gelind', zoo bhil i*k*h traib·en—
Dii meq·*e* makht den kynst·ler i.r unt shoy—
Fon fremd·en neerd·en bhiiz und bush erfylt·—)

All these examples are taken from the first act of Tasso. In lyrical poems we find similar omissions, not merely for the sake of rhythm or force, but also for the sake of rhyme. Thus in the *Maylied*.

Zwischen Waizen und *Korn*,
Zwischen Hecken und *Dorn*
Zwischen Bäumen und *Gras*
Wo geht 's Liebchen ?
Sag mir das !
An dem Felsen beim *Fluss*,
Wo sie reichte den Kuss,
Jenen ersten im *Gras*,
Seh' ich etwas !
Ist sie das ?

(Tsbhish·*en* bhaits·*en* unt korn,
Tsbhish·*en* nek·*en* und dorn,
Tsbhish·*en* boym *en* und gr*aas*,
Bh*oo* geet -s liib·*k*h*en* ?
Sz*aa*gh mir d*as* !
An deem fels·*en* baim flus,
Bh*oo* zii rai*k*ht·*e* deen kus,
Jeen·*en* erst·*en* im graas,
Szee i*k*h et·bh*as*· !
Ist szii d*as* ?)

Here *Gras* (gr*aa*s) for *Grase* (gr*aaz·e*), and *Fluss* (flus) for *Flusse* (flus·*e*) are necessary for the rhyme. The most common omission is that of the dative *e*, but even the essential final *e* is occasionally left out, thus in the lines *An Luna*, we have *Ruhe* (ruu·*e*) abbreviated to *Ruh'* (ruu) for the rhyme.

Und in wollustvoller *Ruh'*
Säh' der *Weltverschlag'ne* Ritter
Durch das gläserne Gegitter
Seines Mädchens Nächten zu.

(Unt in bhol·lustfol·er ruu
Szee der bhelt·fershl*aa*gh·*ne* rit·er
Durk*h* das gleez·*e*rne gegit·er
Szaines meed·*k*hens ne*k*ht·*e* tsuu.)

Less common and, no doubt intentionally, very harsh, is Schiller's *Donnersprach'* (don·er,shpr*aa*kh·) to rhyme with *nach* (n*aa*kh), in his *Kindes-mörderin*, st. 9.

On the other hand in Goethe's *Glück der Entfernung* (Glyk der Entfern·uq) we have an *e* apparently added in *Glücke* for *Glück*,—really an archaism from the middle high German *Gelücke*,—also for the rhyme and metre.

Trink', o Jüngling ! heil'ges *Glücke*
Taglang aus der Liebsten Blicke.

(Triqk, oo yq·liq ! nail·*gh*es glyk·*e*,
T*aa*gh·l*a*q aus der liib·sten blik·*e*.)

All poets do not avoid the open final *e* with the same scrupulousness as Goethe, thus Wilhelm Müller in his *Alexander Ypsilanti* has

An des Mittags Horizonte hing sein Auge *u*nverwandt.
(An des mit·t*aa*khs hoo·ritson·*te* niq szain aug*w*h·*e* un·ferbh*a*nt·)

Such examples are however rare. On the other hand the omission of final *e* for rhyme or metre is very frequent. Thus for rhyme in Rückert's *Der Betrogene Teufel* (der betroogh·*e*ne toy·fel), *Eil'*

(ail) is used for *Eile* (ail'e) to rhyme with *Theil* (tail). In Heine's *Die Grenadiere*, already quoted for non-elision, we have *Grenadier'* twice to rhyme with *Quartier*, *mir* (kbhurtiir', miir), and *bitt'* (bit) to rhyme with *mit* (mit), and for metre

Und *gürt'* mir um den Degen. (Und gyrt mir num den deeghren.)

These examples, which could easily be greatly multiplied, will serve to shew how a living language deals with its final *e*'s, and Germans know that this treatment of *e* final is not a mere license taken by the poet to help him out of difficulties, but is on the contrary a source of great power of expression, giving force and character to many passages by omission, and softness and delicacy to the others by the frequent use of the final *e*. Hence we are led to look upon the use and disuse of this letter, (the feeling for which has been entirely lost by Englishmen,) as a great resource for the poet, and a great beauty in the language. To those whom long custom has made familiar with the German language and the music of its poetry, the idea of constantly clipping off these final *e*'s in the English fashion would be distasteful and barbarous to the last degree, and their frequency conveys no feeling of trailiness or weakness, as it does to the mere English reader.

Proceeding to French we meet with a new phenomenon, an existing system of versification founded upon an obsolete system of pronunciation (p. 119, note). In looking at French songs when set to music, we see that all final *e*'s are pronounced, except before a following vowel or a mute *h*, and that the *-ent* of the plural of verbs is also pronounced as *e*, (except in the combination *-aient* where it is absolutely mute), although it is not elided before a following vowel. But in common French discourse this final *e* and many medial *e*'s may be said to be entirely elided.[1] The consequence is that there is a great schism between the language of poetry and that of common life. When singing, the French not merely pronounce these *e*'s, but dwell upon them, and give them long and accented notes in the music. This recognition is absolutely necessary to the measure of the verse, which, depending solely upon the number of the syllables in a line, and having no relation to the position of accent, is entirely broken up and destroyed when these syllables are omitted. And yet when they declaim, the French omit these final *e*'s without mercy, producing, to English ears, a hideous rough shapeless unmusical result, which nothing but a consciousness of the existence of the omitted syllables can mass into rhythm.[2]

[1] In M. Jobert's Colloquial French (London, Whittaker, 1854), M. and Mlle. Thériat's Phonographe and Tourrier's Model Book (4th ed. 1851, London, Nutt), will be found excellent rules for shewing when this *e* is or is not to be pronounced.

[2] The late M. Tarver, of Eton, in his *Choix en Prose et en Vers* (London, 1833), says: "The reading of French poetry (in tragedies especially, and principally in those which are considered as standards of classic purity,) is seldom pleasant to English ears; but in the complaint which is generally made of the want of harmony of the French verse, there is not sufficient allowance made. One is too apt to forget that the *Ear*, accustomed to the rhyme and peculiar intonations of one's

M. Féline, who endeavoured to introduce a phonetic system of printing French as an assistance in teaching ignorant adults to read, has, at the end of his *Exercise de lecture Phonétique, Aventures de Robinson Crusoë* (Paris, Didot, 1854), given an *Exemple de Déclamation*, consisting of a fragment of Lafontaine's Fable (xi, 7), *Le paysan du Danube*, which he has printed phonetically. We are thus presented with a Frenchman's views of how French poetry should be read, and as this is important in relation to the use of the final *e*, I think it worth while to give the greater portion of it in ordinary spelling and in a palaeotypic transcription of M. Féline's characters. The lines are supposed to be spoken by a German peasant to the Roman Senate. They are introduced by the following remarks:

"Cet exemple nous montre que, même dans la déclamation, il est des *e* muets qui ne se prononcent pas, quoique leur présence soit nécessaire à la mesure syllabique des vers. Cette suppression a lieu, soit parce que les deux consonnes séparées par l'*e* muet s'unissent facilement en raison de leur douceur, soit parce que le sens est interrompu. Il importe aussi de faire observer que, presque toutes les fois que l'*e* muet est supprimé, la syllabe qui le précède en acquiert plus d'intensité ou de longueur.[1] A la fin des rimes féminines, quand il est précédé d'une voyelle, cette voyelle devient plus longue.[2] On remarquera, en outre, que, lorsqus le sens unit la fin d'un vers au commencement du suivant, la liaison doit avoir lieu."

language, is not easily pleased by foreign sounds;—that want of habit of hearing French read renders *it* a bad judge in point of harmony; that the full and rapid comprehension of the meaning of the author greatly influences our finding the words harmonious or harsh; and how few there are who can boast of so familiar an acquaintance with a foreign language!" The following brief *résumé* of the laws of French versification given by M. Tarver (ib.) may be useful. "Measure and Rhyme constitute French verse. Measure is determined by the number of syllables contained in the verse. The longest French verses have twelve syllables, commonly called feet. When, in the body of a verse, a word ends with an *e muet*, that is, an *e* not accented, and is followed by a word beginning with a vowel, the *e muet* is blended with that vowel, so as to form one sound, and consequently one foot only, instead of two. When the *e muet* is followed by an *s*, there is no elision. The termination *ent*, of the third person of verbs, which, in prose, is generally blended with the following syllable, if it begin with a vowel, must in verse, be sounded as a distinct syllable or foot, but, in the third person plural of the imperfect and conditional of verbs, such as *parlaient*, *parleraient*, the *ent* of *aient* does not form one distinct syllable, because there is but one sound uttered, *par-laient*, *par-le-raient*. Some diphthongs form two syllables, and some one, at the option of the author. The *césure* is a rest which comes after the sixth foot or syllable in heroic verse, and after the fourth syllable in verses of ten syllables.—There are no blank verses in French; they always rhyme. There are two sorts of rhymes, the *masculine* which ends with a consonant or combination of letters forming one full sound, such as, languiss*ant*, vanit*é*, &c., the *feminine* with an *e muet*. In heroic verses, the rhymes must be regularly and alternately, two masculine and two feminine. If a stanza end with a masculine rhyme, the following must begin with a feminine, and vice versâ." "*Enjambement*, the running on of the sense from the end of one verse to the beginning of the following. It is a fault and to be avoided," but is often designedly committed by Victor Hugo and recent poets.

[1] This Mr. Féline has not marked particularly, I shall therefore place two dots (..) in place of the suppressed "*e* muet," in order to guide the reader.

[2] This he has marked, and hence I

LE PAYSAN DU DANUBE.—FRAGMENT.

Craignez, Romains, craignez que le ciel quelque jour
Ne transporte chez vous les pleurs et la misère ;
Et mettant en nos mains, par un juste retour,
Les armes dont se sert sa vengeance sévère,
  Il ne vous fasse en sa colère
  Nos esclaves a votre tour.
Et pourquoi sommes nous les vôtres ? Qu'on me die
En quoi vous valez mieux que cent peuples divers.
Quel droit vous a rendus maîtres de l'univers ?
Pourquoi venir troubler une innocente vie ?
Nous cultivions en paix d'heureux champs ; et nos mains
Étaient propres aux arts, ainsi qu'au labourage.
  Qu'avez vous appris aux Germains ?
  Ils ont l'adresse et le courage ;
  S'ils avaient eu l'avidité
  Comme vous, et la violence,
Peut-être en votre place ils auraient la puissance,
Et sauraient en user sans inhumanité.
Celle que vos préteurs ont sur nous exercée
  N'entre qu'à peine en la pensée.
  La majesté de vos autels
  Elle même en est offensée ;
  Car sachez que les immortels
Ont les regards sur nous. Grâces à vos exemples
Ils n'ont devant les yeux que des objets d'horreur,
  De mépris d'eux et de leurs temples,
D'avarice qui va jusques à la fureur.
Rien ne suffit aux gens qui nous viennent de Rome,
  La terre et le travail de l'homme
Font pour les assouvir des efforts superflus.
  Retirez-les : on ne veut plus
  Cultiver pour eux les compagnes.
Nous quittons les cités, nous fuyons aux montagnes,
  Nous laissons nos chères compagnes ;
Nous ne conversons plus qu'avec des ours affreux,
Découragés de mettre au jour des malheureux,
Et de peupler pour Rome un pays qu'elle opprime.

mark the prolongation by reduplication as usual. It is to be observed that M. Féline seldom admits the existence of long vowels in French, and that I have strictly followed his system of notation, except in his employment of the hyphen,

Lə pe,izaʌ dy Danyb.—Fragmaʌ.

Crenje, Romeʌ, crenje kə lə siel kelkə zhur
Nə traʌsportə she vu le plərz e la mizer.. ;
E metaʌt aʌ no meʌ, par ɔʌ zhystə rətur
Lez armə doʌ sə ser sa vaʌzhaʌsə sever.. ,
Il nə vu fas aʌ sa koler..
Noz eskl*a*v..z a votrə tur.
E purkua som.. nu le vətr.. ? K-oʌ mə dii..
Aʌ kua vu vale miœ kə saʌ pəplə diver.
Kel drua vuz a raʌdy metrə də l-yniver ?
Purkua vənir trubler yn inosaʌtə vii.. ?
Nu kyltivioʌz aʌ pe d-ərœ shaʌ ; e no meʌz
Ete proprəz oz ar, eʌsi k-o laburazh..
K- ave vuz apriz o Zhermeʌ ?
Ilz oʌ l- adres e lə kurazh.. ;
S- ilz avet y l- avidite
Kom.. vu, e la violaʌs.. ,
Pət etr- aʌ votrə plas ilz ore la pyisaʌs.. ,
E soret aʌn- yze saʌz inymanite.
Sel.. kə vo prətər oʌ syr nuz egzersee..
N- aʌtrə k- a pen- aʌ la paʌsee..
La mazheste də voz otel
El.. mem- aʌn- et ofaʌsee.. ;
Kar sashe kə lez immortelz
Oʌ le rəgar syr nu. Grasəz a voz egzaʌpl.. ,
In n- oʌ dəvaʌ lez ɹœ kə dez obzhe d-orrər,
Də mepri d- œz e də lər taʌpl.. ,
D- avaris.. ki va zhyskəz a la fyrər.
Rieʌ nə syfit o zhaʌ ki nu vien.. də Rom.. :
La ter e lə travalj də l- om..
Foʌ pur lez assuvir dez efor syperfly.
Rətire le : oʌ nə vœ ply
Kyltive pur œ le kaʌpanj.. .
Nu kitoʌ le site, nu fyiɹoʌz o moʌtanj.. ;
Nu lesoʌ no sher.. koʌpanj.. ;
Nu nə koʌversoʌ ply k- avek dez urz afrœ,
Dekurazhe də metr- o zhur de maləræ,
E də pəple pur Rom ɔʌ pe,i k- el oprim.. .

which he places *before* a pronounced final "*e* muet," or a consonant that which runs on to the following vowel, and which I employ in the usual palæotypic manner.

Notwithstanding that this passage does not offer numerous examples of the disarrangement produced by modern speech in French verse, yet it is evident that had French verse arisen in the present day, or had it followed the usages of prommciation, it could not have taken such a form. Thus the distinction between the masculine and feminine rhymes, which is so important in the construction of French verse, has entirely disappeared, *sévère*, *colère*, becoming (*sever*, koler), do not differ from *divers*, *univers* (diver, yniver), though a French poet who attempted to make the first rhyme with the second would be laughed from Parnassus. The rhyme *mains*, *Germains*, has disappeared in (mɛ̃z, zhermɛ̃), owing to a "liaison" preserving the *s* in one case, while it was lost in another. The open vowels, which are so strictly forbidden, crop up, as in

Comme vous, et la violence.
(kom vu *e* la violɑ̃s.)

This line also wants two syllables, which the singer would have added as—

(komə vuz *e* la violɑ̃sə).

Observe also how the lines

Elle même en est offensée—
D'avarice qui va jusques à la fureur—

suffer from the want of the italicized syllables.

The composition of French verse is as purely regulated by rule in France as that of ancient Latin and Greek verse is at modern English schools; it is thoroughly artificial. The French have got to feel a sort of rhythm in it as Etonians feel a rhythm in their own hexameters; but that the former at all resembled the rhythm known to the old French poets, can as little be imagined, as that the latter resembled the rhythm that guided Virgil. Even the popular rhymes of Béranger cannot always imitate the speech of the people, witness the italicized *e*'s in the following first stanza of *Paillasse*[1]—

J'suis né Paillasse, et mon papa,
Pour m'lancer sur la place,
D'un coup d' pied queuqu' part m'attrapa,
Et m' dit: Saute, Paillasse!
T'as l' jarret dispos,
Quoiqu' t' ay' l' ventre gros
Et la fac' rubiconde.
N' saut' point-z à demi
Paillass' mon ami:
Saute pour tout le monde!

From the French we learn then this lesson, that it is possible to have a versification which requires the pronunciation of *e* final, although it has disappeared from the language. Hence Chaucer *may* have used an *e* final in poetry, which was unknown in common speech. But the French *e* final, which has now disappeared, *was* pronounced in general conversation as late as the XVIth century, as

[1] Œuvres complètes de P. J. de Béranger, édition revue par l'auteur. Paris, 1835, 2 vols. 32mo., vol. i. p. 232, written in 1816.

we know both from Palsgrave, and from Meigret, and hence it must have been so pronounced in Chaucer's time, and must have formed part of the rhythm of the French verses with which he was well acquainted.

This examination of German and French versification has led us to two very different results. In German the final *e* is a living part of the language and metre, affecting the music of speech, a real element in prose and verse, in the loftiest and the homeliest discourse. In French the final *e*, although the representative of other original vowels, the note of feminine and of many parts of verbs, and of constant occurrence in writing, has died out as utterly in French as it has in English speech, but forms an element of the commonest as well as loftiest versification of the present day, any attempt to build verses upon the theory of its disappearance, as in English, being scouted as low and vulgar. What was the case with Chaucer?

The foundation of our language is Saxon. The construction of our sentences, the expressions of the relations of ideas by the order of words, has undergone little or no change from a period when French words were still unused. The only effect of the introduction of French words was to enlarge our vocabulary, not to alter our grammar. Hence it would seem more likely that while the Germanic *e* final was still in use in our language, it was employed by English poets much in the same way that it is now used by German poets. That is, we have every reason to suppose that it was generally, as we have proved that it was occasionally pronounced, whether it was a substitute for some other original vowel or was merely inflexional, but that in both cases it was omitted,[1] when not destructive to the sense, before another vowel, or whenever its omission gave dignity, force or precision.[2]

In French versification the rule for the elision of final *e* before a subsequent vowel or *h* mute was absolute. We should therefore expect to find this rule absolute in Chaucer at least for French words. But it may have been only partially adopted. In this case however we have no occasion to go to a French model. In Chap. V, §§ 1 and 2, we shall see that this was the rule of English versification, even in the XIII th century.

It is quite possible that, as the inflexional condition of our lan-

[1] In German and French poetry the omission of the vowel is complete and absolute. It is not in any way slurred over or rapidly pronounced in connection with the following vowel, as is the case in Italian and Spanish poetry, and even in Italian singing. The Germans, like the Greeks, do not even write the elided vowel. The Latins wrote the elided vowel as the Italians do, and may therefore have touched it briefly, as in the English custom of reading Latin verse, whereas it is the German custom to omit such vowels altogether even in reading Latin verse. Except in a few instances, as *l'*, *t'*, &c., the French do not mark the elision of a final *e* before a following vowel, and in old English the vowel was written even when elided.

[2] Occasionally, but less frequently, the final *e* may have been also omitted for the sake of the rhyme or the metre, but in such cases the poet must have felt that the sacrifice would have been greater to turn his verse so as to render the elision unnecessary.

guage underwent a rapid degradation in the XV th century, and was certainly much inferior in the XIV th to what it was in the XIII th, (several of the inflexional *e*'s having perhaps disappeared even in Chaucer's time), and as most of the manuscripts belong to a period of at least a generation after Chaucer's death, this disuse of the final *e* may have considerably advanced before the best copies of his writings, which we possess, had come into existence. It may therefore well be that the scribe has frequently introduced or omitted final *e*'s with rather an indistinct and uncertain feeling as to where they ought or ought not to be pronounced.[1]

We know indeed that even in the XVI th century, when the final *e*'s had altogether disappeared from speech, they were considered an indispensable ornament in writing, and were added on without any knowledge on the writer's part whether their addition was or was not historically justifiable.[2]

Before judging from the inner part of a line in Chaucer, whether the final *e*'s that are written should be pronounced or mute, it is necessary to obtain some feeling as to the style and character of his verse. We have no occasion to consider the shorter lines of Sir Thopaz, nor the grouping of the lines into stanzas. The question is only, of how many syllables did one of Chaucer's longer lines consist, and where did the stress fall?

The last question requires the position of the accent[3] in Chaucer's words to be considered. Or rather the two questions must be considered together, for there is no means of determining the position of the accent but by the metre. We may assume that the rhyming syllables had sufficient stress to make the rhyme fully audible, but we must be aware of concluding that therefore they had the chief stress. This rule would be generally true in German verse,—where however it is sometimes transgressed,[4]—but it is not at all true of French verse. Many writers assert that French words have a fixed accent. In the XVI th century Palsgrave marks the position of the French accent and lays down rules for it. So does the very high phonetic authority, Rapp, in the XIX th century. Nevertheless one of the great peculiarities of French, as distinguished from Italian on the one hand, (representing its Latin element,) and German on the other, (representing its Frankish element,) is the absence of *determinate* stress upon any syllable in a word. French speakers do frequently put a stress, but that stress varies with the feeling of the moment, and without affecting the intelligibility of a word. I have

[1] See suprà, p. 320, note.

[2] See the latter part of Salesbury's observations on *e* in his Welsh pronunciation, infrà, Chap. VIII. § 1.

[3] The following remarks on the very difficult subject of accent and metre, make no pretension to completeness. The two volumes of Mr. Guest's *History of English Rhythms*, 1838, shew the extent of the subject, which, however, the present investigations make it requisite to reconsider. In these pages I have strictly confined myself to the smallest amount of discussion which my object allowed.

[4] Compare *etwas* in the Maylied, suprà p. 323, a word which generally has the stress on the *et*, as in other compounds of *et*, but there has nearly an even stress on both syllables.

heard the last word in *les champs Elysées* pronounced with a distinct stress on the first syllable on one occasion, on the second on another, and on the third on another. A German speaker is apt to accent the final syllable in French words, an English speaker the first. It is the *evenness* with which a Frenchmen pronounces the syllables that gives so much peculiarity to his pronunciation of English, and reflects his national habit of speech, a habit also shared, as I am informed, by the Turks. A simple example of the effect of this *evenness* is that most Englishmen feel the French Alexandrine to consist of four measures, of three syllables each, accented more or less distinctly on the last syllable, whereas the English and German Alexandrine founded upon it consists of six measures of two syllables each, more or less distinctly accented on the last. That the French allowed very evanescent syllables, as for example the final *e*, to fall on the even places, may be seen from the italicised syllables in Corneille's lines (*L'imitation de Iesvs-Christ*):

Les tenebr*es* iamais n'approchent qui me suit;	
Et partout sur mes pas il tronue vn iour sans nuit,	
Qui porte iusque au cœur la lumier*e* de vie.—	1, 1, 1
Ne lui sçauroit offrir d'agreab*les* victimes—	1, 1, 3
Et la vertu sans eux est de telle valeur,	
Qu'il vaut mieux bien sentir la douleur *de* tes fautes,	
Que sçauoir definir ce qu'est cette douleur.[1]	1, 1, 3

We also find the same word differently placed in a verse with respect to the odd and even places, which should therefore be differently accented according to any accentual theory. For example (Corneille, Imitation):

Et tu verras qu'enfin tout n'est que *vanité*.	1, 1, 3
Vanité d'entasser richesses sur richesses.	1, 1, 4
Le *désir* de sçauoir est naturel aux hommes.	1, 2, 1
Borne tous tes *desirs* à *ce* qu'il *te* faut faire.	1, 2, 2
Les *Sçauans* d'ordinaire aym*ent* qu'on les regarde.	1, 2, 2
Qui puissent d'vn *Sçauant* faire vn homme de bien.	1, 2, 2

And so on, shewing that in the year 1651, when this was published, there was no proper determinate stress on any French words. From this to the XIV th century is a great leap, but the very fact that Chaucer employs his French words in the same way, leads us to infer that he was accustomed to the same practice in his French originals, thus:

Trouthe and *honour*, freedom and curtesie.	46
And evere *honoured* for his worthinesse.	50
Sche was so charitable and so *pitous*.	143
They fillen grnf and criden *pitously*.	951
Tathenes, for to dwellen in *prisoun*.	1025
Oure *prisoun* for it may non othir be.	1087
Fairest of faire, o lady min *Venus*.	2223
And ye be *Venus*, the goddess of love.	2251

[1] If the text be correct we find precisely similar cases in Chaucer—

Ful wel sche sang the servic*e* devyne.	122
That often hadde been att*e* parvys.	312
As seyde himself mor*e* than a curat.	219

'It is needless to heap up examples as the fact is well known. It is dwelled upon by Mr. Skeat,[1] but although he names the equable French pronunciation, he seems to think the final stress in English words to be due to the French and the change of accent to be entirely English. It is more probable that the words were always pronounced with an equable stress, which allowed of their appearing in either position, and this was altogether French.

There is at least one English termination which could be placed either in an odd or even place, namely *-ynge*, thus in

Syngynge he was or *flowtynge* al the day. 91

-ynge occurs both in an even and odd place. This termination, as a true participial form, is difficult to derive from Anglosaxon, where the termination was *-ende*, *-inde*. In the Romaunt of the Rose we have *-ande* in an even place—

Poyntis and sleeves be welle *sittande*
Right and streght on the hande. 6·69
They shal hir telle hou they thee fande
Curteis and wys, and welle *doande* 6·83

And in the Canterbury Tales,

Touchand the cherl, they sayd that subtilte 7872

But it occurs in an odd place apparently in—

The God of Loue delyverly
Come *lepande* to me hastily. 6·59

and in the Canterbury Tales,

Ther is ful many an eyghe and many an eere
Awaytand on a lord, and he not where. 7635
His meyne, which that herd of this affray,
Com *lepand* in, and chased out the frere. 7738

and by the analogy of all Germanic inflexional syllables it ought to be unaccented.[2]

As a verbal noun the *-ynge* came directly from Anglosaxon, and it occurs in an even place so early as *Genesis and Exodus*.

pride and *giscinge* of louerd-hed. v. 832

Chaucer therefore apparently took the liberty of placing French words, foreign names, and English words with heavy terminations, as *-ynge*, *-nesse*, and some others,[3] in any part of his line which

[1] In the additions to Tyrwhitt's preliminary Essay, Mr. Morris's edition of Chaucer, vol. 1, 172–196. Bell and Daldy, London, 1866. See the list of words given by Prof. Child in his Essay, reproduced in the next section, art. 99. Prof. Child cites as "Examples of the French accent," which he evidently regards as lying on the last syllable—

ther was discord', rancour', ne hevynes'se. 8308
glori and honour', regn'e, tresor' and rent(e) 15697

[2] Mr. Skeat accents it (ib. p. 185). The change of form of the present participle is carefully noted in *Koch*, Historische Grammatik der Englischen Sprache, vol. 1, p. 342, to which I am indebted for the references to the Romaunt of the Rose, the text of which however, is unfortunately very doubtful (p. 252). The form *-ende* is very common in Gower, and is generally accented. See Prof. Child's observations in the next section, art. 64.

[3] Prof. Child loc. cit. art. 99, also notices felaw'e 2550, &c., fel'aw 650, melle're mylle're 544, 3167; mel'er 3923, &c., yeman' 6962, ye'man 101.

suited his convenience, most probably pronouncing them with an even stress on each syllable, which in process of time became transformed into a double method of accentuating. For English words generally the usual Germanic rule of the stress on the radical syllable apparently prevailed.

Chaucer's verse seems to consist generally of *five* measures, with or without a final unaccented syllable, forming a "feminine rhyme," added at the pleasure of the poet. There is no trace of the strict alternation of couplets with masculine and feminine rhymes which distinguishes French verse of the classical period. Each measure properly consisted of two syllables, with more or less stress on the last, but each syllable might also have nearly the same stress. In the first measure the chief stress was often on the first syllable, as

Bright was the day and bliew the firmament 10093

Mr. Skeat has pointed out (ib. 174) that the first measure might consist of a *single* syllable, which then ought to have a certain stress, or at least be followed by a decidedly unaccented syllable, as

May with all thyn floures and thy greene. 1512
Ther by aventure this Palamoun. 1518
Now it schyneth, now it reyneth faste. 1537

His example

I make pleynly my confessioun,
That I am the woful Palamoun. 1737

can scarcely be correct, as such a reading would be quite destructive of the sense, for *that*, *am*, must be without stress, and *I* must have the stress. The line is therefore corrupt. Tyrwhitt reads *thilke* for *the*, another mode of correction would be

That I am *he*, the woful Palamoun,
That hath thy prisoun broke wikkedly.

Probably Mr. Skeat is right in admitting a monosyllabic first measure, but it should not be accepted in any particular case, unless the single syllable it contains has a decided stress.[1]

In the modern verse of five measures, there must be a principal stress on the last syllable

of the second and fourth measures
or of the first and fourth measures
or of the third and some other measure.

[1] The first line of the Canterbury Tales seems to belong to this category. The Harleian 7334 reads [swoote
Whan that aprille with his schowres
where the italicised *e* has no authority, compare *Averil* 6128, but is also found in the Corpus MS. Oxford. The Hengwit MS. reads— [soote
Whan that Auerÿll *with* his shoures
The Harleian 1758 reads—
Whan that Aprill. wᵗ his schoures swote
The Lansdowne 851 has [soote
Whan þat April wyþe his schoures
The Harleian 7333 has [swoote
Whanne þᵗ Aperÿll wᵗ his shoures
where *whanne* is an Anglosaxon form. Caxton's first edition reads [sote.
Whan that Apprill with his shouris
And Pynson's edition 1493, has [sote
Whan that Aprille with his shoures
Marking the monosyllabic first measure by Italics, I would read [swote
Whan that April with his schoures
Similarly
Al bysmoterud with his haburgeon. 77

There is also generally a stress upon the last syllable of the fifth measure, but if any one of the three conditions above stated are satisfied, the verse, so far as stress is concerned, is complete, no matter what other syllables have a greater or less stress or length.[1] It is a mistake to suppose that there are commonly or regularly, five stresses, one to each measure.[2]

This rule of stress is necessarily not so strictly carried out in Chaucer, who was provided with a number of words having even syllabic stress. But on examination it will be found to hold tolerably well. There are however many lines in which so many syllables come together, with little or no stress, that unless they are read somewhat *syllabically* rather than by measures, or stress, we fail to feel their rhythm. Thus

That *e*very of you schal go *wher* him lest. 1850

may be accented on the italicised syllables, (first and fourth measures), in which case *of you schal go* would be passed over lightly, or else the whole line may be read with an even stress like a French verse, and this seems the more probably correct method.

Any measure may occasionally consist of three syllables, but in this case the two first are always very light. In

Wyd was his par*isch, and hous*es fer asondur. 493
Biforn me sor*eful wrec*ched creature. 1108

the third italicised measure has three syllables. In such cases it will be generally found that the first syllable is merely an inflexional or derivative *e, en, er.*

It is not usual in modern verse to have two trissyllabic measures in the same line, or if they do so occur they must be widely separated. It is also not customary in modern verse, but it is not unfrequent in Chaucer, to give three syllables to the fifth measure, as

Than with an angry woman doun *in a hous*. 6361
As wel *over hir* housbond as *over his love*. 6621

[1] The length of syllables has much to do with the force and character of a verse, but does not form part of its rhythmical laws.

[2] Take for example the first six lines of Lord Byron's *Corsair*, marking the even measures by italics and the relative amount of stress by 0, 1, 2, we have—

1 0 1 2 0 0 0 2 1 2
O'er the *glad* waters of *the dark* blue sea
1 1 0 2 0 0 0 2 0 2
Our thoughts *as boun*dless, and *our souls* as free,
2 0 0 1 0 2 0 1 0 2
Far as *the breeze* can bear, *the bil*lows foam,
0 1 0 2 0 0 0 2 0 2
Survey *our em*pire, and *be*hold our home!
2 0 0 1 2 1 0 0 0 2
These are *our realms*, no lim*its to* their sway—
1 2 0 2 0 1 1 2 0 2
Our flag *the scep*tre all *who meet* obey.

The distribution of stress is seen to be very varied, but the action of the rules given in the text is well marked. Different readers would probably differ as to the ratios 1 and 2, in some lines, and others might think that it would be sufficient to mark stress and no stress. The last line most nearly approaches to having five principal stresses.

If gentiles were plaunted na*turelly.* 6716
For vileyn synful deedes ma*keth a eherl.* 6740
That will nought be governed af*ter her wyres.*[1] 6814

Besides the stress, the cæsura plays an important part in modern verse. This consists in terminating a word, at the end of the second measure or in the middle of the third, or else more rarely at the end of the third or middle of the fourth measure. Words forming a logical whole must in this case be considered as parts of the same word. Thus Chaucer's

That slep*en al* the night—*with* open yhe. 10

(where the even measures are italicised) has the cæsura (marked by a dash) after *night*, the end of the third measure, not at *al*, or *the*, because *al the night* has the effect of a single word.

If we now read Chaucer's lines with the pronunciation obtained in our previous investigations, we shall find it very difficult to say in general where the final *e*, when written, may *not* be sounded.[2] But the principle of economy would lead us to avoid the use of trissyllabic measures where they are not agreeable, or where they would be too frequent.

Final *e* arises in Chaucer[3] from nearly the same sources as in German:

1) as a substitute from some original final vowel—*essential E*
2) as a mark of plural, oblique case, or definite adjective—*inflectional, oblique, definite E*
3) as a mark of adverbs—*adverbial E*
4) as a mark of the infinitive mood and gerund, past tense of weak verbs, and imperative mood—*verbal E*
5) as a representative of the French final *e*—*Freneh E.*

[1] The trissyllabic measures in 6621 are avoided by reading *o'er* for *over*, as in modern times, and in 6740 by reading *mak'th.*

[2] "It is difficult to point out instances where the *-e* final is *not* sounded but it appears to be silent in *dore* 2424, *feste* 885, *regne* 879, and *beste* 1328." Skeat, ibid. p. 183. The reference numbers have been adapted. Now on examining these lines—

The rynges on the tempul dor*e that hange* 2424

only gives a trissyllabic fifth measure, comparable to the above instances where it is formed without a final *e.*

And of the fest*e that was* at hire wed-
dynge. 885
Ther as a best*e may al* his lust fulfille.
1320

have trisyllabic third measures, which have never a bad effect, indeed we have precisely the same rhythm in a line in Goethe's Tasso, act 1:

ein neu Hesperien
Uns dustend bild*en, erkennst* du sie
nicht alle
Für holde Früehte einer wahren Liebe?
(ain noy Hespee·rien
Uns dust·end bild·en, erkenst· du zii
nikht al·e
Fyr nold·e frykht·e ain·er bhaa·ren
lii·be?)

In fact when the cæsura occurs in this place a trissyllabic third measure has a pleasant effect. In [879
How wonnen was the regn*e of* Femenye.
There is simply an elision of *e* final before a following vowel. Hence these four instances selected by Mr. Skeat from the whole of the Knightes Tale, come to nothing.

[3] Prof. Child's minute examination of the final E's in Chaucer, is given in the next section.

The use of the final *e* seems to have been more regular in poetry than prose, to judge by the prose tales in this manuscript, but this may be erroneous; the reason may only be that the scribe, to whom many of the uses of *e* final had become obsolete, had no guide, when writing prose, to correct his more modern spelling, or, as is more likely still, at once used the orthography corresponding to his more recent pronunciation.

The question now arises, was final *e* ever added on by the poet for the sake of metre or rhyme, as Goethe apparently added one *e* in *Glücke* as shewn above (p. 323)? It is possible, but not probable, as it would have been instantly detected as a weakness, unless it could be justified as an archaism, like Goethe's, or a colloquialism, as when *zweie*, *dreie*, is said in German.[1] But the scribe certainly not unfrequently added on an *e* when it was not required, shewing that the value and meaning of the final *e* was disappearing in his time. Mr. Skeat calls this "orthoepic" and considers that it has "solely to do with the length of the preceding vowel" (Ibid. p. 189). I am more inclined to consider it "ignorant," and as pointing out a later date for the writing of the MS. See the observations on the Lansdowne MS. 851, suprà p. 320, note. It would be impossible to suppose that the writer of that MS. added on an *e* in: wyþe, haþe, suche, whiche,—examples which occur in the first four lines,—to shew the lengthening of a vowel which was not lengthened.

The following examination of words with final E in the first 100 lines of the Canterbury Tales will give a clearer notion of their origin and use. To each word is added the number of the line, with an accent after it when the word is final. From the metre alone it is of course generally impossible to determine whether the final E at the end of a line is to be pronounced. Therefore we may, for the moment, reject all such from consideration. When an apostrophe is substituted for a final E, it shews that the *e* is written, but not pronounced, and is followed by a vowel or enclitic beginning with *h*. A double apostrophe shews that the *e* was written, but should apparently be omitted for the sake of the metre. When the word is in italics, it is essential to the metre in the middle of a verse. Prof. Child's remarks in the next section should be consulted by means of the list of *Forms of Words in Chaucer and Gower referred to in Prof. Child's memoirs* there appended.

1. *Superfluous final E*, that is, a final E not required by grammar or by Anglosaxon usage. *Aprille* 1, vertu' 4, nyn' 24, wey' 34, all' 38, fiftene 61', hethen' 66, mek' 69. Here *Aprille* 1, is really not essential to the metre, if we allow of a monosyllabic first measure. *Nyne* 24, and *fiftene* 61', may have assumed the *e* as numerals, § 5, art. 39. *Weye* 34, is written wegge in Orrmin, so that the *e* was no more an addition of Chaucer's than the *e* of *Glücke* was an addition of Goethe's. The word occurs frequently without the *e*,

[1] See Prof. Child on the cases where final *e* is found in Chaucer in words where it does not exist in Anglosaxon, infrà § 5, art. 13, 14, 16, 17, 30; and my footnote on art. 13.

and should be so written here. *Meke* 69, frequently requires to have a final *e* pronounced, but Orrmin writes *meoe*, *mee* without a final *e*.

2. *French final E*, veyn' 3, melodie 9', natur' 11, *straunge* 13, pilgrimage 21', 78', corage 22', hostelrie 23', companye 24', aventur' 25, space 35', 87', chyvalrye 45', curtesie 46', *siege* 56, viage 77', statur' 83, chivachie 85', grace 88', servysable 99', table 100'.

3. *Essential final E*, that is, already existing in Anglosaxon or used as a substitute for some other vowel or syllable in Anglosaxon; the Anglosaxon form is given immediately after the word: swoote swete 1', *swete* swete 5, *sonne* sonna 7', ende ende 15', her" hira 32, tym' tima 35, *tale* talu 36, inne innan 41', trouth' treowðe 46, werre werre 47', ferre feorra 48', mayde mæden 69', son' sunu 79, hop" hopa 88, mede, medu 89', goun" (old friesic gone) 93, nightingale nihtegale 98'. In *here* = their 32, the *e* seems to have been scarcely ever pronounced. Though *hope* 88 may have been merely (hoop), the *e* may have been sounded (hoop·e) producing a trissyllabic second measure

In hope *to stonde*n in his lady grace. 88

In *goune* there is no Anglosaxon authority, the *e* was not required and perhaps not pronounced.

4. *Verbal final E*, that is a final E which arises from the inflections of the verb: they wende 16', to seeke 17', wer" thei 26, wolden ryde 27', hadd' I 31', *made* 33, to aryse 33', I yow devyse 34', I pace 36', to *telle* 38, wol I begynne 42', he *lovede* 45, it was wonne 51', he hadd" the bord bygonne 52', hadd' he be 56, he sayde 70', he *wente* 78, I gesse 82', syngyng', flowtyng' 91, wel cowd' he sitt', ride 94', *cowde* mak', endite 95', justn', daunc', write 96', he *lovede* 97. *Were* 26, *hadde* 56, were frequently, or generally monosyllabic; *portray* 96 should be *portraye*, but the *e* would be elided; *lovede* 45, 97 had the first *e* elided *lov'de* (luv·de), and similarly frequently.

5. *Oblique final E*, that is, *e* added to form a case or plural of substantives: to the roote 2', in every holt' 6, in felaschip' 26, 32, atte beste 29', to reste 30', of ech' 39, in hethenesse 49', for his worthinesse 50', in presse 81', of lengthe 83', of strengthe 84', by nightertale 97'.

6. *Adjectival final E*, that is, an *e* added to form the plural or feminine of adjectives, or to make adjectives definite: the *yonge* sonne 7', his *halfe* cours 8, *smale* fowles 9, *ferne* halwes kouthe' 14, whan that they wer" seeke 18, thei alle 26', weren weyde 28', our" 34, ful *ofte* tyme 52, *alle* naciouns 53, the *grete* see 59; this *ilke* 64, lokkes erull' 81, *evene* lengthe 83, *fresshe* floures white and reede 90', sleeves wyde 93'. *Ofte* 52 seems here used as an adjective, for *manye*. In *oure* 34 the *e* does not seem to have been ever pronounced.

7. *Adverbial final E*, used to form the adverb: oft' 55, everemor' 67, *late* 77.

8. *Contracted article, atte* beste = at the beste, 29', 56.

It is thus seen that if we omit the consideration of final *e* at the end of a line, and allow final *e* to be elided before a subsequent vowel, we have only 23 cases in the first 100 lines in which the final *e* was essential to the metre. These are distributed as follows:

1.	*Superfluous final E* (doubtful) - - - - - -	1
2.	*French final E* - - - - - - - - - - -	2
3.	*Essential final E* - - - - - - - - - - -	3
4.	*Verbal final E* - - - - - - - - - - -	6
5.	*Oblique final E* - - - - - - - - - - -	0
6.	*Adjectival final E* - - - - - - - - - - -	10
7.	*Adverbial final E* - - - - - - - - - - -	1
		—23

Shewing that the verbal and adjectival final E's were the most important. When the final E was so seldom required to satisfy the ear of a scribe who had ceased to use it in speech, we must not be surprised if he often treated it as an ornament to be added or omitted at pleasure. This seems to have been the case with all the later manuscripts.

Now turning from verse, let us examine the use of the final *e* in prose, as in the Tale of Melibeus. Here we do not find by any means so many *e*'s, or such regularity in their use. I refer to the words by the number of the paragraph containing them, and give two or three words together to facilitate reference, italicising the word under consideration.

mighty and *riche* 1 has the French e.

upon a *day* 1 for *daye*.

him to *play* 1, for *to playe*.

dores were fast *i-shitte* 1, pl. part.

olde foos 1, plural adj.

here feet, here, &c. 1, as usual.

nose 1, ags. nasu.

rendyng 2 for *rendynge*, the final *e* is here constantly omitted, and it is not always inserted in verse.

gan *wepe* and *crie* 2, infinitive *e*, this is generally correctly inserted, but the gerund *e* is often omitted.

as she *dorste* 2, verbal *e*.

of his *wepyng* to *stynte* 2, the gerund *e* is correct, the oblique *e* is omitted, so again, of here *wepyng* to *stinte* 3: but, what man schulde of his *wepynge* stynte 4. The oblique *e* of the dative we found most frequently omitted in German, and it is clear that after a preposition which shewed the connection sufficiently, the inflection could be readily dispensed with.

Remedy of *Love* 3 for *remedye*. We have already noticed in the poetry many cases in which *y* final had been written for *ye* in French words. It is very possible that in these words the use of the final *e* rapidly dropped from speech, and that then the words had final long (*ii*). See p. 283. *Love*, ags. lufu, has always retained its *e*, although the *o* may have been short (u) in the XIVth century; it is long in Orrmin.

of hir *childe* 3, oblique *e*, but *childe* is constantly found with *e* even when not oblique.
hir *fille* 3, this seems a superfluous *e*, ags. fyll *plenitudo*.
diligence amyable 3, have the French termination.
hir *housbonde* 3, ags. husbonda, is regular.
in this *wise* 3, ags. wise.
youre self 3, usual form, but *e* not pronounced.
forsothe 3, adv. *e*, or else *for sothe*, oblique *e*.
to a *wys* man 3, ags. wís, distinct from the former *wise*. The oblique *e* is here omitted.
such *sorwe* 3. Orrmin has *serrghe*, but there is no *e* in ags. sorg, sorh, which should only form *sorw*, from *sorwh* = (sorkwh), compare *sorwful* 4.
ye ne *oughte* nought 3, past tense.
youre silf *destroye* 3, infinitive *e*.
The *wise* man 3, definite adjective, compare the indefinite *a wys man* above.
his *owne persone* 3, *owne* feminine *e*, and *persone* French *e*.
answerde anoon and *sayde* 4, past tenses.
And whan thou hast for-gon thy *frend*, do diligence *to gete* another *frende*, and this is more *wisedom* than *to wepe* for thy *frend*. which thou hast lorn, for therein is no *boote* 4. The spelling of *frend* is very careless, the first time it is right, the two following times it is reversed, *frende frend* for *frend frende*. *To gete*, *to wepe* are gerunds. *Wisedom* is an error for *wisdom*. *Boote*, old norse *byti*.
out of youre *hert* . . . glad in *herte* 4, ags. heorte, hence the first spelling is incorrect. Orrmin has *heorrte*, *herrte*; *hert* would be a stag. It is singular that *heart*, *hart* are now distinguished by an *e*, but the *e* is put in the wrong part of the word. In German *herz* is a contracted form, and *herze* is occasionally used in poetry, o.h.g. hërza, goth. hairto (her'too).

It is not necessary to continue this examination. Sufficient has been adduced to shew that the system of final *e* is the same in prose as in verse, so that it has not been invented by the poet or his scribe to patch up a line where necessary. If an editor of Chaucer would carefully examine all the final *e*'s, restoring all those grammatically necessary, and ruthlessly omitting, or at least typographically indicating, all those which neither grammar nor derivation allow, when they were not necessary for the metre or rhyme, and then submit the others to a careful consideration, he would do the study of English great service. The elaborate researches of Prof. Child, described in the next section, have smoothed the way for such an edition, and in Chapter VII I have endeavoured to carry out this suggestion for the Prologue to the Canterbury Tales, in a method there explained, and in an orthography which the present examination has suggested. The careful examination of every verse thus rendered necessary has resulted in convincing me that Chaucer and Goethe used the final *e* in precisely the same way, with the solitary exception of the consistent elision of *e* before a vowel and silent *h*.

This conclusion is in harmony with the historical position of Chaucer. He was not the first or the only writer of smooth verses in English. Orrmin's are as regular as any written at the present day, and he treated his final *e* in precisely the same manner as Chaucer, making the same elisions. We shall find the same principle marked in the other versifiers of the XIII th century. Gower, Chaucer's contemporary, carries out the use of the final *e* even to a greater extent than Chaucer. As Gower wrote also in French, this greater regularity may be attributed to French influence, but we must remember that the French final *e* at that time must have been regularly and distinctly pronounced in common conversation as well as in verse, or it would not have formed a part of Meigret's phonetic prose in the middle of the XVI th century.

Although Chaucer, by the mere force of his genius, became the apparent founder of our English poetry,—few ever thinking of the equally smooth but insufferably tedious Gower,—he was in fact the last, not the first of a period. The wave of civil war passed over the country after his death, and when poetry again rose under Spenser, the language was altered in idiom and in sound, and Chaucer could only be 'translated,'[1] not imitated. A new versification suited to the new form of language rose to majesty in Spenser, Shakspere, Milton. Hence we must not look upon Chaucer as an innovator, and the justification of his final *e* must not be sought for in an imitation of the French, but in the custom of all the versifiers which preceded and accompanied him.

Acting upon this feeling I have examined what would be the result of this theory upon the pronunciation of Chaucer's lines, and the mode in which I have printed the Prologue to the Canterbury Tales in Chap. VII, having given great facilities for performing the calculation, I have drawn up the following table. It must be remembered that the text in Chap. VII does not precisely accord with any manuscript, a few simple alterations having been made where the metre seemed to require it, but the general results will not be at all affected by these changes. The enumeration is by no means easy to make, as different opinions may be entertained of the categories under which elisions or retentions should be classed, and it is not possible to check it without taking far more trouble than the results deserve. In the present case the enumeration has been made twice, at considerable intervals, and the text was corrected between the two enumerations. The results differed, but not in any way to affect the conclusions to be drawn from them. The second series of numbers are here given because they refer to the text as it stands, but I would by no means guarantee their absolute correctness, although they were obtained with care.

[1] Dryden's and Pope's 'translations' of Chaucer, remind one irresistibly of Quince's exclamation: "Blesse thee *Bottome*, blesse thee; thou are translated."—Mid. N. Dream, act 3, sc. 1, speech 41.

	Times.
Final E was pronounced—	
Before a vowel, doubtful: th'olde Esculapius 429 - -	1
Before a consonant - - - - - - - -	238
At the end of a line, that is, it is consonant with strictly preserving the grammatical inflection, and the essential final E, with the rhyme, and with the cases last numbered, to suppose that it was pronounced in this position - - - - - - - - -	420
Final ES was pronounced—	
In the middle of a line - - - - - - -	87
At the end of a line - - - - - - - -	37
Final E was elided—	
Before a following vowel, always, with only one doubtful exception, v. 429 - - - - - - -	315
Before *he* 92, *his* 22, *him* 13, *hir'* 6, *her'* 4, *hem* 1, *hadde* 7, *have* 1, *how* 1, with one doubtful exception before *he*: that on his schyne a mormal hadde he 388, and none for the other words, except *hadde*, *how*, *have*, which have not been noted, total - - - - -	147
Final ES was treated as simple S—	
In the middle of a line - - - - - - -	18
Final E was regularly elided—	
In *hadd'* (with 12 exceptions: v. 253, 286, 310, 373, 379, 386, 447, 464, 554, 677, 700, 760, as numbered in Chap. VII, where the numbers sometimes differ by 2 from Wright's) - - - - - -	18
In *hir'* = her, without exception - - - -	25
her' = their, without exception - - - -	12
wer' = were, one exception noted: woo was his cook, but if his sauce were 351 - - - - -	14
our' = our, without exception - - - -	19
your' = your, without exception - - - -	5
Final E was arbitrarily elided—	
as in modern German poetry, for the sake adding force to the expression, for the metre or for the rhyme, either at the end of a line or before a consonant—	
when the mark of the *oblique* case - - -	37
when the mark of *verbal inflexion* - - -	17
when *essential*, or representing a final vowel in an anterior stage of the language - - -	13
Final E was arbitrarily added—	
for the sake of rhyme or metre, in no case noted.	

These enumerations enable us to lay down the following rules for the pronunciation of final E, which would have to be verified by a wider field of research, and as they agree essentially with the results of Prof. Child's more elaborate examination,—see the next section, arts. 74 to 92,—they probably represent the practice of the court dialect in the XIV th century as nearly as we can hope to attain. There is reason to suppose that the *e* final had been long much neglected in the Northern dialect.

Final unaccented e, when essential or inflectional was regularly pronounced, except in the following cases:

1. It was regularly elided before a following vowel.
2. It was regularly elided before a following *he, his, him, hir', her', hem*, and occasionally before *hadde, have, how*, to which Prof. Child adds *hath* and *her* = here.
3. In the following words, *e* though generally written was never sounded, *hir'* = her, *hir'* = their, *our'* = our, *your'* = your.
4. Final *e* was frequently not sounded in *hadd, wer', tim', mor'*
5. Occasionally, but rarely in comparison to the other cases of elision, essential or inflectional final *e* was elided to render the expression terser, or to assist the metre or rhyme, precisely as in modern German poetry, but not so frequently as in German. The oblique *e* and essential *e* were most frequently dropped, as is also the case in German; the *e* of verbal inflection was seldom omitted.

By the elision of final *e* is meant its absolute suppression as in German, Greek, and French, not its rapid or slurred utterance as in Italian and Spanish. But there may be many cases of the fifth exception in which the elision may be saved by introducing a trissyllabic measure, without material harshness, and it must remain an undecided question whether Chaucer would or would not have elided the vowel in such cases. Judging from the practice in German, the elision seems most probable. For the effect of the action of these rules in declaiming Chaucer and Gower, reference must be made to the examples in Chap. VII.

§ 5. *Professor F. J. Child's Observations on the Language of Chaucer and Gower.*

In the Memoirs of the American Academy, New Series, Vol. viii, pp. 445–502, 3 June 1862, and Vol. ix. pp. 265–314, 9 January 1866 (subsequently revised so that it may be considered as dating from Nov. 1867), Professor Francis James Child, of Harvard College, Cambridge, Massachusetts, U.S., has given the results of an elaborate and searching examination into the language of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales as exhibited in Wright's edition of the Harl. MS. 7334, and Gower's Confessio Amantis as edited, from no one manuscript in particular, and with an arbitrary system of

spelling justified by no single manuscript, by Dr. Reinhold Pauli.[1] As a large portion of these investigations tend towards the discovery of the number of syllables in words, by determining when the final *e* was or was not pronounced, or should or should not be written, the present work would be incomplete without a full account of them, more especially as the memoirs themselves are not readily accessible.[2]

NOUNS.

Art. 1. Nouns which in Anglosaxon end in a vowel terminate in Chaucer and Gower uniformly in ë.[3]

2.*[4] First declension of Anglosaxon nouns. Neuters. (I. 1. Rask.)[5]

Ex. *Chaucer*—eere, yhe, yë. *Gower*—ere, eye, eie.

[1] Suprà p. 256, note 1.

[2] In the Memoir on Gower, for §§ 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, as printed, read 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 28, 29, 30 respectively, as pointed out in the corrections to that paper. The corrected numbers only are used here. The memoirs have been slightly abridged, chiefly by omission, and amalgamated. The long lists of words appended without references to certain articles, are given at length in a common index at the end, for convenience of casual consultation. When they do not appear in this index references are generally appended, but the whole of the references are not always given, and those to Pauli's Gower are frequently omitted altogether. The words of the author have generally been retained. This re-arrangement is made with the kind permission of Prof. Child.

[3] In Prof. Child's papers ë means an *e* pronounced, *e* an *e* elided, ĕ and *e* written and not elided but not forming a syllable in the editions used, [e] an *e* added by himself, (e) an *e* which occurs in Wright's edition, but which he considers should be omitted. The grave accent (`) marks the accented syllable.

[4] The asterisk appended to the number of an article shews that the full references and explanations of the exemplificative words are in given the final table of *Forms of Words in Chaucer and Gower*.

[5] The following extract from B. Thorpe's Translation of E. Rask's Grammar of the Anglo-Saxon Tongue, Copenhagen, 1830, p. 28, will explain these references. "49. The following tables will serve as a synopsis of all the regular declensions:

THE SIMPLE ORDER, OR 1ST DECLENSION.

	1. *Neut.*	2. *Masc.*	3. *Fem.*
Sing. Nom. . .	-e	-a	-e
Acc. . .	-e	-an	-an
Abl. & Dat. .	-an	-an	-an
Gen. . .	-an	-an	-an
Plural Nom. and Acc. . .		-an	
Abl. and D. . .		-um	
G. . . .		-ena	

THE COMPLEX ORDER.

	2nd. Declension.			3d. Declension.		
	1. *Neut.*	2. *Masc.*	3. *Fem.*	1. *Neut.*	2. *Masc.*	3. *Fem.*
Sing. Nom.	,,	,, (e)	,,	,, (e)	-u	-u
Acc.	,,	,, (e)	(e)	,, (e)	-u	-e
Abl. & Dat.	-e	-e	-e	-e	-a	-e
Gen.	-es	-es	-e	-es	-a	-e
Plural N. & A.	,,	-as	-a	-u	-a	-a
Abl. & D.	-um	-um	-um	-um	-um	-um
Gen.	-a	-a	-a	-a (ena)	-a (ena)	-ena."

3.* Masculines. (I. 2.)

Ex. *Chaucer*—ape, asse, balke, bane, bere, bi-leeve, bowe, clifte, crede, crouke, cuppe, drope, dwale, fane, feere, foode, galle, grame, hare, harre, hawe, hiwe, housbonde housëbonde, hope, hunte, hyne, knave, knotte, kyte, lappe, leere, lippe, make, mawe, moone, mouthe, name, nekke, oxe, poke, pope, pride, prikke, reeve, schrewe, spearwe, stake, steede, steere, sterre, stikke, tene, tyme, wele, welle, wete, wille, wreeche.—blosme, gere, schoppe, stele, webbe, wone, wright'. *Gower*—ape, asse, bere, be-leve, bonde-man, bowe, crede, cuppe, drope, dwale, fere, flete, fode, fole, galle, gere, grame, hare, herre, hewe, hope wan-hope, husë- (housë-)bonde, knape knave, lappe, like, lippe, make, mone, name, necke, onde, oxe, pese, pope, pricke, pride, see, shrewe, snake, sparke, spore, stake, steede, stere, sterre, stikke, swere, tene, thombe, time, wane, wele, welle, wille, wone, wreeche.—cope, hunte, like, wan[e], wrenne.

4.* Feminines. (I. 3.)

Ex. *Chaucer*—almesse, arwe, belle, berye, cappe, cheeke, chirche, cloote, cote, crowe, deepe, dowfe, erthe, flye, glose, harpe, heepe, heire, herte, hose, howve, larke, lilie, mare, masse, myte, nightyngale, oule, panne, pipe, pirie, pisse-myre, pose, rake, rose, scheete, schere, schire, schyne, side, snare, sonne, swalwe, targe, throte, tonge, tonne, trappe, wake, weneche, wiecche-craft, wise—birch', tapstere. *Gower*—almesse, arwe, belle, blase, cheke, chirche, crowe, crumme, deepe, erthe, harpe, herte, hitte, kerse, lilie, lunge, masse, mite, molde, nettle, nightingale, nonne, oule, panne, pipe, resshe risshe reisshe, se see, shete, side, sive, sonne, swalwe, throte, tonne, tunge, wacche, weke, wieche-craft, wenche, wise.—lappe-winke, more, sale.

5.* In the following the final e has been absorbed by *y* or *w*. In the following the final *e* seems to have been transposed from after *l* (as is often the case after *r*). *Gower*[1]—The following may or may not be correctly written. The combination of a liquid with e is unstable, the vowel easily slipping from one side to the other of the consonant.

Ex. *Chaucer*—play, lady, sty: herberw herberwh herbergh, widow widw: fithul, ladel, wesil, whistel.—nevew.—*Gower*—throstel, nedder, adder.

6.* Exceptions to art. 3, 4.

Ex. *Chaucer*—pith, beech, kers, stot. *Gower*—laverock, to(e), roo.

7.* Second declension of Anglosaxon nouns. Masculines. (II. 2.)

Ex. *Chaucer*—awe, bale, cheese, ende, hate, hegge, herde, hyve, ire, leche, lye, mede, myre, pilwe-beer, reye, skathe, tete, whete—come, mereyd, mete, see. *Gower*—bale, breche, brimme, chele, chese, ende, hate, herde, ire, leche, lovë-drunke, mede, mele, mete, shipe, slitte, stede, tete, tie, whete.

8.* Exceptions to art. 7. Termination *-schipe*. The length of the words compounded with this termination may perhaps account for the final e being soon dropped. Termination -ere in Saxon nouns signifying for the most part an agent. It is quite as likely as not that in 544, 3167,[2] the final e of *mellere* was pronounced. *Gower*—Such representatives as occur of the Saxon noun in -erë, denoting an agent, seem to want the final vowel. Nouns of this kind were by no means as common in the old language as in the modern. I have noticed but three fair cases in Gower. There are other in-

[1] Paragraphs introduced by the word *Gower* followed by (—), are taken from the memoir on Gower, the other being from the memoir on Chaucer, but occasionally paragraphs are headed *Chaucer*—for greater distinctness.

[2] The simple numbers refer to the lines in Wright's edition, as throughout this chapter, suprà p. 256.

stances without the final e, but in these cases the succeeding word begins with a vowel, and it is supposable that the e may have been elided. It is doubtful whether these words should be called exceptions to art. 7; for, in the first place, the metre does not settle the question of their form, inasmuch as clàppĕrë, for instance, would suit the verse (which hath no clapper for to chime, ii 13[1]), as well as clàpper; and secondly, for few, if for any of them, can we show a form in -ere in the Saxon dictionary.

Ex. *Chaucer*—felawschipĕ, friendschipĕ, lordschipĕ, worschip: carter, hopper, loverĕ, mellere miller, outrydere, sleper, wonger. *Gower*—clapper, founder, soth(ë)-saier, speker in, fisher in, furtherer of, maker of, techer of, keper unarraied.

9.* Third declension of Anglosaxon nouns. Neuters. (III. 1.)

Ex. *Chaucer*—ale, ancle, mele, spere, werre, wyte — stree. *Gower* — ale, chinne, inne, -riche heven-riche kingesriche worlde-riche, skille skill, spere, werre, wile, wite—kne, stre, tre—beyete, winge.

10.* Masculines. (III. 2.)

Ex. *Chaucer*—lake. *Gower*—sone sonĕ, wode.

11.* Feminines. (III. 3.)

Ex. *Chaucer* — breede, care, elde, fare, gappe, hele, hete, lawe, nave, nose, sake, sawe, schame, schonde, schadwe schawe, scole, sowe, spade, tale, talĕ yit, trouthe trouthĕ, ware—dore, highte, mayne. *Gower*—answere, brede, care, dore, elde, fare, heighte, hele, hete, lawe, leese, lode, love, nase, nutte-tre, sake, sawe, schame, shawe, scole, spade, tale, trouthe.

12.* Exceptions. It will be noted that the nouns *sone* and *love* have the final e regularly in Gower, contrary to the apparent rule in Chaucer. The same is true of the important word *time*, art. 3.

Ex. *Chaucer*—sonë sonĕ, woodë woodĕ; answar, lovë lovĕ.

13. Many nouns which in Anglosaxon end in a consonant have in Chaucer and Gower the termination ë, derived from an oblique case the old inflection. A few familiar parallel formations in other modern languages may be mentioned. *Lat.* radix, *Ital.* radice; animal, animale; cupido, cupidine; imago, immagine; nix, neve; latro, ladrone; honor, onore; libertas, libertate; voluptas, voluttate. So in colloquial Romaic, as compared with Greek:—*Greek*, λαμπάς, *Romaic*, λαμπάδα; χήν, χήνα; νύξ, νύκτα.

Two forms not unfrequently occur; one with, and the other without the vowel. By the dropping of this vowel in later English, the primitive form is restord. Though this secondary, transitional form in ë is found in Layamon and the Ormulum (quite frequently with Feminines of the second Saxon declension), yet it is by no means so common as in Chaucer.

As it is possible that some may think the forms in ë of the Masculine and Neuter nouns to be oblique cases of a nominative, which (if it occured) would be found to end in a consonant, the grammatical relations of these words are always indicated, but this (probably superfluous) trouble has not been taken with the Feminines.[2]

[1] This mode of citation refers to Pauli's edition of Gower, vol. ii, p. 13.

[2] On examining Prof. Child's lists in §§ 14, 16, 17, 30, I have obtained the

14.* Masculines and neuters of the second and third declensions (II. 1, 2. III. 1, 2). *Gower*—Most, if not all, of the following, and many other nouns of the same declensions, are found in the primitive form *without* the vowel. In many instances the terminal e might be explained as the Saxon dative inflection, but it will be found on inspection that about half of the nouns in the list occur in the nominative or accusative case.

Ex. *Chaucer*—bedde, berne, bissemare, bladde, borwe, botme, brede, brembre, bronde, carte, childe, corne, croppe, cultre, dale, donge, drynke, feere, ferne, folde, foote, fyre fyr, gate, golde, grave, grounde, grove, -hede brotherhede chapmanhede childhede falshede manhede maydenhede wommanhede, heede, herne, hevene, hewe, hole, -holme, house, kynne, leeke, liche, londe, loode, loone, lyste, lyve, morne morwe, mynde, othe, schippe, sithe, sleepe, smoke, sore, sothe, spelle, stalle, style, swyne, temple, tothe, towne, wawe, wedde, werke, weye, whelpe, whippe, wife, wronge, yere—arme, bore, cole, derke, domĕ, fisshe, keepe, mele, schepe, sighhe, swoune, teere, walle, wyne wyn. *Gower*—bedde, bede, berde, berne, bore, bore, borwe, bote, botme, browe, carte, childe, clerke, cole, cope, dale, dawe, dele, dethe, dome, drinke, fee, fere, fire, flesshe, flete, folde, folke, fote, gate, golde, grave, grounde, -hede -hode falshede godhede hastihede kinghede knighthode knightlihede ladyhede liklyhede maidenhede manhede susterhede wif(e)hode womanhede, hewe, home—the adverb should be spelt *hom*, ags. ham, and not *home; at hom* is also the correct form, ags. at ham—horse, house, kinge, kinne, leefe, liehe, limme, life live, lode, londe, lope, middle, minde, monthe, mordre, morwe, mote, mouthe, mule, rede, rore, seorne, sete, shape, shippe, shotte, shrifte, sithe, slepe, smoke, sore, sothe, stronde, temple, thewe, thinge, towne, wawe, wedde, weie, weighte, whippe, wisdome, wive, worde, worthe, wronge, yere—sho, fo—hie, kepe, lette, leve, swoune, were.

15.* The following merely drop a final *n* (compare Lat. and Ital. acumen, acume; certamen, certame; vimen, vime).

Ex. *Chaucer* & *Gower*—eve, game, mayde.

16.* Feminines of the second declension. (II. 3.) These nouns have in Anglosaxon all the oblique cases of the singular in ë.

Ex. *Chaucer*—beere, bene, boone, boote, brigge, bryde, burthe, bynne, dede, doune, drede, fille, gifte, gleede, halle hallĕ, heede, helle hellĕ, helpe helpĕ, heste hest, hyre huyre, keye, kynde man-kynde, lengthe, leve, lisse,

following results for Chaucer—I have not examined the instances in Gower because of the great uncertainty of Pauli's text. If we reject those nouns which are only found in oblique cases, those whose final *e* is elided before a vowel, those which occur at the end of a line where the final *e* of the rhyming word may have been omitted for the rhyme, those in which *-re* may have been written for *-er*, those in which *e* may have been a connecting vowel in compounds as in liehewake 2960, and those in which the authority of Orrmin shews that a final *e* had long been assumed, the long list of masculines reduces to the following: childe 5339, 14980, foote 11489, hewe 1366, lyste 1864 (which should apparently be *lystes* as in 1861), morwe 14710, sothe 12590 (probably an adverb) swyne 16972, wawe 4888, wife 6648. In the feminines we should also omit the accusative which had an *e* in Anglosaxon. They reduce to: bryde 9764, gifte 9167, lengthe, 17302, merthe 768 (plural?), schipne 2002 (probably an error for *schipen*), spanne 155 (the accusative of dimension?), tyle 7687 (probably accusative), youthe 2381 and frequently. The adjectives reduce in the same way to: bare 8755 (feminine?), blewe 566, eehe 1184 (*eeh* would only give a monosyllabic first measure), longe 1575, lowde 10582 (feminine?), merye 208 (Bosworth gives an ags. form mirige), shorte 6206 (not in Harl. 7334), tame 2188, wete 2340.

loode-sterre, lore, lydne, lyvere, meede, melle myllĕ, merke, merthe, myle, neede, -nesse besynesse boldënesse brightnesse clennesse cursednesse drunkennesse fairnesse falsnesse goodnesse hardynesse hethenesse hevynesse holinesse homlynesse lewednesse newëtangilnesse schamfastnesse secknesse sikernesse stedfastnesse warmnesse wikkednesse witnesse worthinesse wrecchednesse ydelnesse, besynes clennessĕ goodnes lewednes lustynes worthines woodnes, ore, plyte, pyne, querne, rewe, roode, schipne, sleeve, slouthe, sonde, sorwe, soule soulĕ, spanne, speche, spechĕ, stounde, streete, strenghte, synne, throwe, tyde, tyle, upriste, wede, werte, while, wolle, wombe, wounde, yerde, youthe — asp, booke, dronghthe, lynde, rewthe, scherte, sleighte, stevene, wilw, wreche. *Gower* —banke, bene, berthe birthe, blisse, bonde, bone, bote, brigge, cheste, dede, drede, egge, fille felle fulle, filthe, forgifte, glede, glove, halle, halfe halve, hede, hele, helle, helpe help, heste, hinde, hire, keie, kinde, kiste, kithe, lengthe, leve, linde, lore, marche, mede, merthe mirthe, mile, nede, -nesse besinesse buxomnesse halinesse idelnesse rightwisnesse sik(e)nesse sikernesse werinesse wildernesse witnesse, ore, quene quenĕ, reste, rewe rowe, rinde, rode, roode, salve, score, shelle, sighte sinne, sleve, slouthe, sonde, sorwe, soule, spanne, speche, stempne, stounde, strete, strengthe, thefte, throwe, tilthe, tide, warde, wede, wene. while, wombe, wounde, wrathe, wreche, wulle wolle, yerde, yifte yefte, youthe,—arist, fiste, flight, ight, ladder, lefte, liver, nedel, routhe, sherte, slaught, sleighte, stelthe, welthe, wierd, wente.

17.* Exceptions to art. 16. *Gower—Hand, might, night, wight,* are exceptional in Anglosaxon, having the accusative singular like the nominative: so *world*, more commonly: *bok* (constantly misspelt boke) i 2, 5: ii 58: iii 65, 133, etc.; *burgh*, ii 232; iii 292; *furgh*, ii 245, all feminines, are also irregular in Saxon, and have the accusative singular like the nominative. *Chaucer*—Nouns derived from Saxon feminine nouns in -ung, -ing, or formed in imitation of such, terminate in Layamon mostly in -ingë, rarely in -ing. In the Ormulum the termination is almost invariably -inng, but one or two have the nominative, and three or four an accusative in -inngë. The more usual ending in Chaucer is certainly -yng. The termination -ynge occurs frequently at the end of a verse, and in most cases rhymed with an infinitive. *Gower*—Nouns derived from Saxon feminines in -ung, -ing, or formed in imitatiou of such, generally have in Gower the termination -ìnge, less frequently -ing: in the latter case the accent is sometimes thrown back.

Ex. *Chaucer*—aldir, ax, bench, bliss blissë, box, chest, curs, fann, fist fest, fitt, flight, floor, hand hond, heeth, hen, mark, might, milk, night, ok ook, queen, sight, rest, soken, tow, wight, world, nouns in -yng àxyng begynnỳng clòthing comỳng còmnyng dwellỳng fightỳng hàngyng hàrpyng hùntyng lòking longỳng makỳng offrỳng rènnyng smỳlyng tèching wàndryng wèpyng wònyng writỳng wynnỳng, lernỳnge turneỳnge, vanysschỳnge walkỳnge, carolỳnge connỳnge dawenỳnge envenymỳnge felỳnge lyvỳnge morwenỳnge offrỳnge rejoisỳnge semỳnge taryìnge werkỳnge all rhymed with infinitives synge brynge stynge sprynge [and with the exception of felỳnge 16779 all oblique]. *Gower*—axel bench bridĕ flight flor(e) hen hond les might milk night plitĕ sped(ĕ) tow wight world, nouns in -ìnge axìnge bakbitìnge carolìnge childìnge comìnge compleignìnge gruechinge knoulechìnge lesìnge likìnge lokìnge mishandlìnge spekìnge tidìnge welwillinge wepìnge writìnge, beginnìng knoulechìng teching, hùnting lìking wèning writing(*e*); exensìng of, huntìng as, shedìng of are apparently cases of elision—steven.

18.* The following nouns, of etymons more or less uncertain, but mostly of undoubted Gothic origin, are found in Chaucer and Gower terminating in ë.

Ex. *Chaucer*—brinke, cake, chaffare, cloke, clowde, cope, daggere, deynté, dogge, drake, fèlàwë fèlaw fèlàwë fèlawë, gable, jade, knarre, know-leche, kyn-rede, marle, rote roote, sculle, slynge, snowte, stalke, tare, wyndòwe wȳndŏw[e?]. *Gower*—babe, bothe, brinke, bulle bolle, cake, chaffare, clowde, ereple, deinte, felàwe felàw fèlaw fèlowe, funke, gesse guesse, mone, packe, rote, sculle, snowte, tacle, were, wicke, window.

19.* The unaccented final e of nouns of French origin is sounded in Chaucer as it is in French verse. Exceptions, however, are frequent. *Gower*—Exceptions are by no means so common as in (Wright's text of) the Canterbury Tales; a few exceptions, after the sounds r and s, are cited under arts. 84, 91*f.* So in adjectives. *Chaucer*—It is scarcely necessary to mention that an internal e in French words is also pronounced, as, comaundëment 2871, juggëment 780, etc.

Ex. *Chaucer*—Arcìte Arcìtë, aunte, best, bille, cause, centre, chambre chambrë, couche, cynamome, dame madame ma-damë, doute, Dyàne Dyànë, cese, egle, entente entent, experience experiens, face faas, feste fest, force forcë fors, fortune, grace graeë gras 15242!, haunche, herbe, heritage, homicide, hoste oste host ost, joye, juge jugge, male, manere maner, medecine, nece, persòne persòn, peyre, phisik, place placë, plante, pompe, regne regnë, remembraunce, requeste request, Rome Romë, sauce, sege, servise, signe, spouse, tente, trumpe. Adj. chaste, excellente, niee, pore, riche, solempne. *Gower*—abbesse, adventure, avarice, baptisme, beste, borde, bounde bonde, bowele, chere, Constance, defaulte, deserte, egle, entente,[1] envie, feste, fortune, grace, haste, homicide, houre, joie, justice, madame, magique, manere, mappëmounde, marriage, matere, medicine, merveille, message, mewe, mule, multitude, nature, navie, offrende, oile, pacience, passàge, persòne, pestilence, phisique, place, pompe, Rome, spume, vice, virgìne, ymage. Adj. chaste, double, hughe, invisìble, nice = foolish, riche, solempne.

20. The accented final e of French nouns (in modern English, y) is of course preserved in Chaucer.

Ex. *Chaucer* — adversité, bounté, cherté, clarré, contré, liberté, perré, plenté, pryvyté, renomé. [This accent on é is due to the editors, and is not in the MS.]

21. The Genitive case, Singular, ends in -ës.

Ex. *Chaucer* — schires 15, cherles 7788, lordes 47, Cristes 480, pigges 702, reeves 601, modres metes kynges 5433-5. *Gower*—lovës iii 85, mannës iii 86, goddës iii 88, worldës iii 90, nightës iii 96, daiës iii 111, bullës iii 119, kingës iii 146, wivës iii 73.

The following have, at least sometimes, no termination:

Ex. Dec. I. *Chaucer*—holy chirche good 3981, holy chirche blood 3982, holy chirches feith 11445; his lady grace 88, oure lady veyl 697, his ladys grace 9892; the sonne upriste 1053, the sonne stremes 16240, myn herte blood 10221, a widow sone 14913. *Gower*—the chirche kei i 10, mone light iii 109 (perhaps compounds), the mones eercle iii 109; my lady side i 160, this lady name ii 157, my lady chere ii 213, my lady kith[e] iii 5, my lady good iii 30, ladies lovers i 228, " hest i 84, " selve i 228, " doughter ii 227, " mercy ii 118. So, *Chaucer*—fader 9239, 9012, 15670, 8772, 4036, 9389, 12757, 15423, but fadres 5883, 8738, 8685, 8747, 13626, 783?, 10175?, 14883? brothir 3086, 13360?, brothers 11478, modres 15004, philosophre 12790, heven 6763, 10281, 12470, 16282, 13017. *Gower*—horse i 40, 119, heven ii 187, helle ii 97, soule i 39; fader i 209, faders i 157, brother i 199, brothers i 214, mother i 289, moders ii 354, doughter i 208, doughters i 150.

So, many proper nouns in s, as in Anglosaxon and Modern English

Chaucer—Epieurus 338, Peneus 2066, Venus 10586, Melibeus 15382, Phebus 17170, Marquys 8870. *Gower*—Polyphemus i 166, Bachus ii 358, Phebus iii 250, etc.

22. Plural of nouns. Nominative. The Nominative Plural is formed for the most part in -ës; occasionally in -us or -is, a dialectic variety. *Gower*— *-s* only is frequently added, especially to nouns terminating in a liquid or in -t; sometimes when -es is added (rightly or wrongly), only -s is pronounced.

Ex. *Chaucer* — ladiës 900, bodyës 1007, kneës 1105, 1877, degreës 17298; fowlës 9, domes 325, chiknes 382, bones 702, fyngres 129; croppës 7, robes 319, knobbes 635, wyfes 234, knyfes 368, kaytyves 1719, lewes 1498; lokkës 76, songes 95, braunches 1069; bootës 203, argumentes 4632, ornamentes 8134, houndes 146, swerdes 2028; stremës grevës dropës leevës 1497–8, brawnës schuldrës armës 2137–8. *Gower* — weiës, tiranniës, thewës, soules, hilles, formes, philosòphres, fires, lores, sterres, droppes, herbes, leves, lives, wives, turves, bokes, clerkes, beinges, thinges, notes, frostes, bestes, flodes, cloudes, hevedes = heads, monthes, mouthes. *Chaucer* —pilgryms 2850, naciouns 53, bargayns 284, sesouns 349, sessions 357, pens 7158, lazars 245, sellers 248, achatours 510, pilours 1009, lovers 1533—schoos 359, dys 1240; bisschops 4673, keverchefs 455, caytifs 926; reliks 13764, lordyngs lordyngës 7250, 15725, yeddyngës 237, prechings 6139; servantës 101, contractës 6890, vestimentz 2950, marchauntz 4568, 4591, arguments 4648, maundementz 6866, instrumentz 9587; greyhoundës 190, stiwardës 581, husbonds 2825. *Gower* —aungels, cardinals, nations; courts, points i 149, pointës i 151, elements, jugements, arguments, tiraunts, Sarazins, complexions, masons; saints, estat(e)s, craftës, climats, herts hertës i 325, lovers, flatrours, fethers; words i 176, wordës i 151, Grekës ii 171, Grekës ii 165, knes kneës, tres treës.

23. The following have -en, -n, derived from the Saxon plural in -an of the 1st Declension: assehen 1304, assen 5867, aisseches 12735, been 10518, bees 7275, eyen yën 152, fleen 16949, hosen 458, oxen 5867, schoon 15143, schoos 459, ton 16348, toos 16817.

24. The following have -n, -en, by imitation, being of various declensions in Saxon. *Gower*—The following, which have the termination -u in Saxon, have superadded the -en of the 1st Declension to a weakened form of the Saxon plural.

Ex. *Chaucer* — bretheren 13831, 14192; doughteren 11741, doughtres 16315, sistren 1021, sustres 16353, children 1195, 14908, childer 8031, 14912, foon 16192, foos 15815, kyn 16317. *Gower*—brethren, bretheren, brethern, brethernë, children, [doughteren sistren, do not occur] doughteres, doughter ii 172 ? susters.

25. The following have *no* termination in the plural, according to the rule of the Saxon neuters of the 2nd Declension: deer, folk, hors, neet, scheep, swin, thing, yer. (The word good added in *Chaucer* is corrected in *Gower*). So night 7467, wynter 10357, and probably freend 3052, 3053.

26. The plurals formed by change of vowel are the same in Chaucer and Gower as in English: feet, gees, men, teeth.

27. The following plurals of French words are remarkable: caas 325, paas 1892, degre 1892, seere 6923 (?), orgon 16337, vessel 15634, but vesscalx vesseals 15680, 15687, richesses and riches.

28. The Genitive Plural in Chaucer and Gower is much the same as in English, saving, of course, the use of ës instead of s.

Ex. *Chaucer* — lordës hestës 8405, lordës doughtrës 13488, foxes tailes 15519, bestes dennes 15749, seintes lyves 6272, mennes wittes 4622, wymmens counseiles 16742, his eyghen sight 10134. *Gower*—the Grekes lawe, alle mennes speche, mennes goodes ii 332, out of all other briddes sight i 100, princes hevedes, of the goddes purveiaunce.

ADJECTIVES.

29.* Adjectives which end in e in Saxon end in ë in Chaucer and Gower. Several other adjectives might probably be inserted in this list, but as they are found in the Canterbury Tales only in the "definite form" (see art. 32), they have not been noticed.

Ex. *Chaucer* — blithe blithë, elene elenë, dere, derne, drye, elenge, fremde, grene, heende, kene, kynde, lene, newe, proude prowd, ripe, scheene, softe, stille, sterne, swete swote, thenne, thikke, trewe, un-weelde, white—(all-)oone, narwe, worthi worthy. *Gower*—blithe, a-eale, elene, dere, derne, drie, fre, grene, kinde unkinde, mete unmete, milde unmilde, neisshe, newe, softe, sterne, stille, swete, thicke, thinne, trewe untrewe, un-wylde, yare — all-(al-)onë, onë.

30.* The following adjectives and adjective pronouns, though ending in a consonant in Saxon, have sometimes, or always, the termination ë in Chaucer and Gower, resembling the nouns in art. 13 (compare *Lat.* atrox, *Ital.* atroce; fallax, fallace, etc.). *Gower* — But most or all of the following are found also in the older form, without the -e. It will be observed that the adjectives in list (*a*), are all from monosyllabic Saxon stems, or from contracted dissyllables. A few *polysyllabic* adjectives are also found in Gower with the termination ë. *Chaucer*—So, as if by dropping the final consonant (compare *Lat.* mortalis, *Ital.* mortale, etc.): haire 14151, lyte lite 2629, moche 1810.

Ex. *Chaucer*—alle, bare, blewe, eche, evene, faire, fawe, foule, fresshe, grete, highe, longe, lowde, lowe, merye, olde, rowe, shorte, suche, swifte, tame, wete, whiche, wise, wylde wilde wild, ylle, y-nowe—forme fader, apparently from ags. frumfader—ware 16094 should be *war*, and chare (chariot) 16996 *char*, not to be confounded with charë = chair 16099. *Gower*—(*a*) alle, bare, bleche, blinde, brode, faire, false, gladde, grete, leve, lewde, like liche, longe, lowe, olde, one [the common forms are *on*, *o*; the misspelling *one* continually occurs in Pauli's text], righte, sharpe, stronge, suche, tame un-tame, thilke, whiche, wilde, wise; so, moste i 92. — (*b*) womanishë, bodelichë, diversë, comunë, devoutë, secoundë; so, as if by dropping the final consonant, golde, lite, moche.

31.* The following adjectives of uncertain derivation are found terminating in ë: badde, deynte, dronkelewe, meke, racle, wikke.

32. The Definite Form of *monosyllabic* Adjectives, including Participles and Adjective Pronouns (*i.e.* the Adjective when preceded by the Definite Article, by any other Demonstrative, or by a Possessive Pronoun) ends in Chaucer and Gower in ë.

Ex. *Chaucer* — the yonge sonne 7, his halfe cours 8, this ilke monk 175, atte (at the) fulle 653, thou felle Mars 1561, here hoote love 2321, that selve moment 2586, thy borne man 9664, thin false querel 15932. *Gower*—the wise man i 5, this foule greate coise i 100, my faire maide i 154, her dreinte lord(e) ii 105, thy fulle mind ii 126, min holë herte ii 277, that stronge place ii 376, his ownë lif(e) i 9; so, in the derke i 190, in the depe i 194.

33. So, for the most part, the Definite Form of *monosyllabic* superlatives.

34. Among Definite Forms of the Adjective are to be reckoned adjectives occurring in forms of address (as in Anglosaxon, leôfa fader, etc).

Ex. *Chaucer*—ye false harlot 4266, indef. fals 1132, goode lemman 4245, indef. good 514, but, O good Constance 5237, leeve brother 1186, O stronge god 2375, indef. strong 752, O yonge Hughe 15095, indef. 79. It is possible, however, that some of these forms belong under art. 30. *Gower* — false cherl!, ha, gode suster! thou foule beste, leve sir, O wise Diogene, thou proude clerk(e), O hihe fader, O blinde.

35. The Definite Form of Adjectives of more than one syllable has not (generally) the final ë. There are however more exceptions to this rule in Gower than in Chaucer. (*a*) Comparatives and Superlatives. (*b*) Post Participles in -ed, -t, -en. (*c*) Adjectives in -ed, -en, -ful, -isch, -ly, -y, etc. (*d*) Various adjectives of Latin derivation and terminations.

36. The following exceptions to arts. 32, 33, 35, occur, but many of the readings are suspicious.

Ex. (*a*) To art. 32. *Chaucer*—the gret 2387, 2525, 14402, his high 2539?, 9534?, 14328?, the dreynt 4489?, the right 8149, his fals 13001, this good 14503?, this proud 3167? (the proudë 4311, 16245), this fiers 4720. *Gower* his fals. her wrong, her glad, the bright, the ninth, the seventh, his high lignage, the high prowesse, his high suffrance, his sligh compas; but the highë god, his highë worthinesse, his slië caste.—(*b*) To art. 33. *Chaucer* — the first 14239, at the, atte, last 11059, 10759, 14259, for the best 1849, 9392, 11198, the worst 1616. *Gower*—the best.—(*c*) To art. 35. *Chaucer*—(*c*) the wofullerë cheer 1342, the sorwfullestë man 9972, the semliestë man, 17051. *Gower*—(*c*) this tirannishe knight iii 256, her wommanische drede ii 66, thy bodeliche kinde i 271, the hevenliche might i 138. (*d*) the covetouse flatery, this lecherous[ë] pride iii 259, the parfite medicine, the secounde.

37. The distinction of the French masculine and feminine adjective is preserved in one case,—seint, in Chaucer, seint Jon 5439, seintë Mary 7186, and may *perhaps* be noticed in Gower in one or two cases,—sovereine i 277, iii 360, gentile iii 352.

38. (*a*) The Comparative Degree of the Adjective is generally formed in Chaucer and Gower, as in modern English, in -er (S. -re). —(*b*) A few Comparatives of "irregular" Adjectives retain the Saxon ë: worse werse, lasse lesse, more bettre. These forms in -re are all suspicious. Those of three syllables (if correctly spelt) are contracted in reading, so that the metre does not determine their validity, and *er* and *re* are easily interchanged.—(*c*) The vowel change of the "ancient" comparison is found in the following: lenger 332, elder 15746, eldest 15898, strenger 14240, strengest 15561.—(*d*) Some analytic forms of comparison are found: mo slakke 14824, the moste stedefast 9425, the moste deintevous 9588, the moste free 11926, the moste lusty 17039, the moste grettest.

39. The Plural of Monosyllabic Adjectives ends in ë. The same is the case with some of the Pronouns. So, also, bothe, fele, fewe, and many of the Cardinal numbers. Those from 4 to 12, inclusive, took an -e in Saxon when used absolutely except perhaps eahta, nigon, endlufon.

Ex. (*a*) *Chaucer*—blake 559, blynde 4973, colde 1304, dede 7090, deve 12214, dulle 4622, goode 3156, hore 7764, hote 9682, reede 90, sadde 17190, sharpe 475, sclendre 9476, seeke sike 18, slakke 14824, smale 9, stronge 2137, wayke 889, wrothe 1181, wyde 28, yonge 213; so, sworne brethren 6987, gilte cheynes 15850. Most of the singulars occur without -e, as, blak 913, blynd 10214, cold 1577, deed 1201, deef 448, good 183, hoor 3876, hoot 7018, reed 1912, sad 17207, sharp 2005, sclender 16319, sik 16323, smal 158, strong 637, weyk 14892, wroth 7743, wyd 493, yong 79. *Gower*—sharpe notes softe highe lowe iii 90, blinde, colde, gladde, grete, harde, i-nowe, loude, olde, save, shorte, smale, softe, sothe, swifte. (*b*) *Chaucer*—bothe 1841, fele 8793, fewe 641, othere othre 3232, but other 7369, suche 8215, whiche 1015, the two last being occasionally used for the singular also. *Gower*—bothe, fele, fewe, some, som men i 21, suche, whiche. (*c*) *Chaucer*—twayne 8526, foure 2141, fyfe 462, sixe 14585, sevene 7587, but seven 16352, twelve, 4139, but twelf 7839, threttene 7841, fiftene 61, eyghteteene 3223. *Gower*—tweine twein, two iii 195, thre, foure, five, eighte, nine, twelve, twelvĕ (twelf?) ii 68, thrittene, fourtene, fiftene, sixtene, eightëtene; seven, ten, elleven, are undeclined; twenty, thritty.

40. The Plural of Adjectives and Participles of more than one syllable has no -e.

Ex. (*a*) *Chaucer*—corsed stories 1500, countrefeted letters 5229, weddid men 8498, eered poketts 12736, sleves purfiled 193, broken sleepes 1922, colours longyng 10353, they thankyn galpyng 10668. *Gower*—furred hodes i 63, lered men iii 283, no other cases observed. (*b*) *Chaucer*—skalled browes 629, lewed wordes 10023, wikked werkes 5414, wreeched wommen 952, wreechede 923?, saered teeres 1923, golden clothis 5927, eristen men 4800, open werres 2004, thinges spedful 5147, woful wreeches 1719, synful deedes 6740, careful sikes 11176, blisful sydes 11971, seely clerkes 4098, mighty werkes 4898, litel children 4493, bitter teeres 2227, wiser men 9443, other men 12672, other 8312 absolutely. *Gower*—no dedly werres iii 222, thes(e) dredfull i 56, thes(e) wofull ii 323, wofull teres iii 260, dolefull clothes iii 291, other i 106, etc., these other i 20, al other i 64, we find another eare = another's eare i 167; other is sometimes undefined in ags. (*c*) *Chaucer*—certeyn yeres 2969, mortal batailles 61, cruel briddes 15586, gentil men 6693, subtil clerkes 9301, parfyt blisses 9512, jelous strokes 2636, eldres vertuous 6736, pitous teeres 12329, sightes mervelous 11518. *Gower*—hastif rodes ii 56, certein sterres iii 128, gentil hondes ii 281.

41. Even monosyllabic participles *standing in the predicate* are unvaried in the plural. The same is sometimes the case with monosyllabic adjectives. *Gower*—Adjectives and Participles *standing in the predicate* sometimes take ë in the plural, sometimes are unvaried.

Ex. *Chaucer*—(*a*) were hurt 2710, been born 4706, ben went 9575, were kept 10003, been maad 2091, ben knyt 11542, ben stert 11689, be brent 13335, sworn were 13392, were slayn 15525.—(*b*) quyk (they were) 1017, were glad 5804 were fayn 2709, which they weren 40, were wroth 8313, (were) lik 16354, but: blakë were 559, were seekë 18, waykë ben 889, weren wydë 28, ben devë 12214, dedë were 11493. *Gower*—(*a*) that be greatë i 5, ben to smalë i 6, ben un-ware i 17, wittes be so blindë i 49, to him were allë thinges couthë i 138, whiche are derkë i 63, they werë gladë i 79, weren dedë i 76, the gates were shettë i 348, we be saufë bothë two i 198, hem that were him levë i 273, briddes been made ii 80, that him thoughte allë women lothë i 118, havë be full oftë sithes wrothë i 52, they shull of reson ben answerdë i 51; we have even: whan that thesë herbës ben holsomë iii 161, in thinges that been naturelë iii 133, of hem that weren so discretë iii 167.—(*b*) hem that ben so derk i 78, we ben set i 317, they be shet ii 10, so ben my wittes overlad ii 21, all men be left i 119, hem that thanne weren good i 11, which only weren sauf by ship i 38, the thre were eth to reule i 60, they were eleped ii 165, they ben laid ii 245, they ben corrupt ii 153.

42. Exceptions to arts. 39, 40, 41.

Ex. *Chaucer*—art. 39*a* brent bones 12687,—39*c* enleven 17300,—40*a* lernede men 577? lerned men 14389, eyen fast yschette 4980? Qu. festë schette?—40*c* dyversë freres 7537, dyversë folk dyversëly they seyde 3855, divers freres 7532, thay ben so dyvèrs 7588.—art. 41 been mette 1638? were feldë 2926, they be i-mette 5535, been sette 5538, were made 5702? been maad 2091. *Gower*—40*c* of golde and *preciousë* stones ii 47, his bedes most *devoutë* i 64, divèrsë occurs i 56, 252, 256, ii 154, 325, iii 26, but is found also in the singular, see art. 30 Ex. *b*.

43. The following adjectives (of French origin) exhibit the French plural in s: places delitables 11211, necessaries as ben plesynges 5131, wayes espirituels, goodes espirituele, but thinges espirituel, travailes covenables. Even Palsgrave says (1530) pronownes primytyves, verbes actyves parsonalles. *Gower*—til they becomë so vilains i 28.

44. Of the Genitive Plural of Adjectives there remains a trace in the word all: here aller cappe 588, your alther cost 801, oure althur cok 825, alther best 712, alther first 10863; alther werst i 53: ii 224: iii 9: allthermest i 147, 224, altherbest i 106: ii 20: althertrewest i 176.

Pronouns.

(See also arts. 30, 32*a*, 35*c*, 39*b*, 44.)

45. Personal Pronouns and their Possessives. *Chaucer*—Yk, 3865, ich 10037, 3862, 12857, 14362; my, myn; sing. and pl.: abs. form myn, mynë. Thy, thyn sing. and pl., abs. form thyn, thynë. Hir, hirë = her, abs. form heres. Our, ourë, abs. oures. Your, yourë, abs. youre, yourës. Her, hir, herë = *their*, abs. heris 7508; hem = *them*. The Saxon genitives min, þin, ûre, eôwer, are declined (like adjectives) for possessive pronouns, but not the genitives of the third person. Of the above forms, some of those in ë must be regarded as adjectives declined. *Gower*—I; min, my, abs. min, minë; me dat. & acc. Thou; thin, thy, the dat. & acc. He, his gen. masc. & neut., her gen. fem., abs. hers, ii 287, her[ë]s ii 358; him dat. mas., herë her dat. fem., him acc. masc. i 6 etc., hirë, herë, her acc. fem. commonly her. We, ourë, our, us dat. acc. Ye, yourë, your, abs. yourës, you dat. acc. Her = *their*, abs. her[ë]s, hem dat. acc. = *them*. They, their but seldom occurs and wherever it is found we should doubtless read *her*; i 111, i 245, ii 48, iii 219, i 55, 59, 76, 115; them is not found.

46. In Saxon sylf, *self, same*, was declined like an adjective both definitely and indefinitely, and agreed with the pronoun to which it was attached; as, ic sylf, or ic sylfa, *I myself;* be me sylfum, *by myself*. The forms ic me-sylf, þû þe-self, *I myself*, etc., also occur. The following are the combinations of the personal pronouns with *self* in *Chaucer*—myself, myselve, myselven; thyselven, himself, himselve, himselven; hirself, hirselve, hirselven; youreself, youreselve, youreselven; hemself = *themselves*, hemselven. *Gower*—myself, myselfë; myselfe, myselve, myselven; thyself, thyselven; himself, himselfë, himselfe, himselve, himselven; herself, herselve,

herselven; usself = *ourselves;* hemself, themselves; my ladies selve i 228, should doubtless be my ladie, the s being caught from selve: selfe, preceded by the article, means *the same*, as in Saxon; the selfe prest i 48.

47. Demonstratives and others. — *Chaucer*—that = *the*, as in: that oon, that other 1351, 1353, 7603, 9350, 9351, 12151, 12152, 14222, &c., tho = those; oon of tho that 2353; they (their and them do not occur), thi 1755 should probably be they, thes = *these*, this = *these*, thesĕ (?) 9150, etc, thisĕ (?) 9110; whos genitive 5062, 5438, 7350, everich, on oon, non noon, pl. noon, abs. noon. *Gower*—that = *the*, the, that dem. sing., tho = those, this, thesĕ should be thes, thesë = *these*, thilkë = *that*, so = *such*. Relative that, which, whiche, whos, whom; that = *that which*, what = *that which*, the which, which that, etc. = simple which, etc; who that, what that, etc. = *quisquis, quicumque;* what = *whatsoever*. Interrogative, who, which, what, as in English; whether = *which of two*. Indefinite, somwho = *aliquis* (once only) i 15.

VERBS.

48. Present Indicative. The First Person Singular of the Present Indicative terminates in -ë.

Exceptions. *Chaucer* — I bequethĕ 2770 [?], trow 3665, 10527, trowĕ 17312, answèr 4892, schrew 7024, fel 22347 felĕ 9332, 9338, hopĕ 9548 redĕ, 14208. *Gower*—hast ben er this I *redĕ* the leve iii 47. also i 117, though I *tell* that I werë ded(e); (probably incorrect) i 299.

49. The Second Person of the Present Indicative ends in -st as in modern English. But sometimes in -s, in Chaucer not in Gower. The Second and Third Persons occasionally, but very rarely, end in Anglosaxon in *is*.

50. The Third Person ends generally in -eth, -th, occasionally (in Chaucer not in Gower) in -es (is).

51. But Saxon verbs which have t or d for the last consonant of the root, and one or two which have s, form the Third Person Singular in t as in Saxon. Exceptions sometimes occur, a dissyllabic form being used, as also in Anglosaxon, as sitteth, but this hardly occurs in Gower.

Ex. *Chaucer*—sitt sit syt 3641, 3817, etc., set 7564, writ 6291, smyt 7998, light 5526, put 13788, hight 1974, byt (bids) 187, 9251, 10605, byt (abides) 13103, rit ryt 10483, 12536, 17011, slyt 12610, chyt 12849, let 8465, stant stont 3677, 7615, etc., fynt fint 4069, 4128, etc., grynt 5971, sent 9027, blent 13319, schent, hut 10825, holt halt 9224, ris ryst arist 3688, 4685, 5284, kyt (?) 4805. Exceptions: sittith 1601, byddeth 3641, rideth 14734, stondith 14060, kissith 9822, ryseth 1495, 13662, bihetith, heetith, putteth. *Gower*—writ, smit let, betit, shet = shoots, spret = spreads, beholt, put, set, holt, get, byt, fret, sit, hit, abit, tint, bint, blent; in a few cases we find d instead of t, stond ii 84, send iii 221, held iii 328; arist, lost lest = loses, wext; le *let* it never out of his honde, but *get* him more and *halt* it fast[e] ii 128, he *taketh*, he *kepeth*, he *halt*, he *bint* ii 284. Exceptions; lasteth overcasteth i 317, but we should probably read *arist* in: the mede *ariseth* of the service iii 342.

52. The Plural of the Present Indicative ends in *Chaucer* in eth

(ith, th); more commonly in -en, n (yn); sometimes in e; in *Gower*, rarely in -eth, generally in -en, sometimes in -e.

53. Imperfect Indicative. Simple (or "Regular") Verbs. *a.* The Imperfect of Simple Verbs is often formed by adding -ede, -de, or -te to the root, with occasional change of vowel,—as in Saxon. *b.* The Imperfect Indicative, in *Chaucer* often (perhaps more generally), in *Gower* sometimes, drops the e of the above-mentioned terminations. *c.* The Second Person Singular of the Imperfect Indicative of simple verbs is formed in -est, like the Saxon and English. But thou axid occurs 7064.

Ex. to (*c*). The rhyme in several cases will shew conclusively that the final e was actually dropped, and not simply left off by the copyists: brought nought 11585, went yhent (participle) 12462, asterted converted (part.) 4857, amecvyd agreeved (part.) 11748, redressed oppressed (part.) 11748, aspyed allyed (part.) 16014, ayled i-sayled (part.) 16586.

54. Imperfect of Strong, Complex or "Irregular" Verbs. (*a*) *Chaucer*.—A few verbs have, besides the Strong Imperfect, a later form of the other conjugations, *e.g.*: sleep 98, 5165, 9731, slepte 4192, slept 11033; weep 2823, 2880, 8421, weptĕ 148; creep 4224, 4258, crepte 4191. The following cases are suspicious, and some, if not all of them, bad readings: bifelle befille fille 9771, 10390, 10007, 10883, dronke 7643, ecte 15703, come (to) 1729 should be: com unto, badde (foure) 4911 (should be: bad the foure). See has various forms, saw 11503, saugh 193, seigh 852, seyh 957, say 8543; sihe 11162 (if correct) is an instance of an ë arising from the softening away of a guttural. Ryngede (the tromp and clarioun) occurs 2602; rong 14077. The conjugation of the Anglosaxon hringan is uncertain, but it would be strange if a verb weak in Saxon had become strong in English. *Gower*—Several Strong or Complex Verbs have in Gower the Imperfect Tense in ë, contrary both to ancient and present rule; but how as ever it fellë so ii 67, but: befell i 214, etc., he tokë manifold(e) ii 231, he bondë both her armes ii 318, I camë fro ii 98, this ilkë talë comë iii 350. (*b*) *Chaucer*—The 2nd Person Singular of the Imperfect Indicative of Strong Verbs (which in Anglosaxon terminates in e) has commonly in Chaucer no termination or is the same as the 1st and 3rd, thus: thou bihight 2474, saugh 5268, swor 8372, bar 8944, 11976, spak 12422, 14168, dronk 15712, flough 16717, thou were 16146, 16718, werĕ nerĕ 4786, 13635, 15866, 15888, 15892, 17177, gave 15937, songĕ 17226, the e is doubtful in *were*, *gave*, *songe*, and especially in the two last; but, knewest 4787, hightest 8372?, bygonnest 12370. *Gower*—The Second Person Singular of the Imperfect Indicative of Strong Verbs (which in Saxon ends in e) in the few cases which occur, either has e, or is the same as the 1st Person, as: thou sighë, werĕ, were, knewe, come.

55. The Plural of the Imperfect Indicative (both of Simple and Complex Verbs) ends (*a*) in -en, or (*b*) in -ë, or (*c*) has no termination.

Ex. to (*c*). *Chaucer*—schuld 2543, 4898, 14233, cried 2564, besought, rhymes with *nought*, 4116, had 5786, sayd 7872, remued 11517, herd 14251, used 14910, sawgh saugh seigh 4638, 7121, 9565, 9678, 13034, began, rhymes

with *man*, 5767, bygon 7142, schon 9000, wan 11713, sat 14079, com 16473, fond 16476, ran, rhymes with *man*, 16867. *Gower*—let i 80, understood i 80, stood i 232, shuld iii 144, ran iii 300, wold iii 355, had i 101, wist ii 163, fall ii 380.

56. Subjunctive. The Singular of the Subjunctive, both Present and Imperfect, uniformly ends in ë through all the Persons as in Saxon. The Plural of the Subjunctive is in -en, -e.

57. Imperative. In Anglosaxon the 2nd person singular of the Imperative consists of the root of the verb, and terminates therefore, in what is called the characteristic consonant: except that verbs whose infinitive is in *-ian* (1st Conj., 1st class) have the Imperative sing. in a (as *lufian*, *lufa*), while those which have a double characteristic drop one of the consonants and replace it with e (as *sittan*, *site*). The plural of the Imperative is the same as that of the Indicative, and ends in *ath* (*iath*), when the pronoun or subject goes before or is omitted, or in e, when the pronoun which is the subject follows. In Chaucer the Imperative exhibits considerable irregularity. The a of the Saxon Imperative singular of the 1st conj. becomes e, which e is sometimes shortened or suppressed. The full plural form (in -eth) is of very frequent occurrence; but sometimes the -th appears to be dropped, and very frequently the whole termination. In this case the plural is not to be distinguished from the singular form, and both are found together. *Gower*—In those forms of the singular of the Imperative which end in a vowel, the vowel is not well preserved in Gower. In Pauli's text an e is generally appended to the forms which in Saxon end in a consonant; erroneously, as the slightest inspection will shew.

58. Second Person Singular of Imperative.

Ex. *Chaucer*—(*a*) Simple conjugation: aske axe 3557, herkne harke 9186 herk 7500, grope 7723, knokke 3432, thanke 16172, have 2421 ? havë 2227, loke 7169 lokë 3549, schewë 7675, mak 3720, telle 7026 tellë 3433 tel 7345, bygynne 13049, fettë 3492, lef 1616 levë 7671 ?, fynd thou 2246, speed 3562, stynt 3146, keep 6488, red reed 17276, send 2327, plight 6591, thenk 10039, thou bek 17278, recchë 12626 ?, yeldë 13604, wrekë 15391 ?

(*b*) Complex conjugation: spek 3803, ber 7569, brek 15413, com 6015, et 15936, gif 2262, hold 2670, bihold 16501, awak 4260, awakë 4286 ?, tak 2228 takë 9172 ? thou take 15937, far well 14675, let lat 923 letë 3713 ?, do 2407, go 3431, wepë 2480 ? fynd 2246, drynk 7635, help 2088, smyt 17217, rys 13133, wyt 10051, abyd 5751, ches 1616 chesë 1597 ?, be 6488, rydë 15413 ? The superfluous ë in all the words marked (?) is altogether suspicious, and probably should be dropped. (*c*) In the following cases the final e is difficult to be accounted for, unless an abridged plural form is confounded with the singular: holdë thy pees 9606, (Tyrwhitt has *hold thou*), werkë by counseil and thou shalt nat rewe 3530, ... I praye the ... as sendë love 2319, ne with no wood man walkë by the way 7669. *Gower*—(*a*) Forms which in Saxon end in a vowel: medlë, lokë, tellë, but lokë i 83, tel i 49, etc., tellë i 47, herken i 53, etc., should very likely be herkne, herke, shewë. (*b*) Forms which in Saxon end in a consonant: list, let, yif yef, shrif shrivë, drynk, kepë, redë, levë, spekë, takë, farë, comë, abidë, beholdë. (*c*) behold(e) and *demë* (demeth ?) my querele iii 196, for *witë* (witeth ?) well that never man ii 242.

59. Plural (*a*) generally in -eth, (*b*) occasionally loses its final consonant; awake 3700, hithe 7191, tritte 10642, holde 7779

(rhymes with: he tolde), loke 11304, make 14837 (*c*) often the termination is entirely dropped, (*d*) sometimes the abridged plural (if we should not rather say the singular) seems to be used indifferently for the full and regular plural: in other words, the singular and plural forms are entirely confounded: tel sparith 5768, telleth let 6871, goth ley 2560, awakë speketh 3700, stoupeth helpeth put lokë 13255-7, *youre* gentilnesse ... *lat thou* falle 922-3, rydë brek 15413, cast armith 12312-3, voydith let schet 13064-5.

60. Infinitive. The Infinitive in Chaucer and Gower ends in -en (Anglosaxon -an) often shortened to -e. In a few cases in Chaucer the termination -e is dropped. A few contracted infinitives in Chaucer are sometimes protracted(?): to seene 1037, to sayne 10628, to doone 10648. The prefix y- (S. ge-) is found in at least one case before the infinitive: y-knowe 11199. We find in Gower the infinitive without *to* after several verbs which now require that sign, thus: thenke assaie, wende have said, assay desireth, they crie begunne, gonnen say, is free defende, ought put, were lever have had. We also find the Infinitive with *to* or *for to* in the same connections, and *to* and *for to* indifferently used.

61. Participles. The Perfect Participle of Complex ("Irregular") Verbs terminates in -en. The -n is often dropped, especially in Gower as printed by Pauli. The contracted Participle seems in a few instances to be protracted (?), as: sene seene (S. segen) 134, 594, 926; slayne (S. slegen) 14115; sene i 42, 82: be-seine i 54.

62. Participles. The Perfect Participle of the simple Conjugation requires no notice. *Send*, which has Imperfect *sende* 4134, has Participle *send* 10458. Some Verbs which are of the Complex Conjugation in Saxon have become simple in Chaucer, according to the well known law. Hence we have *wist* for *witen* 10574, 12210. Dawet 5935, amendit 7757, &c., are trivial dialectic varieties. The abbreviated forms annonciate, consecrate (like the above, common in Scotch) occur 15501, 3, kidde 9817, should probably be kid.

63. Participles. The prefix y-, i-, (S. ge-) frequently occurs in Chaucer, but not frequently in Gower, before the past participle.

64.* Participles. The Present Participle terminates for the most part in -yng (Anglosaxon -ende). In some cases, however, it is rhymed with the Infinitive Mood, and we must either suppose the participle to end in yngë, or else the Infinitive to have lost its termination. The older forms awaytand 7634, lepand 7739, touchand 7872 occur, all in the Sompnoures Tales. *Gower*—The Present Participle terminates, with few exceptions, in -ènde (S. -ende). Many words of French origin adopt this termination. In innumerable cases the elided e is not printed in Pauli's Gower. Much less frequently the accent is thrown back: comend after i 1, toùchende of i 52, etc. Only two suspicious cases have been observed where the participle ends in -end, where no elision could take place. A very few cases occur of the later form of the participle in *-inge*, *-ing*, sailinge i 59, wisshinge and wèpinge i 45, mevìng i 213, brenninge ii 29, sitting iii 253.

65. Anomalous verbs.[1]

CAN = know, be able; *ps.* can canst; *ppl.* connen conne konne connĕ can; *imps.* couthe cowthe cowde couthĕ; *impl.* couthen; *inf.* conne; *pp.* couth coud.

DAR = dare; *ps.* dar dar(e) darst; *ppl.* darĕ dar dor; *imps.* dorste dursest (?); *impl.* dorste durste

MAY = may; *ps.* may, 2 might may mow mayst maist; *ppl.* mowe mow may mowen; *prs.* (?) mowe mow; *imps.* mightë might mihte; *impl.* mighten might; *inf.* mow.

MOT = must (*debeo*), may; *ps.* mot *moot*, 2 must most; *ppl.* moten mote mot; *prs.* mote; *imps.* muste moste most (= English *must* as at present); *impl.* musten mosten moste. In the sense of may: *prs.* mote mot; *ims.* most (= *might*); *inf.* mote.

OWE = debeo; *ps.* oweth = *debet*; *imps.* oughte = *debet*, ought, aughte aught; *impl.* oughten oughte.

SCHAL = shall; *ps.* schal shalt; *ppl.* schullen schuln schul schal sul (dialetic); *imps.* scholde schulde.

THAR = need; *ps.* he thar, 2 tharst; *ppl.* thar ye.

WOT = wot, *scio*; *ps.* wot woot, 2 wost; *ppl.* witen weten witĕ wote wot woot woten; *imps.* wiste; *prs.* wite; *imperative* wite (witeth?); *inf.* witen wite; *pp.* wist; *pres. part.* witynge.

66. The Verbs *wil*, *stert*:

WIL; *ps.* 1 wil wol wole? wille, 2 wilt wolt wil wol, 3 wolĕ wol wille woll wolle; *ppl.* woln wol wil wolle woll wol will; *imps.* wolde woldĕ, 1, 2, 3, wold; *prs.* wile wollë; *pp.* wolde!

STERT: *ps.* stert start, (these *might* be Imperfect Tense but less probably); *imps.* sterte; *impl.* starte; *pp.* stert; *pres. part.* stertyng; *inf.* asterte;—*pp.* ystert (*a*stert?) 1594; *imps.* asterte asterte*d*.

67. Some impersonal verbs: him deyned 15620, him falles (= *opus est*) 4025, him gained 536, him lakked 10330, hem liketh, me lyst list lest lust, me liste; me mette (= *me dreamed*) 16380, but *he* mette 16569, us moste (*nobis opus est*) 12874, us needeth; him oughte (*oportet*), me rewith (*pœnitet*), him semeth, him smerte, the thar (*opus est tibi*) 5911, 5918, it thinkith me 16264, him thenketh 3615, thursted him 15525. *Gower*—him hungreth, me longeth, him nedeth, me quemeth (*placet*), him recceth, me thinketh.

68. Negative Verbs: AM, nam nys nas nerĕ; HAVE, nath nadde nad; WILL, nylle nyl nolde; WOT, nat not noot nyste nysten.

[1] Contractions: *ps.* present indicative singular, *ppl.* the same plural; *imps.* and *impl.* imperfect indicative singular and plural; *inf.* infinitive; *prs.* present subjunctive; *ims.* imperfect subjunctive; *pp.* past participle. These are not Prof. Child's abbreviations. Chaucer and Gower are not distinguished, and references are omitted.

Adverbs.

69.* Anglosaxon Adverbs have commonly in the positive degree the termination -e, and this termination is preserved in Chaucer and Gower.

Ex. *Chaucer*—brighte, clene, deepe, evele, evene, faire, faste, foule, harde, hye, inne, late, lighte, longe, loude, nede, oute, rathe, softe, sore, stille, swithe, unn-ethe, uppe, wide, yerne, ylike, yoore. So: blyve, lowe, pore. So in Layamon: clæne, ufele, efne, feire, faste, fule, harde, hehge (hæh), inne (in), late, longe, lude, nede, raþe, softe, sare, stille, swiþe, uneþe, uppe (up), wide, zeorne, iliche, zeare. And in the Orrmulum, æþe, depe, fasste, fazzre, fule, harrde, hezhe, ille, inne, lannge, late, nede, raþe, sare, swiþe, uppe (upp), zeorne. *Gower*—clene, depe, dimme, un-ethe, faire, faste, harde, highe, note, inne, ther-inne, with-inne, late, -liche a-liche besi-liche comun-liche duë-liche even-liche open-liche parfit-liche privë-liche un-proper-liche sodein-liche solempnë-liche verri-liche, longe, loude, oute, same *pariter*, smale, softe, sone, sore, stille, swithe, uppe, wide, highe. So, alofte, blive, lowe, smarte, straite, wele. Halfing *halving* occurs ii 65, iii 206, 353, 356.

70. Comparatives and Superlatives of the Ancient ("Irregular") Form. Compar. Bet better; superl. best, the bet, the better. Fer ferre. Lenger, the lenger. More. Ner, neer, neere. Nest, iii 121. Lassë, the lassë; super. lest. Compar. Wers, worsë, the wersë, the werrë. *Note*—bettre, ferre, lenger, more, neere, were originally adj. forms. The following superlative forms are also noticeable on account of the ë in moste, etc.: O firste meving 4715, the moste stedefast 9425, deintevous 9588, free 11926, grettest, lusty 17039, the gentileste born 7948, but: the fairest hiewed 16355.

71. The following Adverbs have an internal e (i) which is not found in Anglosaxon: boldëly, forthëward, needëly, oonëly, softëly, trewëly, worthily; redëly ii 198. So semëly, rudëly, quytëly.

72.* The following Particles, of various terminations in Saxon, have -ë more or less frequently in Chaucer and Gower. Those in Italics have also a form in -s, see art. 73.

Ex. From Saxon forms in -an. *Chaucer*—aboven above abovë, abowten aboute aboutë, asondre asonder asondur, atwynne, *beside*, biforn beforne byfore, behynde byhyndë, bynethe, bytwene, by weste, *henne*, *siththèn* siththe sith seth, withouten withoute, by-yondë. Layamon, abuten, abute, biforen, bifore, bihinden, bihinde, &c. Orrmulum, abutenn, biforenn, bihinndenn, &c. *Gower*—a-boven a-bove abovë, *a-boute*, a-twinne, be-hinde, betwene betweneë betwen, -forn -fore a-forn a-fore to-fore toforë beforë,—-nethe be-nethe under-nethe, -side a-side *be-siden* be-side, sithen sithe, withouten withoute, without i 8?—(*b*). *Chaucer*—betwix betwixe, bothe, eek ek eeke eke, evere nevere, ever never (generally contracted to a monosyllable), her heer heere, ther there, wher where, nouthe, ofte ofte-tyme oft-sithe ofte sithes, selde, soone eft-soone, thanne thenne than thannë, whanne whan, *thenne*, therefòre therfor wherefòre, tille, ynowe; welle 1663 should probably be *duelle* as in Tyrwhitt, but welle, wele, occur in Layamon, and wel is rhymed with I fel (which possibly should be I fele) 2233. *Gower*—*al-gate*, a-longe, *a-midde*, *a-monge* among among(ë), bothe, efte, ekë eke, ferre fore, her here, ther therë there, wher wherë where, *nede*, ofte ofte-time often-time, selde selden, sone, thanne thenne than then ?, whanne whan, thenne = *inde* whenne = *unde* whennë, therefore, *to-warde* towàrd tòward, wele, *while* whilë whil.

73.* The following Particles, of various terminations in Anglosaxon, have in Chaucer and Gower the termination -es, -s.

Ex. *Chaucer* — ageyn agens ageins agenst ageinst, algates algate algatě àlgat?, amonges among, amyddes, in the middes of 16534, bysides, elles, hennes hens thennes whennes, needes, ones, synnes syns sins syn sin, thries, togideres, towardes, twyes, unnethes, whiles while whil, now-on-dayes, 13324, other genitives used as adverbs are, his thonkes, here thonkes, 1628, 2109, 2116, his willes 5854. *Gower*— aboutes, algates, amiddes, amonges, besides, elles, nedes, ones, thries, twies, un-ethes, up-rightes, -wardes to-wardes after-wards afterward, whiles whilěs, for-the-nones, now-on-daies, now-a-daies, his thankes.

Elision of Final Vowels.

74. Even if Chaucer followed invariable rules with regard to the pronouncing or suppressing of the final *e*, it cannot be expected that they should be entirely made out by examining one single text of the Canterbury Tales, which, though relatively a good one, is manifestly full of errors. A comparison of several of the better manuscripts would enable us to speak with much more accuracy and confidence. Tyrwhitt's arbitrary text may very frequently be used to clear up, both in this and in other particulars, the much superior manuscript published by Wright. Still the question whether an *e* was pronounced would often be one of much delicacy (as the previous question whether it actually existed is sometimes one of great difficulty), and not to be determined by counting syllables on the fingers. No supposition is indeed more absurd than that Chaucer, a master poet for any time, could write awkward, halting, or even unharmonious verses. It is to be held, therefore, that when a verse is bad, and cannot be made good anyway as it stands, then we have not the verse that Chaucer wrote. But with regard to the particular point upon which we are now engaged, it would often be indifferent, or nearly so, whether a final *e* is absolutely dropped, or lightly glided over. Then again, as not a few gramatical forms were most certainly written both with and without this termination, the fuller form would often slip in where the other would be preferable or necessary, much depending on the care, the intelligence, or the good ear of the scribe. Very often the concurrence of an initial vowel, justifying elision, with a doubtful final *e*, renders it possible to read a verse in two ways or more; and lastly, hundreds of verses are so mutilated or corrupted that no safe opinion can be based upon them. Such verses as these ought plainly not to be used either to support or impugn a conclusion; neither ought the general rules which seem to be authorized by the majority of instances be too rigorously applied to the emendation of verses that cannot be made, as they stand, to come under these rules.

Gower—Unaccented *e* final may be elided (slurred) [but see above p. 342].

I. before a vowel following:

II. before a few words beginning with *h*:

1. before the pronoun *he* (*his*, *him*, *her*, *hem*):
2. before *hath* (has) and *hast*; before *have*, except perhaps the Infinitive Mood; sometimes before *hadde* (*had*).

3. before the adverbs *now* and *here* (*her*).
4. before two or three words of French origin, in which *h* is silent.

When one of these words beginning with *h* ends the verse, no elision takes place before it.

The *e* final of a monosyllable generally does not suffer elision.

Elision seems frequently to be prevented by the cæsural pause.

75. Unaccented *e* final is commonly elided before a vowel 69, 81, 421, 498, 900, 7294, 7321, 9162, 9700, 12036, 13432, 13701, 14875, 15000 [and innumerable other instances].

76. Unaccented *e* final is elided before a few words beginning with *h*:

a. Before the pronoun *he* (*his, him, hire, hir, hem*). *Gower*—But not when these pronouns stand at the end of a verse: wenendë that it werë he i 243, and in this wisë speddë he ii 74, haddë he ii 150, saidë his ii 383, toldë he iii 139.

b. Before *hath* (*has*), and sometimes apparently before *have, hadde* (*had*), though with regard to these last two words the number of cases is not enough for certainty. *Gower*—Before *hath* (has?) and *hast:* before *have*, except perhaps the Infinitive Mood; sometimes before *hadde* (had). Not often before *have* in the Infinitive. More frequently not before *hadde*. *Hadde* often stands at the end of the verse and then there is no elision.

c. Before *how* and *her* (*heer*). [Exceptions, both in Chaucer and Gower are queried, and the readings are doubtful.]

Ex. to (*a*). *Chaucer*—106, 184, 696, 949, 1364, 1370, 1483, 3954, 7462, 10418 and innumerable other cases.

Ex. to (*b*). For *hath, has* the Ex. are innumerable, as: fortune hath 1088, 1492, 15833, ful sone hath 2448, eelde hath 2449, neede has 4024, nature hath 2760, 3009, 13424, peple hath 8869, youthe has 9612, etc., but: and now so longë hath the tappe i-ronne 3891? *Gower*—exceptions: som(e) causë hath whereof it groweth i 264, a sonë hath which as his lif(e) ii 324, men sain that nedë hath no lawe iii 277, of lovë hath within her warde ii 354, (but in the next verse: Phebus to love hath so constreigned), which kindë hath and reson can i 366.

For *have. Chaucer*—so longe havë 11144, herte havë 11352, sorwe havë 12637 gaude have I 13804, peyne havë 15527, couthe havë 9308. Exceptions: scholdë have 691, Arcitë have 2260, drinkë have 4918, frerë have 7716, poeplë havë 8118, mightë have 8560, I schuldë han 15062, your talë havë be 16285, schreddë han 8254 doubtful. *Gower*—though I siknesse have, and longe havë had i 5, but I his grace have i 73, if I for love havë i 224, etc. Thou might the morë havë i 178, he thoughtë havë iii 162, his lorë havë iii 302. No elision at the end of the verse: woldë have ii 358, hertë have ii 50, shuldë have iii 139, i 127, medë have iii 88, yiftë have i 170, i 323, mightë have iii 24, woldë have ii 211, ymagë have ii 124.

For *had, hadde. Chaucer*—pope had 6002, chirch[e] had 7318, sonne had 11328, routhe had 11573, w[h]itnesse hadde 12017, sorwe had 1361?, frere had 7315? hert[e] had 11819?, science had 12660 bad reading, worlde had 16151 bad reading. But: at many a noble *arivë* hadde he be 60, as Noë hadde 3560, namly on beddë hadden 5989, though he no morë hadde 9859. In Littowe hadde 54? atte siegë hadde 56? *Hadde he* is sometimes contracted, and spelled as pronounced, had he, haddë, as: a garland had he set 668, 319, 351, in termes haddë caas 325, 54, 578; *he hadde* is generally pronounced he haddë (=he had?) as: ful oftë tyme he haddë the bord bygonne 52, for he haddë power 218, 85, 642. *Gower*—for he his love had i 77, thus he which

love had i 121, and of the soulle had i 128, wherof the sone had i 285, the god an eye had ii 149, this Adriagne had ii 308. Exceptions: was hote, haddë i 55, the sceptrë haddë i 179, wher'(e) they the quenë hadden do i 201, that Roinë haddë ii 196, a werre had ii 200, so as the quenë had ii 271, a sonë had ii 302, victoirë had iii 165, which lovë haddë iii 364. *Had* final: a werrë had i 125, joië had i 167, timë hadde i 219, a sonë hadde i 313, to sonë hadde ii 4, no lovë hadde ii 48, her hertë hadde ii 65, his willë hadde ii 196.

Ex. to (*e*). For *how*. *Chaucer*—by his clennesse how 508, than wol I clepe how 3577, but of my tale how 4510, jugge how may this be 5234, thou wilt algate wite how 7096, nought wold I telle how 11628, unto this philosophre how 11865, me mette how 16381, mette a thing 16598; wiste how 1491 indecisive. Exceptions: I spak to him and saydë how that he 6149, Tyrwhitt, said him how; in myn otherë how that I may wynne 7003, Tyrwhitt, how I may moste winne. In the following the infinitive should have an *n*: to tellë how 2823, dar I not tellë how 14531, and ye schal understondë how 15760. *Gower*—the elision is very frequent, in the exceptions: if no man writë how it stood i 4, and thoughtë how(e) it was not good i 269, and all the causë how it went ii 122, we should probably read *how that*, a phrase of frequent occurrence in similar positions.

For *her* = here. *Chaucer*—that serve here 1296, plight me thy trouth(*e*) her 6591, bothe heer 8043, anoon for myn allye heer take I the 12225. Exceptions: in erthë heere 9521, lordings ensamplë herby 15725, here ensample may be pronounced ensampul as in 5594. *Gower—her* not final: we shall befalle here i 3, and for to beare herof i 70, lo, sone her'(e) might thou ii 50, I not what falle hereafter shall ii 278, of dedely peine here iii 37, my sone, hereafter iii 145; it is to be observed that falle[n], beare[n], may be read as monosyllables; the other three cases cannot be explained away, if the readings are correct. *Her* = here final: penaunce here ii 43, saidë here ii 45, alivë here ii 171, tellë here ii 175, erthë ii 269, i 37, iii 94, 38, iii 106, etc.

For a few French words. *Gower*—(*a*) the vein[e] honour i 11, for thilke honour i 261, cause honest ii 9, of armes thilke honour ii 64, that love honest ii 78, of treble honour iii 165, of pees richesse honour iii 273, may never be to lovës lawe honeste iii 352, but: which techeth thilkë honesté iii 141, but upon allë honestë iii 272, where the elision is prevented by the ictus. (*b*) to feigne humilité i 66, and with low(e) herte humblessë sue i 118. (*c*) thilke horrible sinne i 77, 76, that thilke horrible sinfull dede i 365. (*d*) dame Heleine ii 230, quene Heleine ii 384, had wonne Heleine ii 387, compare; after his moder quene Eleine i 276.

We find also in Gower: an saide Ha ii 320, and whan he wok(e) he saide, Ha, wif(e) iii 310. But saide should perhaps be printed said, as: and said Ha, now thou art atake ii 338, or Ha should perhaps be Ah. We find: receivë til he saidë ho ii 201, I woll the telle and thanne ho iii 274.

77. Except in the cases mentioned above, there appears to be no rule that final *e* should be elided before *h*, as: 14, 146, 150, 535, 884, 1015, 1051, 1677, 1820, 2088, 2465, 2711, 3953, 4266, 4407, 5934, 6035, 6548, etc.

78. It is very probable that some liberty was allowed with regard to elision of *e* before *h*. A few cases are added where the practice (so far as it can be determined by a very few examples) seems to have varied, and a few other instances, which, if the reading is correct, are exceptions to art. 77: 6034, 6062, 6035, 6085, 6169, 5599, 2273, 14512, 2369, 2791, 999, 4523, 8139, 11151, 12039, 17200.

79. An accented final *e* (including *e* coming from French *é*, even when the accent has been cast back) is of course not elided.

80. The *e* of monosyllables is commonly not elided, except in the

case of the article *the* and, in Chaucer, not in Gower, the negative particle *ne*.

81. The *e* of *the* is much more frequently elided than not, and before *e* almost invariably. The *th* is frequently united to the following word, as also with the verb *the* = thrive in the forms: theek, theech, 3862, 12857, 14362. The *e* of *ne* is perhaps less frequently united.

Ex. for *the Chaucer*—but to the effect 1191, this is *th*effect 1489, *th*enchauntements 1946, 1958, 2279, 4570, etc., that is bitwixe *th*est 6829, *th*estat, *th*array 718, the absence 1241, than was *th*assembé 4823, 3078, etc., in which *th*office 2865, *th*ymage 14916, the herneys 2898, of children to *th*onour 9323. Exceptions: thë olde clerkes 1165, when al thë orient 1496, up to thë ancle 1663, on thë auter bright 2427, only thë intellect 2805, of which thë eldest 10344; thë elf-queen 6442, thë ende is this, that he 6652. *Gower*—no exceptions to the elision of *the* noted.

For *ne Chaucer*—he ne hath no peyne 1321, allas I ne havë 2229, ne abydë 3125, ne at Romë 4710, privé ne apert 6718, I ne held me 8694, I ne have as now 11289. Exceptions: në oynëment 633, në of the knobbes 635, no berd në hadde he 691, fyr në eyr 1248, young në old 3112, në in noon other 9963, in al the world në hadde be 15540, if that the wynd në hadde be 16555.

82. The cæsural pause frequently prevents the elision of final *e*.

Ex. *Chaucer*—

a.	that on his schynë—a mormàl hadde he.	388
	this was thyn othë—and myn eek certayn.	1141
	withouten doutë—it may stondë so.	1324
	and lete him stillë—in his prisoun dwelle.	1337
	but how sche didë—I ne dar not telle.	2286
	for thilke peynë—and that hootë fuyr(e).	2385
	Some hadde salvë—and some hadde charmes.	2714
	and tyl he haddë—al that night i-seyn.	4377
	than that it rotë—al the remenaunt.	4405
	ire is a sinnë—oon the grete of sevene.	7587
	to stonde in gracë—of his lady deere.	13276
	if that a princë—usë hasardrie.	14014
	no longer thanuë—after Deth thay sought[e].	14187
b.	the trespas of hem bothë—and herë cause.	1766
	I prey to God hir savë—and susteene.	4580
	for though that I be foulë—old and pore.	6645
	com forth my swetë spousë—out of doute.	10018
	in thende of which an uncë—and no more.	13194
	this Persoun him answerdë—al at oones.	17324

Gower—

he weptë—and with woful teres.	i 143
with strengthë—of his ownë might	i 236
supplant of lovë—in our waies	i 241
in the croniquë—as I finde.	ii 82
kisse her eftsonë—if I sholde.	ii 96
with all min hertë—I woll serve.	ii 110
though he ne woldë—it allowe	ii 146
and in worshippë—of her name.	ii 171
and with spellingë—and her charmes	ii 263
Jason bar(e) crounë—on his hed(e)	ii 267
her love is sonë—after (aft'r) ago	ii 300
with shamë—and the nimphes fledde	ii 337
which kindë—in her lawe hath set(te)	i 268 etc.

83. Other vowels are occasionally elided as in modern verse. [The examples cited 225, 294, 423, 929, 1111, 1830, 7285, 9212,

9284, 9394, 11669, 13734, 14874, 15112 are almost all simple cases of trisyllabic measures, and similarly in Gower, see art. 92.]

SILENT FINAL E.

84. E final seems especially liable to become silent when it follows r. The sound r is peculiarly unstable, and most languages, in their successive stages or in their dialects, afford instances of its being transposed, now standing before, now following a vowel, as Saxon gærs, græs; Ital. capre, Roman dial. crape; Engl. iron, apron, spectre, etc. In Wright's text of the *Canterbury Tales* we often find the terminations *re* and *er* indifferently used, as asondre 5577, asonder (ur) 7256, 493. Of course we have no means of determining to what degree, if at all, the pronunciation er had begun to prevail even while the spelling re was retained. The Comparative Degree of Adjectives is commonly spelled with er in Chaucer (see art. 38), instead of the Saxon re, though both forms occur; as bettre 526, 650, better 10416, lenger 332, lengere 823. Nouns which anciently ended in -ere, generally or always end in -er, as hopper 4034, miller 3923, sleper 16377, etc. (see art. 8). We find many French words spelled both with re and er, as lettre 5228, 5229, 5241, letter 10415, cloystre oystre 181, 182, cloyster oyster 7681, 7682; chambre 1073, chambur 13145, tendre 150, 9631, tender 9617, etc. We also find the final e of some French words absolutely dropped; thus maner occurs most commonly without the final e, except at the end of a verse, 71, 2546; 10501, 11737; ryvèr (F. *rivière*) is rhymed 6466 with bachelèr (F. *bacheler*), and 15148 with deer; cheer (F. *chère*) once 1342 with prisonèr (F. *prisonnier*), though commonly pronounced cheerë. In these cases ryvèr must have been pronounced like our revere (ryve-er) and cheer che-er, instead of ryvèr-ë, cheer-ë, the r being in fact transposed. *Gower*—The only cases which are supported by instances enough to make silent final *e* of consequence are the words *have*, *here* (their), *were*, *more*, and the termination *-fore* (to-fore, be-fore). We have also the double forms còmun, comùnë; divèrs, divèrsë; here the longer form seems to be a license for the sake of rhyme. The Comparative of Adjectives is always written in Pauli's text with -er instead of the Saxon -re. French words are written indifferently with both terminations. Slight reliance, however, is to be placed upon the editor's spelling.

85. The only rule with regard to e being silent after r which can safely be made general, is perhaps that

e final is silent in the pronouns hirĕ, here (= *her*), very often spelled hir, herĕ (= their), ourĕ, yourĕ. *Gower*—The *e* final of *here* (= their) is silent, that is, not forming a full syllable; whether the letter was absolutely mute, or slurred, or, in the words ending in -re, pronounced *before* the r, I do not pretend to say. The dative and accusative of the feminine personal pronoun often preserve the Saxon e, see the forms hirë, herë, art. 45.

86. *E* final is in Chaucer frequently, in Gower sometimes, silent in *were*.

Ex. *Chaucer*—were, indic. 2nd pers. sing. 15866, 15888, 17177; plural of indic., 18, 26, 59, 81, 2169, 2185, etc., etc.; subjunctive, 584, 877, 1213, 1216, 14229, 14570, etc., written wer 10782, 16280 (ner = ne wer). Exceptions: werë, indic. 2nd. pers. sing. 4877, 16718, pl. of indic. 326, 1705, 1966, 6893, 1238, etc., subjunctive 9483, 10529, may be read: it werë good that such thing were y-knowe, or: and 't werë good that such thing werë knowe. *Gower*—[17 instances of werë, and 60 of werë are cited, and the last are only a few out of many.]

87. There can be no doubt, however, that e final was *generally* pronounced after r. It is commonly in the body of a verse, and for metre's sake, that the occasion is presented for dispensing with this sound; rarely is it dropped for the sake of rhyme, though very often e is added on that account to words which ordinarily terminate in a consonant,—or more properly speaking, of two existing forms, a rarer one in -e is often employed when the rhyme demands the final vowel, as yer by *yere* 4552, rhyming with *heere*. The final *e* of *deere* (ags. deore) and of *cheere* (Fr. chère) was most distinctly pronounced. We should therefore be justified in inferring that the final e was pronounced in the following words rhymed with deerë and cheerë, even if this fact could not be independently proved, as can be done in the case of most of the instances cited.

Ex. *Chaucer* — *deerë* 1236, 2455, 3361, etc., the only exception noticed being 7334; with this rhyme: heerë (adv.) 1821, 3502, 3774, praverë 2261, 12184, yerë 8278, in feerë 4815, 12308, steerë 4868, 5253, frerë 6881, 13283, manerë 7207, 8455, to leerë 7098, 13277, cherë 8017, 12232, 12310, matierë 8198, 8467, werë (subj.) 8758, to heerë 8963, cleerë 12182, 15066, beerë 15091, (to) appeerë 13060. *cheerë* 749, 5422, 8411, 8554 (cheer 9889 in a suspicious line); with this rhyme: heerë 7884, 8245, in feerë 4815, 8989, frerë 6847, 7739, manerë 140, 10821, leerë (verb) 10418, deerë 14739, 14836, materë 729, 15409, to heerë 915, 2900, cleerë 8655, 9719, berë 6169, to repeirë 14737, all of which also occur in the former list. Similarly, *feerë* 2346, 2688, 2932, 7286, 16877, with which rhyme: eerë 6603, terë 11206, 15664, gerë 5220, therë 5222. Again, *beerë* 15036, and above, with which rhyme: werë pl. 2901, 15662, terë 15664, therë 15037. Again, *eerë* 6218 and above (ags. care), with which rhyme: werë pl. 8604, 12823, werë subj. 17131, therë 7656, wherë 7634, 10629. *Gower*—the examples cited in arts. 84, 85, 86, are the only cases of *e* silent after *er*, except a few isolated ones, as: ther halp(e) him nouther sperë ne shelde i 125, for if thou herë my talë wel(e) ii 340, he yav(e) hem answere (answre ?) by and by iii 305. It has been observed already that such representatives as occur of the Saxon noun in -ere, denoting an agent, want the final vowel, but none of the few cases that occur are worth much, see art. 8.

88. Less to be relied on are the following:

sperë 15289, ags. sperë, and therefore: berë *ursus* 1642, werë pl. 2950, to berë 4877, to derë *lædere* 10554.

tcerë (art. 87) and therefore: werë pl. 4954, 11493, 15662, therë 4956, werë 2nd pers. 16146, scherë 15542, yerë 15545, enquerë 9417. *scherë* ags. scearë; and therefore (?): werë pl. 15544, yerë 15545, teerë 15547.

gerë ? ags. geara, 367; and therefore: werë subj. 353, werë pl. 1017, therë 5222, 8250. *enquerë*, old fr. enquerre, 9406 ? and therefore: enquerë 3166, therë 3165. *requerë*, old fr. requerre, 6634 ? and therefore: therë 6633. *Fynesterë*, Fr. Finisterre, 410 ? and therefore: werë pl. 409.

merë (*equa*) 543, mellerë ? 544.

forberë 3168 myllerë ? 3167.

89.* On the other hand, we find many cases in which *e* final must have been silent, or where it is actually dropped after *er*. Chaunteeler is most misspelt with -e, in the Nonne Prestes Tale. That it ought to have no final e appears from the French derivation (*Chantecler*), and from the rhymes ber (*tuli*) and powèr (new fr. *pouvoir*) 16822, 16830, also misspelt bere, powere.

Ex. berĕ *ferre* 1424, berĕ *ursus* 2060, berĕ *fero* 8760, werĕ *restiri* 8762, swerĕ jurare 11101, 12076, all rhymed with the pronoun herĕ hirĕ. So: answerĕ, baner, beerĕ, berĕ, chambrĕ, deerĕ, ferĕ, frerĕ (often frerë), manerĕ, swerĕ, swer. See art. 72 for the double forms: here her, there ther, where wher, evere ever.

90.* With regard to final *e* after *ir*, *ar*, *or*, *ur*, it does not appear to be more frequently silent in such cases than after other letters, except in *sire* and *more*. *Gower*—E final is sometimes silent in -fore and more. We find two forms sirë and sirĕ = sir, corresponding to French sire, sieur, Italian ser, sere.

Ex. *Chaucer*—sirĕ sirë, irĕ irë, barë, fairë, sparë, charë Fr. *chaire*, declarĕ ?? declarë, hairë, peyrë, morĕ mor morë, porĕ porë, biforĕ byforë, sorĕ sorë, dorĕ dorë, thereforĕ therefor therforë, fourë, purë, vesturĕ. *Gower*— -forĕ to-forĕ and -forë to-forë be-forë a-forë, morĕ oftener morë.

91.* A considerable number of cases will now be given of *e* silent after other letters than *r* without any attempt to explain the fact. Many words of French origin are spelt in Chaucer sometimes with a final *ce*, sometimes with *s*. *Gower*—The only important instances of silent *e* final are the word *have* and some forms in *-ce* (se). Noteworthy instances of e final silent after other consonants than those already mentioned are very few. By noteworthy instances is meant cases in which a final e, that by general laws should be sounded, is required by the metre to be silent. Some of the apparent exceptions can be explained away. A few cannot.

Ex. *Chaucer*—*e* silent after *l*, *m*, *n*: allĕ, hallĕ, talĕ, tellĕ, hellĕ, fellĕ, wellĕ, felĕ, melĕ, welĕ, soulĕ, myllĕ, mylĕ, pylĕ—damĕ, madamĕ, namĕ, claymĕ, demĕ, comĕ, welcomĕ, somĕ, tymĕ—pan', regnĕ, clenĕ, begynnĕ, nonĕ, somĕ, gounĕ. *e* silent after *w*, *y*: dawĕ, schrew', trewĕ, bowĕ, crow', ynowĕ, trowĕ, widow', morwĕ, joyĕ, weyĕ.

e silent after *p*, *b*, *v*: helpĕ, felawschipĕ, worschip, hopĕ, popĕ, havĕ, savĕ, avĕ, receyvĕ, levĕ, givĕ, gevĕ, lyvĕ, stryvĕ, lovĕ, grovĕ. *e* silent after *k*, *g*, *ch*: sakĕ, seekĕ, bisekĕ, spekĕ—mariagĕ, viagĕ, visagĕ, agĕ, tongĕ, bringĕ, segĕ—specchĕ, wrechĕ, chirchĕ.

e silent after *t*, *d*, *th*, besides the final *e* of the imperfect indic. of simple verbs, which is as often silent as pronounced [unless the -ed, for -edë be read -'dë, and the point is doubtful]: hatĕ, betĕ, getĕ, metĕ, swetĕ, hertĕ, schertĕ, might', sight'—forbedĕ, dedĕ, heed', ledĕ, redĕ, steedĕ, endĕ, fyndĕ, kyndĕ, lyndĕ, holdĕ, housĕ-bondĕ, fondĕ, woodĕ, lowdĕ, bruyd' — byquethĕ, mirthĕ, rewthĕ, trouthĕ, youthĕ. *e* silent after *s* (*c*): nosĕ, prosĕ [the reference 466 is erroneous] clennessĕ besynes goodnes lewednes worthines, goldessĕ, blis' blys', wisĕ, cheesĕ, supposĕ, thesĕ thisĕ, praysĕ, pres' Fr. presse, nobles'—graeĕ, forcĕ but forcë in the same line 3910, princĕ, malicĕ, placĕ. Constauncĕ Constauncë.

experience experiens, plesaunce pleisauns, norice noris, pacience paciens, sentence sentens, force fors, solas solaas solacĕ solacë, allaas laas lace trespace, trace trays harnays, face faas, prefaee. [In a large number of cases the ĕ here cited may have been an ë introducing a trissillabic measure of no injury to the metre, see art. 92.] *Gower*—*e* is generally silent in havĕ except at the end of a line, but: ne havë whan I spak(e) i 296, ye havë thilkë vice ii 55, havë non(e) i 295, be so they havë i 316, havë routhe i 47, and (infinitive) i 94, 170, iii 222, 702. The infini-

tives and the plural forms of the indicative and subjunctive may have originally been written haven; so written, the word might perhaps have been contracted at pleasure into a monosyllable.

e is in a few words of Latin origin silent, or absent where it might be expected after *c*, *s*: gracĕ, rhymes with encres, old Fr. a-crois ii 392, gracĕ i 9, etc., Bonifacĕ, Moricĕ, Moris = Maurice, forcĕ, rhymes with hors ii 392, fallas Fr. fallace rhymes with was, iii 158: avaricĕ ii 290 avaricĕ ii 127, pursĕ purs, this word derived from Middle Latin bursa, probably does not come to us through the Fr. *bourse*; it has dropped the *e*, like Swed. and Dan. *börs*, and Germ. *bors*, which is found as well as *börse*. helpĕ help 8 cases to helpĕ 9 cases: 2 quenĕ and 27 quenĕ, 2 sight and 6 sightĕ, 3 food and 5 or 6 fodĕ, 1 timĕ ii 167 but elsewhere always timĕ, 1 nedĕ i 155 but elsewhere always nedĕ: 3 spedĕ and about 3 spedĕ, 2 I redĕ and elsewhere redĕ, etc. [These cases all require examination by manuscripts, and the remaining doubtful cases are therefore not cited here.]

92. For convenience sake the final e in the above citations has been treated as silent. It is, however, a question which may be called at least a *difficult* one to solve, whether the e in many cases was absolutely dropped, or only slightly pronounced. In very many lines the verse would be equally agreeable, whichever of the two should be done; in some, the verse might be fuller to a good ear, if the e were slightly sounded; in some this sound would disturb the metre.

A considerable number of these exceptions might disappear on a comparison of manuscripts, but very many would doubtless remain. The vowel appears to be most frequently silent after the liquids, after w and y, t, d, and s. Some of the most noticeable words are the pronouns *hire*, *here*, *oure*, *youre;* the verb *were;* then *sire*, *more*, *alle*, *tymo*, *sone* (filius), *trowe*, *have*, *give*, *love*, *sight'*, *woode*, *bliss'*.

Possibly, all that is to be said of this matter is, that the final e might be dropped freely, as in modern German verse, as:

> das Erst' wär' so, das Zweite so.
> der begehrt jede liebe Blum' für sich,
> und dünkelt ihm es wär' kein' Ehr',
> und Gunst die nicht zu pflücken wär'.—
> hat er so aller Treu', so aller Lieb' vergessen.
> &c., &c. —(Goethe's *Faust.*)

Of course we are not authorized, in the present state of our knowledge, to drop the superfluous *e* and indicate the omission by an apostrophe.

CONTRACTIONS.

93. The *e* in final *er* is very frequently elided, especially under the circumstances in which *e* final would suffer elision. [Most of the instances cited seem more properly to belong to the class of trissyllabic measures. The words and a reference to the line in Chaucer are here added, when the words begin with a capital they occur in the lists given in both papers, when they are in small capitals they occur in the Gower papers only, and no references are given.] ADDER, After 162, 343, 527, anger 12847, answer 1325, begger 252, BETTER, CHAMBRE, coper 13236, delyver 84, Ever Never 50, 345, 1824, 9963, 1262, 8020, 8027, 9605,

9618, 10077, 10078, Fader 5613, fether 2146, fynger 7472, HINDER v., LENGER, LITTER, LEVER, maner 9755, MONSTER, nedder 9660, neyther 9413, 9962, ofter 16914, OTHER, over 11967, persèver 5730, silver 82, 631?, soher 7484, somer 396, sowter 3902, SUSTER, TENDER, THUNDER, togider 826, water 402, 3815, 13244, Whether 1103, 15415, 9407, 15341, wonder 12531.

94. The vowel is elided under similar circumstances in the syllable *-en*. *Chaucer*: mooten 232, weren 1282, comen 803, riden 827, prisoun[1] 1231, faren 1263, wepen 1593, bringen 5384, risen 10697, y-comen 14908. *Gower:* shulden i 76, wolden i 79, treten i 250, geten i 339, vengen i 345, stonden i 364, woman ii 46, wepon ii 306, rehercen iii 19.

95. The third person singular of the Present Indicative ends commonly in -eth, not seldom in -th. When the form -eth is used, the e is often elided. *Chaucer:* answereth 1622, thenketh cometh 1645, cometh 8033, 14196, makth 5318, 7415, spekth 5646, clappith 7166, lyveth 7944, takith 8178, loveth 8246, 8247, spedith 9801, bereth 10949, to-breketh 12835, abideth 14396. *Gower:* speketh i 64, maketh i 68, 156, wepeth crieth i 120, kepeth i 126, leseth i 305, eteth drinketh iii 39, taketh cometh iii 280, ariseth iii 342.

96. Miscellaneous contractions. [Most of these are cases of trissyllabic measures.] *Chaucer:* purchasyng 322, schirrevë 361 (?), parisshe 451, 496, parisch[e] 493, benedicite (benicitë) 2117, 5823, 5862, 7038, 7166, 7752, 9211, 12556, we may therefore infer a lacuna in 1787, certeynly 2761, candel 5916, so candlestick (canstick) in Shakespeare, 1 Henry IV. 3, 1, speech 36 (Guest I, 54: canstick in the quartos), litel 7256, vanyssh 10642, widow 14920, (similar forms though not contracted are sorwe 1456, wilw 2924, morw 9622,) woldist 15431, wicked 16909, this is an unusual contraction, but by no means unparalleled, compare *naked*, Crashaw, ed. Turnbull, p. 123. *Gower*—bible i 136,[2] quarrel ii 223, devil iii 203, distempred i 281, heved iii 117, 376, augst iii 121, 370, Sortes (Socrates) iii 366. *Benedicite* is not contracted i 48.

97. Cases like the following, in which contiguous words are blended, are not common in Chaucer, but there is no reason to suspect the correctness of the lines: at his (at's) 295, and a ('n a) 56, I ne (I n') 766, endure it (endur't) 1093, whethir it (wher't) 9841. Contractions of the various kinds noticed in arts. 93–97 are on the whole not so frequent in Chaucer as in Shakespeare and Milton: see very numerous examples in Guest's *English Rhythms* B. I. C. III.—*Gower*. Contiguous words are not often blended, but some cases occur: fall it (fall't) ii 380, it is (it's) iii 348, I havĕ (I've) ii 61, that is (that's) iii 247.

[1] The real division of the measures, indicated by italicising the even measures, in this line, seems to be: i-fet-*er'd in his* prisoun *for ever'* more.

[2] Pauli reads: yet in the bible this name is bore, but Harl. MS. 3490, 3869, 7184, and Soc. Antiq. MS. 134, all read *his* for *this*, giving a regular elision.

97*a*.[1] Accent. Many words of French origin have two accents; sometimes on the final syllable, or the penult; sometimes thrown further back as in English. So also with nouns of Saxon origin in -ynge, -yng (see art. 17) and fèlàwe fèlaw (see art. 18). *Gower*—Many words of French origin have a variable accent: the same is occasionally true of native words. The eliding of final e often causes the accent to be thrown back, [or rather conversely?]. Proper names of Latin origin have generally the French, or foreign, accent: Cesàr iii 366, Medeà ii 212, Gowèr iii 373, Eneàs Anchisès ii 4, Aprille ii 327. [The list of words is here given in alphabetical order with single references, a capital initial (when the word is not a proper name, and in that case an *italic* capital initial) points out that the word is in both lists, small letters in *Chaucer* and small capitals in *Gower* only.]

ACHILLÈS ii 62	ACHÌLLES ii 58
ANSWÈRE i 96	ÀNSWERE iii 305
APOLLÒ ii 366	APÒLLO ii 367
Aprille, Averìl 1,	'April 4426
Arcìta (?) [6128	'Arcita 2258
Arcìte 1114	'Arcite 1154
AYEÌN i 81	ÀYEIN iii 61
bataille 990	bàtail 2099
benigne 520	bènigne 8287
COLOÙR i 225	CÒLOUR i 133
COMÙNE i 20	CÒMUN i 7
Cresùs 16245	Crèsus 1948
DAUNGÈR i 331	DAÙNGER i 331
discòrd 8308	
discrèt 8286	diseret 520
ECHATÈS ii 260	ECHÀTES ii 262
ENVIOÙS i 171	ENVÌOUS i 172
FELÀW i 170	FÈLAW i 171
FOREST ii 68	FÒREST i 119
Fortùne 917	Fòrtune 927
Grisildes 8108	Grìsildes 8086
honèst 14972	hònest 246
honoùr 15697	
JASÒN ii 251	JÀSON ii 250
Laboùr 14874	Làbour 8093
LADŸ i 332	LÀDY i 332
LEÒ iii 121	LÈO iii 120
LOVÈRS i 64	LÒVERS i 175
MANÈRE i 96	MÀNER i 4
MATÈRE i 343	MÀTER i 146
mellère 544	mèller 3923
natùre 11	nàture 1080
*N*oè 3534	*N*òe 3539
PASSÀGE i 223	PASSAGE i 237
Platò 19376	Plàto 13381
povèrt 4519	pòvert 6749
POVÈRTË i 357	PÒVERTE i 355
POWÈR i 345	PÒWER i 341
prayèr 2269	prèyer 2423
prisoùn 1177	prìsoun 1087
PURPÒS i 134	PÙRPOS i 238
rancoùr 8308	
règnë 15697	
Resoùn 37	Rèsoun 1768
REVÈRS i 239	RÈVERS i 167
servìse 2489	sèrvise 122
squyèr 79	sqùyer 1500
SUPPLÀNT i 239	SÙPPLANT i 239
tresòr 15697	
*V*enùs 1906	*V*ènus 1920
Vertùe 4	Vèrtu 1438
victòrie 2241	vìctorie 874
VISÀGE i 237	VÌSAGE i 227
WORTHŸ i 107	WÒRTHY i 226
yemàn 6962	yèman 101

Gower—At this point it is proper to say that in all likelihood some troublesome forms in Gower are to be explained as simple licences. Such, very probably, are the causes of the singular of the Imperfect of Complex Verbs which have an *e* (art. 54). So when the *vertu* ii 38, 187, is stretched to vertue i 7, 18: when the preposition *for* is made to rhyme with *borë* ii 59, the pronoun *min* with *minë* ii 130, the noun *men*(*e*) (Fr. *moyen*) with *lenë* ii 351, (if thou well) *bethought* with *nought* iii 357, (I) *sigh* with *eyë* iii 370, *oxes* (elsewhere oxen) with *foxes* ii 63, perhaps all that it is necessary to

[1] This is numbered 99 in *Chaucer*, and 97*a* in *Gower*, where the art. numbered 99 in *Chaucer* is said to have been put wrongly among the miscellaneous notes, and it is therefore restored here to its proper place.

say is that a clumsy poet has taken an extraordinary liberty.[1] Such shortening of words as *pusillamité* for pusillanimité ii 12, 25, iii 210, Climestre for Clytemnestre, Methamor for Metamorphoses, is rather to be attributed to ignorance;[2] so Agamemon, Nauplus for Nauplius, &c. The vowels are not infrequently[3] freely treated in the rhymes: e.g., minde ende ii 23, 67; ende kende (i.e. kinde) iii 120, nine peine ii 261, seen eyen iii 18; say see iii 31, wit yet; fell hill, men kin ii 158, iii 211, 280, kenne senne (i.e. sinne) ii 309, speddе hadde ii 191, deth geth (i.e. goth i 345, Sax. gæð), ii 303; i 220, 247; piche suche iii 312, &c.

Miscellaneous Notes.[4]

98. Letters. (*a*) *Ch* for the Saxon *c* (*k*) before or after e, i, occurs in several cases where the modern English has retained the primitive sound. (*b*) Saxon *g* is changed to *w* both in Chaucer and Gower instead of *y*, *i*, as in modern English, and to *y* where we have retained *g*. (*c*) *Th* is dropped after *t* or changed to *t* in con-

[1] [Sometimes, not always, we may say that an editor has been careless. The following is the reading of these passages after Harl. MS. 3869.
Tho was þe vertu sett a boue. i 7
In whom þat alle vertu duelleþ. i 18
That þing which I trauaille fore
O in good time were he bore. ii 59
For certes if ſche were myn
I hadde hit leuere þan a myn
Of gold. ii 130
For ſo wel can þer noman slyke
Be hym no be non oþer mene
To whom Daunger wol zive or lene
Of þat Trefor he haþ to kepe. ii 351
Mi fone if you be wel beþoght
This toncheþ þee forȝet it noght. iii 357
And taken hiede of þat I ſyhe
Wherinne anon myn hertes yhe
I caste. iii 370
Wherinne anon in ſtede of Oxes
He let go zoken grete foxes. ii 63]

[2] [Yet Gower had certainly read Ovid in the original, and shews by his headings and his *Vox Clamantis*, that he could write Latin. Some of the errors are certainly due to the scribe; others may have been Anglicisms comparable to our Ovid, Horace, Virgil, Tully, Pliny.]

[3] [The interchange of *i*, *e*, short is common in Chaucer, and must be accepted as (*i*, e), suprà pp. 250, 272. The following are these passages according to Harl. MS. 3869.
Ne mihte I lete out of my mende
Bot if I þoghte vpon þat hende. ii 23
The whos knyhthode is ȝit in mende
And ſchal be to þe worldes ende. ii 67
Ne to non oþer þing þei ſyhen
Bot hire which to fore here yhen
Was wedded þilke fame day. iii 18
Sche ſih no schip ſche ſih no barge
As ferforþ as ſche mihte kenne
Ha lord ſche ſeide which a senne
As al þe world ſchal after hiere
Vpon þis woful womman hiere [ii 309
This worþi knyht haþ don and wroght.
Bot as we rede þat he ſpede
The which hir lordes befant hedde
And þervpon gate non enereff. ii 191
That it be ferm wiþ led and pich
Anon was made a cofre such. iii 312
Nine peine, should be *nyne pyne*, see p. 253. For *say sey* there is a deletion in Harl. 3869, but Harl. 7184 reads—
Lo þus mi fader as J seie
Of lust þe which miny he hath ſeie. iii 31
The rhyme *deþ geþ* occurs in all the passages in Harl. 3869.]

[4] Of these Prof. Child says: *Chaucer*—The purpose of this paper being to do something towards ascertaining the forms of words used by Chaucer (including inflections), the notes upon that subject are intended to be complete, to the extent of the information to be derived from the one text employed. Not so with the Miscellaneous Notes, subjoined to the others. *Gower*—It may be observed that the subject of the article [memoir] is really concluded at art. 97*a*. The miscellaneous notes which follow contain a few things noticed in passing which may on some occasion be useful; but they are purely incidental, and do not profess to be complete. [In this re-arrangement of

tracted forms, and in Gower ags. *d* is retained, where we have changed to the aspirate *dh*, spelt *th*. (*d*) The letters *r* and *s* were unstable in the older English, and subject to frequent metathesis. In the transition to modern English these letters have changed their position more than once in some words. *Gower*—(*e*) *M* is reinforced by *b* or *p*, *n* changed to *m* before *p*, *n* not yet reinforced by *d* as in English and *s* reinforced by *t*.

Ex. (*a*) *Chaucer and Gower*—seche =seek 786, 7537, 7539, i 290, ii 190, 193; recche=reck 1400, 5911, recceth i 168, ii 284, wirche=work 2761, worchen i 166, ii 142, thenche=think 3253, schenche = skink i 263, yliche, liche= like 7797, 10376, lich, liche i 118, 136, 258, 265, besi-liche ii 3, even-liche ii 179, etc., now -ly; ich=ik, I, 10037, and in: theech 12857, 14362. So rubriche=rubric, Fr. rubrique 5928. *Chaucer*—On the other hand, *k* is often preserved where we have *ch*, as, biseke =beseech 7251, etc. *Gower*—Saxon *c* (*k*) not changed to *t* as in modern English: make=mate i 45, 112, 367. *cc* changed to *tt* when changed to *ch* in modern English, fette, ags. feccan = fetch ii 233, 237. We find: chever= shiver iii 9. (*b*) *Chaucer and Gower*—dawes=day, 11492, i 136, fawe, ags. feah=fægan, fain, 5802, i-slawe=slain 14271, 16500, morwe, ags. morgen, E. morn i 186, 205, wowe, ags. wag, E. wall, wawes, ags. wægas, E. waves, 4888, i 141, 223, 312; gerarchie= hierarchy iii 145 is old Fr. gieraucie, Ital. gerarchia. wiltow=wilt thou, woltow 1546, 6422, hastow=hast thou 3534, 3538, 11893, wostow 3544, slepistow 4167, herdistow 4168, artow 4728, hydestow 5890, schaltow 6998, atte beste=at the beste 29, atte siege 56, atte fulle 653, atte laste 2828, ate laste i 16, ii. 345, 377, atte boord 10393, ate bord iii 299, atte halle 10394, etc., etc. *Gower*—fader i 49, 60, 61, iii 260, 332, father ii 174 is undoubtedly wrong; moder i 104 etc., weder i 112 etc., wether iii 295 is wrong, hider i 70, thider i 186, whider ii 21, gader ii 293, togider i 324. On the other hand we have: rother, ags. roðer=rudder. (*d*) *Chaucer*—berstles, ags. bristl, E. bristle, 558; brid, ags. bridd, E. bird, 17104; brast breste, ags. berstan, E. burst, 2612, 2613; brent brenne, ags. byrnan brinnan, E. burn, 948, 17161; earte, ags. eræt, E. eart, 2043; erispe (erips, *House of Fame* iii 296, Morris 5·251), ags. cirps crisps, E. crisp, 2167; erulle, E. curl, 81; kers, ags. eerse eresse, E. cress, 3754; thirled, ags. thyrlod thyrel, E. thrilled, 2712, (nose-) thurles, E. (nos-)trils, 559; thridde, ags. thridda, E. third, 14251, threttene 7841, thritty 14437; throp, ags. thorp, E. -thorp, -throp, 8075, 8084; thurgh, ags. thurh, E. through, 1098; axe, ags. ascian aesian, 1349, 12354, axyng 1828, aske 3557; crispe, ags. cirps (see above); lipsede, E. lisped, 266; clapsud, E. elasped, 275. *Gower*—brid *bird* i 112, 113 etc., bird i 206; hunderd *hundred* ii 92, 249, 381; third *third* i 55, thritty *thirty* iii 214, brenne *burn* i 334, brent i 109; kerse *cress* i 229, 334; Adriane *Ariadne* ii 307, etc.; axe *ask*, i 334, ii 222, etc. (*e*) thombe, ags. þuma, i 175, stempne, ags. stemn i 312—wimpel, ags. winpel, i 326, 327.—kinled= kindled iii 96, compare kin-d-red and kind, *genus*, which is apparently from Saxon *cynn*, not *cynd*. [The following is from E. Mätzner, Englische Grammatik, Berlin, 1860–1865, i 178: an unmeaning *d* is added on to a final *n*; *hind*=servant, ags. hina, old E. hyne; *fond*, old norse fâna, fatue se gerere, old E. fon, still in Spenser, and fond; *lend*, ags. lænan, old E. and Scotch lenen; *round* with obsolete roun in Skelton, Spenser, and Shakspere, ags. runian, G. zuraunen; *sound*, ags. *s.* son, old Fr. son, sun, *v.* soner, suner, old E. *s.* soun, *v.* sounen; *astound* and astonish, old Fr. astoner mixed with ags. stunian, E. stun, etc.] lost, for *loss*, ags. los, i 147, 238, ii 186, 277, but: loss i 270.

Prof. Child's memoirs, some of the completeness of the first part has been neeessarily saerifieed. Although the Miseellaneous Notes do not in general bear upon the subject of the present treatise, they present so much that is interesting to the Societies for which it has been written, that it has been thought advisable to give them nearly in full.]

99. See 97*a*.

100. SYNTAX FOR MEASURES, KINDS, ETC. (*a*) Nouns denoting a substance measured, weighed, or numbered, are not followed by a noun with *of*, as in modern English; but are in apposition with the noun denoting the measure, as in ags. sometimes, and in German regularly. (*b*) Nouns denoting sort or kind are in like manner not followed by a noun with *of*, but by a noun in apposition, as also in German. (*c*) Things numbered are put in the singular after numerals as in German and ags. (*d*) Sometimes numerals preceded by the article *a* are treated like nouns, the thing numbered being put in the plural number, but still without a preceding *of*, compare, a few pears, a great many men, a dozen books.

Ex. (*a*) a peyre dys (G. ein. paar Würfel) 4384, 14038, a peyre plates 2123; a barrel ale, G. eine Tonne Bier, 15379, a botel hay, G. ein Bund Heu, 16946; a busshel whet 7328, 4310, half a quarter otes 7545; the beste galoun wyn 16956, a morsel bred 15920.
(*b*) a maner deye, G. eine Art Milchfrau, 16332, a maner sergeant 8395, so 3681, 11742, 11745, no maner wight 71, 2546, a maner kinde i 88, 123, what maner name i 206, such a manner wise i 342, what manner thing ii 142, what mestir men 1712, no kyn monay 14749.
(*c*) syn thilke day that she was seven night old 16359, this fourtënight 931, thritty winter he was old 14437, 15545, 7233, a child of twelf month old 14895, foure yer 8487, 8612, 13445, twenty winter age ii 226, of eigh(te)tenë winter age i 102, withinne seven winter age i 267, ii 266, of nine hundred winter old(e) ii 265, of thre yer(e) age ii 22, of twelv(e) yer(e) age ii 68. So after numerals preceded by *a*: of an hundred winter age ii 343, of a ten yer(e) age ii 17, a thousand winter (tofore, after) i 267, ii 266, a thousand yer(e) ii 9, a ten mile i 209, a thousand sithe i 160, a thousand score i 176, a thousand del(e) i 295. The ags. use of winter for year is to be noticed, and also the *of*, supplying the place of the ags. gen. in *old of* nine hundred winter. Night and winter (ags. niht, winter) have commonly the plural like the singular in ags. (instead of nihta, wintra), but this is not a peculiarity of inflection; it is a consequence of a principle of syntax. Year (ags. gear) might have the plural like the singular, at any rate; still the cases cited are fair instances of the rule. Fortnight (fourtënight 931) has become a compound noun, and so has twelvemonth (a twelve moneth 653), but these forms properly come under (*c*) and (*d*). (*d*) a seven bushels 14186, a twenty bookes 296 (Tyr. the right reading), a twenty thousand freres 7277, Tyr., hir maistres clepeth *wommen a gret route*, and up they risen, *a ten other a twelve* 10697, a thousand times i 330, a a fewë yeres iii 246, seven yeres ii 9; according to the same principle: a certein frankes 14745, a certein yeres 15663, a certeyn *of* conclusions 3193, a certeyn gold 14815.

101. GENITIVE CASE. (*a*) Some genitives are employed as adverbs. (*b*) The genitive sign is not annexed to a compound phrase as in English. (*c*) The genitive of names of persons and titles of books is sometimes used as a nominative in Chaucer, and in Gower the genitive case of classical proper names is frequently so used; Gower also declines classical proper names, a custom still in use with some oldfashioned Germans.

Ex. (*a*) his thonkes 1628, 2109, here thonkes 2116, his willes 5854, needes 1171, 7887, etc. (*b*) the wyves love of Bathe = wife of Bath's love 9046, my modres Ceres soule = my mother Ceres's soul 10139, Goddes sone of hevene = God of heaven's son; in Vestes temple the goddesse ii 157, the kinges daughter of Ceeile i 104, 235. (*c*) Ceres 1949, Judicum 15532, Encydos 16845, Sibeles ii 265, Sibele ii 166, Cereres and Ceres ii 168, Cirees iii 49 etc., Echates ii 260, Spercheidos ii 261, the temple Apollinis ii 366, that he wolde upon knighthode Achillem sue iii 212 Achilles nom. same page, Del-

boram hath Abel take iii 277, Deboranom, same page; till they Pentapolim have take, and: for Pentapolim iii. 341, Judeam ii 191, Ephesim iii 335, Thelmachum ii 54, Thelmachus iii 60; Methamor for Metamorphoses i 55.

102. DATIVE CASE. (*a*) After *to be*, with: wel 2111; wo 1015, 14421, 10892, 353, bygoon 11628, 5338, schapen 1394, loth 1839, lef 14175, loth 488, 11903, lever 295, 16955. NB. him *hadde* lever 3541, 8320, have I lever 11672, 15379. (*b*) After verbs of motion as in Saxon: goth him 3434, 4060, 13622, 14748; went hir 4213, 9653, 13038; rydeth him 1693, stalked him 8401, hy the 13223?, styrt hir 3822? (*c*) After other verbs: dreden hem 12252, falleth him 5524, stele hem = from them 4008, us thoughte 786.

103. PERSONAL PRONOUNS. Me for I, once, 1810; his, gen. of it, 6726, 7838, it am I, as in ags. and German, 1462, 1738, 3764, 5529, 14625; he in the sense of *one*, indefinite, in the Persones Tale; he, she, redundant with proper names 6225, 9594, 16880, 5360, 9608, 9912, 10564, 6080, 9242, 9247, 16627, etc. *Both* (as in German) follows and does not precede, the genitive of the personal pronoun, as: here bothe lawes 4641, etc.

104. RELATIVE AND INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS. (*a*) *That* is frequently used in conjunction with the pronoun *he* so that both express only the relative pronoun: that-he 44, that-his 2712, 14915, that-him 3430, without the personal pronoun 12164, oon-his 4691. Compare Mrs. Gamp's "a lady which her name is Harris," "she being in liquor, which I thought I smelt her." (*b*) *Which* frequently has the signification of *what*, *what sort of*, like *welch* in German: which a miraclë 2677, which they weren 40, 2950, 3611, 5621, 6875, 10896, 11754, 16065. (*c*) *Which that*, *the whiche that* is used for *which* in the prose tales. (*d*) *What* is used for *why*, like Latin *quid*, German *was*: 184, 1382. (*e*) *What* is used in an indefinite sense (like German *etwas*, *was*) wite ye what? = wissen Sie was? 10305, 17014; so apparently, at first, in the colloquial "I'll tell you what (Ich will Ihnen was sagen)"; but the emphasis put on the *what* shews that it is not now regarded as indefinite, [compare German, Das sag' ich Ihnen]. (*f*) *Whoso* is frequently used in the sense of *if any one*, 743, 4615, 9890, 13903. (*g*) *Gower—As who saith* = one might say, so to speak, i 268, ii 131.

105. INDEFINITE PRONOUNS. (*a*) Peculiar uses of *one* 7587, 11046, 8088, 11499; iii 189, i 201, ii 70, ii 159, 259, iii 327; we also find: in all this world ne mightë be a gladder woman then *was sche* iii 51. *one* = only iii 231, all min one i 45, all him one i 148, iii 285, 178. (*b*) Peculiar use of *ought*, like the German *etwa* = perhaps: can he ought telle a mery tale or tweye? 12525.

106. PREFIXES. The prefixes *for-* (German *ver-*, Lat. *per-*, *con-*) and *to-* (Germ. *zer-*, Lat. *dis-*) have not lost their force in Chaucer and Gower.

Ex. *Chaucer*—forpyned 1455, fordo 1562, 14538, fordrunken 3122, 4148, forthinketh 9780, fordruye 10723, forfered 10840, forbrosed 16100, forkutteth 17272, forkerveth 17272, fortrode, forslowith, forsluggitth, forlesith, forletin, all in the Persones Tale. *Gower*—forstormed i 160, forblowe i 160, fordoth i 266, forgnawe i 326, forwept ii 15, forwaked ii 15, forshape

ii 100, forcast ii 167, fortrode ii 330, forthenketh ii 276, forslouthen ii 190, forsmite iii 308, fordrive iii 330, forjuged iii 192, forlain ii 234, forworth iii 10, forswey iii 224. *Chaucer*—tohewen 2611, toschrede 2611, tobroken 2693, toskatrid 7551, totore 12563, tobreketh 12835, totere 13889. *Gower*—topulled i 61, todrave ii 330, toswolle ii 50, tothroweth iii 268, toclef iii 296, tobreke iii 334, tobreken ii 74, torof(e) iii 296, etc.—bedecked i 81, bebled i 183, befain iii 183, beshineth iii 242, bereined iii 126, besmewed iii 51, beknowe iii 10.

107. NEGATIVE SENTENCES. Chaucer and Gower follow the Anglosaxon practice with regard to negatives, which was (like the Greek) not, as in modern English, to negative the *copula* only, but to give a negative character to as many words as were susceptible of being thus affected. Two negatives are perhaps more common than one, and verses can often be restored to good metre by restoring a *ne* which had been dropped: ne—nought 74, nys no 1124, nas no—nolde 552, never—no—ne—no 71, nas no—ne no 7874, no—ne nil no 8522, neyther—ne noon—ne noon—never—nolde 9964, etc. *But* = only, takes a negative as in Saxon and vulgar modern English: I nam but deed 1124, nys but *Persones Tales*.

108. VARIOUS PARTICLES.

all although ii 160.

alonge on along of because of ii 22 96, 121, 310.

as with the fundamental meaning of *considering, with respect to, so far as concerns*, is employed by Chaucer and Gower in various shades of distinctness and strength, decreasing to insignificance. A similar loose use of *as* is now reviving:

as in so litel space 87, as now (Ger. als dann?) 887, 7899, 12872; so, 5623, 7557, 8370, 8282, 244, 7947, 9671, 6055, 3297, 3385, 6947, 7107, 6979.

as in supplicating phrases is often absolutely redundant, 2304, 2319, 3172, 3775, 5773, 6642, 7253, 7883, 8761, 11201, 11371, 13581; and also in 7196. In like manner *so* is redundant in one instance 10772.

as is used as a relative in this one case; there may be more, but others have not been noted: his hundred as I spak of now 1860.

as intensive = Latin *quam;* as blive = immediately, not very different from our *as quick*, ii 266, 313; als swithe iii 306, als faste i 55, also faste ii 132, 156; also blive iii 49. *als* = as: for als moche i 51, als fer as i 89, 132, als well as ii 203, 379, iii 19.

as-that inasmuch as, seeing that, *quippe;* as he that i 245, ii 325, as ye that ii 322, as she whiche ii 336.

at-after after: mete iii 41, 63. Still used in the north of England. I do not find the combination in Saxon, but as æt-foran occurs, æt-after probably existed.

by about; tel I by this men, by wommen 17120.

by of time as Germ. *bei; by* oldë daies i 67, by oldë tide ii 132, by the brodë sunnë iii 255, by the morwe 242, by thritty mile ii 195, by times seven i 138, by that = because that i 226. [Compare (modern) betimes, by daylight, by the morrow.]

erst than before, 1568, 14077, *erst* without *than* 8212; *er than* 12827.

ever among still, continually, i 149, 195, ii 15, iii 303, 328; *ever in on(e)* iii 28, 29.

first then before 1157.

forth with with, i 194, 209, 216, ii 67, 154.

how that however that, although; how that ignoraunce be moder of alle harm, certis negligence is the norice *Persones Tale*.

in aunter if if haply i 19; = *lest*, i 344, ii 147.

into until, my deth i 117, now ii 278, iii 188.

in with within 9818, 10216, 9268.

long on, ags. gelang, along of, because of, 12850, 12858. See *alonge on*.

noon no = not: or non 11090, 14492, 12544, i 230, 342, iii 322, etc.

nought forthy nevertheless, iii 365.

of representing the ags. gen., foryete of i 157, nedeth of i 272, he thonketh God (dat.) of his miracle i 210, iii 273, leftë of ii 207, they drad him (dat.) of vengeaunce iii 321, pray of iii 350, of

whom I mene iii 301, 302, touchend[e] of i 19. In the following the reason of the *of* is not quite so clear: call[e] of = by the name of? ii 331, of love to spede ii 33, i 331, love spede i 334, 336, of that shall spede iii 241, of which to done ii 175, iii 353. I that lawe obeie of which that kinges ben put under i 117.

of by, Fr. *par;* of that i 1, of knighthode ii 157, of drinke iii 4, etc., etc.

of that because, why (*purce que*), i 56, 157, 161, etc.

other or. 9157, 10697, 13730, 13731.

other while—other while ἄλλοτε—ἄλλοτε ii 104.

outher—either either—or 1595, 1596; *outher—outher—or*, 13077, 13078.

that with imperative = Fr. *que*, entreaty; that ye not discover 9816, ne that thy tale make us for to slepe 7890(?); that foule him falle ii 318, that it werë do iii 182.

ther, tho relatively, where, when: 172, 224, 249, 7042, 8696, 10812, ther(e) my lady is ii 372, tho this man iii 324, 336, etc.; *theras* ii 107, thereupon ii 136. [Compare Icelandic þar.]

till to, unto 12234, 1480, 7318, iii 98, 209, 370.

to unto, representing ags. and Lat. dat.; to nature obey i 291, i 288, thilke man obeie i 247, serve to love ii 50, thonke unto i 210, I thonke God ii 94, renounced to heaven iii 46, to the houndes-like i 261.

unto until 1146, 5211.

untoward toward: iii 127.

up upon, 6727, up a couche ii 132, up amendëment ii 373.

uppon on; uppon he hadde 619; = after the manner of; and she upon childehod him tolde i 219.

yea—nay, yes—no. The distinction between the two forms of the affirmative and negative particles insisted on by Sir T. More, is not observed by Gower: that is to say, it is not his custom to use *yea* and *nay* exclusively in answer to affirmative questions, and *yes* and *no* in answer to negative questions: hast thou ben? ye ii 20, hast thou nought? ye i 60, i 201, 206, 308, ii 275, 349, iii 24, 274, 281.

109. Certain Peculiar Phrases.

at min (thin, her) above. This singular phrase seems to signify, greater than I am (she is) at present, in: as though I were at min above iii 9, as though she were at her above ii 212; in: and how they were at her above ii 378, perhaps, they bore themselves as if superior to what they really were; in: thou might not come at thin above of that thou woldest not acheve ii 32, the meaning is, thou canst not make thyself master of what thou wouldst achieve.

can thank scire gratias, savoir gre: 1810, 3066, i 393, i 17.

do cause make, 2398, 2623, 16427, ii 29, iii 94, = cause to be, Germ. *lassen*, 15638, 10075. *Let do*, 10360, 13588, ii 63, 208, i 191.

gan as an auxiliary to form an imperfect tense: she gan falle ii 381, 385, etc.

gesse think, as in New England; in Persones Tale, ii 11, 59, 368, iii 180.

go walk, Germ. *gehen;* ride or go 2254, 9964, 7175, go walkid (?y-walkid) 7360; go ne spekë iii 3, 5, etc.

hadde lever had rather, *j'aimerais mieux, ich hätte lieber*, i 295, ii 211. levest wolde be i 96, ii 46, i 96; I wolde rather ii 94. *I had rather* seems to be an imitation of *I had lever;* when the phrase came into use is not known to me.

life being, person, iii 264, 253; lives creature = living creature, 2397, 8779, ii 14.

many on(e) many a one i 56, ii 313.

moon masculine as in ags.: the mone of silver has *his* part ii 84, iii 109; but: ne yet the monë that *she* carie ii 112; go tak(e) the monë ther *it* sit i 86.

much great, moche 496, more 2826, moste 897; morë feith iii 326, morë delit iii 335, mostë joy iii 8, care iii 254.

nale alehouse 6931.

past participles used adverbially, Germ. *er kommt geritten*; ride amaied i 110, goth astraied ii 132, iii 175, goth astray, same page; stonden misbeleved ii 152. He cam *ride* i 53, ii 45, 170, where *ride* looks more like the infinitive than like the participle; cam ridend. pres. part. ii 180, 47; and *lefte* hem both[ë] *ligge* so ii 150, is another extraordinary case of the use of an infinitive.

schal owes, is bound to, 12590, 11062? More distinctly in the sense of *owes*, if the reading is correct, and there is no ellipsis, in Court of Love,

131 (Morris 4·5): for by the feith I shall to God.

sight in a peculiar American (?) use: a wonder *sight* of flowers i 121.

slyde go by: let slyde 7958, iii 61.

sworn sworn the contrary: although we hadde it sworn 1089–1090, 6222, 8279–81, 12609 (?) though al the world had the contrary swore 10639, 1668.

the def. art. with abstract noun: thexperiens 5706, 10112 (?), experiens, without the article, 5583. A frequent Gallicism in Gower: the man *l'homme* ii 186, the men *les hommes* i 9, the mankinde *le genre humain* iii 1, thexperiens, the speche, the blisse, the trouthe, the word, the derth, the famine, the gold ii 135, the heven, the helle, the God iii 177, 187, etc.

these curiously used somewhat like the Latin *iste*, but in a fainter sense: 6142–3, 12587, 10961, 10962, 12995; art. 104, used somewhat like Latin *ille*, these oldë wise i 300, 62, 63; iii 161, iii 246.

time, these expressions are somewhat remarkable; within a monthë day ii 27, within two monthës day ii 100, sometime a (ags. *on*) yere iii 349.

wear on, upon, wear 6141, 660.

who was who, 4299.

world, worldly lot, worldly happiness, 6055, i 116, 126, 323, ii 249, 304, 313, iii 152, 170.

110. Peculiar Order of Words.

repenting folk of here folies, Tale of Melibeus: digne fruyt of patiences, but: workes worthy of confessioun, both in Persones Tale, lerned men in lore 14389, wrap in me 14151, that I of woot 5441, that I of havë sayd 7827, upon he hadde 619, with kempe[d] heres on his browes stowte 2136, on to see 3247, ground(e) litarge on 12703, al that a man bilongeth unto 9333, to quyte with the knightes tale 3121, helë with your eyen 10246, 10955, 13079, and many cases in Gower. Of his visage and seeth the make = and seeth the make of his visage i 367, so iii 52, ii 298, etc., as thou might of to-forë rede = rede of toforë iii 342, of gold that I the mantel tok(e) = I toke the mantel of gold ii 368, but al this wo is cause of man = man is cause of al this wo i 34, to reule with thy conscience = to reule thy conscience with i 50, to rockë with her child a slepe = to rock her child asleep with i 196, o dampned man to helle = O man! damned to hell i 189, on daies now = now-a-days ii 59, in perlës whitë than forsake = than, in white pearls, forsake ii 335, the kingës doughter Lamedon = the daughter of the king Lamedon ii 375.

111. Ellipsis (*a*) of the relative pronoun, (*b*) of the personal pronoun when subject, (*c*) of *be*, and other verbs, after *shall*, (*d*) of *have*, (*e*) of *it*, (*f*) of *to* before the infinitive, (*g*) of *with*, but note that the instrument, etc., are expressed in ags. with the abl. either with or without the preposition mid = with, and that Gower may have used the old construction, (*h*) of other prepositions.

Ex. (*a*) there was non auditor [that] cowde on him wynne 596, and in a purs of silk [that] heng on his schert 9757, a pyn [that] stant in his ere 10630, he sent after a clerk [that] was in the toun 13555; unto the park [that] was fastë by ii 45, etc., so: men beseche [what] his will is ii 25. (*b*) us thonghte . . . and [we] graunted 786, this thing was graunted, and [we] oure others swore . . . and prayden 813, ye, false harlot, hast [thou]? 4266, ye, schal [he]? 10138; it thought her fair*e* and [she] saidë here ii 45, slain I have this maidë Thais*e* and [she] is begrave iii 325, he was rebuked of hem and [they] saiden ii 150, etc. (*c*) that is, or shal [be] whil that the world wol dure 1362; it is said and ever shal [be] i 15, 222, ii 39, iii 88, 190, 351; I wot never whider I shall [go] ii 21, that they with him to Tharsë sholdë [go] iii 327, which wepte as she to water sholde [turn] iii 260, and what she sholdë [become, come to] she was alrad iii 321, [compare German, *du sollst dahin*; *wohin muss ich?*] (*d*) he wold hir [have] hent anoon 3347.

(*e*) *ner* [were it not for] gingling of the bellis 16280, nere myn extoreions, I might not lyven 7021. (*f*) now is tyme [to] wake al night 3672, he was worthy [to] have his lif 6627. (*g*) thing which he said [with] his ownë mouth ii 310, iii 155, fightend. [with] his ownë hondes slain i 90, madë cloth [with] her ownë hand ii 83, 190, 204, i 346, 351, iii 305, where he [with] his

owne̅ body lay ii 198, iii 208. (*h*) I not what thing it may amounte [to?] ii 191, 194, etc., he no childe [of?] his owne had ii 236, for in the plit(e) [in] which I the finde iii 354, perhaps mere carelessness.

In an appendix Prof. Child refers to the following among other lines as illustrating his observations, the numbers under 112 refer to the articles, the others to the lines:—129, 85 19 69. 230, 60 69 56*a*. 456, 89. 610, 53*a* 60. 673-4, 19 12. 822, 55 17. 956, 53*a* 4 60. 1221-3, 16 19 4 60 50. 1299, 91*a* 91*c* 95. 1612, 89 91*c* 60. 1616, 58*b* 36*b*. 1805, 85 19. 2306, 19. 2521, 53*b*. 2807, 60 4 53*a*. 2960, 14 4 61. 3699-3700, 30 29 32 19 58*d*. 4049-50, 38*b* 52*c*. 4052, 35*a*. 4300, 2. 4649, 59. 5590, 91*a* 86 85. 5859, 56 3 61, 5947, 91*c* 90 3 91*e*. 7017, 48 60. 7026, 34 58 3. 7593-4, 7 30 16 11 56*b* 60 14. 9475, 30 32 20 19. 11843, 35*a* 33. 12221, 53*a* 35*c* 15 29. 12621 58*b* 22. 12991, 85 90 71. 14861, 10 86 56*b*. 15037, 69 19 72*b*. 16421-2. 22 40 73 22 60. Nearly every line will be found to furnish examples.

The wonderful industry, the acuteness and accuracy, of Prof. Child could not have had justice done to them, without inserting the above full account of his memoirs. It is to be hoped that he will eventually himself put these papers, enriched with the results of an examination of those MS. which the Chaucer Society is now publishing, into a more accessible form, as they ought to be studied by all students of Chaucer and of the English language of the XIV th century.

It now remains to add the references to the words in arts. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 29, 30, 31, 64, 69, 72, 73, 89, 90, 91. These are arranged below alphabetically, according to the *modern* orthography of the word cited, if it is still in use in the XIX th century. This is placed first, with a capital if found in *both* the *Chaucer* and *Gower* Memoirs, in small letters if in *Chaucer* only, in small capitals if in *Gower* only. The word is preceded by * if it occurs in the list of exceptions, by ** if it is also only found in an oblique case in the *Chaucer*, and then few or no references are given; by † if it is an adjective or participle, by ‡ if an indeclinable, by § if of uncertain origin. If the word is not now in use the roman word is omitted, and the article begins with the number usually following the first word. This number refers to the art. in both the *Chaucer* and *Gower* Memoirs in which (or in the notes to which) the word is to be found, and on referring to that number in the above account, the category under which Prof. Child places the word is readily seen. Next comes the spelling as found in Wright's Chaucer, or, if the word is not there found, in Pauli's Gower, printed in Italics, with this exception, that when a final *e* is there written but for any reason not pronounced, it is *replaced* by an apostrophe. This deviation from Prof. Child's system of notation, which has been followed in the preceding account of his system, has been adopted here, because by this means all written *e*'s will have to be pronounced, and the index will be made conformable to the illustration in Chap. VII. After the spelling

of the MSS., the word in roman letters give the Saxon original, and an acute accent (′) after any shews that it is a form in Lagamon, but a (°) that it occurs in Orrmin. Then follow the references to the lines in Wright's Chaucer, or to the volume and page of Pauli's Gower, a final accent (′) showing that the word cited is final in the line quoted. Several of the references in the memoirs are omitted, especially to the imperfect Gower text, and for oblique cases. Many of the Chaucer references have been verified, and all been compared with the original memoirs. Additions in brackets are generally by the present writer, and the other observations are either in the precise words used by Prof. Child, or their equivalents. Many words in other articles, besides those enumerated above, have been inserted, for the purpose of assisting the reader to turn to the proper article, and for these the above information is not given, and no references are added.

Thus the articles "ABBESS, About, against, *algates*," are to be read as follows:—

"ABBESS," modern form, found in the *Gower* memoir only (indicated by the small capitals), "19" mentioned in art. 19, "*abbesse*" form in Pauli's Gower at "iii 337," vol. iii, p. 337, "Freneh" derived from the French.

‡ Indeclinable; "About," modern spelling, the word being found in both memoirs (indicated by the capital), "72" in the 72nd art., "*abowten*," the spelling in Wright's Chaucer, "abutan" Anglosaxon form, "3645" line in Wright's Chaucer in which the spelling *abowten* occurs; "*aboute*" another spelling with *e* pronounced occurring in Wright's Chaucer, "892′" line 892 last word indicated by the accent (′), "2191 3554 4146," and also in these lines but not as the last word, "*about*" the same spelling as before but with the *e* not pronounced "2187" occurring in line 2187, "art. 73" the word is also referredto in art. 73, under the form "*aboutes*," in which it occurs in Pauli's Gower, "iii 162′" vol. iii, page 162 last word (′) in a line.

‡ Indeclinable, "against," modern form, the word occurs in the Chaucer memoir only (indicated by the absence of capital), "73" at art 73, "*ageyn*" the form in Wright's Chaucer; "ongean, agean togeanes" Anglosaxon forms, "agæin' agæines' agenest'" forms in Lagamon (indicated by the acute accent), "onngæn° onngæness°" forms in Orrmin (indicated by the °), &c.

‡ Indeclinable. "72, 73" referred to in art. 72 and art. 73, not existing in the XIXth century, indicated by having no word in Roman letters preceding these figures; "*Algates*," occuring in both memoirs, indicated by the initial capital, the spelling in Wright's Chaucer, "7096, 7393, 13024" at these lines, "*algat*" assumes the form *algat* with *e* elided, "573, 7619" in these lines, "*algat* (?)" the form *algat* which is doubtful, "14422" in this line, and "*algate*" occurs, "i 25" in Pauli's Gower vol i, p. 25, "[always]" this is the meaning of the word, which is always added when the word is obsolete.

FORMS OF WORDS IN CHAUCER AND GOWER REFERRED TO IN PROFESSOR CHILD'S MEMOIRS.

See the Explanation of the Arrangement, pp. 377-8.

ABBESS 19 *abbesse* iii 337 French
‡About 72 *abouten* abutan 3645, *aboute* 892′ 2191 3554 4146 *about′* 2187, art. 73 *abowtes* iii 162′
‡Above 72 *aboven* on-, a-, bufan 53 2771 7297, *above* 1802′ 1905′ 5789′ *abov′* 2029 3213
†29 *a-cale* a-cele iii 296′ [a cold]
[Accent] art. 97*a*
*ADDER 5 *nedder adder* nædre iii 118 ii 72 260
[Adjectives] art. 29 to 44.
ADVENTURE 19 *adventure* ii 236, art. 108 *in aunter if* [if haply] French
[Adverbs] art. 69 to 73.
‡against 73 *ageyn* ongean agean togeanes aȝain′ aȝeines′ aȝenest′ ounȝæn° ounȝeness° 66 4812, *agens ageins* 1511 8046 8787 10371, *agaynes* 10199, *agenst ageinst* 8196 13597
*age 91 *ag′* 13445
‡alas 91 *allaas* new French las 2391
alder 17 *aldir* alor alr 2923
Ale 9 *ale* ealu ealo 343 669 13736 3130′ 13730′ i 294′
‡73 *Algates* 7096 7393 13024 i 102, *algat′* 573 7619, *algat* (?) 14422, art. 72 *algate* i 25 [always]
‡alike 69 *ylike yliche* gelice 7797 7812 8630
*†All 30 *alle* call all al′ all° alle° 1247 1686 2704 4586 9623 13589 14015 14472 &c *al* 7057 12613 12599 14091 14246 14376, art. 91 *all′* 210, 348 779 937 946 979 4541 &c *alther aller* [of all] art. 44
‡ALL 108 [although]
Alms 4 *almesse* ælmæsse allmess° 4588′
‡ALOFT 69 72 *alofte* ii 103′ i 234′
†Alone 29 *alloone* 9200 9435 14256′ 14707′ is from the ags. definite form ana = solus, ii 293
‡ALONG 72 *alonge* ii 22′, art. 108
am 103 *it am I*
‡Amidst 73 *amyddes* -middan -middes amidde′ amidden′ 2011 10723 16215 *in the middes* (of) 16534, art. 72 *amidde′* ii 58′ 119′
‡Among 73 *amonges* gemang imong′ amang′ amang° 9902 14639, *among* 6534, art. 72 *amenge* ii 22′ 310′
†64 *-and* old form of the present participle *awaytand* 7634, *lepand* 7739, *touchand* 7872
ankle 9 *ancle* ancle 1662
[Anomalous Verbs] art. 65
Answer 12 *answar* andswaru answare′ anndsware° 6492, art. 89 *answer′* 9744, art. 11 *answere* i 96′ 97 146′
Ape 3 *ape* apa 3933 7046′ 13241′ 15396′
appear 87 *appere*
19 *Arcite* 1579 1582 &c. *Arcit′* 1147 1357 2317
ARIADNE 98 *Adriane*
*16 *ariste* arist i 320′ where the e final is omitted in Pauli [arising]
arm 14 *arme* earm 158 probably an error, 2918 should be armes
Arrow 4 *arwe* arewe arewe′ arwe′ 11424
ashes 23 assan *asschen assen aisseches*
ask 98 *axe*
as 188 [considering]
**asp 16 *asp* æsp 2923 ?
Ass 3 *asse* assa asse° 16798′
‡asunder 72 *asondre* on-, a-, sundran 5577, *asonder* 7256′ asondur 493′
AT—ABOVE 109
at—after 108 [after]
‡atween 72 *atwynne* ontweonan 3589′ 13098′
aught 105 *ought*
AUGUST 96 *augst*
aunt 19 *aunte* 5401 French
AVARICE 19 *avarice* ii 127 French
*ave 91 *av′* 14919 [extremely doubtful]
†awaiting 64 *awaytand* 7634
awe 7 *awe* ege eȝe′ aȝe° 656′ 16045′
axe 17 *ax* æx eax æx′ axe° 2546
*AXLE 17 *axel* eaxl i 320 (?)
§BABE 18 *babe* old swedish babe, German bube ? i 344
†§Bad 31 *badde* 9467 3157′ 9482′ 15908′ ii 47
Bale 7 *bale* bealu balu′ bale′ 13409′
balk 3 *balke* balca bolca 3918′
*BAND 16 *bonde* bend also *m.* i 102′
bane 3 *bane* bana bona bone′ bane′ 1099 1683′ 16446′
*BANK 16 *banke* banc i 164
*banner 89 *baner* French banière 980
BAPTISM 19 *baptisme* i 276 French
*†Bare 30 90 *bare* bær bare′ bar′ 8755 8771′ 11884′ 12660′ ii 286
**Barn 14 *berne* bern bærne′ berrne° 13812′ i 162′
Be *v.* 111 [elided]
Be—, 106

* Exceptional. ** Exceptional oblique. † Adjective. ‡ Indeclinable. § Uncertain Origin.

*Bean 16 *bene* bean 9296 3770′ 4514′ 9139′ ii 275′
Bear 3 *bere* bera 2144, 1642′ ii 339, art. 89 *ber*′? 2060′ [rh. *here* = her, probably the *e* was pronounced in *here*] art. 88
*bear 89 *ber*′ (verb) 1424 9918 12264 all inf; 2762 imperative, 8760 pres., *to bere* art. 88
*BEARD 14 *berde* beard iii 319
Beast 19 *best* 7424 9413 10578 6616′ *beste* i 280 French
*beat 91 *bet*′ 383 [wrong reference?]
**Bed 14 *bed* bedd bed′ bed° *bedde* i 24 101′ [all ex. in *Chaucer* oblique]
*BEDE 14 *bede* bed i 208′ [prayer]
*beech 6 *beech* boce beoce 12856′ 2925?
bees 23 beon *been bees*
‡Before 72 90 *biforn* beforan 1108 1150′ 1164′ 1388 *byfore* 379′ 3238′. *beforne* 14405 *bifor*′ 3602 14995 i 59 117
*begin 91 *begynn*′ 17347
‡Behind 72 *behynde* behindan 3239 7723′ *byhynde* 1052
Belief 3 *bileve* geleafa ilæfe′ lefe° 3456 11445′ 11991′ 12355′ *belefe* i 356
Bell 4 *belle* belle belle° 171′ 14077′ 14407′ 16266′ ii 13′
Bench 17 *benche* bene benche′ bennche° 5829 ii 274, see BANK
‡beneath 72 *bynethe* beniþan 4039
benedicite 96, see p. 260
*bequeathe 91 *byqueth*′ 2770
berry 4 *berye* berige berie 207′
*beseech 91 *besek*′ 7251, art. 98
‡beside 72 *beside* be sidan 10688′
‡Besides 73 *bysides* be sidan 13344, *besides* ii 359
better 38 *bettre* betere bettre° 526 650, *bet* adv. form in ags. 4534 4731 10914
‡between 72 *bytwene* betwynan 2861′ 3107′ *betwen*′ i 6, 9, 20 *betwen* i 12
‡betwixt 72 *betwix* betweox 1707 3096, *betwixe* 1212 2172 9348 14247
‡beyond 72 *byyond*′? geondan geonda geond 15130
BIBLE 96
**bier 16 87 *beere* bær bære° 15091 *ber*′ 6179 [the cases in 16 are oblique], art. 87
bill 19 *bille* 13585 13591′ French
*binn 16 *bynne* binn 595′
birch 4 *birch*[*e*] birche bire 2923? birch′ asp.
bird 98 *brid*
*Birth 16 *burthe* beorð 4612, *berthe birthe* ii 76 155
**11 *bissemare* bismer bisemare bisemere [abuse, filthiness] 3963′
*blade 14 *bladde* blæd 620′
BLAZE 4 *blase* blæse ii 244′
†30 *bleche* blac ii 21 som on for she is pale and bleche
†BLIND 30 *blinde* blind i 8
bliss 17 91 *blis blys* 1686′ rh. *this*, *bliss*′ 4453 rh. *is* 4842 &c *blisse* 1451 &c oblique only
†Blithe 29 *blithe* bliþe bliðe° 1880′ 14210′ *blith*′ 848 *blith* 10652
blossom 3 *blosme* blostma blosma blosstme° 3324 (blosm′ upon)
*†blue 30 *bleue* bleoh 566
‡69 *Blyve* bilife′ blive′ bilife° 2699′ 5973′ 7102′, i 314′ ii. 238′ [quickly]
*Boar 14 *bore* bar 2072 iii 268′
*BOAT 14 *bote* bat i 2
†BODILY 30 *bodeliche* iii 14
BONDMAN 3 *bondeman* bonda iii 320
BONEFACE 91 *Bonefac*′ i 258 261, but rh. *grace* i 258
**book 16 *booke* boe boc° 6373 oblique, *book* 6251
*Boon 16 *boone* ben bene° 2271′ 2671′ 9492′ 12162′ &c [in all the cases cited rh. *soone*] i 185′ iii 223
*Boot 16 *boote* bot bote′° 426′ 6054′ [both rh. *roote*] i 228′ 235′
§BOOTH 18 *bothe* Ger. bude, Dut. boede, iii 281′
borde 19 ofr bourde. i 304′ French
**14 *Borwe* borg borh′ [loan] 10910′
‡Both 72 *bothe* batwa baðe′ boðe′ baþe° 5895 6823 ii 229, art. 39 and 103
**Bottom 14 *botme* botm 13249
BOUNDE 19 *bounde bonde* mid. Lat. bunda, old fr. bonde, iii 102′ French
Bow 3 *bowe* boga 17044 108′ 9888′ 17061′, art. 91 *bow*′ 2897 [the elision is not certain]
BOWEL 19 *bowele* ofr. boele iii 265′ French
box 17 *box* box 5165
*bramble 14 *brembre* brember 15157
**brand 14 *bronde* brond brond′ 15313′
**bread 14 *brede* bread bred′ 7422
BREECH 7 *breche* brice i 351′
Breede 11 bredo 2918 1972′ 13156′ 15646′ iii 66′ [breadth]
*Bride 16 *bryde* bryd brude′ brid° 9764, art. 17 *brid*′ i 102 art. 91 *bruyd* 9694 *brid*′ i 102
*Bridge 16 *brigge* bryeg brugge′ 3920′ ii 201
‡brightly 69 *brighte* beorhte 3352

* Exceptional. ** Exceptional oblique. † Adjective. ‡ Indeclinable. § Uncertain Origin.

BRIM 7 *brimme* brymme ii 293
*bring 91 *bring'* 10049
§Brink 18 *brinke* Icelandic bringr = colliculus) 11472 9275′ 11170′
bristle 98 *berstle*
†BROAD 30 *brode* brad ii 107
Brother 21 *brother, bretheren* ags. brothru brothere' brethren' brotheres' brethre°, art. 23
**brotherhood 14 *bretherhede* 513
*BROW 14 *browe* breaw i 95′
§BULL 18 *bulle bolle* Icel. boli bauli, Ger. bulle, ags. bulluca iii 118 ii 72′ (?)
burned 98 *brent brenne*
burst 98 *brast breste*
*busyness 91 *besynes* 13140
By 108 [about, of time]
‡72 *byweste* bewestan 390′ [westwards]
§Cake 18 *cake*, Danish kage, Swedish kaka 4309′ 13737′
Can, and its parts, art. 65, art. 109, *can thank* [scire gratias]
Candle 96 *candel*
cap 4 *cappe* cappe 588′ 687′ 3145′
Care 11 *care* cearu care° 1491′ 4934′ 14611′ 15170′ i 339
*Cart 14 *carte* cret carte' karrte° 7123, *cart* 16522 7121 7136 16533, art. 98
*carter 8 *carter* 7122 7124 7141
cases 27 *caas*
cause 19 *cause* 4142 5705 7056 French
centre 19 *centre* 10336 French
certainly 96 *certeynly*
§ 18 *Chaffare* 14696′ 14751′
chamber 19 *chambre* 1073, art. 89, *chambr'* 9696 French
chanticleer 89 *chauntecleere* French chantecler 16336, mostly misspelt as above in the Nonnes Prests Tale; that it ought to have no final *e* appears from the French derivation, and from the rhymes ber (*tuli*) and powèr (Norman French poueir) 16822 16830, also misspelt *bere powere*.
**chapmanhood 14 *chapmanhede*
30 *chare* 16096′ should be *char* = chariot, not to be confounded with art. 90 *chare* 16099 = chair
†Chaste 19 *chaste* 2306 French
Cheek 4 *cheeke* cece ceace 6374′ 15524′ *cheek'* 15529 bad verse
Cheer 19 *chere* i 55 French, art. 87
Cheese 7 *cheese* cyse cese 7329, art. 91, *chees'* 3628 suspicious verse
*Chest 16 *kiste* cist iii 316′, art. 17, *chest* cest cist 6084 14149 rh. *rest*, 6982 rh. *lest*
*16 *cheste* ceast? i 294 [strife, contumely]
*Child 14 *childe* cild child' childe' child° 5339 14980 15217′ 8459, *child* 15221 15228 15241 8488 15768 i 190 ii 16, *children childre childer* ags. cildru cilde cild childere' children' childres' chilldre°, art. 23
**childhood 14 *childehede* 14912′
CHILL 7 *chele* cele cyle ii 369′
CHIN 9 *chinne* cinne i 275′
Church 4 *chirche* cyrice chirche' kirrke° 7391 7775 13744 13793 &c, art. 91 *chirch'* 3984, art. 21
cinnamon 19 *cynamome* 3699 French
*claim 91 *claym'* 9176
*CLAPPER 8 *clapper* ii 13
clasped 98 *clapsud*
†Clean 29 *clene* clæne clæne' clene° 506 12087 14288, art. 91 *clen'* 12228
‡Cleanly 69 *clene* clæne clænlic 12553
*cleanness 91 *clenness'* 508
clearly 87 *cleere*
cleft 3 *clifte* clyfa 7727′
*CLERK 14 *clerke* clerie clere iii 288
§cloak 18 *cloke*, Middle Latin cloca, Flemish kloeke, 2001′
4 *cloote* clate 12505 [burdock]
§Cloud 18 *clowde* 16268′
*Coal 14 *cole* col col' 13088′? 13124′
come 7 cyme cume' come° (noun) 12271? [coming, advent]
*come 91 *com* (verb) 689 14184
commandment 19 *comaundement* 2871 2981 12991 French
†COMMON 30 *comune* iii 152 159 *comun* i 216 284 French
[Comparison of Adjectives] art. 38
*Constance 91 *Constaunce'* 4698 4858 4866 4986 *Constaunce* 4684 4851 5320 5527, art. 19 *Constance* i 185 186
[Contractions] art. 93 to 97
*Cope 14 *cope* cop ii 102′, art. 4 cappa ii 101? § art. 18 15135′
**corn 14 *corne* corn corn' corn° 14404′
cot cote 4 *cote* cota cote 2459′
couch 19 *couche* 7351 French
*coutler colter 14 *cultre* culter 3761 3783 3810
Creed 3 *crede* creda 12975′
*cress 6 *kers* cerse 3754′, art. 4 *kerse* i 299 344′, art. 98
§CRIPPLE 18 *creple* Icel. kryppill, Dut. krepel, Ger. krüppel, iii 147
crisp 98 *crispe*
crock 3 *crouke* crocca 4156′

* Exceptional. ** Exceptional oblique. † Adjective. ‡ Indeclinable. § Uncertain Origin.

**crop 14 *croppe* cropp 1534
Crow 1 *crowe* crawe 17175 17062′ 17294′ 2694′, art. 91 *crow* 17172
CRUMB 4 *crumme* crume iii 35
Cup 3 *cuppe* cuppa cuppe′ 134 10930′
curl 98 *crulle*
curse 17 *curs* curs 663 658 4347
§dagger 18 *daggere* (a thing to dag or pierce with ags. ending -ere ?) 14070 [bad line] 113′, *dagger* 14245
†§Dainty 18 31 *deyntē*, (Welsh dant = tooth; dantaidd = toothsome, Wedgewood) 4559 5790 9917 15122, *deynteth* 16321 ii 255
**Dale 14 *dale* del dal′ dale′° 15248′
dame madam 19 *dame madame* 15382 16444 16686 *madam′* 11635 11830 16456, art. 91 *dam′* 4571 4604 5152 *madam′* 7786 7792 French
Dare, and its parts, art. 65
**dark 14 *derke* deare *adj* 4336′
[Dative Case] art. 102
DAUGHTER 21 *doughter*, pl. ags. dohtru dohtere′ dohtren′ dohtres′ *doughteren doughtres*, art. 23
*daw 91 *daw′* 10069
*DAY 14 *dawe* dæg i 113′, art. 98
*DEAL 14 *dele* del iii 110
†Dear 29 *dere* deore deore′ dure′ deore° dere° 13593′ 14921′, art. 87, art. 89 *deer′* 7334 15538 ? [see *peer*]
*DEATH 14 *dethe* deaδ i 202
*declare 96 *declare* 7061′ 14939′ *declar′* 14893 extremely doubtful
*Deed 16 *dede* ded dede′ dæd° 4853′ 5311 etc., etc., i 272
*deem 91 *dem′* 3194
Deep 4 *depe* dype deope 4875′
†Deeply 69 *depe* deope 129′ i 98
deer 25 *deer* deor pl.
DEFAULT 19 *defaulte* ii 206 French
[Definite Adjectives] art. 32 to 36
degrees 26 *degre*
88 *dere* derian [injure]
†29 *Derne* derne derne′ dærne° 3200 3278 i 107′ [secret]
DESERT 19 *deserte* ii 391 French
DEVIL 96
†DEVOUT 30 *devoute* i 64 French
Diana 19 *Dyane* 2074 2348 etc. *Dyan′* 2293 French
*did 91 *ded′* 14926
‡DIMLY 69 *dimme* dimme ii 293′
†DIVERS 30 *diverse* ii 85 77 125 iii 12 295, *divers* i 356′ iii 3′ 384′ French
do 109 [cause]
§dog 18 *dogge*, Icelandic doggr, Dutch dogghe 6951 9888
**Doom 14 *dom′* dom dom′° 11240, *dome* iii 211′
Door 11 90 *dore* duru dyr dure′° 1989 3435 3499 13065 13145 14624 etc. *dor′* 552 2121 3171 3182 3634 [all these are doubtful, they might be *dore* introducing trisyllabic measures]
‡DOUBLE 19 *double* i 181 iii 187 French
doubt 19 *doute* 9959 French
dove 4 *doufe* dufe 10013 13812
**down 16 *doune* dun dun′ 15207′
§drake 18 *drake* 3576′
*Dread 16 *drede* dræd dred′ drede′ 16648 9031′ etc. i 139
*Drink 14 *drynke* drinc drinca drinc′ drinke′ drinne° drinnke° 1617 3411 4918 7481 etc., art. 7 *love drunke* iii 12 16
†§ 31 *Dronkelewe* 7625′ 9407′ [drunken] so *costlewe* [costly], Persones Tale, *De Superbia*, 3rd par. near the end. iii 5′
Drop 3 *drope* dropa drope′ 12450 (131 bad line) ii 266, 286′
†Dry 29 *drye* dryge dry drigge° 16334 422′ 15703′ i 234
*drought 16 *droughthe* drugaδ 10432
**dung 14 *donge* dung 16504, *dong* 532
Dwale 3 dwala 4159′ [nightshade]
[E Final Silent] art. 84 to 92
*†each 30 *eche* ælc ælc′ æche′ ille° 1184 [doubtful, there may be only a defective first measure, p. 333.]
Eagle 19 *egle* 2180 10437 French
Ear 2 *ere* eare ære° 6218 6603′ 8603′, art. 87
Earth 4 *erthe* eorthe eorthe′° erthe′° 1248 8079 8557 10707 *erth* i 25 ii 197 [doubtful]
ease 19 *ese* 971 French
*EDGE 16 *egge* ecg ii 251
‡72 *efte* eft i 171 [after, again]
‡Eke 72 *eek ek* eac ec′ eke′ 5031 5612 5688 8818 *ceke eke* 4480 5136 6231 7075 7765 11692 15786 (all rh. with *seeke*); 6373 7445 15522 (all rh. with *cheeke*), 16873 (rh. with *breke*)
Eld 11 *elde* yldo yld ældе′ æld′ elde° 6789 6797 3883′ iii 365
†29 *elenge* ellende = peregrinus, and therefore miser, as in other languages, see Diefl. Goth. W. 1, 37, d being changed into g, as in the modern English form of the present participle ? 14633 6781′ [rh. *challenge* and hence pronounced (elen·dzhe), and consequently not

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analogous to the change of the participle from *-inde* to *-ynge*, as suggested by Prof. Child]
[Elision of Final Vowels] art. 74 to 83
[Ellipsis] art. 111
‡Else 73 *elles* elles ælles' elles° 1230 9410 11209 i 1 ii 203
End 7 *ende* ende ende'° 1867 4901 7037 15' etc. ii 61 186, art. 91 *end'* 197
64 *-ende*, usual termination of the present participle, even of French verbs, in Gower, *accordende* i 213', *comende* i 88 133' 220', *touchende* i 243, *wepende* i 74, *eriende* i 137, *knelende* i 155, *praiende* i 345, *suende* i 278 213', *spekende* ii 6', *thenkende* ii 369, *thonkende* ii 297, *ridende* i 191 ii 46, *amblende* ii 45, *winkende* ii 189, *boilende* ii 201, *swounende* i 188, *sailende* i 200, *bledende* iii 60, *unsittende* iii 143, *continuende* ii 18' etc., all with the accent on *-end*. The accent is occasionally thrown back, *comend* i 1, *touchend'* i 52, *belongend* i 12, *wailend* i 144, *walkend* i 185, *wepend* i 236, *knelend'* ii 96, *slombrend* ii 103 etc.
‡†enough 30 72 *ynowe* genoh inoh'° inowe' 12788', art. 91 *ynow'* 4675
ENVY 19 *envie* i 223 French
*-er 8 *-er -ere* -ere, [see *carter hoppere lover' mellere outrydere sleper wonger*; generally *-er*]
erst than 108 [before]
Eve 15 *ere* æfen, aefen' heve' efenn° 832 4993' i 70' ii 332'; at 5914'
*†even 30 *evene* efen efne' efenn° 83 8316
‡evenly 69 *evene* efne 1062
‡ever never 72 *evere nevere* æfre æfer æfre' æfer' æfre° 50 676 1231 1347 1408, *ever never* 70 1135 1354 2397 2414, generally contracted to a monosyllable, art. 108 *ever among* [still]
‡evilly 69 *evele* yfele 1129, *yll'* 3715
†excellent 19 *excellente* 10459 French
*experience 19 91 *experience* 7099', *experiens* 5583 10112 (6050 rh. *defens* which in Old French is spelt both with and without a final *e*) French
Eye 2 *yhe ye* eage eȝhe° 10' 3018' 4700' 8109' etc. *eyen yen*, ags. eagan, art. 23
*face 19 91 *face* Norman French face, 9710 rh. *trespace* 1580 16252, *faas* rh. *haas*=has 13117'?
fain 98 *fawe*
*†Fair 30 90 *faire* fæger fair' feire' fayzer° 2388 2665 4021 12043 [all these are fem.] 234 2596 [these two are plural], 884 1687 [these two are definite], 12060 [probably an adv.], ii 253 [a faire knight, probably inflectional], *fair* 165 575 3233 7835' 9147' 9431' 14432'
‡Fairly 69 *faire* fægere 94 12060'
91 *fallas* Fr. fallace, iii 158 rh. *was*, *fallas inne* ii 85 [deceit, cunning]
†FALSE 30 *false* fals ii 329
**Falsehood 14 *falsehede* 13101 i 216
fan 17 *fann* fanni 3315 16974 (?)
‡FAR 72 *ferre* feor ii 19
Fare 11 *fare* faru fare' fore' 1811' 4989' ii 173' 271'
‡Fast 69 *faste* feste 4192 6552 11159 13033 13351 i 55
Father 21 *fader*, art. 98
*†30 *fawe*, feah (=fægen as in fealic) 5802' [fain]
*Fear 14 89 *fer'* fær 11172 [oblique], *feere* 2346 2688 2932 7286 [oblique, all *for feere*] i 57' 90', art. 87
Feast 19 *feste* 908 6660 8067 8072 8145 8886 i 182, *fest* 6658 French
*FEE 14 *fee* feoh iii 293 [cattle] monosyllable contracted
*feel 91 *fel'* 9332 pres., 9338 pres. *feere* see *fere*
39 *fele* fela 8793 [many]
*fell 91 *fell'* 2112 subj.
§Fellow 18 Icelandic felagi *felâwe* 2550 16512 397' 655' 1527' 4248' 4366' 6967' 16499' *felaw* 650 1194 2626 2657 4257 7605 7624 7668 16489 16514 16516 16527 16531, *felâw'* 652, *felaw'* 892
*fellowship 8 91 *felawschip'* 476 430
3 *Fere feere* fera gefera ivere' 4748' 4815' 6506' 8989' [in all these cases the word means companionship rather than companion; it is the German *gefährte*, properly *der mitfahrende*, compare English *wayfarer*]
[Feminine of Adjectives] art. 37
**fern 14 *ferne* fearn 10569'
FETCH 98 *fette*
few 39 *fewe* feawe feawa 641 7432'
*fiddle 5 *fithul* fithele 298
*Fill 16 *fille* fyll 1530' 7282' i 254
FILTH 16 *filthe* fylð i 174
*find 91 *fynd'* 15408
Finisterre 88 *Fynestere*
*Fire 14 *fyr* fyr fur' fir° 2921 2935 2948 [*fyre fuyre* seem to be oblique forms only]

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**fish 14 *fisshe*? fisse fisc' fiscc' 180 [oblique, with omitted *e*: is likened to a fissh' that's watirles]
Fist 17 *fist fyst* fyst 6371 4273 rh. *brest*, 6216 rh. *list*, 14217 rh. *best*, 17329 rh. *lest*, art. 16 *fiste* i 175 obl.
fit 17 *fitt* fitt 4182 5624 rh. *wit*
fleas 23 fleau *fleen*
FLEET 3 *flete* flota i 314, art. 14 *flete* fleot i 197
*FLESH 14 *flesshe* flæse ii 342
Flight 17 *flight* flyht fluht' fliht' flihht° 990 rh. *knight*, ii 327 rh. *night*, art. 16 *flighte* ii 378' printed flight
Floor 17 *floor* flor flor'° 3471, *flor(e)* ii 326 rh. *swor(e)* iii 337, art. 91 *flor'* iii 337, probably belongs to art. 17 and should have no final e.
fly 4 *flye* fleoge flyge 4350 14582' 10178'
FOAL 3 *fole* fola iii 314
*Foe 14 *fo* †fah fa ii 116, pl. *foon foos* ags. fa, Bosw., art. 23
*Fold 14 *folde* falud fald 514' i 16'
*Folk 14 *folke* folc ii 165, art. 25
*fond 91 *fond'* 9281
Food 3 91 *foode* foda fode° 7463', rh. good ii 362' iii 26' 30' *fode* five or six times in Gower
*Foot 14 *foote* fot fot'° 11489 iii 149', pl. *feet* ags. fet, art. 26
‡FOR 72 *fore* for ii 59 to rhyme with bore, ii 239 to rhyme with forlore, iii 308 rh. more
forbear 88 *forbere*
*forbid 91 *forbed'* 9635
Force 19 *force* 3910, art. 91 *fore'* 3910 [for leeful is with force fore' to schowve], art. 91 *fors* 7771 9171 9709 10214 10304 13548 13718' 17000 (rh. *eors*) French, ii 392 rh. hors
For-, 106
‡-FORE 72 *-forn -fore, aforn* onforan iii 32', *afore* i 364, *tofore* toforan i 204 *tofor'* i 59, *befor'* i 138, art. 90 *-for'* i 59 117 138 etc. *-fore* i 32 204
FORTH WITH 108 [with]
Fortune 19 *fortune* 15487 15727 15943 16209 i 22 (4 cases) French
‡foully 69 *foule* fule? fullic 16964
*†foul 30 *foule* ful ful' fulc'° 6645 6664'
*FOUNDER *s.* 8 *founder* ii 161
†four 90 *foure* 2111 3883 13388
†FREE 29 *fre* freo fri i 107'
†*fremde* 29 fremede 10743
*†fresh 30 *fresshe* færse freche' frech' fressh° 2388 9656 2733 10698
*friar 89 *frer'* 208 7315, *frere* 7252 7254 7258 7264 etc., art. 87
friend 25 *freend* pl.
*friendship 8 *friendship'* freondscipe 430
§ *funke* 18 Ger. funke iii 18' [spark]
§gable 18 *gable* Gothic gibla, German giebel, Danish gavl 3571'
Gall 3 *galle* gealla galle° 6522' 11986' 12725' 15833' i 303' ii 177
Game 15 *game* gamen gamen' gome' game' 3405 14701', acc. 855', in 14244' i 94', *gam'* 2288 3741
gan 109 [auxiliary]
gap 11 *gappe* geapu (Bosw) 1641 1647'
*Gate 14 *gate* geat ȝæt' ȝate° 14144'
GATHER 98 *gader*
Gear 3 *gere* gearwa geara 367? 354? *ger* 2182'? art. 88
[Genitive Case] art. 101, [Genitive of Nouns] art. 21 and 28
get 91 *get'* 9819
*Gift 16 *gifte* gift ȝeft' 9187 5685' 12203', *yifte* i 276', *for-yifte* iii 372'
*give 91 *giv' ger'* 223 7455 7456 7457 9401 9403 14319
†GLAD 30 *gladde* glæd i 211
*16 *Gleede* gled 1999' 15870' i 280 [red hot coal]
gloss 4 *glose* glose 7374' 7502'
*GLOVE 16 *glove* glof i 351'
go 109 [walk], art. 111 [elided]
*goddess 91 *goddess'* 930
*GODHEAD 14 *godhede* i 364
**Gold 14 *golde* gold gold' 12138, nom. ii 356'
†GOLDEN 30 *golde* golden ii 356'
*goodness 91 *goodnes* 7395
goose pl. geese 26 *gees* ges
*gown 91 *goun'* 93
Grace 19 91 *grace* 16219 3071' 14132' i 9, art. 91 *grac'* 1175, 6842, *gras* 15242'! rh. Thopas French
Grame 3 grama grame' 13331' [grief]
**Grave 14 *grave* græf 2780' ii 114'
*†Great 30 *grete* great græt° 4754 9100 9848 10783 15885 i 125 ii 345, *gret* 341 439 749 1189 1247 1401 2485 4814 5100 etc. *great* i 70
†Green 29 *grene* grene grene' 2937 3876
**Ground 14 *grounde* grund grund'° grunde' 5573' i 111
*grove 14 91 *grov'* græt 1690, *grove* [oblique only]
guess 109 *gesse* [think]
§GUESS 18 *gesse guesse* Dutch gissen, Swed. gissa, iii 211' i 105'
had liefer 109 *hadde lever*

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†hairy 30 90 *haire* hæren 14151
*HALF 16 *halfe halve* healf i 8′ 17′ *on other half* i 77
‡69 *halfing* healfunga iii 206 [halfwise]
*Hall 16 *halle* heall halle′ 10394 ii 205′ art. 91 *hall′* 9962 10400
*Hand 17 *honde hande* hand hond hand′° hond′ 13788 [this is acc. and all the other instances cited are oblique, so that this is not properly an exceptional word, *hand hond* are the common forms] *hand fand* 4113 *hond fond* 5026 *hond bond* 10065
‡Hard 69 *harde* hearde i 220
Hare 3 *hare* hara 191′ 686′ 1812′ 15167′ ii 93′
Harp 4 *harpe* hearpe harpe′ 6039
3 *Harre* heorra 552′ [hinge] *herre* i 36′
HASTE 19 *haste* i 252 French
*14 *hastihede* ii 215
Hate 7 *hate* hete hæte′ hete° 6331′ 13826′ 16074′, art. 91 *hat′* 13640
haunch 19 *haunche* 3279 French
*have 91 *hav′* 888 909 921 1257 2774 9210 9277 9308 10371 10594 10853 11359 11456 11530 14140 14142 and almost always; generally *hav′* in Gower, except, of conrse, at the end of a line
haw 3 *hawe* haga 6240′ 14270′
he 103 [*one* indefinite and mark of gender], art. 111 elided
*head 14 *heed* heafud hæfd′ hæfde′ hæfedd° 10404 *heved* 12294 [*heede* seems to be only oblique]
hear 87 *heere*
Heart 4 *herte* heorte heorte′ heorrte′ herrte° 955 956 1146 2651 6354 etc. (40 cases), art. 91 *hert* 10526 8062 16301 9113 (7 cases), art. 21
Heat 11 *hete* hæto hate′ hæte° 12448′ 12506′ 13336′ 13453′
heath 17 *heeth* hæð 6′
**heaven 14 *herene* heofon heovene′ heoffne° heffne°, of 7588′, in 9513′, art. 21
hedge 7 *hegge* hege 16704
*Heed 16 *heede* hyd 305′ 8511′ 10926′ 12363′ 13178′, art. 91 *heed* 7483 12987, i 82′
*HEEL 16 *hele* hel hela i 17′ ii 210′
†29 *heende* gehende? hende′ 3199 3401 3487 [courteous]
Height 11 *highte* heahðo 2921′, rh. *bright* (brighte?) 4432, rh. *right* 17298 [this is an error, it rhymes with *to my sight*, which may have been an error for *sighte*]
4 *heire* hære here′ 12061′ [hair-cloth]
11 *Hele* hælo hele′ hæle′ 1273′ 3104′ 13531′ [health]
*Hell 16 91 *hell′* hell helle′° 660? ii 119′, art. 21
*Help 16 91 *helpe* help hellpe° 9202 i 236, art. 91 *help′* 10773 *help* 11983 i 30
Hen 17 *hen* henn 178
‡hence 73 *hennes hens* heonan heonane heonene′ henne′ hinnes′ 10972 14102, art. 72 *henne* heonan 3887′
herb 19 *herbe* 11344 French
*herberg 5 *herberw herberwh herbergh* hereberge herberwe′ herrberrȝhe° 405 767 4117 4143 11347
Herd 7 *herde* hirde hirde° 605 12120, art. 16 *hierd* i 340 should be *hierde*
‡Here 72 *her heer* her her′° here′° 6583 6591 6595 6624 14346′ *heere* 1821′ 3774′ 7730′, art. 87
heritage 19 *heritage* 10046 11867 French
**14 *herne* ern 11433′ [eagle]
**Heste* 16 hæs heste′ hæse° 3588 *byheste* 4457′ i 85 *hest* 11376 8004′? [behest command]
9 *hevenriche* heofouriec i 265′ [kingdom of heaven]
3 *Hewe* hiwa 9659′ [servant]
*14 *hie* hig? ii 9′ [haste]
HIERARCHY 98 *gerarchie*
*† high 30 *highe* heah hæh′ hæhȝe′ heh° heȝhe° 7474 8011 8082 12436′ 14055 *high′* 11047 11085 *high* 14202 14867
‡high 69 *hye* heahe 2077 3243′ *highe* ii 35′
HILT 4 *hilte* i 328′
hind 3 *hyne* hina 605′ 13247′ [servant]
*HIND 16 *hinde* hind ii 45′ [deer]
hip 4 *heepe* heope hiope 15158′ [berry]
*Hire 16 *hyre huyre* hyre hure′ 6590′ 7555′ 16938′ iii 352
his 103 [of it]
HITHER 98 *hider*
hive 7 *hyve* hyfe (ine. gen.) 16878 7275′ *hiwe* see *hewe*
*hold 91 *hold′* 9364
**hole 14 *hole* hol hol′, in 13209
** -holm, 14 *-holme* -holm, of 4284
*HOME 14 *home* ham ii 7
Homicide 19 *homicide* 14978 French
** -hood 14 *-hede* -hod -hode′ -ede′ -had°
Hope 3, 91 *hope* hopa hopé° 12798 2437 10802 12606′ i 227, art. 91 *hop′* 88 9548

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•hopper 8 *hopper* hoppere 4034 4037
•HORSE 14 *horse* hors iii 259, art. 21, pl. ags hors hors' horses', art. 25
‡HOTLY 69 *hote* ii 28' 301'
hose 4 *hose* hose hose' 3931', *hosen* ags. hosan, art. 23
host 19 *hoste oste* 753 6868 16936. *host ost* 829 3116 12591 12625, 11007 12580 rh. *wost*, 16988 rh; *gost*. French
HOUR 19 *houre* ii 9' French
••House 14 *house* hus hus'° 5934 i 294
how that 108 [however that]
4 *howve* hufe 3909' [hat cap]
•Hue 14 *hewe* hiw heowe' hew° 1366
†HUGE 19 *hughe* French ahuge i 236
hunter 3 *hunte* hunta hunte' hunnte° 2020 [a line not in the Harleian 7334] *hunt* 2014 bad line, 2630 *hunt'* as
Husband 3 *housbonde housebonde* husbonda husbonde' hosebonde' 6034' 6062' 14578' 5612' 5959' *housbond* 6085 8597 (6107 ?) *housebond* 16850, art. 91 *hous'bond'* 8574
I 45 *yk ich* etc., art. 98
•16 *ighte* acht ii 378' printed *ight*, [possession]
•†ill 30 *ylle* yfel ufele' uvel' ille° 4182
IMAGE 19 *ymage* i 34 ii 178 French
[Imperative] arts. 57-59
[Imperfect Indicative] arts. 53-55
[Impersonal Verbs] art. 67
‡In 69 *inne* inne 41' 10891 12809 *ther-inne* i 224, *with-inne* i 30
[Infinitive] art. 60
-ing 17 *-yng -ynge* -ung -ing, ing' rarely -inge' generally, -inng° almost invariably. The more usual ending in Chaucer is certainly -yng. The termination -ynge occurs frequently at the end of a verse and in most cases rhymed with an infinitive *vanysshynge* [acc.] 2362 rh. plur. pres. ind., *envenymynge* [acc. after *thurgh*] 9934, *filynge* 16779, *rejoisynge* 17178, [the other cases cited are oblique]. In Gower the termination is generally *-inge*, less frequently *-ing ;* in the latter case the accent is sometimes thrown back, *axinge* i 171, *bakbitinge* i 213', *carolinge* ii 53', *childinge* iii 211, *cominge* ii 29' 53', *compleyninge* i 327', *gruechinge* i 234, *kuonlechinge* i 123' ii 25' iii 34', *lesinge* i 65' 213', *likinge* i 58' 173', *lokinge* i 65', *mishandlinge* ii 189, *spekinge* iii 252, *tidinge* i 327, ii 243' 385, *welwillinge* i 355', *wepinge* ii 122, *writinge* i 4 iii 101 ; *beginning* rh. *spring* iii 104, *knoulechinge* i 3', *teching* i 95, all accented on the last syllable ; *hunting* i 53, *liking* iii 319, *wening* i 107 108, *writing* i 5 accented on the first ; *excusing of* i 107, *hunting as* i 53, *shedinq of* i 316 364 accented on the last, are apparently cases of elision.
† -ing, 64 *-yng -ynge*, -ende, for the most part *-yng ;* in some cases however it is rhymed with the infinitive mood, and we must either suppose the participle to end in *-ynge*, or else the infinitive to have lost its termination. [Probably *-ynge* is the old and *-yng* the abridged form] wonyng 390, lyggyng 1013, romyng 1073, dwellyng 1421, rayhyng [several MS. read *naylyng*] 2505, wynsyng 3263, sensing 3311, abydyng 3595, walkyng 3955, knowyng 4225, ymaginyng (rh. thing) 8474 ; romynge 10092, fastynge 13778, sittyng' 802 ?, lyvyng' 903' ?, lotynge 12114' ?, thunderynge (rh. to sprynge) 2176', glideryng(e ?) rh. bryng(e) inf. 2892, styryng(e) rh. to spryng(e ?) 3673, wepynge rh. brynge inf. 8790, swellynge (rh. brynge inf.) 12207, lernynge rh. synge inf.) 14927. See *-and*.
INN 9 *inne* inne inn iii 314'
inquire 88 *enquere*
Intent 19 *entente* 1489 7138 14986 7212' 8610' 8737 11934' etc. *entent* 3173 4567 13234 5350' 15123' i 101 French
into 108 [until]
†INVISIBLE 19 *invisible* ii 247 French
in with 108 [within]
Ire 7 90 *ire* yrre (inc. gen.) irre° 1661 1764 7593 14072 17210 17220 *ir'* 7575 ? rh. *squire* ? 7671
§jade 18 *jade* 16298'
Joy 19 *joye* 1873 1875 12507, art. 91 *joy'* 9929 French
judge 19 *juge jugge* 12317 12391 13540 13573 French
judgment 19 *juggement* 780 820 etc. French
JUSTICE 19 *justice* iii 201 French
†keen 29 *kene* cene kene'° 2878' 9633' 15745'
•keep 14 *keepe* 8934 *keep* 400' 10272' *kep'* 6207 ; at 505' should certainly be *keep*
•Key 16 *keye* cæg 9918' 13147' ii 188

**kin 14 *kynne* cynn cnn' kinn° 4036' ii 267'
*Kind mankind 16 *kynde mankynde* cynde cunde' kinde' 1309 3521 6298 etc. (16 cases), art. 91 *kynd'* 5263 11080, i 265
†Kind 29 *kynde* cynde 649' 8728' 15008' *unkinde* ii 145'
KINDLED 98 *kinled*
§kindred 18 *kynrede* 1288' 11047'
kine 23 *kyn* cy
*KING 14 *kinge* cyning i 117
9 *kingesriche* cyningrice ii 268' [kingdom of the king]
*14 *kinghede* iii 144'
kite 3 *kyte* cita cyta 1181 10938 10939
*KITH 16 *kithe* cyð iii 71 [country, *patria*]
§18 *knarre* 551'
Knave 3 *knave* cnafa cnapa cnave' cnape° 3434 3469 5135 5142 8320 8323 etc. iii 321' ii 16
KNEE 9 *kne* cneo cneow i 24 may be regarded as contracted
*KNIGHTHOOD 14 *knighthode* i 246
*14 *knightlihede* iii 212
knot 3 *knotte* cnotta 10715 10721
§knowledge 18 *knowleehe* 14441. Can the termination -leche be the same as -lezze in the Ormulum = there, to -ness?
*Lace 91 *laas* old French las 2391, rh. *allaas*, rightly written; *lace* 1819 rh. *trespace* both wrongly (?) written [see solace]
*LADDER 16 *ladder* hlæder iii 330
*ladle 5 *ladel* hlædle 2022 16983
*lady 5 *lady* hlæfdige hlæfdi' laffdiz° 1145 1351 14885, art. 21
*LADYHOOD 14 ladyhele ii 40'
lake 10 *lake* laen lagu lake' læc' 5851' 16698'
**Land 14 *londe* land lond lond' land' 4942' i 220
Lap 3 lappe 688' 8461' 10949' 11940'
LAPWING 4 *lappewinke* hleapwince, -winge, ii 329
Lark 4 *larke* laweree laferce lafere 1493 2212, *art. 6 *laverock* ii 264'
‡Lately 69 *late* late 77 i 211'
Law 11 *lawe* lagu lag laze' lawe' lazhe° 311 4177 4178 7471
*lead 91 *led'* 9308
**LEAF 14 *leefe* leaf i 17
†lean 29 *lene* læne 9727' 16299'
*LEAP 14 *lope* hleap i 310'
†leaping 64 *lepand* 7739
LEAS 11 *leese* læsu; 17 [pasture]
*Leave 16 *leve* leaf lefe'° 4005 6490 13653 etc., art. 91 *lev'* 5694 9715 9330 14263
Leech 7 *leche* læce lece læche' 3902' 7474' 7538' 11984' 14331'
*leek 14 *leeke* leac 12723,' *leek* 3877
3 *leere* lira 15268' [skin]
87 *leere* [teach]
*16 *lefte* lyft i 276' [air]
*Length 16 *lengthe* lengð 17302
less 38 *lasse lesse* læsse lasse'° 14280 17268 14895' 15357'
*14 *lette* ags.? ii 88' 249' [hindrance]
[Letters] art. 98
†LEWD 30 *lewde* læwed iii 2
*lewdness 91 *lewednes* 10537 12415
**Liche* 14 lic lic'° lich°' 2960 [dead body] iii 311'
lic 7 *lye* lyge 3017' 3391' 5609' 12527' 13055'
†LIEF 14 30 *leve* leof i 343 ii 324, art. 109 *hadde lever*
*Life 14 *lyve* lif lif'° 9111' i 199 309' *lif* 1174', art. 109 [being, creature]
‡lightly 69 *lighte* lihte 6724
3 *like* lica [corporis forma, cf. swinlica, Ettmüller, not in Bosworth] lice° i 143' iii 70' [shape]
†Like 30 *like liche* -lic i 25' 261' 268' ii 124' 379, art. 98
*LIKELIHOOD 14 *liklyhede* ii 147'
Lily 4 *lilie* lilie 2180 12019 12015' 11955' iii 249
*LIMB 14 *limme* lim ii 10
**Linden 16 *lynde* lind, on 9087', art. 91 *lynd'* 2924, *linde* ii 46'
Lip 3 *lippe* lippa 133
lisped 98 *lipsede*
*16 *Lisse* liss 11550' [forgiveness], art. 17 *les* iii 379' (?) [comfort]
*list 14 *lyste* list 1864
†Little 30 *lyte lite* lytel 2629' 3861' 7182' *litel* 1527 3860 14635, art. 96
*live 91 *lyv'* 9157 14258
*Liver 16 *lyvere* lifer livere' 7421'
*Load 14 *loode* hlæd 2920'
*load-(stone) 16 *loode-sterre* lad ladu lade° 2061
**loan 14 *loone* læn læn'
11 *lode, lir(e)lode* = life's journey, ladu ii 293'
*†Long 30 *longe* lang long long' lang° 1575 5399 5591 6206 11393 14141 *long* 619 1189 2561

Exceptional. ** Exceptional oblique. † Adjective. ‡ Indeclinable. ? Uncertain Origin.

‡Long 69 *longe* lange 1545 14847 15596′, art. 108 *long on* [along of, because of]
*lordschip 8 *lordschip*′ hlafordscipe 1627, rh. *felawschipe*
**Lore 16 *lore* lar lare′° 4762′ ii 81
loss 98 *lost*
*†loud 30 *lowde* hlud 10582 [inflectional]
‡Loudly 69 *loude* hlude 716′, *louthe* (from another Saxon form, hleoð) 17026′, art. 91 *lowd*′ 15024
Love 12 *love* lufu lufe lufe′ love′ lufe° 260 674 6096 6336 14569 (5 cases), art. 91 *lov*′ 1137 1756 1807 2226 2262 2308 2316, etc., etc, (17 cases). In Gower *e* is regularly pronounced
*lover 8 *lover*′ 1381 ?
*†Low 30 *lowe* lah loh′ laih′ laȝe′ 3696′ 6783′ i 84′ ii 294′
‡Lowly 69 *lowe* lage? loh′ 1407′ 17297
LUNG 4 *lunge* lunge iii 100
‡-LY 69 *-liche*, *aliche* i 268, *besiliche* ii 3, *comunliche* ii 226, *dueliche* iii 245, *evenliche* ii 179′, *openliche* ii 328, *parfitliche* ii 185, *priveliche* ii 336, *privelich* iii 252, *unproperliche* ii 129, *sodeinliche* ii 336, *solempneliche* iii 329, *verriliche* i 72
**16 *lydne* læden lyden [speech] 10749
*Madame 91 *madam*′ 7786 7792 [see dame], art. 19 Madame iii 300
MAGIC 19 *magique* iii 128 French
Maid 15 *mayde* mægden mæden maiden′ maide′ maȝȝdenn,° nom. 8253 12055 14878, acc. 6468 i 154, *mayden* 3202 2307 6469 i 154
*Maidenhood 14 *maydenhede* maȝȝdenhad° 4450′ 5651′ 8713′ 8742′ 12054′ ii 55′ 230′
3 *Make* maca macche° make° 5667, 2558′ 5120′ 12152′ 15203′ [mate, spouse] ii 204′ [form]
male 19 *male* 12494 French
*malice 91 *malie*′ 8950 9098
*Manhood *manhede* 1287′ i 82′ 144′
Manner 19 *manere* 10501′ 11737′ *maner* 10452 11742 11745, art. 89 *maner*′ 71 2546 3681 8395 16332, etc. French
many 11 *mayne meigne* menigeo mengeo mæne° 1260 7627′ 10310′ 14459′
many one 109
MAPPA MUNDI 19 *mappemounde* iii 102′ French
Mare 4 *mare* mere myre 17010′ 4053′ 693′ *mere* 543′
**Mark 16 *merke* meare marke′ merrke° 1192′ *marche* i 245, art. 17 *mark* marc [money] 12954
§marl 18 *marle*, German mergel, Latin marga, French marne, 3460
*Marriage 91 *mariag*′ 9550 9560 9663, art. 19, i 101′ French
MARVEL 19 *merveille* i 327 ii 236 French
Mass 4 *masse* mæsse masse′ messe° 7331 9768 14662 15047
mate 98 *make* which see
MATTER 19 *matere* i 43′ 146′ 343 365 ii 207 383 iii 157 French
MAURICE 91 *Morie*′ *Moris* i 206 211 213 191
Maw 3 *mawe* maga 4906′ 15234′ 14411′
may 65 [all its parts]
me 103 *me* for I
Mead 7 *mede* meadu 89′ 6443′ 10105′ 11459′ [the last three instances are oblique]
meal 9 *mele* melu mele [flour] 4040 3937′ 4243′, art. 90 *mel*′ 4051 ? 4068 ?
*meal 14 *mele* mæl mæl′ mele′ [repast] 4886, *mel meel* 7356′ 16319′
§MEAN 18 *mone* Old Fris. mene, ohg. meina i 97′ iii 285′ 333′
[Measures, Kinds, etc., Syntax for] art. 100
Meat 7 *mete* mete mett mete′° 127 15910 10932′, art. 91 *met*′ 136 345 9795 10384
Medicine 19 *medecine* 10254 French
*Meed 16 *meede* med mede′° 772′ 3380′
†§ Meek 31 *meke* 3202 6016′ 14653′ Gothic muks, North Friesic meek
†MEET 29 *mete* mæte ii 166′, *unmete* i 163
7 *mele* mele iii 21′ [cup]
men 26 *men* pl.
mermaid 7 *meremayd* mere mere′ 16756 ?
*†merry 30 *merye* mirig murie′ muri′ 208′ 8491′
MESSAGE 19 *message* i 288 French
MEW 19 *mewe* Fr. mue, i 326′ French
*MIDDLE 14 *middle* middel iii 120
*Might 17 91 *might*, miht meaht mihte′ mihht° mihhte° 1789 2237 and almost always, *might*′ 10447 ?
†MILD 29 *milde* milde mild, i 195, *unmilde* i 84′
*Mile 16 *myle* mil mile′° 12816 14687 14127′, art. 91 *mil*′ 14102
Milk 17 *milk* mile meole mile′ mille° 360 rh. *silk*

* Exceptional. ** Exceptional oblique. † Adjective. ‡ Indeclinable. § Uncertain Origin.

*mill 16 *melle* mylen 3921′, *millen* 4309, art. 91 *myll′* 4019
*miller 8 *mellere* 547? 4044? 544 rh. *mere*, 3167 rh. *forbere; miller* 3923 3993 3998 4008 4094
*Mind 14 *mynde* mynd minde° 13347 4947 i 6′ ii 55′
mire 7 *myre* myre 510′ 6554′ 16937′
Mirth 16 *merthe* mehrð murthe′ 768 [pl.?], 5981′ [rh. *of birthe* which should probably be *of birth*], art. 91 *mirth′* 9613
[Miscellaneous Notes] arts. 98 to 111
Mite 4 *myte* mite 1560′ 7543′ 12439′ 12561′
*MONTH 14 *monthe* monað monð ii 27 iii 117 119 124 125
Moon 3 *moone* mona mone′° 3515 4296, art. 109 mas. 9759 11599, *mone* i 65′, art. 21
*†‡more 90 *mor′* mare mare° 98 827 976 1124 2742 7453 7679 9372 9489 13219 14791 14842, frequently in Gower, *mor* 7485 10648, 16255, *more* 306 785 1577 2826 4049 4050 9107 14563; 804 3222 3519 6023 6313 9110 13352 14560 15774 16790 16813 16915 17072, more frequent than *mor′* in Gower, *mor′ more* occur in successive lines ii 44, art. 38
MORE 4 *more* more i 98′ [mulberry?]
*Morning 14 *morne* morgen morn morȝen′ morȝe′ morwe′ 360 3236, *morwen* 10099 *morwe* 832 14710 1494, i 186 205
*morrow 91 *morw′* 824 [see *morning*] art. 98
†MOST 30 *moste* i 92 112
60 *mot* = must [all its parts]
*MOTE 14 *mote* mot i 179
MOTHER 98 *moder*; art. 21 *modres* = mother's
MOULD 4 *molde* molde i 217′
MOUTH 14 *mouthe* muð i 149′ 295′ [mouth of an animal]
mouthe 3 *mouthe* mutha *Dertemouthe* 391′ [mouth of a river]
†Much 30 *moche* micel mucel 1810 9114 9117 9298 16256 *mochil(-el)* 17269 17270, art. 109 [great]
*MULE 14, *mule* mul, 19 *mule* Fr. mule i 210
MULTITUDE 19 *multitude* ii 201 French
*MURDER 14 *mordre* morðer i 270
myself 46 *myself* 11735, *myselve* 9334 11674, *myselven* 805 14590
109 *nale* [alehouse]
Name 3 *name* nama name′ nome′ name° 1439 1588 12030 12384 etc. *nam′ was* 15128 perhaps we should read *nam′ is*, art. 91 *nam′* 14864 15128
†narrow 29 *narwe* nearu 627 7385
NATURE 19 *nature* ii 17 French
nave 11 *nave* nafu 7848′ [of a wheel]
NAVY 19 *navie* i 197 French
neat 25 *neet* pl.
‡NEATH 72 *-nethe, benethe* beniþan i 35, *undernethe* undernibban i 258
Neck 3 *nekke* hnecca 238 1220 3916 5859 etc., *nekkon* 6488? *nekkebon* 16548
Need 16 *neede* nead neod′ neode′ ned° 306′ [rh. *heede* which should be *heed*, all the other instances are oblique]
*NEEDLE 16 *nedel* nædl iii 20 perhaps should be *nedle*
‡Needs 72, 73 *needes* neade neades neode′ nede° 1171 7887 10179 13127 16720, i 108, art. 69 *nede* 9208 9825′ 13208, *ned′* 14520, art. 72 *nede* i 147
†29 *neisshe* hnesc nesc ii 284′
[Negative Sentences] art. 107. [Negative Verbs] art. 68
*nephew 5 *nevew* 15890, 'is from the French *neveu* not from ags. *nefa*, whence comes the old English and modern colloquial form *neve*, *nevis*.'
* -ness (termination) 16 *-nesse, -ness* -nes -nis -nesse° (uniformly) *besynesse* 14636 ii 11, *besynes* 13140, *boldenesse* obl., *brightnesse* 12089′, *buxomnesse* i 87, *elenness'* 508? *eursednesse* obl., *drunkennesse* 5196, *fairnesse* obl., *falsnesse* 12904′, *goodnes* 7395, *goodnesse* obl., *halinesse* ii 374′, *hardynesse* 1927, *hethenesse* obl., *heynesse* 5565′ 8308, *holinesse* obl., *homlynesse* obl., *idelnesse* ii 41, *lewednes* 12415, *lustynes* 1941′? *newefangilnesse* 10923′, *rightwisnesse* i 7, *sehamfastnesse* 842′, *seeknesse* obl., *sikenesse* i 105′, *sikernesse* obl. i 105′, *stedfastnesse* obl., *warmenesse* obl., *werinesse* iii 195, *wikkednesse* 5043′, *wildernesse* iii 193, *witnesse* obl., *witnesse* ii 223, *worthines* 2594, *worthinesse* obl., *wrecchednesse* obl., *woodnes* 2013 13911 should be *woodnesse*, *ydelnes ydelnesse* 1942 11930′
NETTLE 4 *nettle* netle i 173
†New 29 *newe* niwe niwe′ 430 888′
†Nice 19 *nice* 12421 12770 12575′ ii 22 [foolish] French

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niece 19 *nece* 14511 14536 14744 French

*Night 17 *nighte* niht niht' nihht° 16704 [12746' is oblique, and probably the rhymes should be *night' hight might*; *night* is the common form], art. 25 *night* pl.

Nightingale 4 *nightyngale* nihtegale 98' 3377' 15245' 17068' i 54'

*91 *nobles* French noblesse 15504

‡none 108 [not]

‡NONES 73 *for the nones* ii 72'

Nose 11 *nose* nasu nosu 152 559 7846, art. 91 *nos'* 123 [omit *ful*] 705 2169

nought forthy 108 [nevertheless]

[Nouns] arts. 1 to 28

‡Now a days 73 *now on dayes* 13324

‡now then 72 *nouthe* nuþa nuþe' 464'

NUN 4 *nonne* iii 281'

*nurse 91 *norice* 5881, *noris* 8494

NUT 11 *nutte-tre* hnutu hnut ii 30, *nutteshale* ii 20'

oak 17 *ok ook* ac 2292

*OAR 16 *ore* ar iii 322'

*oath 14 *othe* aδ aδ' 1141, *oth* 3291 ? *ooth* 120 should probably be *othe* [?, suprà p. 264]

‡of 108 sign of gen., *of* = by; *of that* = because

19 *offrende* i 73' French

‡Ofte 72 *ofte* oft (Gothic ufta, Danish ofte) ofte' offte° 1269 9541; *oftetyme* 52 358, *ofte-tymes* 1314; *oftsithe* 1879; *ofte sithes* 487 ags. oftsiδ offte-siþe° *often-time* ii 287 ?

OIL 19 *oile* iii 168 French

*†Old 30 *olde* eald ald ald' alde' olde' ald° 4470 9830 11465, *old* 12129 14128 14155 14160, art. 38 *elder eldest*

‡Once 73 *ones* ane ene' ænes' æness° 7259 15767 i 106

3 *onde* onda i 75', ii 260' [hatred]

†ONE 29 *one* iii 231 from ags. definite form ana = solus; iii 213 ? art. 30 ii 255 *everyeh-one* ii 45, art 105

[Order of Words, Peculiar] art. 110

*16 *ore* ar are' orc' arc° 3724' [honour, favour]

organs 27 *orgon* pl.

‡other 108 [or], *otherwhile* [at one time and at another]

‡Out 69 *oute* ute ut 11407'

*outrider 8 *outrydere* utridere ridere' 166 ?

owe 60 [all its parts]

Owl 4 *oule* ule 6663'

OX 3 *oxe* oxa oxe° 8083 13769 16490 16513, art. 23 *oxen*

§PACK 18 *packe* Dan. pakke, Swed. packa, Ger. pack, ii 312' 393'

pair 19 90 *peyre* 4384 2123 French

Pan 4 *panne* panne 13243 13138' 7196', art. 91 *pan* rh. *man* 1167 15438 [in the two last cases = brain-pan, head]

[Participles] arts. 61 to 64, [Participles, past, used adverbially] art. 109

[Particles, Various] art. 108

PASSAGE 19 *passage* i 223 French

Patience 19 91 *pacience* 1085', i 302 *paciens* 16312

PEASE 3 *pese* pisa ii 275'

peer 89 *peere* 4023 10989 rh. *here* which should probably be *her*, 16336 rh. *chaunterlere* which should have no *-e*, 15540 rh. *deere*, but probably in all cases it should be written *peer* as in 12907

Person 19 *persone* 15428, *person* 10339 French

PESTILENCE 19 *pestilence* ii 346 French

philosopher's 21 *philosophre*

[Phrases, Peculiar] art. 109

Physic 19 *phisik* 413 2762 *phisique* i 265 French

pillowbeer 7 *pilwebeer* pyle 696

Pipe 4 *pipe* pipe 567

4 *pirie* pirige 10091' 10099' [peartree]

pismire 4 *pissemyre* -mire 7407'

*pith 6 *pith* pitha 6057'

Place 19 *place* 7262 9963, art. 91 *plac'* 15024 French

plant 19 *plante* 11344 French

*play 5 *play* plega plæge' 1127' 8906' 9404' 14528'

*pleasaunce 91 *plesaunce* French plaisance 8840', *pleisauns* 8794

**pligh t 16 *plyte* pliht pliht' plihte' plihht° 12880', art. 17 *plit'* This word is always a monosyllable in Gower, but is continually spelt with a final e, as are also (wrongly) the words rhymed with it, *e.g. appetite, spirite, parfite*; i 129' 259'

[Plural of Adjectives] arts. 39 to 44, [Plural of Nouns] arts. 22 to 28

poke 3 *poke* poca 3778 4276'

Pomp 19 *pompe* 8804 French

*†poor 19 90 *por'* 4536 4540 16308 *pore* 232 480 490 539 704 13594 14128 16307 French

[‡poorly 69 *pore* 8919 ?]

Pope 3 *pope* papa pape' 8678 263' 645', art. 91 *pop'* 6002

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4 *pose* gepose (Bosw. after Somner) 4150′ 16994′ [cold in the head]
*praise 91 *prays*᾽ 9420
*preface 91 *prefas* French préface 12199
[Prefixes] art. 106
[Present Indicative] arts. 48 to 52
*press 91 *pres* French presse 10503
Prick 3 *prikke* pricca 4539′
Pride 3 *pride* pryta pryt prude᾽ prute᾽ 897′ 9867′ 14314′ 15674′ etc.
*prince 91 *prince*᾽ 4642
[Pronouns] arts 45 to 47, [Indefinite] art. 105, [Personal] art. 103, [Relative and Interrogative] art. 104
prose 91 *pros*᾽ 466 [wrong reference *prose* 15342 15345′]
†proud 29 *proude* pryte prut 7809, *proud* 3863 3167 ?
PURCHASE 91 *purchas* ii 331 351 (old French pourchas), is not to be confounded with the verb
†pure 90 *pure* 1281 12016
PURSE 91 *purs*᾽ iii 155, *purs* ii 298, this word derived from the Middle Latin *bursa* probably does not come to us through the French *bourse;* it has dropped the *e*, like Swed. and Dan. *börs*, and Germ. *bors*, (which is found as well as *börse*)
*91 *pyl*᾽ 6944 [pillage]
*16 *pyne* pin pine° 6369′ [wo, grief, pain]
*Queen 17, 91 *queen* generally, *quene* cwen quen᾽ quene᾽ cwen° 15834 973′ 4581′ 6630′ 11358′ 14892′ 15834 etc. [all the other instances cited are oblique and *queen* is the common form], art. 16 *quene* i 46 [27 cases in Gower] *quen*᾽ ii 212, iii 388
**quern 16 *querne* cweorn 15560
†§ 31 *racle* 17210 17271 17221 [rash]
rake 4 *rake* race 289′
‡69 *rathe* hraþe 3766 14510 [quickly]
*receive 91 *receyv*᾽ 9576
*14 *Rede* ræd i 45′, art. 91 *red*᾽ 14205 [advice]
reck 98 *reeche*
reeve 3 *reeve* refa reve᾽ 589 617 3901 4323
reign 19 *regne* 4813, art. 91 *regn*᾽ 1626 French
remembrance 19 *remembraunce* 9855 French
request 19 *requeste* 8061′, *request* 7980′ French
*rest 17 [generally *rest*] *reste* rest resste° 9729 [acc.] 11548 [acc.] rh. *leste* imperf., 8722′ ?, art. 16 *reste* i 75′ and generally in Gower
†Rich 19 *riche* 866 1913 4814 French
riches 27 *richesses riches* pl
†RIGHT 30 *righte* riht iii 129
*RIND 16 *rinde* rind i 152
†ripe 29 *ripe* ripe 17015
*ROAD 16 *rode* rad i 110 (?)
*ROAR 14 *rore* rar iii 74′
*ROE 6 *roo* raha ra ii 95
Rome 19 *Rome* 673′ 4576 5388 10545 etc., i 282′ ii 195 196, *Rom*᾽ 5386 French
*rood 16 *roode* rod rode° 6078 i 198
§Root 18 *rote roote* Icelandic rot, Gothic vaurts, ags. wrot 13389, 2′, 329′ 425′
rose 4 *rose* rose 1040 13448
*†rough 30 *rouwe* hréow hreoh ræh᾽ ræge᾽ ruhh᾽ 12789′
**Row 16 *rewe* raw 2868′ i 50
rubric 98 *rubriche*
RUDDER 98 rother
RUSH 4 *resshe risshe reisshe* resce risce i 160′ ii 97′ 284′
*Ruth 16 *rewthe routhe* (as if from) hreowð rouðe᾽ Icelandic hrygð 916 8438 etc., art. 91 *rewth*᾽ 10752
rye 7 *reye* ryge (Bosw.) 7328′
†saint 37 *seinte* fem. [suprà p. 264, note]
Sake 11 *sake* sacu sake° 10039 6945′ 7299′ 7314′ 8131′, art. 91 *sak*᾽ 539 ? 1319 ? 1802
SALE 4 *sale* selle ? old German sala, ii 29
*SALVE 16 *salve* sealf i 8′
‡SAME 69 *same* same = pariter, ii 240′(?)
sauce 19 *sauce* 129 353 French
*save 91 *sav*᾽ 7289 7449 7857 13717 14133
Saw 11 *sawe* sagu sage᾽ 1165′ 1528′ 6241′ 12619′
scathe 7 *skathe* scæðþ (inc. gen. Bosw.) 448′ 9048′
†29 *scheene* scene scene᾽ shene° 115′ 1511′ [bright]
*16 *schipne* scypen 2002 [shed, stable]
11 *schonde* scandu scondu shande° 15316′ [harm]
School 11 *scole* scolu 7768 9443 14909 14915
*SCORE 16 *score* scor i 176
*SCORN 14 *scorne* scearn Icelandic skarn, old German scern, iii 226
Sea 4, 7 *see* sæ (inc. gen.) sæ° always monosyllable 278 700 4914 4963′ etc., art. 3 i 35
†SECOND 30 *secounde* i 159 but the form seconde is found in old French

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secrets 27 *seere* pl.
*seek 91 *seek'* 14109, art. 98 *seche*
‡Seldom 72 *selde* seld selde' 10125 8303', *seld whanne* ii 93, *selden* ii 96
self 46 *self selve selven*
*sentence 91 *sentence* 308' 14974', *sentens* 17352
service 19 *servise* 122 French
*SET 14 *sete* siot set ii 155'
Shadow 11 *schaduc shauc* sceadu 4430 4365' 6968' *schadu' he* 4430 ii 45
shall 60 [all its parts], = owe art. 108
Shame 11 *schame* scamu shame° 12433 13335 1557' 3052'
*SHAPE 14 *shape* sceap iii 28
†SHARP 30 *sharpe* scearp ii 82
she 111 omitted
shear[s] 4 *schere* sceare 15542'
*sheep 14 *schepe* sceap shep' 506' should certainly be *schcep*, cf. 6014 13766 where the same rhyme occurs 508 16137, art. 25 *schcep* pl.
Sheet 4 *scheete* scyte scete 12897'
*SHELL 16 *shelle shale* scel ii 20'
shin 4 *schyne* scine 388 ?
*-ship 8 *-schip -schipe* -scipe [generally *-schip'*], the length of the words compounded with this termination may perhaps account for the final *e* being soon dropped. *felawship'* 476, *frendship'* freondscipe 430, *lordschipe* hlafordscipe 1627, *worschip* weorthscipe 12560. 7 *-SHIPE dronkëshippe* iii 17 *worshipe* ii 65 *kindeship felashipe* occur in a couplet i 170 but doubtless should have a final *e*
**Ship 14 *schippe* scip scip' schip' 5032 iii 295
shire 4 *schire* scire 358' 586'
*Shirt 16 *scherte schurte* (as if from) scort scyrt 15668; 1568 and 9859 (rh *herte*); *schert* 6768 (rh. *povert*) 16606 (rh. *hert* doubtful), art. 91 *schert'* 748 2548 6768
SHIVER 98 *chevcr*
*SHOE 14 *sho* scoh sceo i 15 iii 236 is a contraction, art. 23 *schoon schoos*
shop 3 *schoppe* sceoppa ? 4376 4374' [it is very uncertain whether this is the same as the ags sceoppa, treasury]
*†short 30 *schorte* scort sceort' shorrt° 6206, *schort'* 748 2548, *schort* 93
*SHOT 14 *shotte* scot i 234
Shrew 3 *schrewe* screawa 17083, art. 91 *shrew* 7024
*SHRIFT 14 *shrifte* scrift i 66
*16 *sibrede* sibræden [relationship] iii 284' merely drops final *n*, like art. 15, so apparently *met-rede* iii 68
Side 4 *side* side side' 1277 2736 9808 9821, etc.
‡-SIDE 72 *-side, aside* onsidan ? ii 85', *besidon* besidan ii 379, *beside* iii 82
siege 19 *sege* 939, art. 91 *seg'* 15865 French
SIEVE 4 *sive* sife i 294 (?)
**sigh 14 *sighhe* sic ? 10811'
*Sight 17, 91 *sighte* sihð siht' sihhþe° 2118 2335 3949 10280, art. 91 *sight* [a common form] 3395 7653 etc., art. 16 ii 243', art. 108 [multitude]
sign 19 *signe* 10024 10087 French
[Silent Final E] arts. 84 to 92
*Sin 16 *synne* synn sunne' (acc) sinne° 5010 6773 etc.
‡Since 73 *synnes syns sins* siðþan siðþa 6551 8047 9341 9396 14284 14822, *syn sin* 10181 12226, art. 72 *siththen* 6826 15597, *siththe* 4478, *sith* 8225 8721, *seth* 5234
*Sir 90 *sir'* French sire, 9542 12527 13030 13035 16274 16428 16516 etc., *sir* 7056, *sire* 16253, 357 (rh. *schire*) both forms occur in Gower
*SISTERHOOD 14 *susterhede* iii 278'
sisters 24 *sistren sustres*
*14 *Sithe* sið siðʼ siþe° 9183 5153' 5575' i 160 [time turn]
SKILL 9 *skille* scile i 16 *skill* found only when rh. *will* probably should have the *e*, art. 91 *skill* i 42 49, 8 cases rhyming to *will*, elsewhere *skille* (11 cases) *wille*, i 277 etc., so that we should probably read *skille wille* in the other instances
skink 89 *schenche*
§Skull 18 *skulle* Old German sciulla ags. scell ? 3933' 4305'
‡slain 98 *islaaw*
*-SLAUGHT 16 *-slaught* man-sleaht i 364' should be -slaughte
**Sleep 14 *slepe* slæp slæp° 1046 16498 i 81'
*sleeper 8 *sleper* slæpere 16377'
**Sleeve 16 *slef* 13152' ii 213'
*Sleight 16 *sleight* slið Icelandic slægð 1950 [the cases cited for *sleighte* are all oblique] i 238 acc. ii 198 nom.
§sling 18 *slynge*, as if from ags. sling, 15240'
SLIT 7 *slitte* slite I 15'
**Sloth 16 *slouthe* slewð 4950' i 372
‡69 *smale* smale ii 279'
‡SMARTLY 69 *smarte* iii 113'
*Smoke 14 *smoke* smec smec° 5860' i 211'

* Exceptional. ** Exceptional oblique. † Adjective. ‡ Indeclinable. § Uncertain Origin.

SNAKE 3 *snake* snaca iii 118′
snare 4 *snare* sneare (Bosw.) [the word is not in Bosworth's large dictionary, but is given in his small one on the authority of Leo's Sprachproben 1838] 1492′ 4991′ 17009′
§Snout 18 *snowte* Danish snude, Swed. snyte, 14816′, *snowt* 16391
†Soft 29 *softe* softe soft softe′ soffte° 6994
‡Softly 69 *softe* softe 2783
17 *soken* soen soeen 3985 [right of search, privilege]
*solace 91 *solas solaas solac'* Norman French solas, is rh. with *caas* 800, 16689 *allas* 9149 (French *cas*, *alas*, las from lassus was in the older French variable according to the sex of the person uttering the exclamation, as lasse! fait ele: halas! fait-il. Palsgrave has both forms also. The distinction is not preserved in Chaucer, but the diversity in the spelling of the word may possibly be owing to the the existence of these two forms). 11114 rh. *was*, 3654 rh. *Nicholas; solace* rh. *place*, Norman French *place*, 4144 15193
†Solemn 19 *solempne* 209 French
*Some 91 *som'* 9345
Son 10, 12, 91 *sone* sunu sune′ sone′ sune° 1965 11000 15669 *son'* 6733 7655 8524 8552 12345 15016 15889 16597 17250 etc, etc [none of these are convincing, the most so are 8524 & 16597.] In Gower *e* is regularly pronounced, *son'* i 317 ?
*16 *Sonde* sande sonde′ 4809′ 4943′ 5246′ 5469′ etc. etc. i 212; etc. [message]
‡Soon 72 *soone* sona sone° 15769, *eftsoone* 16082′ *eftsones* 6390, art. 91 *son'* 6733 7655 and almost always, art. 69 ii 250
*Sooth 14 *sothe* soð soð′ soðe′ soþ° 12590 rh. *to the*, but perhaps adverb, 6183′ *sothe* i 31
*SOOTHSAYER 8 *soth(e)saier* iii 164
*sore 14 90 *sore* sar sar′ sor′ 2745′, i 310′
*†‡sore 14 69 *sor'* †2697 ‡3462, ‡*sore* 230 1396 6810 12657 12799
*Sorrow 16 *sorwe* sorh sorhge′ serrghe° 953 1221 etc.
*Soul 16 *soule* sawel saule′ sawle′ 2788 8435, etc (13 cases) [of the 5 specified, 3 are oblique] i 203 256, art. 91 *soul'* 658 14355
sovereign 37 *sovereine* fem.
sow 11 *sowe* sugu 2021 bad line
Spade 11 *spade* spadu spad 555′
*Span 16 *spanne* spann 155 [acc. of dimension ?] i 79′
spare 90 *spare* 739
SPARK 3 *sparke* spearca i 258
sparrow 3 *spearuwe* spearwa 628′ 7386′
*speak 91 *spek'* 9742 9747
Spear 9 *spere* spere spere′ sper′ 15289 1641′ 4879′ *spr'* 2712 ?
*Speech 16 *speche* spaec spaeche′° 1373 2800 etc. [two instances cited are oblique], art. 91 *spech'* 16978
*SPEED 17 *sped'* sped i 88, *spede* i 90′, art. 91 *sped'* *spede* about equally often ags. sped
**spell 14 *spelle* spell spel′ spell° 15301′
spouse 19 *spouse* 12072 12125 French
SPUME 19 *spume* ii 265 French
SPUR 3 *spore* spura i 321 [Chaucer *spores* 475]
Stake 3 *stake* staca 8580′ 669′
§stalk 18 *stalke* Icelandic stilkr, Swedish stjelk, 3917′
**stall 14 *stalle* steall stall° 8483′
Star 3 *sterre* steorra steorre′ sterre′ sterrne° 2061′
start 61 [all its parts]
STEAD 7 stede *stede styde* i 60 f.
*STEALTH 16 *stelthe* [as if from an ags.] stelð ii 349
Steed 3 *steede* steda stede′ 2159 2729 10484 15162, etc., art. 91 *steed'* 10438 ?
3 *Steere* steora ster° 4868′ 5253′ [helm rudder]
3 *stele* stela stele stel 3783′ 6531′ [handle, *stale* is given in the dictionaries]
*16 *stempne* stemn stefn i 312 [voice] see *sterene*, art. 98
†Stern 29 *sterne* sterne sterne′ stirne° 8341
*16 *Sterene* stefn stefne′ steffne° 4381 [? pl.] 1526′ [oblique ?] *steven* 10464 16777 (all doubtful rh. *heven*) [voice] see *stempne*
Stick 3 *stikka* sticca 13193 13199
†Still 29 *stille* stille stille′° still° 10810′ 11782′ 16929′
‡Still 69 *stille* stille 7782
*stot 6 *stot* stotte 7125 7212 617′
*16 *Stounde* stund stunde′ stunnd° 1214′ [short space of time] i 90′
‡STRAITLY 69 *straite* Lat. stricte ii 354′ iii 47′

* Exceptional. ** Exceptional oblique. † Adjective. ‡ Indeclinable. ? Uncertain Origin.

*STRAND 14 *stronde* strand i 185
Straw 9 *stree* strea 2920 2935′, *ee* pronounced as *e*, *straw* straw 11007
*Street 16 *streete* stræt stræt′ stræte′° 14904 15025 [both after *thurgh*, which may be acc., the other cases cited are after *in*]
*Strength 16 *strengthe* strengð strengðu strengþe′ strenneþe° 1950 2403 15550
*strive 91 *stryv′* 7568
†Strong 30 *stronge* strang iii 4 [inflexional], art. 38 *strenger strengest*
*sty 5 *sty* stige 7411′
**style 14 *style* stigel 10420′
[Subjunctive] art. 56
*†Such 30 *suche* swyle swile′ sulche′ swille° 8613 13800 15628, i 319, *swich* 3 2824
Sun 4 *sonne* sunne sunne′ sonne′ sunne° 30 1511 2524 10484 etc., art. 21 gen.
*suppose 91 *suppos′* 8223
Swallow 4 *swalwe* swalewe 3258
*swear 89 *swer′ swer* 456 8045 8238 *swer′* 11101 12076 inf.
†Sweet 29 *swete swote* swete swet° 2429 5967 6041 15344, art. 91 *swet′* 2782
3 *swere* sweora ii 30′ [neck]
*†swift 30 *swifte* swift swifft° 2870
*swine 14 *swyne* swin swin′° 16972, *swyn* 13971′, art. 25, *swin* pl.
‡69 *Swithe* swiþe 13222 [quickly]
**Swoon 14 *swoune* swun? 13668 i 204
†sworn 109
§TACKLE 18 *tacle* Ger. takel, Dan. takkel, Swed. tackel, i 312
Tale 11 *tale* talu tale′° 36 3128 4466 5545 7253 (29 cases), art. 91 *tal′ yit* 13875 *e* elided before y?
*†Tame 30 *tame* tam 2188 *untame* i 287′
tapster 4 *tapstere* tæppestre 241′, *tapster* 3336
§tare 18 *tare* 1572′
targe 4 *targe* targe targa 473′ 977′
*tear 14 *teere* tear 15547′ 16148′?
Teat 7 *tete* tite tit 3704′
Teen 3 *tene* teona teone′ tene° 3108′
*tell 91 *tell′* 38 inf. 10043 inf. [both before *yow*]
**Temple 14 *temple* tempel ii 157
tent 19 *tente* 16055 French
‡Thanks 73 *his thonkes, here thonkes* his þances, hira þances 1628 2109 2116 ii 211
60 *thar* = need [all its parts]
†that 47 *that* = the: art. 104, art. 111 omitted. ‡*that* art. 108 with imperative = French que
†the 98 *-te, atte* = at the; art. 109 with abstract noun
98 *thee* = to prosper
*THEFT 16 *thefte* þeofð ii 159′
‡Then 72 *thanne* þonne þenne þanne þon þan þanne′° þan(n)′° 1655 13987 15404 16762 16988 i 11 49 62 69 etc., *thenne* 13124′ iii 36 rh. *brenne*, *than* 640 3052 i 6 7 224, *thann′* 12 638 2936 2937 2938 7722 *then*? i 17
‡thence 73 *thennes* þanon þanone þonnen′ þanene′ 4930 5463 10640, 10641 art. 72 *thenne* 6723′ ii 185
‡There 72 *ther* þær þere þara þær′° þære′° 313 323 328 4215 9863 9872 10341 *there* 4956′ 5222′ 7650′ 15037′ (less common) i 56′ 60′ 112′ etc.; art. 108 [where]
‡Therefore 72 *therfore* þerforen′ þerfore′ þærfore° 3506′ 8035′ 8188′ 9023; *therfor* 7374 10571 10647; art. 90 *therfor′ therfor* 777 7374 10571 10647
*these 91 *thes′ this′* 9110 9127 9150 9297 10041 etc., art. 47, art. 109 singular use
*THEW 14 *thewe* þeaw iii 5′
†they 111 omitted
†Thick 29 *thikke* þicce þicke′ 551
†30 *thilke* þyle i 2 [the like]
†Thin 29 *thenne* þynne 4064′ 9556′ *thinne* i 102′
*Thing 14 *thinge* þing ii 207 251, *nothinge* ii 337, art. 25 *thing* pl.
think 98 *thenche*
†third 98 *thridde*
‡THITHER 98 *thider*
108 *tho* [when]
-thorp 98 *throp*
†those 47 *tho*
thou 111 omitted
-thou 98 *-tow -ow, wiltow, hastow wostow* etc.
‡Thrice 73 *thries* þriga þriwa þrie′ þrien′ þries′ þriȝȝess° 63 564 14953
†thrilled 98 *thirled*
Throat 4 *throte* þrote 2460′ 3218′
*THROSTLE 5 *throstel* þrostle i 54
‡through 98 *thurgh*
*Throw 16 *throwe* þrag þragu þrowe′ þræȝhe° 5373′ 7397′ etc.
THUMB 3 *thombe* þuma i 175, art. 98
*Tide 16 *tyde* tid tid° 5554′ [the other instances cited are oblique] i 326′
TIE 7 *tie* tige ii 246′
*tile 16 *tyle* tigel 7687
‡till 72 *title* tille til till° 10811′, *til* 10838, art. 108

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*TILTH 16 *tilthe* tilð ii 168
Time 3. 91 *tyme* tima time° 44 722 864 4056 4448 etc. (24 cases), art. 91 *tim'* 9678 10327 10790 12976 etc. (14 cases) rh. *hyme* i 227 309 370 etc. In Gower *e* is regularly pronounced except only in ii 167
[Time, expressions for] art. 109
‡to 108 [unto], sign of dat.
106 *To-* *tohewen*, *toschrude* etc.
*Toe 6 *to'* ta ii 143′, art. 23 *ton toos*
‡together 73 *togideres* togadere togadere' togaderes' togeddre° 14117
Tongue 4 *tonge* tunge tunge'° 3894 5319 7232 13813, art. 91 *tong'* 10349 *tunge* i 295
*tooth 14 *tothe* toð toþþ° 6184′, art. 26 *teeth* pl.
†touching 64 *touchand* 7872
*Tow 17 *tow* tow 5671, ii 315
‡Towards 73 *towardes* towardes towardes' toward' towardˢ 11883 14121, *toward* 13534 14220 art. 72 *towárd* ii 13, *tòward* i 122
*Town 14 *toun* tun tun'° 7936 11713′ [*towne* appears to be only oblique] i 205 ii 293
*Trace 91 *trace* Norman French trace trasse, 1953 rh. *allas; trays* 2141 rh. *harnays* Norman French harnas, harnois
trap 4 *trappe* treppe trapp° 11653′ 11939′
TREE 9 *tre* treow treo tre i 137
*trow 91 *trow'* 526 1803 3665 9092 9111 10850 etc.
†True 29 *trewe* treowe treowe' trowwe° 533 961, art. 91 *trew'* 10043, *untrewe* ii 224
trump 19 *trumpe* 2176 French
Truth 11 *trouthe* treowðo treouðe' trowwþe 3502 6595 6633 6986 etc. (16 cases), art. 91 *trouth'* 10959 11071 11905, *trouth* 10262, in all 4 cases
Tun 4 *tonne* tunne tunne' 1996 5759 3892′ 8091′ i 321
‡Twice 73 *twyes* twiwa twigges twie' twien' twi' twiȝȝes° 4346 5478 14958
‡Uneasily 69 uneaþe unæðe unnæþe° *unnethe* 11659 13318 15037, art. 73 *unnethes* 5976 11048
‡unto 108 [until]
†Unwieldy 29 *unweelde* unwylde = impotens 16187 3884 is pl. *unwylde*, i 312′ iii 147′
‡Up 69 *uppe* uppe up 10929′ i 15′, art. 108, [upon]
‡UPRIGHTLY 73 *uprihtes* i 35′
**16 *upriste* uparist ærist' 1053 [arising]
USE 91 *us'* ii 132 should be *us* rh. vertus(e) i 15 56, jus(e) ii 266, refus(e) iii 298
vane 3 *fane* fana 8872′
[Verbs] arts. 48 to 68
vessels 27 *vessel vesselx vesseals* pl.
*vesture 90 *vestur'* 10373
VICE 19 *vice* i 157 French
VIRGIN 19 *virgine* ii 186 French
*visage 91 *visage'* 630
*voyage 91 *viage'* 794
wake 4 *wake* wæcce weeche° 2960 2962 [*liche-wake* waking of the body, modern watch]
**Wall 14 *walle* weall wal' 1970′, 1911′ rh. *coralle* which should be coral, old French coral [both may have an oblique *e*], *wall'* 1990, *wal* 1921 1977 1936′, art. 98 *wowe*
WANE 3 *wane* wana iii 304 *wan* a defect ? rh. *Adriane* ii 307
3 *wanhope* ii 115 117 [despair]
War 9 *werre* werre weorre' werre' 5972 47′ 1449′ *werr'* 1289 ?
*WARD 16 *warde* weard iii 55′
-WARDS 73 *-wardes*, *to-wardes* i 5 122 159 etc., *after-wards* ii 356, *afterward* iii 37 39
ware 11 *ware* waru (Bosw.) 4560′ 14467′
†ware 30 *ware* 16094′ should be *war*
**wart 16 *wert'* weart 557
WATCH 4 *waeche* wæcce ii 96 [see *wake*]
*Wave 14 *wawe* wæg 4888 ii 105′, art. 98
*Way 14 *weye* weg weie' wai' weȝȝe° 793′ 4805′; contracted, art. 91 *wey'* 34, *way* 7118 14176′ i 29
we 111 omitted
Weal 3 *wele* wela wele' 1274′ 3103′ 13530′, art. 91 *wel'* 4542 8350 8847
*WEALTH 16 *welthe* [as if from an ags.] welð i 39′
*wear 89 *wer'* 8762 inf., art. 109 *wear on*
*weasel 5 *wesil* wæsle 3234
3 *webbe* webba 364 *a webb' a dyer* [weaver]
*14 *Wedde* wedd 1220′ i 249 [pledge]
**Weed [dress] 16 *wede* wæd wede' wæde° 1008′ 8739′ i 221′
WEEK 4 *weke* wiee wuce iii 116′
*WEIGHT 14 *weighte* wiht ii 276′

* Exceptional. ** Exceptional oblique. † Adjective. ‡ Indeclinable. ? Uncertain Origin.

*WEIRD 16 *wierd* wyrd i 310 should be *wierde*
*welcome 91 *welcom'* 761 856 7382 7393
Well 3 *welle* wella wylle well welle' 5597 7921 1535' 11689', art. 91 *well'* 8091
‡WELL 69, 72 *wele* wela wel iii 149' [art. 72 *welle* 1663' is *dwelle* in the Landsdowne, Cambridge, Petworth Corpus and Ellesmere MSS.]
Wench 4 *wenche* wenele wennchell° 3971 4165 4192 6944 etc.
*16 *wene* wen wena ii 88' [doubt conjecture expectation weaning]
*16 *wente* ags. ? 161' [way manner]
*14 *were* as if from ags. wer iii 253' [defence]
§*were* 18, i 107' 318' [worry]
wet 3 *wete* waeta wæte wætc° 13115'
*†wet 30 *wete* wæt wet' 2310
†what 104 = *why*
Wheat 7 *whete* hwæte 5725 4312' 13863' 14278'
*whelp 14 *whelpe* hwelp whellp° 259'
‡When 72 *whanne* hwonne hwenne hwanne whannen' whone' etc. whanne° whann° 11718 14695 i 212 [seldom in Gower], *whan* 1 5 762 782 803 824 915 3054 3055 [frequent in Gower
‡whence 73 *whennes* hwanan hwana whannen' whone' 12175 13750, *whens* 8461, art. 72 *whenne* i 198 *when* ii 46 iii 308
‡Where 72 *wher* hwar hwær whær' whare' 323 344 9873 10341 etc. *where* 4556 7634' 9462 (less common both in Chaucer and Gower)
‡wherefore 72 *wherfore* 13631'
‡WHETHER 98 *weder*
*†Which 30 *whiche* hwylc while' woche' whille° 15896, *which* 4 2677 etc. i 135 ii 177 395, art. 104
*While 16 *while* hwil while' whil° 4226 8899 10904 etc. [all the cases cited are oblique, but as etc. is put after them there may be others direct] i 282 ii 54 79
‡While Whilst 72, 73 *whiles* þa hwile whil° 6352 13067 13854 15047 i 26 *whils* 13065, *whil's* ii 345, *whil* 1362 6350 i 12
*Whip 14 *whippe* hweop 5757' 9545' i 283'
*whistle 5 *whistel* hwistle 4153
†white 29 *white* hwite hwit white' whit' 4775, the common form is *whit* 17065 238 3238 2180'
‡WHITHER 98 *whider*
†who 109
†whoso 104
†§Wicked 31 *wikke* 1582' 5448', apparently allied with ags. *wicce* = witch, i 295 306
§*wicke* 18 pride is the worste of alle wicke i 154, 176
‡Widely 69 *wide* wide 4556 8589 iii 208
*widow 5 91 *widow widwe* widuwe widewe' widewe° widdwe° 6609 6626 7166 7201 14913 14920 16307, *widowe widewe* 11997 255, art. 21 gen.
*Wife 14 *wife* wif wif'° wive' 6648 *wive* ii 217'
*WIFEHOOD 14 wifhede iii 51
Wight 17 *wight* wiht wuht, wiht' whit' wihht° 1427 2108 2487 etc. ii 149
*‡Wild 30 *wylde wilde* wild wilde'° 4170 5858 5955 7742 15166 15402, *wild* 10126 (?) i 236 290
WILE 9 *wile* wile ii 227
Will 3 *wille* willa wille wille'° 2671 7986 8202 10315 etc. another form, *will* will iwill' will° 3875 3878 3885 8052' *will'* 11016 ?
will 61 [all its parts]
*willow 16 *wilow* wilig 2924 doubtful
‡wills 73 *his willes* 5854
§Window 18 *wyndowe*, Icelandic vindauga, Danish vindue, Swedish vindöga, 3358' 3676' 3695', *wyndow(e ?)* 3708 3725 3730 3738, *window* ii 347
*wine 14 *wyne* win win'° 10016' [as it here means *vine* or *bunch of grapes*, perhaps it is an error for *vine* French vigne] *wyn* 637 14212 639' [and generally
winter 25 *wynter* pl.
*WISDOM 14 *wisdome* wisdom iii 217
Wise 4 *wise* wise wisc'° 9927 17309 5312 5692 etc., art. 91 *wis'* 2189
*†Wise 30 *wise* wis wis'° wisc'° 11183, i 156 [fem. ?], *wys* 67 787 853
Witchcraft 4 *wicche craft* wicce wicche° 6885 iii 44
‡Without 72 *withouten* wiðutan 463 540 810 823 1851 1856, *withoute* 785 788 950 8208', *without* i 8 ?
*Womanhood 14 *wommanhede* 8951' i 333'
†WOMANISH 30 womanisshe i 58 72 iii 304 338 [all inflectional ?]
**Womb [stomach, belly] 16 *wombe* wamb womb wombe' wambe° 7470 15923 15970

* Exceptional. ** Exceptional oblique. † Adjective. ‡ Indeclinable. ? Uncertain Origin.

**wonger* 8 wangere 15320′ rh. *destrer*, French *destrier* [pillow, head rest]
Wont 3 *wone* wuna wune′ 337′? 14915′? art. 91 *won'* [misprinted *nonë*] 1066?
Wood 12, 10 *woode* wudu wude′ wode′ wude° 110 15181, ii 264 art. 91 *wood'* 2932 7755 16727? 15742 *wood* 1620
*Wool 16 *wolle* wull wulle° 13863 14325′ [both acc. and therefore having *e* in ags.] *wulle wolle* i 17 ii 83 98′ 129
*WORD 14 *worde* word iii 256
**work 14 *werke* weore ware weorre werre° 5797 13439 11191′, art. 38 *wirche*
*World 17 *worlde* weorold weorld weorlde′ weorelld° 16151 [acc. and *e* only preserved by caesura: that all the worlde had in his demeigne; the other case cited 10376? is oblique; *world* is the usual form; so in Gower, but *worlde* in i 245 iii 286?], art. 109
9 *worlde riche* weoruldrice i 118′ [kingdom of the world]
†worse 38 *uorse worse* wyrse wurse wurs′ werrse° 8551 9667 17252 10914′ *werse* 1226? *wors wers* 8503 3731′
*worship 8 *worschip* weorthscipe 12560
*WORTH 14 *worthe* weorð i 25
*worthiness 16 91 *worthines* 2594
†worthy 29 *worthi worthy* as if from weorþig, really weorþe wyrþe 285 461
wot 60 [all its parts]
**Wound 16 *wounde* wund wunde′ 1012′ i 90′ 289′
*WRATH 16 *wrathe* wræð i 280
*Wreak 16 *wreche* wræc wræcn wreche′ wræche° 5099 i 179 351′ art. 91 *wrech'* 16089 [vengeance]
WRENN 3 *wrenne* wrenna iii 349
Wretch 3 *wrecche* wrecca wræcche′ wrecche° 933 7645′ 12396′ 13014′
wright 3 *wright(e)* wyrhta wurhte′ 616?
**Wrong 14 *wronge* wrang wrong 11096 ii 324′
9 *wyte* wite wite° 12881′ [blame, suffering, punishment]
*Yard 16 *yerde* gerd geard ȝerd′ ȝerrde° 1052 [the other cases cited are oblique, and this may be the accusative of dimension]
‡YARE 29 *yare* gearu ii 237
‡yea-nay 108
*Year 14 *yere* year ȝer° 4552′, *yer' to yere* i 53′, *yer by yere* 8278′ 14909′, *yer yeer* 1035 1445 1731′ 8487′ etc., art. 25 *yer* pl.
‡69 *yerne* georne 13813′ [willingly]
‡yes-no 108
‡yore 69 *yoore* geare geara 3895′ 13484
*Youth 16 *youthe* geogoð ȝuȝeþe′ 2381 4583 7996 14139, art. 91 *youth'* 9612.

§ 6. *Chaucer's Pronunciation and Orthography.*

Although much doubt must necessarily attach to the system of investigation here followed, and although in some few cases it has been necessary to help out research by theory, it has enabled us to arrive at a very definite and detailed result, which may be put to the test of practice. I have made the experiment of reading several hundred lines of Chaucer's prologue to large audiences, according to the system of pronunciation to which I have been here led, and it has been to me a considerable confirmation of my results, that these audiences generally, and those among them in particular whose previous studies had made them best qualified to judge, have expressed themselves satisfied with the oral effect, as giving a new power of appreciating the language and versification of the old master. It will be difficult to convey the proper impression by mere symbols, which the

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reader will have to study, and which he will perhaps misrender, or at least occasionally stumble over, so that he will not so readily appreciate the system of pronunciation here advocated, as would be desirable for proper judgment. But to enable the reader who dares to face such an essay as the present, and breast the difficulty of a new notation, to understand in connection the isolated results here obtained, I shall in Chap. VII. give the whole of the familiar prologue to the Canterbury Tales in palaeotype as an example, interleaving it with a text in which I shall follow the Harleian MS. 7334 as closely as possible, in a systematised orthography. Before explaining this method, which might possibly be adopted with advantage in popular editions of Chaucer, and other authors of the XIVth century, I shall give a short account of the results obtained in the preceding sections.

PROBABLE SOUNDS OF THE LETTERS IN HARLEIAN MS. 7334, AND HENCE GENERALLY IN THE XIVth CENTURY.

A long, (aa) or Italian *a* in *p*adre, English *a* in *f*ather, ps*a*lm, f*ar*; possibly (*aa*) as in French *âge*, and German m*a*hnen, *aa*l, when broadly pronounced.

A short, (a) Italian *a* in *a*nno, or as some pronounce *a* in c*a*sk, p*a*st, quite distinct from *a* in c*a*t, m*a*n.

AA the same as A long, (aa).

AI, (ai) as in Is*ai*ah, *aye*, Etonian pronunciation of the Greek *καί*, the German *ai*, Italian *ahi!* French *païen*.

AU, (au), the sound of (aa) followed by the sound of (uu), German *au* in h*aus*, distinct from English *ou* in h*ouse*.

AW, (au) the same as AU.

AY, (ai) the same as AI.

B, (b), as now, never mute.

C, (k) before *a*, *o*, *u*; (s) before *e*, *i*; *ci* is (si), never (sh) as in modern English.

CH, (tsh), as in s*uch*, m*atch*, Italian *ci*, Spanish *ch*, German deu*tsch*.

D, (d) as now, never (dzh).

E long, (ee) English ch*air*, d*are*, th*ere*; very nearly the same as French *é* in *même*, and Italian *e* aperto (EE), not the same as English in *ale*, f*ate* (*ee*, *ei*); but this last sound may be used by those who have a difficulty with the others. Never (ii), as in modern English supr*eme*.

E short, (e) as now in m*e*t, p*e*n.

E final, when pronounced, (e), same as E short, but generally elided before vowels and *he*, *his*, *him*, *hire*, *here*, etc., and not sounded in *oure*, *youre*, *hire*, *here*, seldom sounded in *hadde* and sometimes mute in other words.

EA, (ee) same as E long, very rarely used.
EE, (ee) same as E long.
EI, (ai) same as AI.
EO, (ee) same as E long, rarely used.
EU, has two sounds, (yy) or French *u* long, in words derived from th French where the modern French orthography is *u*; and (eu) or Italian *Eu*ropa, the sound of (ee) followed by the sound of (uu), in all other words. *Eu* is never to be sounded as (iu) as in modern *new*.
EW, (eu) the same as EU.
EY, (ai) the same as AI.
F, (f) as at present; never (v) as now in *of*.
G, (g) before *a*, *o*, *u* and in Anglosaxon words before *e*, *i*; in French words before *e*, *i* it is (dzh) as the present *g*em, *g*entle.
GH, (kh), as the Scotch lo*ch*, Irish lou*gh*, German lo*ch*; after an (u) sound (ku*ch*); when the sound was (h), (wh), or omitted, it was otherwise written. It was never sounded as (f).
H, (h), as in *h*ome; it may have been mute in some accented words, as *host*, *honour*, and in the unaccented *he*, *his*, *him*, *hire*, *here*, *hem*, *have*, etc. When a vowel is elided before these words, the *h* should be disregarded, otherwise it is most convenient to follow the present usage. When following a vowel in the same syllable, as in *nouht*, it was a gentle (kh), or (h).
I long, (*ii*) the drawled sound of *i* in *still*, heard in singing, and quite distinct from (ii) or *ea* in *steal*, but the latter sound (ii) may be substituted for it, by those who find the former (*ii*) too difficult. It may have been occasionally almost (*ee*) and then rhymed to (ee). It was never pronounced (ai), or as the modern pronoun I, or as *ei ey*, *ai ay* (ai), with which it is never found to rhyme.
I short, (*i*), that is, as *i* in the English f*i*nny (f*i*n·*i*), and not as (i), that is, *i* in the French *fini* (fini).
I consonant, (dzh) usually printed J.
IE, (ee) same as E long. Rare.
J, (dzh), frequently printed for I; MSS. seldom distinguish *i*, *j*.
K, (k) as now.
L, (l) as now.
LE, ('l) as now in temp*le*. It is frequently run on as (l) to the following vowel.
M, (m) as now.
N, (n) as now.
NG, (q) or (qg) according to the same rules as now, or (ndzh) as in stra*nge*.
O long, (oo) that is English *o*re, cross when lengthened, not (*oo*) as in English h*o*me as usually pronounced, but as it may be heard in the provinces; Welsh and Spanish *o* long; Italian *o* aperto; French ch*o*se when lengthened, no trace of tapering into a final *u*. Those who cannot readily say (oo) may use (*oo*), the usual *o* in h*o*me.

O short, had two sounds (o, u); generally (o) the short sound of the last letter, not heard in usual English, the French homme, German holtz, Italian *o* aperto. Different from (ɔ) in English hot, which however may be used for it when the speaker cannot reach the other sound, just as (*oo*) in home may be used for (oo), but (*poo*p pop) do not form a pair, as is the case with (poop pop). Occasionally *o* short was sounded as short *u*, apparently in those cases in which it was thus sounded in the XVIth century provided it corresponded to Anglosaxon *u*; generally it was (*u*) in words which now have (ɔ) as wonder.

OA, (oo) if used, but no instance is known.

OE, (ee) same as long E, very rare.

OI, (ui) as some persons call *buoy*, almost like *ooi* in wooing; not (ɔi) as in English joy, but at most (oi) as in a provincial pronunciation of boy.

OO, (oo) the same as long O.

OU, has three sounds, (uu, *u*, oou); generally (uu) as in boot, but occasionally (*u*) as in pull; in words derived from Anglosaxon *aw*, *ow* it is (oou) nearly as in the modern know, which may be used for it. See OUGH.

OUGH, (nukh, nuk*u*h) when derived from Anglosaxon words having *u* before a guttural, as in *ynough*, *plough*, *drought*, otherwise (oouk*u*h, ouk*u*h) or (ok*u*h) as in *though*, *foughten*, *oughte*.

OW, (uu, u, oou) same as OU, but used more frequently than OU for (oou), especially when final.

OY, (oi) the same as OI.

P, (p) as now.

PH, (f) as now.

QU, (k*u*) as now.

R, (r) only trilled, as in present red herring; never as in modern ear, hearing, serf, surf.

RE, (er) same as ER, sometimes run on as (r) to the following vowel.

RH, (r) as now.

S, (s,z). Probably the (s) and (z) sounds were used much as at present, but *was* appears to have had (s). SI was (si) and never (sh) as at present.

SCH, (sh), present *sh*.

T, (t) as at present, *-tioun* was (si,uun).

TH, in two syllables (th, dh) distributed as at present.

U long, (yy) the true French long *u*, which it represented.

U short, had three sounds (*u*, *i*, e); the general sound was (*u*) as in p*u*ll, but (*i*) or (e) was heard occasionally, and possibly had been original (y) or short French u.

U consonant, (v), usually printed v.

UI, UY, a very rare combination, sometimes written for *oi*, *oy*, and then pronounced (ui) most probably; sometimes, perhaps, written for French *ui*, when it may either have been (ui) or (yy), most probable the latter.

V, (v) as now, seldom distinguished from U in MSS, both forms *u*, *v* being used, but *v* being generally chosen for the initial, whether vowel or consonant.
W, (*w*), as now, and also occasionally the simple vowel (u), as in sor*w*ful.
WH, (wh) as now.
WR, (r*w*) as in French *roi*, or else (wr, w'r).
X, (ks) as now.
Y, long, replaced I long, and had the same sound.
Y, short, (i) the same as I short.
Y, consonant (j) as now.
Z, (z) as now.

This gives a complete system of pronunciation, with only a few doubtful points, chiefly as to the pronunciation of O short as (u).

On this view of the signification of the orthography of the Harleian MS. 7334, we may proceed to systematize the same thus,—

Systematization of the Orthography of Harl. MS., 7334.

A when followed by a single consonant, which is in turn followed by a vowel or an apostrophe, will be long, otherwise short.
AA will represent long A in other cases.
AI will be disused.
AW will be used as the diphthong (au) to the exclusion of AU.
AY will be used to the exclusion of *ai*, *ei*, *ey*, for those diphthongs (ai) which had an *a* in the Anglosaxon or French original.
E when followed by a single consonant, which is in turn followed by a vowel or an apostrophe, will be long, otherwise short.
EA will be disused.
EE will represent long E in other cases.
EI will be disused.
EO will be disused.
EU will represent the diphthong *eu* when of French origin = (yy).
EW will represent the diphthong *ew* when not of French origin, and = (eu).
EY will be used to the exclusion of *ai*, *ay*, *ei* for those diphthongs (ai) which had not an *a* in the Anglosaxon or French original.
I will represent short (i) when not final, and will be used for the pronoun I. See Y vowel.
IE will be disused.
O when followed by a single consonant, which is in turn followed by a vowel or an apostrophe, will be long, otherwise short, and the two sounds of short *o* will not be distinguished.
OA will be disused.
OE will be disused.
OI will be disused.
OO will represent long O in other cases.

OU will represent the long sound (uu), never the short sound (u) or the diphthong (oou).
OW will represent the diphthong (oou) exclusively.
OY will represent the diphthong now written *oi*, *oy*.
U long and U short, though having different sounds will not be distinguished, the first occurring only in French, and the latter only in Anglosaxon words, but the use of U as I and E will be discontinued.
W vowel will only be used in diphthongs, in other cases it will be replaced by OU long as *herberou* for *herberw*, or U short.
Y vowel will be used in diphthongs, and for long *i* or (*ii*), —except the pronoun *I*, which will continue to be written *I*,— for either long or short final *i* or *y*, and for the prefix *y-* or *i-* of the past participle.

The consonants, including W, WH, Y, will be used as at present, the two values of C and G not being distinguished, and J, V being exclusively used for I and U consonant. When C, G have to be (s, dzh) before *a*, *o*, *u* in French words, an *e* is inserted which is not pronounced, as *habergeoun* 76. GH medial or final, Y initial will replace ȝ uniformly instead of partially, and TH will replace þ. The two sounds of TH will not be distinguished. H will be written uniformly in those words where it generally appears initially.

The doubling of consonants to indicate short vowels will follow the usual orthography.

E final or medial will be treated in such a way as to shew its nature. When it should be sounded according to the laws of grammar or from historical derivation, but is elided for the sake of the metre, whether before a vowel or consonant, it will be replaced by an apostrophe, precisely as in modern German, and all elisions will be treated in the same way. Hence *c'*, *g'* final must be read as (s, dzh). When it is superfluous, having no claim to be written, but required for the metre, it will be replaced by *ĕ*. In other cases it will be simply written as *e*, so that every written *e* will have to be pronounced, except when it is used after *c*, *g* and before another vowel, merely to indicate that these letters are to be pronounced as (s, dzh). When the authority of Orrmin can be given for a final *e*, it will not be considered superfluous.

When the first measure of a verse is deficient in a syllable, it will be preceded by three dots, thus (...) to mark the deficiency.

With the exception of the (...), *ĕ* and ('), which are introduced for the convenience of the modern reader, the orthography would be perfectly well understood by the person who wrote this Harleian MS. and appears to be the ideal which he aimed at. This orthographical system will be used in the subsequent transcript of the prologue. It requires occasionally some etymological knowledge in which I may be deficient, but such trips I hope will be readily forgiven and corrected.

When a language has to be studied from its sources by scholars, its monuments should be presented in the form in which they exist. Hence the value of the exact reprints of several MSS. of Chaucer which have now been undertaken by the Chaucer Society, and which will inaugurate an entirely new system of studying ancient forms of language. We shall no longer echo opinions, perhaps hastily formed, by scholars in past days, who, deserving of all praise for what they did in their time, had not the advantages which their own labours have given to the present generation. Each scholar will be enabled to study the sources themselves, to compare the different forms they assume, and to conjecture the probable reality which they partly conceal. But how shall that result be expressed? Speaking for the English language only, it is evidently impossible to print the writings prior to Caxton, in modern orthography, without presenting a translation—to which, except linguistically, there is of course no objection—instead of the apparently best form of the original. Not to mention the organic difference of an inflectional system which would be thus concealed, and the destruction of poetical rhythm by the excision of final E, we have the simple fact that many words found in those authors have no similar modern form,[1] and hence that if we adopted a modern orthography, we must either replace them, or leave them as an old patch on a new garment.

For general purposes of teaching, the great diversity of orthography which medieval scribes indulged in, is undesirable, as tending to confuse the mind, and in no respect repaying the young student for the trouble it costs. Hence some uniform systematic orthography is desirable, and that which has just been explained, seems to combine every necessary requisite for the XIV th and XV th century. For writings which date from after the disappearance of our inflectional system, and the silencing of final E, or say, from after the close of the XV th century, the modern orthography, which is now systematically employed in reprints of Shakspere and the Authorized Version, is the only one which

[1] The vocabulary on pp. 379–397 furnishes the following examples:—a-cale, algates, -and (in participles) ariste, borde, borwe, *s.*, breede, byweste, chare, cheste, come *s.*, dere, derne, dwale, elenge, -ende (in participles), fallas, fawe, fele, fere, fremde, funke, grame, halling, harre, heire, herne, heste, hevenriche, hewe, hie *s.*, hiwe, howve, yk ich, ighte, kingesriche, knarre, leere *s.* and *v.*, lefte *s.*, lette, liche *s.*, like *s.*, lode, lydne, make *s.*, mele, mot, nale, neisshe, nobles *s. s.*, offrende, onde, pirie, pose, pyle, pyne, racle, rathe, rede, scheene *a.*, schipne, schonde, sibrede, sithe, smale, steere, stele, stempne, stevene, stounde, swere *s.*, swithe, thar *v.*, thee *v.*, thilke, tho, upriste, wanhope, webbe, wedde, wene *s.*, wente *s.*, were *s.*, wicke, wyte *s.*, wonger, worlderiche, yerne.

has a claim to be used except in designedly diplomatic editions. Before the use of *ou* was introduced for (uu) at the end of the XIII th or beginning of the XIV th century, the complete Anglosaxon system alone has any right to be employed. Hence for school and general editions of English works, the following systems of orthography are suggested:

1) Anglosaxon period to the close of the XIII th century,—the received Anglosaxon spelling.
2) From the beginning of the XIV th to the close of the XV th century,—the system explained on p. 401, which may be briefly termed Chaucer's orthography.
3) From the commencement of the XVI th century—the orthography now in use.

But in the last period, and even in the most recent times, circumstances may arise where a diplomatic representation of MSS. may be desirable.[1] Such cases are however not contemplated in any of the above suggestions, although in the citations made in this work, diplomatic correctness has almost always been attempted.

[1] As for example, when the peculiar orthography of the writer is of more importance than his matter. Thus the following reproductions of letters actually written on business within the last three years, one by a private soldier in a very clear and legible hand, and the other by the keeper of a servant's registry office in a rapid scrawl, are valuable as shewing how difficult our present orthography and punctuation are to acquire. Several names have been reduced to initials, but otherwise the originals have been carefully imitated.

1. To Capt. S. Esqr

Dear Sir I wish to Informe you of a place No 17 Rosemary Lane ware a Drunkin woman name of Buttler Lives her husband aD to Leive her for Idal ways Sergent Atkinson was Letter Righter for her to her Husband to return back again and other Smoal Favours as promised to send her 6 or 8 mitilia men he will send to Lodge with her their is her own famley and her Daughters famley all Crouded in 2 smoal rooms with a Varity of Other Companey and filth a Servay is very much needed

Yours Respectfuley
and yurs mens Freind
May 22/1866

2. Warekington.

if i had nown Last tuesday i Could have Sent Mrs S. a good Waitresf She as been 5 years 6 Months at Mrs D.s of Cockemith but Mr S. of C. Hall as been here About her and i think he Will have Engadged her if thay Could Agree for Wages I have nown her for 12 years and She as been Reckomend by Me for thatt Lenth of time I Shall See her in Person at Cockermouth to Morrer Monday and if not Engaged I Shall Get her to Meet Mrs. S. She is a Good needle Woman She only Gave [looks like *Gone*, this writer does not always distinguish *o a*, and writtes *u*, *v*, *n*, *r*, and sometimes *s* in the same way] her place up Last tuesdy I have My Boock on 2 Good Coocks and 2 very niee Girls for House Maids i Will Dow My best to Get one but i Must have A Little time if M. A. C. is Engeged *She as no Parents here they Are Gone away* [?, written upon another word which is illegible] She Lived 2 years With Mrs. J. S. in our own town her Age is 27 She is tall and a fine Loockg Girl as a Good Head and fine Eye Whath i Call a nobel Loocking Woman She is very Steady and Con have a Good Caracter [looks like *lencecten* at first, capital C is always like *l*,] from Mrs D Ob B Peason i hope i Shall Get her to Morrar [looks like *dlonuav*] 5 years 6 Months at Mrs d.

§ 7. *Change of Pronunciation during the Fifteenth Century.*

Comparing the results just obtained for the close of the XIV th century, with those found in Chap. III, § 6, p. 225, for the XVI th century, we are able to estimate the action of the XV th century upon English pronunciation, and to give some rough and practical indications for reading works of that transition period.

The pronunciation of the combinations employed may be considered as having been practically the same at the close of the XIV th and during the first third or first half of the XV th century, except in the points here enumerated.

Final E in the XVI th century was retained in writing, but had absolutely ceased to have any sound, and had come to be regarded mainly as an orthoepical symbol for indicating the length of the next preceding vowel, unless it was itself preceded by a double consonant. How soon this final *e* was lost it is impossible to say, but great irregularities already occur in the Thornton MS. of Lincoln, about the middle of the XV th century.[1] Hence it will be safest to omit it altogether in reading works of that and later periods. Gross and frequent irregularities in the use of *e* final in any manuscript seem to point to the copyist's having lived about or after the middle of the XV th century.

Short U, from being frequently used for (y) and pronounced (*ï*) or (e), became established for the latter sounds in a very few words, as *busy, bury*. In other cases therefore it had best be read as (u).

Long E split into two sounds, retaining its sound of (ee) in many words, but becoming (ii) in others, in which the single *e* was generally replaced by *ee* in the latter part of the XVI th century. There is no means at present of discovering which of the words now spelled with *ee*, were at any given epoch during the XV th century pronounced with (ee) and which with (ii). The probability is that the two sounds coexisted in the mouths of different speakers for many years, just as we have seen that both sounds were for several years given to the combination *ea* at the beginning of the XVII th century. Hence if in reading works printed by Caxton we uniformly pronounced long *e* and *ee* as (ee) we should have probably a very antiquated pronunciation, similar in effect to the use of (griit, briik) for *great, break* at the present day, and if we uniformly pronounced (ii) where the spelling *ee* was employed in the XVI th century, (avoiding the iotacism of the present day), we should have been thought to have a strange affected effeminate way of speaking. It will be most convenient however to use the XIV th century style up

[1] See Rev. George G. Perry's edition of the Morte Arthure (Early English Text Society's publications, 1865), preface p. viii. As however this is an alliterative poem, it is impossible to apply the same rhythmical principles as in Chaucer. But see the irregularities of the Lansdowne MS. 851 in respect to final *e* as pointed out in § 4, p. 320, note.

to the issue of Caxton's first work, and the XVI th century style afterwards. This is of course an arbitrary, but still a convenient distinction, and some such rule is necessary or we should not be able to read XV th century books at all.

Long I, which interchanged with *ey* in a few words in the XIV th century, as *dry, die, high, eye*, became uniformly (ei, or (ai) in the XVI th. It will be convenient after the death of Chaucer's contemporary Gower and his follower Lydgate, that is after the middle of the XV th century, to adopt the (ai) uniformly. This is no doubt an anticipation, but there seems to be no means of controlling it. We have indeed seen the probability of long *i* having been occasionally (ii) or (*ii*) to the middle of the XVI th century. (Suprà pp. 110, 114.)

Long O like long *e* split into two sounds, (oo, uu), the latter of which had the spelling *oo* assigned to it. It will be best to follow the same law with respect to it as with respect to *e*, and use (oo) only up till Caxton's time, and then (oo, uu) as in the XVI th century.

EE, OO must follow the same laws as long *e* and long *o*, for which they were only substitutes.

OI probably gradually changed from (ui) to (oi), but, as we have seen, the old (ui) asserted itself in many words even in the XVI th century. It will be most convenient to use (oi) after Lydgate or the middle of the XV th century.

EO followed the fate of long *e*.

EU, EW still formed two series in the XVI th century, but, as we have seen, with different divisions from those used in the XIV th century. The safest way is to adopt the XIV th century pronunciation till the close of the XV th century. Most probably we should only run the risk of being slightly archaic in a few words.

OU, OW, where sounded (oou, ou) retained its sound; but as even Palsgrave 1530, and Bullokar 1580, acknowledge the (uu) sound in other words, it will be quite legitimate to do so till the beginning of the XVI th century.

GH may have changed slightly; the (kẖ) and (wh) sounds of GH were probably entirely lost in (f), but (kh) was retained.

We are thus enabled to read XV th century writings, not with great confidence certainly as to catching the prevailing pronunciation of any period, but with a tolerable certainty of pronouncing intelligibly, although occasionally in an antiquated and occasionally in an affectedly modern manner.

§ 8. *Pronunciation during the Earlier Part of the* XIV *th Century.*

The difficulty that besets us in attempting to determine pronunciation from orthography is the difficulty of determining the age of the MS. The tendency of writers at all times, and even in the present day, with some important exceptions, to disregard the orthography of the original

which they are copying, and adopt that to which they are themselves accustomed, is so strong and so difficult to check, that even if we supposed the older copyists to have set to work with an intention of giving a faithful transcript of their originals, we could not hope to obtain one.[1] The older copyists indeed never seem to have entertained the least notion that they had to give a faithful transcript, or at least confined their notion of fidelity to a rendering of words and not of orthographies. We may, however, lay down this principle, for MSS. before the invention of printing:—

The Scribe always intended to make his Orthography indicate HIS OWN *pronunciation.*

There was no notion of any historical or etymological spelling, but certain definite senses were attributed to certain combinations of letters and by means of them the scribe endeavoured, with more or less success, to express himself.

Now throughout the XIVth century it appears to me, on examining the best reprints, and especially those furnished by Mr. Morris in his specimens[2] that the *alphabetical system* of all the scribes was essentially that which has been described and systematised in § 6 of this Chapter. It will be seen at once that this was not a definite and complete system, but admitted of many ambiguities, and many varieties of spelling several important sounds. Thus, confining ourselves to the vowels, we may expect to find—

the sound	written as	the sound	written as	the sound	written as
(a)	*a*	(aa)	*a aa oa*	(ai)	*ai ei ay ey*
(e)	*e*	(ee)	*e ee ea eo oe ie*	(ui)	*oi ui*
(i)	*i y u*	(ii)	*i y*	(au)	*au aw*
(o)	*o*	(ou)	*o oo oa*	(ou)	*ou ow*
(u)	*u* o	(uu)	*ou ow o*	(oou)	*ou ow*
(y)	*u*	(yy)	*u eu ew*	(eu)	*eu ew*

The special mark of this system of spelling, that which distinguishes it from the orthography of the XVIth century on the one hand, and the orthography of the XIIIth on the

[1] Having lately had occasion to have a portion of the Canterbury Tales printed by a printer who was unaccustomed to facsimile work, I have had painful experience of the obstinacy of compositors and the blindness of printers' readers in serving up and passing over modern réchauffés of ancient spellings. We cannot suppose that the old copyists behaved better. We know that the older printed books are full of the grossest disfigurements of their originals, and yet there is a better chance of correctness in a printed book, which must be diligently revised and can be easily altered, than in a MS. which is read and corrected with difficulty.

[2] Specimens of Early English selected from the chief English authors, A.D. 1250—A.D. 1400, with Grammatical Introduction, Notes, and Glossary, by R. Morris, Esq., Oxford, Clarendon Press Series, 1867.

other, is the expression of the sound of (uu) by *ou*, *ow* with scarcely any exception. We have not lost that method of spelling in a few instances even at the present day.[1] And occasional instances of *ou* for (uu) probably occurred, before the general use was established. Throughout this period also, and down to the present time simple *o* is occasionally used for (uu) as well as for (u).[2] But it is the general and regular use of *ou* or *ow* for (uu) that characterises this system of spelling. The words *þou*, *now*, *how*, *oure* may be taken as convenient marks of this orthography as distinguished from the more ancient spelling to be presently considered, so that where we find these words thus written we may expect to find the rest of the system of orthography just explained, a system which may be, and probably often is, much more recent than the date of the work to which it is adapted. In Mr. Morris's specimens, this test will include under this system, the whole of his book, from the Romance of King Alexander downwards, although this Romance itself, Robert of Gloucester, and the Metrical Psalter belong to the XIII th century, in which a different system prevailed, and the Proverbs of Hendyng, Robert of Brunne, William de Shoreham, the Cursor Mundi, Sunday Sermons in Verse, Dan Michel and Richard Rolle de Hampole, belong quite to the beginning of the XIV th century. The MS. of *Havelock the Dane*, as we shall find hereafter (Chap. V. § 1, No. 5.) belongs to the transition period, containing both *þu* and *þou*.

It is not to be supposed that these ancient authors pronounced in the same way as Chaucer, or that writers like Richard Rolle de Hampole near Doncaster, and Dan Michel of Northgate in Kent, had the same method of speech or *pronunciation*. Far from it. All that is meant is that they used a similar system of *orthography*, and that by interpreting their letters according to this system we can recover, very closely if not exactly, the pronunciation their transcribers meant to be adopted.

Dan Michel's orthography[3] is very peculiar, marking a strong provincial pronunciation. The consonant combination *ss* evidently

[1] The following list of words in which *ou* = (uu) is taken from Walker: Bouge, croup, group, aggroup, amour, paramour, bouse, bousy, boutefeu, capouch, cartouch, fourbe, gout (taste), ragout, rendezvous, rouge, soup, sous, surtout, *through*, *throughly*, toupee or toupet, *you*, *your*, *youth*, tour, contour, tournay, tournament, pour, and route (a road), accoutre, billet-doux, agouti, *uncouth*, *wound* (a hurt), and routine (a beaten road). Those words in italics are Anglosaxon. The use of *ou* for (*u*) is a recent formation in: would, could, should; *courde* had a long vowel.

[2] Walker gives the following list for (uu): prove, move, behove, and their compounds, lose, do, ado, Rome, poltron, ponton, spouton, who, whom, womb, tomb. And the following for (*u*): woman, bosom, worsted, wolf, Wolsey, Worcester, Wolverhampton.

[3] At the beginning of this MS. (Arundel 57) we read: þis boc is dan

represents *sh*, and has been constructed on the same principles as the Welsh *dd*, *ff*, *ll* for (dh, f, lhh) as distinct from *d*, *f*, *l* =(d, v, l). In precisely the same way the Spaniards wrote *ll*, *nn* (the latter being contracted in the usual way to *ñ*, but the uncontracted form occurring also[1]) for (lj, nj), and so many writers have proposed *hh*, *tt*, *dd*, *ss*, *zz*, for the Arabic (*h*, *t*, *d*, *s*, *z*). Probably Dan Michael finding no sound of *ch* in *sch*, objected to use it. But *ss* is really ambiguous; thus in *yblissed* = blessed, *ss* can only mean double *s*. We find the same orthography *ss* at an earlier period (see Chap. V, § 1, No. 3) so that Dan Michel did not invent it. Other writers have employed the same notation.[2] His use of *a*, *e*, *i*, *ai* are clear. The rhyme: *bread dyad*, seems to point to (eaa) or (eá) with the stress on the last syllable as the value of *ea*. Since *u* is clearly used as (u) in *þus*, and as the substitute for *w* after *h*, in *huo*, and *ou* is employed in *ous* = us, *ou*, *u* must have had their usual sounds (uu, *u*), so that short *o* probably always represented (o) and not (u), although it is constantly employed for an ags. *u*. When *u* was long, which only happens in a few French words, it of course had the sound (yy), but this was apparently unknown to the dialect, an important remark when we recollect that Wallis was a native of Kent, and at the same time the last writer who insisted on the pronunciation of long *u* as (yy) in received English, (pp. 171-6). The constant use of *u* as a consonant (v) often renders words difficult to recognize. The use of *by* for *be*, and final *y* in the infinitive of verbs would be quite inconsistent with an (əi) pronunciation of *i*, and hence is corroborative of the conclusion before arrived at (p. 297.)

The examples on p. 412, render this clear. They are taken from the preface and the end of the book, just before the final sermon, *Ayenbite of Inwyt*, p. 262.[3] The Lord's Prayer and Creed may be compared with other earlier versions in Chap. V. § 1, No. 3, and Wilkins's version in Chap. IX, § 1.

Michelis of Northgate, ywrite an englis of his ozene hand. We have therefore the author's actual orthography, a most important fact.

[1] See suprà p. 193, note 3.

[2] Thus in Thomas de Erseldoune's prophecy of king Edward II, in the same MS. fo. 8*b*, we find *ssal ssel* for shall.

[3] Dan Michel's Ayenbite of Inwyt, or Remorse of Conscience, in the Kentish Dialect, 1340 A.D. Printed from the Autograph MS. in the British Museum, with an introduction on the peculiarities of the Southern Dialect and a Glossarial Index, by Richard Morris, Esq., London, 1866, 8vo., pp. c, 359. Early English Text Society. The following orthographical points of difference between the Southern and Northern dialects, are noticed by Mr. Morris in the "grammatical introduction" to this work. A. *Consonants.* 1) CH for K, the Southern forms being named first, as *chele* for *kele* = cold. 2) V for F, now disused in the South East. 3) Z for S, found alone in the Ayenbite of all writings of the XIV th century. 4) Vowel before R in place of vowel after R, as *berne* for *brenne* burn. 5) PS for SP as *haps* for *hasp*. 6) G for Y, as *begge* for *bye*, *segge* for *saye*. (7) B for V as *libbe*, *habbe*, *hebbe* for *live*, *have*, *heve* = heave. B. *Vowels.* 1) O for A, as *bon* for *ban*. 2) E for A, as *azen* for *again* = against. 3) AW for AI = ags. ag, as *fawe* for *fain*. 4) U for I, as *fust*, *hul*, *sun* for *fist*, *hill*, *sin*. 5) EO for E, as *breoste* for *breste*. 6) An inserted *y* before *e* and *a*, as *byeam byam* for *beam*, and *dyad* for *dead*. 7) An inserted *u* before *o*, the only words of this kind in the Ayenbite being *buon*, *guode*, *guo*, *guos*, *zuolz* for *bone*, *good*, *go*, *goose*, and Dorset *zull*, a plough.

Richard Rolle de Hampole, an Augustine monk near Doncaster, who died 1349, left many writings in the Northern dialect, presenting a strong contrast to the Kentish, just considered. The manuscript is however not so carefully spelled, and there are many final E's written, which were clearly not pronounced, so that we must either assume a much later date for the actual writing, or suppose that on account of the general omission of the inflectional *-e* in Northern speech, the habit of writing had become lax there at an earlier period, precisely as it became lax in the South during the XV th century as the final *-e* became discontinued. In the present case, probably, both causes were in action. The *Pricke of Conscience*[1] is in verse, with very perfect rhymes,[2] and there can be no difficulty in reading it. The verse, however, is so "hummocky" that no conclusions could be drawn from it respecting the number of syllables in a word.

A short extract will suffice to shew the action of our rules for pronunciation. Many liberties have been taken with the pronunciation of the final E's, to reduce them to order, but the orthography of the text is Mr. Morris's. The *e* before *s* in the plural of nouns and the third person singular of nouns, has been considered mute whenever the rhythm would allow, in deference to the opinion of Mr. Murray, who has made the Northern dialects his peculiar study.[3]

[1] The Pricke of Conscience Stimulus Conscientiae), a Northumbrian Poem, by Richard Rolle de Hampole, copied and edited from MSS. in the library of the British Museum with an introduction, notes, and glossarial index, by Richard Morris, published for the Philological Society, 1863. This edition chiefly follows Cotton. MS. Galba, E. ix. Six out of the other MSS. are adaptations of the poem to a more southern dialect. This MS. is supposed not to be later than the beginning of the XV th century, and is therefore much more recent than Rolle de Hampole himself, and hence no reliance whatever can be placed on the final *e*.

[2] In v. 1273 we find *fortone* for *fortune* (which occurs in v. 1286), so that probably *buke* v. 2300, which may have represented the northern pronunciation (byyk) should be altered to *boke* to rhyme with *loke* in the following line. I have not noted other faulty rhymes.

[3] The *-es* has been preserved in v. 480. The final *-e* in *formefather* v. 483 has also been retained for the rhythm, although Mr. Murray prefers *form*, referring to *formkind*, *formbirth*, *formdays*. Mr. Murray thinks that *ai*, *ay* had in Scotland the sound of (ee) at the beginning of the XVI th century, at least a century before it was recognized in the South, although we learn from Hart that it was well known in 1569 (suprà p. 122) or rather in 1551, the date of his first draft (infrà Chap. VIII, § 3, first note). Mr. Murray's opinion is based upon the sudden appearance of the orthography *ay* about 1500 in Gawain Douglas, who uses it where an intermediate (ai) between the old (aa) and modern (*ee*) is hardly conceivable, and his often interchanging *a* and *ay* in the same word, as *bray*, *bra*. Again *thare*, *thair*, *thayr* are regularly confounded, and *bath*, *bathe*, *bayth*, *baith* all occur. We have the rhymes: Ida lay, say Ortigia, Cassendray away, gaif haif=gave have, rais face, say isehay =esché. Possibly this was a period of transitional sound from (*aa*) or (aa) to (aah) or (ææ), and Douglas, *if the spelling is really his*, which of course is doubtful, strove to mark it by the same device which was known to him possibly by the pronunciation of Greek (the Erasmian system not having been yet introduced), namely the addition of *i*, or else from the growing habit of calling French *ai* (ee). There seems to be no doubt that in the instances named, and in: twa tway, ma may mo =*plures*, wraith = wroth, maid = made,

It cannot be supposed that this mode of reading the writing of Dan Michel, and Richard Rolle, precisely renders the pronunciation of the dialect which they followed. We know how slightly dialects are at present represented, and how very insufficient our pronunciation would be if derived from the usual orthographical and orthoepical rules. It is not likely that writers five hundred years ago should have been more accurate. They had however the advantage of an alphabet in which the value of each combination was settled with remarkable exactness, and hence they were able by their orthography to make a near approach to the sound of speech around them. But their alphabet only having an accurate representation of the simple and compound sounds: (a, aa, ai, au, b, d, [dh], dzh, e, ee, ei, eu, f, g, ʜ, *i*, *ii*, ɹ, k, kh, l, 'l, m, n, o, oi, oo, oou, p, q, r, *rr*, s, sh, t, th, tsh, u, uu, v, w, wh, yy), although far superior to that now in use, which only professes to represent in a very lame, confused, and uncertain manner, the simple and compound sounds: (aa, ᴀᴀ, æ, b, d, [dh], dzh, e, ɔ, *ee*, ɔi, ɔu, f, g, ʜ, *i*, ii, *ii*, iu, ɹ, k, l, m, n, ɔ, ɔi, *oo*, p, q, r, ɹ, s, sh, t, th, tsh, u, uu, v, w, wh, z, [zh]),—the same in number but differing in value,—must have been as inadequate to represent our provincial sounds of that time, as our present orthography is to write our present provincial dialects, as may be concluded from an inspection of the key to Glossotype, p. 16. The writer probably refined the dialect and selected his sounds, giving an approximation which would have been understood by a native. It is also possible that he may have pressed some combinations and letters to do a double duty. Writers were already familiar with double uses. Thus *i*, *u* were vowels or consonants; *o* = (o, u), *u* = (yy, u), *ou* = *ow* (uu, oou), *eu* = (yy, eu), and long and short vowels were written with the same sign. But if in their dialectic writing they took such liberties, we have no satisfactory means, if indeed we have any means of detecting them. Such an approximation however as results from the preceding examination of Chaucer and Gower must certainly be far nearer the truth than any hap-hazard reading, founded upon modern analogies without historical investigation, and as such is worth the study and acceptance of the scholar. We may indeed feel some confidence that Hampole and Dan Michel would have at least understood the above conjectured pronunciation. But the usual modern English sounds would have probably sounded as strange to their ears, as an ordinary Frenchman's declamation of Shakspere to ours, or our own Southern pronunciation of Burns to an Ayrshire peasant.

aith = oath, *ai* could not have been (ai). We cannot but feel rejoiced to know that the long neglected Scotch dialects, which are in fact those of Northern England, are undergoing a thorough examination by one so well qualified in every respect as Mr. Murray, who to his local knowledge of the Border dialects, both Scotch and English, and an antiquarian research into their form and history, joins an extensive acquaintance with those languages, both European and Oriental, which have chiefly engaged the attention of philologists, and a long theoretical and practical familiarity with phonetics.

EXTRACTS FROM DAN MICHEL.

Ayenbite of Inwyt.	Aa·en·bii·te of In·wit
PREFACE, p. 1.	
Holy archanle Michael.	Hoo·li ark·aq·gle Mii·kaa·eel·,
Saynt gabriel. and Raphael.	Saint Gaa·brii·eel·, and Raa·faa·eel·,
Ye brenge me to þo castel.	Jee breq·e mee to dhoo kastel·
þer alle zaulen vareþ wel.	Dheer al·e zaul·en faa·reth wel.
Lhord ihesu almigti kyng.	Lord Dzhee·syy· almikht·i kiq,
þet madest, and lokest alle þyng.	Dhet maadst, and loo·kest al·e thiq.
Me þet am þi makyng:	Mee dhet am dhii maa·kiq·,
to þine blisse me þou bryng.	To dhii·ne blis·e mee dhuu briq·
Blind. and dyaf. and alsuo domb.	Blind, and djaf, and al·swo domb,
Of zeuenty yer al uol rond.	Of zev·entii· jeer al vol rond,
Ne ssolle by drage to þe grond:	Ne shol·e bii draagh·e to dhe grond,
Vor peny, uor mark, ne uor pond.	Vor pen·i, vor mark, nee vor pond.
L'ENVOY, p. 262.	
Nou ich wille þet ye ywyte hou hit is y-went:	Nuu itsh wil·e dhet je iwit·e, nuu hit is i-went,
þet þis boc is y-write mid engliss of kent.	dhet dhis book is i-riit·e mid Eq·lish of Kent.
þis boc is y-mad uor lewede men,	Dhis book is i-maad vor leu·ede men,
Vor uader, and uor moder, and uor oþer ken,	Vor vaa·der, and vor mod·er, and vor odh·er ken,
ham uor to berge uram alle manyere zen,	nam vor to bergh·e vram al·e manjee·re zen,
þet ine hare inwyttte ne bleue no uoul wen.	Dhet in·e naar in·wit·e ne blee·ve noo foul wen.
Huo ase god is his name yzed,	'Whoo aa·se God?' is his naam i-zed·,
þet þis boc made god him yeue þet bread,	dhet dhis book maad·e. God him jee·ve dhet breaad
of angles of heuene and þerto his red,	of aq·gelz of neev·en, and dher-too· his reed,
and onderuonge his zaule huanne þet he is dyad.	and on·dervoq· his zaul·e whan dhet nee is djaad.
Amen.	Aa·men.
Ymende. þet þis boc is uol-ueld ine þe eue of þe holy apostles Symon an Iudas, of ane broþer of þe cloystre of sanynt austin of Canterberi, Ine þe yeare of oure lhordes beringe. 1340.	Imend·e. dhet dhis book is volveld· in·e dhe eev of dhe hoo·li apos·t'lz Sii·moon· and Dzhyy·das, of aa·ne broo·dher of dhe kluis·ter of saint Au·stin of Kan·terber·i, in·e dhe jeaa·re of uur Lhord·es beer·iq·e. 1340.

Extracts from Dan Michel.[1]

Pater noster

Vader oure þet art ine heuenes, y-halȝed by þi name. cominde þi riche. y-worþe þi wil, ase ine heuene: and ine erþe. bread oure echedayes: yef ous to day. and uorlet ous oure yeldinges: ase and we uorleteþ oure yelderes. and ne ous led nagt: in-to uondinge. ac vri ous uram queade. zuo by hit.

Pater noster

Vaader uure, dhet art ine heevenes, *i*-halghed bii dhii naame. Koomindhe dhii riitshe. *I*-wordhe dhi wil, as ine heevene, and ine erthe. Breaad uure eetshedaies jef us to dai. And vorleet us ure jeldiqes, ase and wee vorleeteth ure jelderes. And nee us leed nakht intoo vondiqe. Ak vrii us vram kweaadhe. Zwoo bii hit.

Ave Maria

Hayl Marie, of þonke uol. lhord by mid þe. y-blissed þou ine wymmen. and y-blissed þe ouet of þine wombe. zuo by hit.

Aavee Mariia

Hail Mariie, of thoqke vol. Lhord bii mid dhee. *I*blised dhuu ine wimen, and *i*blised dhe oovet of dhiine wombe. Zwoo bii hit.

Credo

Ich leue ine god, uader almigti. makere of heuene, and of erþe. And ine iesu *crist*, his zone on-lepi oure lhord. þet y-kend is, of þe holy gost. y-bore of Marie Mayde. y-pyned onder pouns pilate. y-nayled a rode. dyad. and bebered. yede doun to helle. þane þridde day a-ros uram þe dyade. Steaȝ to heuenes. zit aþe riȝt half of god þe uader al-miȝti. þannes to comene he is, to deme þe quike, and þe dyade. Ich y-leue ine þe holy gost. holy cherche generalliche. Mennesse of halȝen. Lesnesse of zennes. of ulesse arizinge. and lyf eurelestinde. zuo by hyt.

Kreedoo

*I*tsh leeve in God, vaader almikhtii, maakere of heevene and of erthe. And ine Dzheesyy Krist, his zoone oonleepi ure Lhord, dhet ikend is of dhe hoolii Goost, iboore of Mariia Maide, ipiined onder Puuns Piilaate inailed aa roode, djaad, and bebered, jeede duun to hele, dhane thridhe dai aroosvram dhe djaadhe, steaagh to heevenes, zit adhe rikht half of God dhe vaader almikhtii. Dhames to koomene he is, to deeme dhe kwikhe, and dhe djaadhe. *I*tsh ileeve ine dhe hoolii Goost, hoolii tshertshe dzheneralliitshe, meenneshe of halghen, leesneshe of zeenes, of vleshe ariiziqe, and liif everlestinde. Zwoo bii hit.

[1] For the translation of pages 412 and 414, see p. 416.

EXTRACTS FROM RICHARD ROLLE DE HAMPOLE.

The Pricke of Conscience, v. 464–509.

And [when man] was born til þis werldys light,
He ne had nouther strenthe ne myght,
Nouther to ga ne yhit to stand,
Ne to crepe with fote ne with hand.
Þan has a man les myght þan a beste
When he es born, and es sene leste;
For a best, when it is born, may ga
Alstite aftir, and ryn to and fra;
Bot a man has na myght þar-to,
When he es born, swa to do;
For þan may he noght stande ne crepe,
But ligge and sprawel, and cry and wepe.
For unnethes es a child born fully,
Þat it ne bygynnes to goule and cry;
And by þat cry men knaw þan
Whether it be man or weman.
For when it es born it cryes swa:
If it be man it says "a. a,"
Þat þe first letter es of þe nam,
Of our forme-fader Adam.
And if þe child a woman be,
When it es born it says "e. e,"
E es þe first letter and þe hede
Of þe name of Eve þat bygan our dede.
Þarfor a clerk made on þis manere
Þis vers of metre þat is wreten here:
Dicentes E. vel A. quot-quot nascuntur ab Eva.
"Alle þas," he says, "þat comes of Eve,
Þat es al men þat here byhoves leve,
Whan þai er born, what-swa þai be,
Þai say outher a. a. or e. e."
Þus es here þe bygynnyng
Of our lyfe sorow and gretyng,
Til whilk our wrechednes stirres us,
And þarfor Innocent says þus:
Omnes nascimur eiulantes,
ut nature nostre miseriam
exprimamus.
He says, "al er we born gretand,
And makand a sorrowful sembland,
For to shew þe grete wrechednes
Of our kynd þat in us es."
Þus when þe tyme come of oure birthe,
Al made sorow and na mirthe;
Naked we come hider, and bare,
And pure, swa sal we hethen fare.

Conjectured Pronunciation of Richard Rolle de Hampole.

Dhe Prik of Kon·siens· v. 464–509

And [when man] was born til dhis werld·is likht,
Hee nee had nudh·er strenth ne mikht,
Nudh·er to gaa, ne sit to stand,
Nee to kreep with foot ne with hand.
Dhan has a man les mikht dhan a beest
When hee es born, and es seen leest;
For a beest, when it es born, mai gaa
Als·tit aft·ir, and rin too and fraa;
Bot a man has naa mikht dhartoo;
When hee es born, swaa to doo;
For dhan mai he nokht stand ne kreep,
Bot lig and spraul, and krii and weep.
For uneedhz· es a tshild born ful·lii·
Dhat it nee biginz· to guul and krii;
And bii dhat krii men knaau dhan
Whedh·er it be man or woo·man·,
For when it es born it krii·es swaa;
If it bee man it saiz "aa! aa!"
Dhat dhe first let·er is of dhe naam
Of uur form·e-faa·der Aa·daam·.
And if dhe tshild a woo·man· bee,
When it es born it saiz "ee! ee!"
Ee es dhe first let·er and dhe need
Of dhe naam of Eev dhat bigan uur deed.
Dharfoor· a klerk maad on dhis maneer·
Dhis vers of mee·ter dhat is rweet·en heer:
Diisen·tees E. vel Aa. kwot-kwot naskun·tur ab
"Al dhaas," hee saiz, "dhat koomz of Eev, [Ee·vaa·
Dhat es al men, dhat her bihoovz· leev,
When dhai er born, what-swaa· dhai bee,
Dhai sai udh·er aa! aa! or ee! ee!"
Dhus es her dhe bii·gin·iq·
Of uur liif sor·u and greet·iq·,
Til whilk uur rwetsh·ednes stirz us,
And dhar·foor Insosent saiz dhus:
Om·nees nas·imur eedzhyylan·tees
ut naa·tyy·ree nos·tree miser·iam
ekspriimaa·mus.
Hee saiz: "al er wee born greet·and·
And maak·and· a sor·uful sem·bland·,
For to sheu dhe greet rwetsh·ednes
Of uur kind dhat in us es."
Dhus when dhe tiim koom of uur birth,
Al maad sor·u and naa mirth;
Naak·ed wee koom hid·er and baar,
And pyyr, swaa sal wee hedh·en faar.

TRANSLATION OF DAN MICHEL.

Preface.

Holy Archangel Michael,
Saint Gabriel and Raphael,
May ye bring me to the castle
where all souls fare well.
Lord Jesus, almighty king,
That made-st, and keepest all things,
Me, that am thy making,
To thy bliss bring thou me.
Blind and deaf and also dumb,
Of seventy year all full round,
Not shall be dragged to the ground,
For penny, for mark, nor for pound.

L'Envoy.

Now I will that ye wit how it has
gone (happened),
that this book has-been written with
English of Kent.
This book has-been made for un-
learned men,
for fathers, and for mothers, and for
other kin,
them for to save from all maner (of)
sin,
that in their conscience may remain no
evil thought.
"(Mii) Who, (khaa) like (Eel) God?"
i.e. Michael, is his name called,
that this book made. God give him
the bread
of angels of heaven, and thereto his
advice (help),
and receive his soul when that it is
dead.

Amen.

Note, that this book is fulfilled in the eve of the holy apostles Simon and Judas, (27 Oct.), by a brother of the Cloister of St. Austin of Canterbury, in the year of our lord's bearing (birth), 1340.

TRANSLATION OF RICHARD ROLLE DE HAMPOLE.

And [when man] was born to this
world's light,
He had not neither strength nor power,
Neither to go nor yet to stand,
Nor to creep with foot nor hand.
Then has a man less power than a
beast,
When he is born and is seen least;
For a beast, when it is born, may walk
Immediately after, and run to and fro;
But a man has no power thereto,
When he is born, so to do;
For then he may not stand nor creep
but [must] lie and sprawl and cry and
weep.
For hardly is a child born fully,
That it begins not to howl and cry;
And by that cry men know then
Whether it be man or woman.
For when it is born it cries so;
If it be man it says Ah! Ah!
That is the first letter of the name
Of our first-father Adam.
And if the child a woman be,
When it is born it says, Eh! Eh!
E is the first letter and the head
Of the name of Eve that began our
death.
Therefore a clerk made on this manner
This verse of metre that is written
here:
Saying E. or A. as many as are born of Eve.
"All those," he says, "that come of
Eve,
That is, all men that it behoves to
live here,
When they are born, whatsoever they
be,
They say either Ah! Ah! or Eh! Eh!"
Thus is here the beginning
Of our life's sorrow and weeping,
To which our wretchedness stirs us,
And therefore Innocent says thus:
We are all born howling,
that the misery of our nature
we may express.
He says: "All we are born weeping,
And making a sorrowful semblance,
For to shew the great wretchedness
Of our nature that is in us."
Thus when the time came of our birth,
All made sorrow and no mirth;
Naked we came hither and bare,
And poor, so shall we fare (go) hence.

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[Publications]
No. 7

ON

EARLY ENGLISH PRONUNCIATION,

WITH ESPECIAL REFERENCE TO

SHAKSPERE AND CHAUCER,

CONTAINING AN INVESTIGATION OF THE CORRESPONDENCE OF WRITING WITH SPEECH IN ENGLAND, FROM THE ANGLOSAXON PERIOD TO THE PRESENT DAY, PRECEDED BY A SYSTEMATIC NOTATION OF ALL SPOKEN SOUNDS BY MEANS OF THE ORDINARY PRINTING TYPES.

INCLUDING

A RE-ARRANGEMENT OF PROF. F. J. CHILD'S MEMOIRS ON THE LANGUAGE OF CHAUCER AND GOWER, AND REPRINTS OF THE RARE TRACTS BY SALESBURY ON ENGLISH, 1547, AND WELSH, 1567, AND BY BARCLEY ON FRENCH, 1521.

BY

ALEXANDER J. ELLIS, F.R.S.,

FELLOW OF THE CAMBRIDGE PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY, MEMBER OF THE LONDON MATHEMATICAL SOCIETY, MEMBER OF THE COUNCIL OF THE PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY, FORMERLY SCHOLAR OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE, B.A. 1837.

PART II.

ON THE PRONUNCIATION OF THE XIIITH AND PREVIOUS CENTURIES, OF ANGLOSAXON, ICELANDIC, OLD NORSE AND GOTHIC, WITH CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES OF THE VALUE OF LETTERS AND EXPRESSIONS OF SOUND IN ENGLISH WRITING.

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ADDITIONAL CORRIGENDA IN PART I.

p. 13, l. 7 from bottom, *omit* But for convenience, a very brief key is given on p. 16.

Cancel p. 16, which is replaced by pp. 614–5.

p. 105, n. 2, l. 6, *for* bɔlt *read* (bɔlt).

p. 107, l. 4 from bottom of text, *for* (A) *read* (ai).

p. 111, l. 6, *for* (ɔi, ou) *read* (ɔi, ɔu).

p. 118, l. 6 from bottom, *for* tems *read* tems.

p. 119, l. 15, for *aryl* read *rayl*.

p. 141, l. 8 from bottom, *omit* as we sounded lyke.

p. 153, l. 9 and 3 from bottom of text, *omit* and which, *and* that the change.

p. 254, n. 1, l. 6, *omit* (possibly a reference to St. Mary le bon); n. 3, *add at the end of this note*: See note on v. 672, Chap. VII. § 1.

p. 265, l. 24—26, *omit* But *susteene* . . . 8323.

p. 309, n. 1, l. 3, for *z* read *g*.

p. 333, l. 26—29, *read* "Tyrwhitt, and the MSS. of the Six-Text Edition of Chaucer, read *thilke* for *the*." *Omit* another mode . . . wikkedly.

p. 333, n. 1, l. 8, *for* Hengwit *read* Hengwrt.

p. 336, n., supply [1].

p. 347, art. 17, l. 10, *for* -înngë *read* -inngë.

p. 355, art. 53, *for* Ex. to (*c*), *read* Ex. to (*a*).

p. 371, Ex. col. 1, l. 28, *before* wiltow *insert* (*c*).

p. 388, *after* Manhood *insert* 14.

p. 407, table col. 2, l. 4, *for* "(ou) *o oo oa*" *read* "(oo) *o oo oa*." *Note that* "(ou) *ou ow*" *in col.* 3, *l.* 4 *is correct*.

CORRIGENDA IN PART II.

p. 473, n. col. 2, l. 1, *for* p. 446 *read* p. 447.

p. 477, n. 2, l. 3, *omit* more.

p. 506, n. 2, last word, *for* (riú·le) *read* (ruu·le), *See p. 573, under IU*.

p. 562, *translation*, verse 13, l. 4, *for* yon, *read* yonder.

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NOTICE.

On account of the unexpected length of the present investigations, the Societies for which they are published have found it most convenient to divide them into *four* parts, instead of *two* as previously contemplated. The present second part concludes most of the researches themselves. The third part, containing Chapters VII. and VIII., is in the press, and will be ready by January, 1870. Chapter VII. will contain an introduction to the specimen of Chaucer; a critical text of the Prologue to the Canterbury Tales, with especial reference to final *e*, metrical peculiarities, and introduction of French words, together with the conjectured pronunciation; a passage from Gower, printed for the first time, according to three MSS. with the conjectured pronunciation; and a specimen of Wycliffe. Chapter VIII. will contain Salesbury's and Barcley's works; specimens of phonetic writing in the xvi th century, by Hart, Bullokar, Gill, and Butler; a Pronouncing Vocabulary of the period; an account of French and Latin pronunciation in the xvi th century; an examination of Spenser's and Shakspere's rhymes, and Shakspere's puns; and an attempt to restore Shakspere's pronunciation. The fourth part, will treat of English pronunciation during the xvii th and xviii th centuries, and of dialectic usages, and will contain full indices to every part of the work, but the time of its appearance cannot yet be announced.

A. J. E.

Kensington,
1 Aug., 1869.

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CHAPTER V.

On the Pronunciation of English during the Thirteenth and Previous Centuries, and of the Teutonic and Scandinavian Sources of the English Language.

§ 1. *Rhymed Poems of the Thirteenth Century and Earlier.*

It remains for us to apply the method employed for ascertaining the pronunciation of English during the XIV th century, to the discovery, if possible, of that of the XIII th century, and for this purpose it is necessary to examine the rhymed poems of this date in manuscripts which seem to belong with certainty to that period. Poems composed in the XIII th century, but transcribed in the XIV th, and therefore presenting the peculiar orthography of the latter period, are of little use for our purpose. This will account for the rejection of many rhymed poems which belong to this period. The following cases have been selected with some care.

The Cuckoo Song and Prisoner's Prayer, which stand first, have their antiquity well established, and possess the great advantage of a contemporary musical setting, which is of considerable assistance in determining the pronunciation or elision of the final *e*. As the old notation of music requires especial study to read, faithful translations into the modern notation, preserving exactly the number and pitch of the notes, have been printed. This is precisely similar to reducing the manuscript letters to the form of Roman types, extending the contractions and pointing. In the first piece the time of each note is accurately determined in the original, and is strictly observed in the transcript. In the second, which is in *plain chant*, this is not the case, and hence such time has been assigned as was suggested by a careful examination of the notes in connection with the words.

In approaching these earlier poems we stand already upon very secure ground. The values of *a, ai, au, e, ei, eu, i, ie, o, oi, ou*, as (aa a, ai, au, ee e, ei ai, eu, ii i, ee, oo o, ui, oou ou) have every appearance of being the most ancient possible, and the only doubtful points turn on such fine

distinctions as (a *a*, e ɛ, i *i*), which it would be impossible to determine from the rhymes alone with certainty, since the necessarily strongly provincial character of all early poems, will certainly admit of rhymes apparently lax, which only represent peculiar pronunciations. In fact there was no longer a common or a recognized superior dialect, for the English language had long ceased to be that of the nobility. From the Anglo-Saxon Charters of the Conqueror down to the memorable proclamation issued by Henry III. (see below, p. 498), and for a century afterwards, the English language was ignored by the authorities, and was only used by or for "lewd men."[1] But there was a certain amount of education among the priests, who were the chief writers, and who saved the language from falling into the helplessness of peasant dialogue.

The chief points of difficulty are the use of *ou* for (uu, u), the use of *u* for (yy, y) and even (*i*, e), and of *eu* for (yy). The meaning of *ea*, *eo*, *oa*, practically unused in the XIV th century, has also to be determined. The result of the present investigation may be conveniently anticipated. It will be found that *ou* was not used at all for (uu, u) till near the close of the XIII th century, when the growing use of *u* for (yy) or (i, e), rendered the meaning of *u* uncertain. But in the pure XIII th century writings *u* only is employed for (uu), and becomes a test orthography (p. 408). The combination *eu* or *ew*, does not seem to have been used except as (eu). The combinations *ea*, *eo*, so frequently rhyme with *e*, and interchange with it orthographically, that their meaning was probably intentionally (ea, eo), with the stress on the first element, and the second element obscure,[2] so that the result, scarcely differed from (ee') or even (ee). The combination *oa* was either (aa) or (*aa*). The consonants seem to have been the same as in the XIV th century, although ȝ may possibly have retained more of the (*g*h) than the (ɹ) character.

[1] Man og to luuen ðat rimes ren,
ðe Wilfed wel ðe *logede men*,
hu man may him wel loken
ðog he ne be lered on no boken,
Luuen god and feruen him ay.
Genesis and Exodus, 1–5.
þis boc is y-mad *uor leuede men*.
Ayenbite of Inwyt, suprà p. 412.

[2] The general rule for the stress upon the elements of diphthongs is that it falls upon the first, but this rule is occasionally violated. Thus in many combinations with initial (i, u) the stress falls on the second element, in which case, according to some writers, the first element falls into (ɹ, w), which however, others deny. In (iu, ui) the stress is properly on the first element, as also in most provincial diphthongs beginning with (i), as (stiaan, m*ie*n) = stone, mane. But in Italian *chiaro*, *ghiaccio* (*k*iaa·ro, *g*iat·tshio) the (i) is touched quite lightly, and is almost evanescent, so that (kjaa·ro, gjat·tsho) would generally be thought enough. A method is therefore required for indicating the stress, when difficulty might arise, or when it is

1. The Cuckoo Song (with the Music), circà A.D. 1240.

The Harleian MS. 978, in the British Museum, was a monk's album or commonplace book. It is a small vellum MS. entirely of the XIIIth century, but evidently written by many hands at different times. The contents are very miscellaneous. It begins with several musical pieces, some with and some without words. Latin, French, and English; it proceeds to give an account of musical notation and tones, then suddenly commences a calendar, of which only the first two months are complete, though the others are blocked in. Then comes a letter to Alexander the Great on the preservation of health, Avicenna on the same, account of the seasons, melancholy, etc., all in Latin. On fo. 24, the language changes to French, and we have recipes for oxymel, hypocrase, etc. On fo. 32, the hand changes, but the recipes are continued. The language reverts to Latin on fo. 32*b*, and the hand changes again on fo. 33*b*, col. 2, line 2. Without pursuing the catalogue further, we may notice a change of hand again on fo. 37 and fo. 38, where a beautifully written French Esop commences. We have again a different hand on fo. 66*b*, and so on. In the later part of the volume is a Latin poem of (twice) 968 lines on the Battle of Lewes, 14th May, 1264, (printed by Mr. T. Wright in his *Political Songs*, pp. 72–121), in which the cause of the Barons against Henry III., is so warmly taken,[1] that it must have been composed, and probably also transcribed, before they were utterly routed and ruined

abnormal, and for this purpose the acute accent may be used, as (*ḱ*iáa·ro, *ǵ*iát·tshio), and similarly (eá, eó) in some theoretical pronunciations of anglo-saxon, and this accent may be used in all cases if desired. In Icelandic I have heard the triphthong (*ioo*u) with the unusual stress on the first, and (ie) when apparently (ié) was written, and in such cases the mark is indispensable. In Icelandic, I have also found it necessary to symbolize a very faint pronunciation of a letter, rather indicated than pronounced, rather felt by the speaker than heard by the listener, by prefixing ⌊ a cut [, to such a letter, as the symbol of *evanescence*, so that we might write (e⌊a) for (éa) that is (ea), or (*ḱ*⌊iaa·ro, *ǵ*⌊iat·tsh⌊io) if preferred. If it is wished to shew that a whole word or phrase is so spoken, then it should be enclosed between ⌊⌉; thus, clergymen will frequently faintly indicate words preceeding an accented syllable, as (⌊'n *it*⌉ ·kee⌊*im* ⌊t·⌉ paĥs) = *and it came to pass*. These symbols must be considered as appended to the list of palaeotypic signs, suprà p. 12.

[1] Compare the opening lines—

Calamus velociter
scribe sic scribentis,
Lingua laudabiliter
te benedicentis,
Dei patris dextera,
domine virtutum,
Qui das tuis prospera
quando vis ad nutum;
In te jam confidere
discant universi,
Quos volebant perdere
qui nunc sunt dispersi.
Quorum caput capitur,
membra captivantur;
Gens elata labitur,
fideles lætantur.
Jam respirat Anglia,
sperans libertatem;
Cuï Dei gratia
det prosperitatem!
Comparati canibus
Angli viluerunt,
Sed nunc victis hostibus
caput extulerunt.

Wright prints each pair of lines in one, as in the original MS., but the rhymes point out this present division, which doubles the number of lines in the

at Evesham, 4th Aug. 1265. This is therefore important in fixing the date of the MS., but Sir Frederick Madden assigns to the first portion of the MS. a date twenty or thirty years earlier, and believes that the writer, that is, transcriber,—by no means, necessarily, author—was a monk of the Monastery at Reading, founded by Henry I, 1125.[1]

poem. It was be seen from these lines what smoothness of versification the monks in the XIII th century were accustomed to, with only some slight accentual liberties, and what perfect rhymes they formed in Latin. We shall find the same smoothness in a very similar metre in Orrmin, and hence must expect that the English versification of the present period will also run without stumbling, unless the writer is very uncultivated.

[1] The following notes are written in pencil at the beginning of the volume. "The whole is of the thirteenth century, except some writing on ff. 15*b*–17. F.M."—"In all probability the earlier portion of this volume was written in the Abbey of Reading, about the year 1240. Compare the *Obits* in the Calendar with those in the Calendar of the Cartulary of Reading, in MS. Cott. Vesp. E.V. F.M. April 1862." Mr. William Chappell has kindly favoured me with the inspection of a letter from Sir F. Madden, in which he gives the grounds for this opinion, and as the date of the MS. is of considerable importance to our investigation I add an abstract of the same, which Sir F. M. has politely revised. 1. It is certain that the first part of the MS. (say the first 30 folios) is considerably older than the second, which contains the poem on the battle of Lewes composed 1264. 2. In this first part is a portion of a calendar, containing the obits of Abbots Roger 19 Jan. [1164]; Auscherius 27 Jan. [1135]; Reginald 3 Feb. [1158]; Joseph 8 Feb. [circà 1180]; and Symon 13 Feb. [1226]. In *Browne Willis's* History of the Mitred Parliamentary Abbies, etc., 1718, vol 1, p. 159, all these Abbots are named, as Abbots of Reading. 3. The complete calendar, left unfinished in Harl. 978, is found [with the exception of Dec.] in the Cartulary of Reading, Cotton MS. Vesp. E.V. fo. 11*b* to fo. 16*b*. The latest obit recorded in the old writing of the months after Feb., is that of Abbot Adam de Latebury, 6 April 1238, all later obits are in a clearly marked later hand. The part of the Cartulary coeval with the Calendar was written about 1240, for fo. 22*b* contains a charter dated 24 Henry III., 1239-40, and at fo. 33*b* is a marginal note written subsequently to the text, and dated 29 Hen. III., 1244-5. In Jan. and Feb. the obits are the same as in Harl. 978, [with this difference that in the Harl. MS. Abbot Roger's obit is given under 19 Jan., and in the Cotton MS. under 20 Jan.] From these facts Sir F. M. "considers it proved by internal evidence, First, that the Calendar in both MS." and consequently the preceding parts, "was written in 1240 or very little later. Secondly, that the Calendars... were undoubtedly written at Reading, by a monk of that house. Lastly," he adds, "there is a remarkable entry in the Calendar of Harl. 978 (but omitted in that of Vesp. E.V.) on St. Wulstan's day, 19th Jan., as follows:—*Ora, Wulstane, pro nostro fratre Johanne de de Fornsete.* I am strongly tempted to regard this John de Fornsett, (who, from his name must have been a native of Norfolk), as the Scribe of the MS., for I cannot otherwise account for the odd introduction of his name in the Calendar." The entry referred to is literally as follows, the italics indicating extended contractions:—"XIII *kalendas* Wlstani *episcopi obiit* Rogerus abb*as*. Ora Wlstane *pro nos*tro fr*atre* Johanne de fornfete." The omission of the *u* after *W*, as in *Wulstan* is not uncommon, but it is noteworthy in this place, because in the English Song, which will be presently given at length, *wde* for *wude* occurs, and this à priori connects the two writers together, but of course the person who wrote that entry, which is in exactly the same handwriting as the rest, could not have been John of Fornsett. Hence I should consider this entry as making it highly probable that this monk was *not* the scribe, and the singular insertion may be due to his having been an intimate friend

This MS. contains on fo. 10*b*. the music and words of the CUCKOO SONG, which, Mr. W. Chappell says, "is not only one of the first English songs with or without music, but the first example of counterpart in six parts, as well as of fugue, catch, and canon; and at least a century, if not two hundred years, earlier than any composition of the kind produced out of England."[1] This song which

of the scribe. The MS. was evidently one for private use, and this note of a friend's death is anything but surprising. "You are probably right as to John de Fornsete not being the scribe," remarks Sir F. M., "still the introduction of his name is very singular, and I do not recollect any other instance of a *friend* being thus commemorated." The above historical external evidence of the real date of this MS., is rendered the more important because Hawkins 2, 93, and Burney 2, 405 in their Histories of Music, attribute it to the XV th century, "misled," says Sir F. M., "by an ignorant note of Dr. Gifford on the fly-leaf of the volume," and by the nature of the musical composition, which they supposed could not have been written before the time of John of Dunstable in the XV th century, an opinion refuted by Mr. W. Chappell, who quotes Walter Odlington, 1228-1240 (Scriptorum de Musica Medii Ævi novam seriem a Gerbertina alteram collegit nunc primum edidit *E. de Coussemaker*, Paris, 1863, 4to., p. 245) to this effect: "Habet quidem Discantus species plures. Et si quod unus cantat omnes per ordinem recitent, vocatur *Rondellus*, id est, *rotabilis* vel circumductus." We also know that the English spelling of *Cuckoo* in the XV th century was *Cuckow*, not *Cucu*, which could only have been used in the XIII th.

[1] *W. Chappell*, F.S.A. Popular Music of the olden time, a collection of Ancient Songs, Ballads, and Dance Tunes, illustrative of the National Music of England, etc. The whole of the airs harmonized by G. A. Macfarren. (Printed 1855-9) p. 23. Mr. Chappell has given a facsimile of this song as the title page to his work, and says, in the explanation of that plate: "The composition is in what was called 'perfect time,' and therefore every long note must be treated as dotted, unless it is immediately followed by a short note (here of diamond shape) to fill the time of the dot. The music is on six lines, and if the lowest line were taken away, the remaining would be the five now employed in part music, where the C clef is used on the third line for a counter-tenor voice. ... The Round has been recently sung in public, and gave so much satisfaction, even to modern hearers, that a repetition was demanded." He adds in another place, p. 23:— "The chief merit of this song is the airy and pastoral correspondence between the words and music, and I believe its superiority to be owing to its having been a national song and tune, selected according to the custom of the time as a basis for harmony, and that it is not entirely a scholastic composition. The fact of its having a natural drone bass would tend rather to confirm this view than otherwise. The bagpipe, the true parent of the organ, was then in use as a rustic instrument throughout Europe. The rote, too, which was in somewhat better estimation, had a drone, like the modern hurdy-gurdy, from the turning of its wheel. When the canon is sung the key-note may be sustained *throughout*, and it will be in accordance with the rules of modern harmony. But the foot or burden, as it stands in the ancient copy, will produce a very indifferent effect on a modern ear,— we ought perhaps to except the lover of Scotch reels—from its constantly making fifths and octaves with the voices, although such progressions were not forbidden by the laws of music in that age. No subject would be more natural for a pastoral song than the approach of summer, and, curiously enough, the late Mr. Bunting noted down an Irish song from tradition, the title of which he translated 'Summer is coming,' and the tune begins in the same way. That is the air to which Moore adapted the words, 'Rich and rare were the gems she wore.'" This resemblance is perfectly fortuitous, and does not extend beyond the first three notes, the fourth note of the Irish

is so great a musical curiosity, is also a valuable contribution to our knowledge of early English pronunciation. In order to make the song more readily legible, it will be here interpreted into the ordinary musical notation,[1] the English words in Roman type, and below them the Latin hymn, by which it perhaps obtained its introduction into the monk's commonplace book,[2] in Italics, (which when used for entire passages will indicate red ink,) and a literal translation of the notes into modern music. On the opposite page will be given the metrical arrangement, conjectured pronunciation, and literal translations.[3] See pp. 426, 427.

air runs into a totally different chord. The fact that the song was in *six* parts, has occasioned some persons to suppose that it was alluded to in the last stanza of the 'Turnament of totenham,' Harl. MS. 5396, fo. 310, the handwriting of which is referred to A.D. 1456. As the stanza is not printed quite correctly in Percy's *Reliques*, 2nd ed., ii, 15, it may be added here as transcribed from the original MS. It is scarcely right to suppose, however, that the Cuckoo Song was the only six part song known.

At þat feſt þay were ſeruyd with a ryche a ray
Euery .v. *and* v had a cokenay
And ſo þay ſat in ioliyte al þe lang day
And at þe laſt þay went to bed with ful gret deray
mekyl myrth was þem amang
In euery corner of þe hous
Was melody delyeyous
For to here preeyus
of vj menys ſang.

Dr. Rimbault has published a modern version of this song in his Ancient Vocal Music of England, Novello, No. 13, in which he says: "the editor has followed an ancient transcript in the Pepysian Library, which omits the two bass parts forming the burden, in the Museum copy, and has added an Accompaniment upon a drone bass. The effect produced is considerably improved." Dr. Rimbault has politely informed me in a private letter to Mr. G. A. Macfarren, that he obtained his copy of this transcript from the late Prof. Walmisley of Cambridge, in 1838. Mr. Aldis Wright kindly made a search for the original in the Pepysian Library, but was unable to find a trace of it.

[1] Hawkins and Burney (suprà, p. 420, note 1, near the end,) have given translations with all the parts written at length, but have not arranged the words properly. In the present interpretation the arrangement of the original is followed, and for one deviation from the former translations I am indebted to Mr. William Chappell.

[2] Mr. G. A. Macfarren, the composer, in reply to my question whether he considered the English or Latin words to have been the original, says: "I am strongly of opinion that the music was composed to the English words, and the Latin Hymn afterwards adapted to it, because it was a common practice to adapt sacred words to secular tunes (as for instance, Thomas, archbishop of York in the XI th century and Richard Vichys of Ossory in the XIV th wrote many such), but it would have been regarded as a desecration to appropriate a church theme to a secular subject. Witness also the many masses set to music, throughout which the French song of *L'homme Armé* is employed as a canto fermo, and Josquin de Pré's Mass on this Song in praise of Chess, in proof of this same church practice." To this we may add that there are no Latin words to the *Pes* or *Burden*, which is an essential part of the harmony.

[3] This arrangement is reprinted from the work cited below, p. 498. As respects the language, all the words are ags. except c u c c u, s t e r t, u e r t. The first c u c c u as we shall see is onomatopoetic (imsonic, or mimetic), the second s t e r t, and its diminutive *startle*, is fully at home in the German, old sturzan, new stürzen, and Scandinavian, Danish styrte, Swedish störta, and may be a development of *stir*, or may be related to the same root as ags. steortan *to erect*, steort *a tail*, steart *a spine*, see Dief. Goth. W. 2, 304, 315, 333, Wedgewood, Etym. Dict. 3, 314. As to the third u e r t, Dr. Stratmann suggests *fert*, which would be the

The musical notes, with their precise value in time, and the Latin hymn, determine the number of syllables. As we find however the Latin accent occasionally violated (*non parcéns, vité dónát ét secúm corónát*), we cannot be surprised at a similar violation of the English, in *Wél singés þu*. Taking the notes as interpreted on p. 426, it would seem easy to rearrange the words so as to avoid this false accentuation, but the ligatures of the original, corresponding to the slurs in the translation, forbid this rearrangement, which, with other liberties, Hawkins and Burney have not hesitated to adopt. Hence we find that this termination *-es*, might be, and probably was, fully pronounced. On the other hand, the termination *-eþ*, although fully pronounced in *groweþ*, *bloweþ*, was elided, either after a vowel or consonant, when convenient for the metre as in *springþ*; or for the music, as in *lhouþ*. In the latter case the metre would require the syllable *-eþ* to be fully pronounced, compare

Awe bleteþ after lomb
Loueþ after calue cu,

but the musician ventured not only to dock a syllable, but to put the whole heavy truncated word *lhouþ* to a short note. This may teach us that our older and ruder poets did not hesitate to lay words on a Procrustean bed. In *med*, *bulluc*, ags. *medu*, *bulluca*, the poet took the same liberty, and elided the final *-e*, for the rhyme in the first case, for the metre in the second. This precisely agrees with what we determined to be the occasional practice of the XIV th century (p. 342, No. 5), and shews that the omission was absolute, not a mere slurring over or lightly touching of the sound. We must consider that the words were felt to be as really truncated as *Ruh'* for *Ruhe* appears to be in modern German speech, for we have the essential *-e* preserved in *wde*, *awe*, *bucke*, the dative *-e* in *calue*, the adverbial *-e* in *lhude*, *murie*, all of which have a distinct musical note assigned. In the last word, however, both vowels in *-ie* are given to one note, as *many a time* would be given to three notes only in modern ballads.

The principal fact, however, that we learn from this song, as to the pronunciation of the letters in the XIII th century, is that long (uu) which was represented generally by *ou* and occasionally by *o*, but never by *u*, in the XIV th century, was now invariably represented by *u*. This is deduced from the word *cuccu*, which is manifestly an imitation of the cry of the bird,[1] as in French *coucou*, old French *coucoul*, Italian *cuculo*, German *kukuk*, *kuckuk*, Dutch *koekoek* (kuu·kuuk), Latin *cuculus*, *coccyx*, Greek *κόκκυξ*, Sanscrit *kokila*.[2]

ags. feortan, *pedere*, but this change of *f* into *v*, although frequent in old MSS, is not confirmed by any other usage in the present poem, and the use of a Norman word *vert* in a hunting phrase seems natural. The use of the word as a verb, however, requires confirmation.

[1] The musical interval of the cry is a descending minor third, which the composer has not imitated, the only instance in which he has introduced such an interval in connection with the cry, being in v. 6, where in *sing cuccu* he first descends and then ascends a minor third, the notes being *f d f*.

[2] "*Cuckoo* in English is clearly a mere imitation of the cry of that bird, even more so then the corresponding terms in Greek, Sanskrit, and Latin. In these languages the imitative element has received the support of a derivative suffix; we have *kokiꞩ* in Sanskrit, and

The sound must have been (kuk·kuu·) or (kuk·kuu·) or simply (kuk·u), as at present. The orthography may be compared with the *cuckow* of Chaucer 1717-1 (suprà p. 305), where the short (u) remains the same, but the long (uu) is represented by *ow*. Agreeing with this we have *lhude*, *nu*, *cu*, *þu* which were *lowde loude*, *now*, *cow*, *thou* in Chaucer. And thus the characteristic difference between the orthographies of the XIII th and XIV th centuries (p. 408,) is established by reference to a bird's cry, which cannot have changed.

But *u* in the XIII th century did not always represent the sounds (uu, u), as we see by the word *murie*, which however is not enough in itself, or even when compared with the ags. *mirige*, to establish the second sound of *u* as (i) or (e), or originally (y) as previously suggested (p. 299). In *Hali Meidenhad*[1] we constantly find *u* for *i* or *y*. Thus in the first page, *bliðeluker* ags. bliðelice, blithely, *lustni* ags. lystnan, listen, *brudlac*, ags. brydlac, marriage gift, *cluppinge* ags. clyppan, clip embrace, *hwuch* ags. hwile, which, *þuncheð* ags. *þincan*, seem; *euch* each, in which last word the sound (eutsh) is almost unthinkable. The town of *Hertford* is so spelled in the French version of the English proclamation of Henry III, but appears as *Hurtford*, in the contemporary English version, 1258. The conclusion seems to be rather that the *u*, which was properly and generally employed as (uu, u), was coming into use to replace the ags. *y* (y), which it succeeded in doing by the end of the XIII th century, thereby necessitating the recurrence to *ou* for (uu). Was this double use of *u*, then, due to the Norman influence? In the French version of the Proclamation already cited,[2] we have *Cunte*, *tuz*, *nus*, *pur*, *sicum*, *iurz*, *sunt*, etc., in which *u* was most probably (uu, u), while in *Duc*, *saluz*, *greignure*, *esluz*, *iurgent*, *desuz*, etc., the sound could hardly have been other than (yy, y). The Norman *u* derived from Latin *u* may have been frequently (yy), and that derived from Latin *o*, may have been generally (uu). The point is not yet satisfactorily established,[3] and the English and Nor-

kokkyx in Greek, *cuculus* in Latin, (Pott. Etymologische Forschungen, i. 84; Zeitschrift, iii. 43). *Cuckoo* is, in fact, a modern word, which has taken the place of the Anglosaxon *geac* [*gæk*], the German *Gauch* (gaukch), and, being purely onomatopoëtic, it is of course not liable to the changes of Grimm's Law. As the word *cuckoo* predicates nothing but the sound of a particular bird, it could never be applied for expressing any general quality in which other animals might share; and the only derivatives to which it might give rise are words expressive of a metaphorical likness with the bird. The same applies to *cock*, the Sanskrit *kukkuta*." Max Müller, Lectures on the Science of Language, 1861, p. 347. Pott, in the passage referred to, gives as other names for the cuckoo, old Slavonic gz'egz'olka, Lithuanian ge'guz'ē, Lettish dſeggunſe and Lithuanian kukóti, to scream like a cuckoo, old Norse gaukr (gɑɔ·ikr) etc., and gives other examples of names of birds from their cry. Cumberland (gauk), Scotch (gɑuk).

[1] Hali Meidenhad, from MS. Cott. Titus D. xviii. fol. 112*e*; an alliterative homily of the thirteenth century, edited by Oswald Cockayne, M.A., once of St. John's College, Cambridge; published for the Early English Text Society, 1866. 8vo. pp. 50.

[2] Both versions are given below, pp. 500–505, accurately printed from the originals in the Public Record Office.

[3] Mr. Payne is of opinion that the Norman *u*, *ui*, were always (uu). Com-

man orthographies derive so differently, that in the XIII th century they can scarcely be held to influence each other. Hence the introduction of *ou* for (uu) into English may be a native development, as already stated, and not due to French customs. The frequent appearance of *u*, where *i* would be expected, in Western English, as in *dude*, *lute* for *dide*, *lite*, may at most indicate a wider geographical extension of that sound (y) which is now nearly confined in the west to Devonshire. In our inability however to determine the last, especially in Eastern and Southern English, where we find the orthographies *u*, *i*, *e* interchanging, we have no choice but to pronounce as *i*, *e* (*i*, e). See the remarks on the same use of *u* in the XIV th century, suprà pp. 298–300. Numerous examples will occur in the following pages of this section.

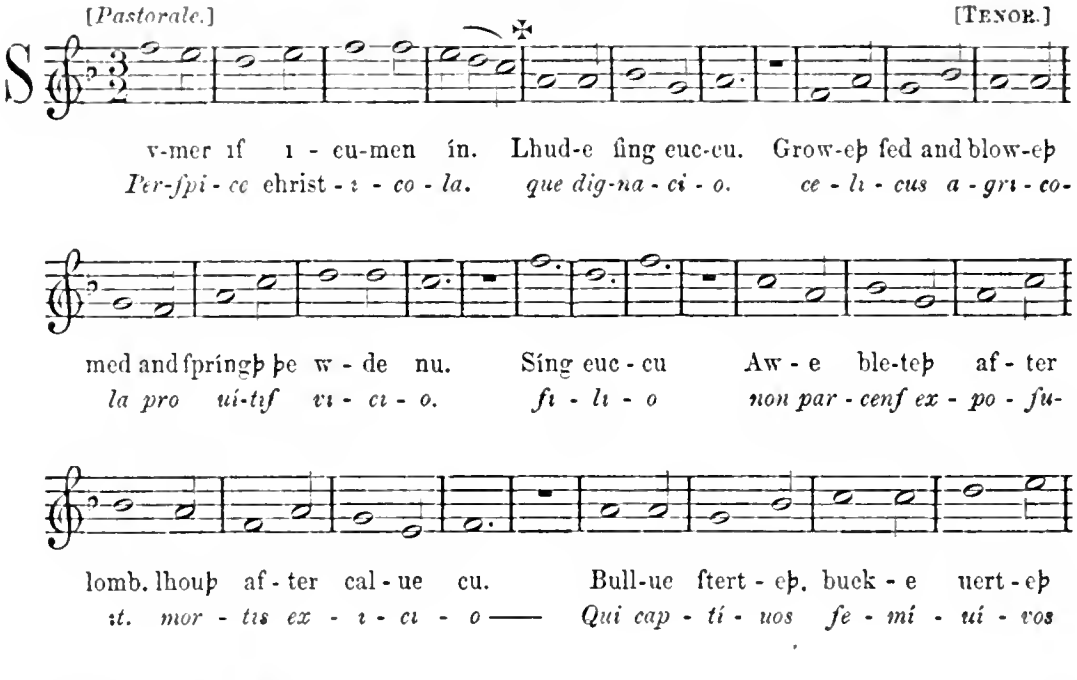
We gather then from the Cuckoo Song: 1) that *ou*, *ow* were used for (oou) only, as in *lhouþ*, *groweþ*, ags. hlowan, growan, and never for (uu, u) which were uniformly represented by *u*, but *u* itself was probably ambiguous, and also represented an actual or older (yy, y), which was interchangeable with *i*, *e*; 2) that *e* final was regularly pronounced, but might be suppressed even not before a vowel, when required for the metre or rhyme; 3) that *-eþ* might be pronounced or suppressed; 4) that *-es* might be so distinctly pronounced as to be sung to an accented note.

As regards the remaining letters and combinations no information is given, but on the other hand there is no reason to suppose them different from the sounds already obtained for the XIV th century. The words are practically the same. The consonants no doubt had not altered. The vowels *a*, *e*, *o* had already received their most ancient powers (a, e, o). The only doubt affects *i*, which in the XIV th century we concluded to be (*ii*, *i*). There can be little doubt that the Latin value of these letters was (ii, i), but it does not follow that when the Saxons changed their runic for the Roman alphabet, they actually said (ii, i). If they had said (*ii*, *i*) it would have been near enough. In subsequent examples we shall frequently find *i*, *e* short confused, which would still lead us to suppose that *i* short was (*i*) rather than (i). But from this time forth the evidence is not strong enough for long *i* being (*ii*). It certainly could not have been (ai), if we were right in concluding that it was (*ii*) in the XIV th century (p. 297). In this doubtful state of the case, I shall adopt (ii, i) as the long and short sound of *i*, in all my indications of the pronunciation of the XIII th century and earlier, and content myself with recording here once for all that I consider the short *i* to have been certainly (*i*), and that the time when long *i* passed from (*ii*) into (ii), if there ever was such a time in England, is unknown. Upon these grounds I have drawn up the pronunciation exhibited on (p. 427).

pare: bure mesaventure, bure couvertnre from King Horn, infrà p. 480, and the spelling *huis muis*, p. 449. When the spelling *ou* was established for (uu), *u* had almost certainly the sound of (yy), and it is possible that this later orthography may be a guide to the oldest pronunciation.

THE CUCKOO SONG.

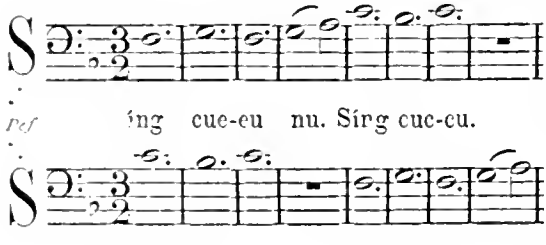
From the Harleian MS. 978, *fo.* 10 *b.*



Hanc rotam cantare poſſunt quatuor ſocij. A pauciori-buſ autem quam a tribus uel ſaltem duobus non debet dici. preter eoſ qui dicunt pedem. Canitur autem ſic. Tacentibus ceteriſ unus inchoat cum hijſ qui tenent pedem. Et cum uenerit ad primam notam post crucem ſ inchoat aliuſ. & ſic de ceteris ſinguli uero repauſent ad pauſacioneſ ſcriptas & non alibi ſ ſpacio uniuſ longe note—

hoc repetit unus quocienſ opus eſt ſ facienſ pauſacionem in fine.

hoc dicit alius. pauſans in medio & non in fine. Sed immediate repetens principium.



THE CUCKOO SONG.

From the Harleian MS. 978, fo. 10*b*.

Early English Original.	*Conjectured Pronunciation.*
Svmer ıf ıcumen ín.	Suu·mer is ikuu·men in.
Lhude ſíng cuccu.	Lhuu·de siq, kuk·kuu·!
Groweþ ſed	Groou·eth seed,
and bloweþ med	And bloou·eth meed,
and ſpríngþ þe wde nu.	And spriqth dhe uud·e nuu.
Síng cuccu	Siq, kuk·kuu·!
Awe bleteþ after lomb.	Au·e bleet·eth af·ter lomb,
lhouþ after calue cu.	Lhoouth af·ter kal·ve kuu.
Bulluc ſterteþ.	Bul·uuk stert·eth,
bucke uerteþ	Buk·e vert·eth,
Murıe ſíng cuccu.	Mer·ie siq, kuk·kuu!
Cuccu cuccu	Kuk·kuu·! kuk·kuu·!
Wel ſíngeſ þu cuccu	Wel siq·es dhuu, kuk·kuu·!
ne ſwık þu nauer nu.	Nee swiik dhuu nav·er nuu.
Pes.	*Pees.*
Síng cuccu nu. Síng cuccu.	Siq, kuk·kuu·, nuu! Siq, kuk·kuu·!
Síng cuccu. Síng cuccu nu.	Siq, kuk·kuu·! Siq, kuk·kuu·, nuu!

Verbal Translation of the Early English.—Summer has come in, Loudly sing, cuckoo! Grows seed, And blossoms mead, And springs the wood now. Sing, cuckoo! Ewe bleats after lamb, Lows after (its) calf (the) cow. Bullock leaps, Buck verts (seeks the green), Merrily sing, cuckoo! Cuckoo, cuckoo! Well singest thou, cuckoo, Cease thou not never now. *Burden.* Sing, cuckoo, now! sing, cuckoo! Sing, cuckoo! sing, cuckoo, now!

Latin Hymn to the same notes.—Perſpice Xp'ıcola.—que dignacio.—celicus—agrıcola—pro uitıſ vicio.—fılio—non pareenſ exposuit—mortıs exicio—Qui captíuos—ſemíuíuos—a supplicio—vite donat—et seeum coronat—ín celi ſolio.

Verbal Translation of the Latin Hymn.—Behold, Christ-Worshipper (*Christicola*) What condescension! From heaven The husbandman For the fault of the vine, His son Not sparing has exposed To the destruction of death, Who the captives Half-alive From punishment Gives to life, And crowns with him In heaven's throne.

Three peculiarities will here be noticed (au·e, lomb, nav·er), corresponding to *awe, lomb, naver*, in the MSS. Since, then, the scribe is supposed by Sir F. Madden to have been a Norfolk man, I endeavoured to write the song in the present Norfolk pronunciation, and having submitted the following to competent revision I believe that it is sufficiently correct to shew that if the old pronunciation, already given (p. 427), has any claim to consideration, there is no ground to suppose that the song was written in an East Anglian dialect. The East Midland form *singes*, which may have been a scribal error for *singest*, is the only East Anglian point of grammar, and *nauer* of sound.

Norfolk Pronunciation of the Cuckoo Song.

(Sɔm-ɪ *iz* kɔm *in*.
LEud·li *siq*, k*u*kuu·!
Graau·eth seed,
And blaau·eth meed,
And spr*iq*th dhe *a*d NEU.
S*iq*, k*u*kuu·!
*Joo*u bleet·eth aft·ɪ lam,
Laauth aft·ɪ kalf KEU,
Bul·ak staat·eth,
Bak waat·eth,
Mer·ili *siq*, k*u*kuu·!
K*u*kuu·, k*u*kuu·!
WEl *siq*·est dhEU, k*u*kuu·!
Not sees dhEU næv·ɪ NEU).

2. THE PRISONER'S PRAYER (WITH THE MUSIC), CIRCÀ A.D. 1270.

In the Record Room of the Town Clerk's Office in the Guildhall of the City of London, is preserved an old quarto vellum manuscript known as the *Liber de Antiquis Legibus*, of which a re-arranged transcription was made by Mr. Stapleton for the Camden Society,[1] and a translation has been more recently published by Mr. Riley.[2] Neither of these works mention a poem in Norman French and English, with musical notes, which is inserted at the end of the volume, although Mr. Stapleton gives passages which occur immediately before and after it, and upon one of the pages of the song. Both transcriber and translator seem to have considered the song as worthless, or as irrelevant to the other matters in the book. No doubt it did not form part of the work. It seems to have been inserted as a useful piece of parchment, and the old numbering of the folios does not go so far. But it is entirely in a XIII th century hand, exactly similar to that of the Cuckoo Song, and the musical notes, although not written in strict time, are of precisely similar forms. It would seem to be a piece of parchment and writing older than many parts of the book itself, and probably coeval with the Cuckoo Song.[3] The music is adapted to the French words, which

[1] De Antiquis Legibus Liber. Cronica Maiorum et Vicecomitum Londoniarum et quedam, que contingebant temporibus illis ab anno MCLXXVIII ad annum MCCLXXIV^M; cum appendice. Nunc primum typis mandata curante Thoma Stapleton. 1846.

[2] *Henry Thomas Riley*, Chronicles of the Mayors and Sheriffs of London A.D. 1178 to A.D. 1274. London. Trübner. 4to. 1863.

[3] The following notes will enable the reader to insert this song correctly in Stapleton's transcript. The numbers

are carefully placed under their notes, but the English translation, written under the French, is not kept strictly under the corresponding notes and often runs to a considerable length beyond the French. Both begin together at the beginnings of stanzas. There are several mistakes in the English, and one word deleted in the French and not restored. This and the absence of musical notes to the few last words, shews that the manuscript was not properly revised. It is therefore necessary to add a corrected text (pp. 435, 437), which is that followed in the subsequent remarks.[1]

The notes, which are now first published (pp. 432-3), presented considerable difficulty, from their being written in *plain chant*, and therefore without any division of time, the length of the notes being left to the feeling of the singer, as in modern recitative. In the following edition I have duly translated the pitch of each note, and expanded the ligatures into slurred notes, placing the French words

in braekets are those of the folios numbered in an ancient hand, the other numbering is modern and in pencil. I have to thank the courtesy of Mr. Town Clerk for allowing me to inspect the book and make such extracts as were necessary.

Fo. [157], *a*. Fuit vir quidam, Stap. 238. This ends on fo. [158], *a*, last paragraph. This folio contains, Iste vero. A. natus fuit anno domini mo. ducentesimo primo, Stap. 239. The Mem., 1586, Stap. 253, ke la Reyne Isabel etc. L'an E. xx. is in a totally different hand.

Fo. [159], *a*, the six Latin lines, Stap. 253, In hoc folio continentur etc.

Fo. 159, *b*, is blank, but both 159, *a* and *b* are ruled for double columns and for writing.

Fo. 160, *a*, is blank and not ruled, apparently an old piece of parchment, used and put in.

Fo. 160, *b*, and 161, *a*, the words and music of the Prisoner's Prayer.

Fo. 161, *b*, the last words of the same Prayer, viz. "*et* jor *et* doint ioye certeyne," and "we moten Ey and o habben the eche bliffe," without either musical notes or staff. This page also contains the notice: Cum de edifices, Stap. 253.

Fo. 162, *a*, the five lines, Una Nero die, Stap. 253.

Fo. 162, *b*. A hymn consisting of ten lines and a half of musical staff, with Latin words: In translatione beati thome, the whole crossed out with one cross.

Fo. 163, *a* and *b*. The notice of Thedmar, Stap. 239, Fo. 163 *b*, is the last written page, there are however three other blank folios, and one with scribbling upon it, which ends the book.

The handwriting of the Prisoner's Prayer corresponds with that in the best and oldest writing in the book, and cannot be later than 1250.

[1] The English text of the Prisoner's Prayer appears to have been first published in the Reliquæ Antiquæ i. 274, from a transcription by J. O. Halliwell, which reads, incorrectly, v. 1, nun for m i *n*, v. 16 l i e t h for l i e t l i, v. 26 p r s u n for p *r i* s u n, v. 38 u s for h u s and v. 39, m i s s e for m i l s e, and arranges v. 13, 14 thus

For othre habbet misnome
Ben in this prisun i-broet.

The present copy is re-printed, from the work cited below, p. 498, n. 1, with an improved stanza III, and the correction v. 41 w u f i t g o for w n f i t. g o, the result of renewed inspection. The corrected text has also been re-corrected, especially in the verse last cited, where Dr. Stratmann's conjecture that g o w u f i t g o stands for g o h u s o i t g o has been adopted, w u = w h u, being a not unfrequent form of h u in the XIII th century, (infrà p. 440,) and the contraction s i t for s o i t being partially justified by Orrmin's ȝ h ó ´ t for ȝ h o i t t = she it, and h é ´ t for h e i t t. Most of the other corrections are evident enough. The only difficult word i p e l t is illustrated below, p. 448. See also: þat wer for sin in helle ipilt; of paradis hi wer ute pilt; fort godes sone in rode

under the notes as indicated in the original.[1] But I have taken the liberty of reducing the time to a modern system, and have added bars accordingly.[2] As frequently happens in translations, the English words do not in all cases exactly correspond to the notes written for the French. This has occasioned much difficulty in adjusting the corrected text of the English words to the notes, and such changes in the music as have appeared necessary are indicated by smaller notes. When two sets of notes appear in one bar, the direction of their tails shews in the usual way to what version they refer. It is evident that no stress can be laid on any passages in which such alterations have appeared necessary, as regards the pronunciation of the syllables.[3] Enough passages remain in which final *-e* was undoubtedly pronounced, to establish here as well as in the Cuckoo Song, the general rule for pronouncing it. At the same

was pilt, Furnivall's Early English Poems, p. 13, v. 8 and 35; p. 14, v. 56, from Harl. MS. 913. The French text has been printed by M. Jules Delpit, in his Collection Générale des Documents Français qui se trouvent en Angleterre, Paris, 1847, 4to. vol. 1, p. 28, No. LXVII. This transcript is faulty having *d'anguste* for d a n g u s s e v. 2, *dur* for d u z v. 6, *en sait* for e n s e t v. 12, *E sires Deus ke* for S i r e d e u s k y v. 15, *I cel* for i c e l' v. 23, *morteu* for m o r t e u 28, *fort* for f o r s v. 30, *guée* for g u í e v. 34. The *u* and *v* are also modernized, the stanzas not divided as in the original, some contractions expanded without notice and others not, the omission of *et* v. 39 not perceived and v. 5 made to end with *tres puis* instead of *Ihesu*, in defiance of the metrical point, the metre and music. In citing the *Rel. Ant.* for the English version, M. Delpit prints *Halleweell*, *Shraps*, *Pikering* for *Halliwell*, *Scraps*, *Pickering*. He says of this poem (ib. p. CXCII): "Le No LXVII est le plus ancien document en vers publié dans ce volume. Je l'ai trouvé sur les feuillets de garde d'un manuscrit du XIIIe siècle, connu dans les archives de la mairie de Londres sous le nom de *Liber de antiquis legibus*; mais sa composition peut remonter à une époque beaucoup plus ancienne que celle de sa transcription .... il m'a paru important par son ancienneté, et de nature à fournir quelques remarques utiles sur les règles qui présidèrent à la formation de la langue que nous parlons."

[1] In three instances only have I deviated from the original. The second syllable of *pleynte* in v. 1, and of *prisun* in v. 4, and the word *Christ* in v. 7, have each in the MS. two identical repeated notes written close together. In each case I have reduced these to a single note, as I have been unable to obtain any explanation of this doubling.

[2] The key is the ecclesiastical mode of which the scale ran from G, thus G A B c d e f g, without any sharps or flats. Each stanza is treated as a separate composition, and the second half of each stanza repeats the music of the first half, almost precisely. This has enabled me to supply the missing notes of the fifth stanza, answering to the French words: "*et* jor *et* doint ioye certeyne," with almost perfect certainty. I am indebted to Mr. Wm. Chappell for much information respecting the meaning of the old musical notation, and for an acquaintance with the important works of E. de Coussemaker: (Scriptorum de Musica Medii Ævi novam seriem, 1864, 4to., and L'Art Harmonique aux XII et XIIIes siècles, 1865, 4to.) without which I could not have translated the music at all. But for the barring of the *Prisoner's Prayer*, I alone am responsible, and I have been guided entirely by the symmetry of the musical passages and the rhythm of the words, not at all by any possible indications of length in the notes themselves, as was the case in the Cuckoo Song, in which the time is accurately indicated.

[3] Thus we cannot be quite sure that the singer pronounced *shame* v. 4 in two syllables, although there seems to be no doubt that he said *name* v. 5 in two syllables. Similarly *some*, *misnome*, v. 11, 13, may have omitted the final *-e* for the music.

time other passages occur in which it seems to have been undoubtedly omitted, not only before a vowel, but elsewhere, and these are all indicated by an apostrophe in the corrected text.[1]

The rhymes are generally quite regular, but there are a few anomalies which prepare us to look out for assonances intermixed with perfect rhymes in poems of the XIIIth century and earlier. Thus: man am 7, 9; hem men 21, 22; live bilive stige 27, 28, 29; mildse blisse 39, 44; are all assonances (p. 245, note). But they are assonances which many ears mistake for rhymes, because the differences of the consonants are not obstrusive. The French version has also the assonance: deus mortels, 15, 16; and perhaps: cuayn heim, 37, 38.

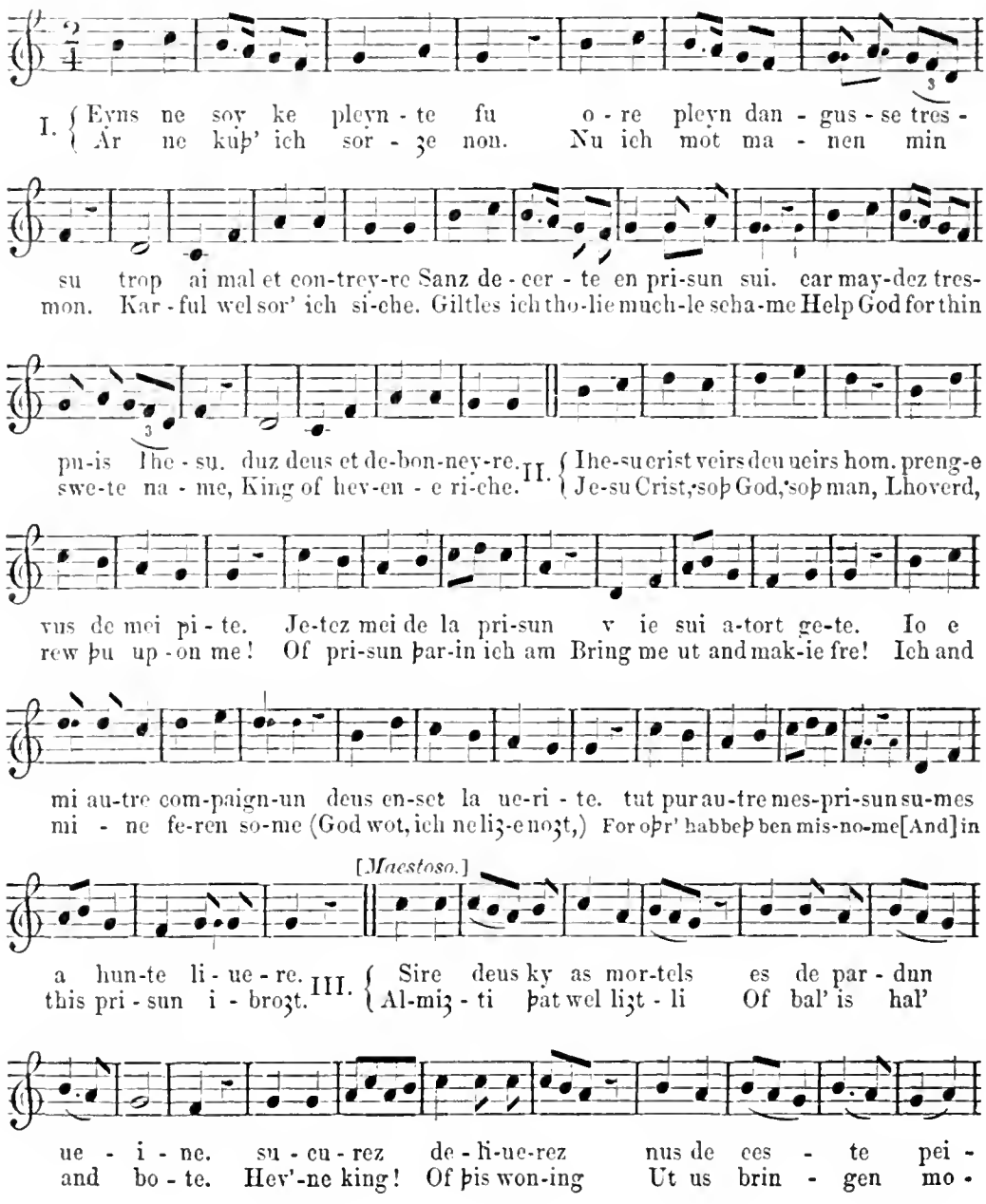
As regards the orthography in the uncorrected text, the use of *d* for ð is common enough in other MSS. not to need explanation; the *hc* for *ch* is an occasional carelessness, compare *ihc* 4, with *ich* 1, 2, 3, found also in the Proclamation of Henry III.; and the occasional insertion of *h* is frequent in Layamon, and may indicate a doubtful pronunciation, compare *vs* 20, with *hus* 40, 41. More noticeable is the invariable use of *th* for þ at so early a period, and *gh* or occasionally *yh* (forghef 21, yhef 23) for ȝ; the use of *ct* for ȝ*t* (noct 12, ibroct 14) is not otherwise uncommon. The orthography *yh* seems to point to a (*g*h) or (ɹh) as preceding the use of (ɹ), where ȝ occured in ags., as already suggested (p. 313). *Wos* 24 for *whos*, and, if Dr. Stratmann is correct, *wu* 42 for *whu* and that for *hu*, may be assimilated to the cases of inserted *h*, as shewing a lack of appreciation of the aspirate. The use of *e* for *s* in such words as *blisce* 31, 44, is not uncommon, compare Gen. and Ex. 3518. *Mai* 28, for the older form *ma*ȝ, and *maiden* 35, indicate that the diphthong had been completely formed from *a*ȝ (ag, agh, a*g*h, aɹh, ai); and *ey* 43, compared with Orrmin's *a*ȝȝ, shews that a writer did not feel any difference between the diphthongs (ei, ai), which Sir Thomas Smith found it so hard to distinguish three centuries later (p. 121) and which were constantly confused in the XIVth century (p. 263). These are the only words in the English text bearing on these diphthongs. But in the French we have, *souerein*, *mayn*, *euayn*, *heim* 35, 36, 37, 38, rhyming together, and we have *plest*, *forfet* 24, 25, indicating an unpronounced *s* before *t*, and a degeneration of *ai* in certain words into (ɛ) even at this early period. The Prisoner's Prayer never uses *ou* for (uu), but employs *u* as in *kuthe* 1, *nu* 2, *thu* 8, *prisun* 9, *ut* 10, *buten* 34. The *sume* 11, and *misnome* 13, are either errors for *sume*, *misnume*, or *some*, *misnome*, probably the latter, as *same*, *some* are the ags. forms. There is no instance of *u* being employed for *i*, *e* or ags. *y*. The French text, to which the notes were primarily adapted, raises the question of the pronunciation of Norman. See p. 438.

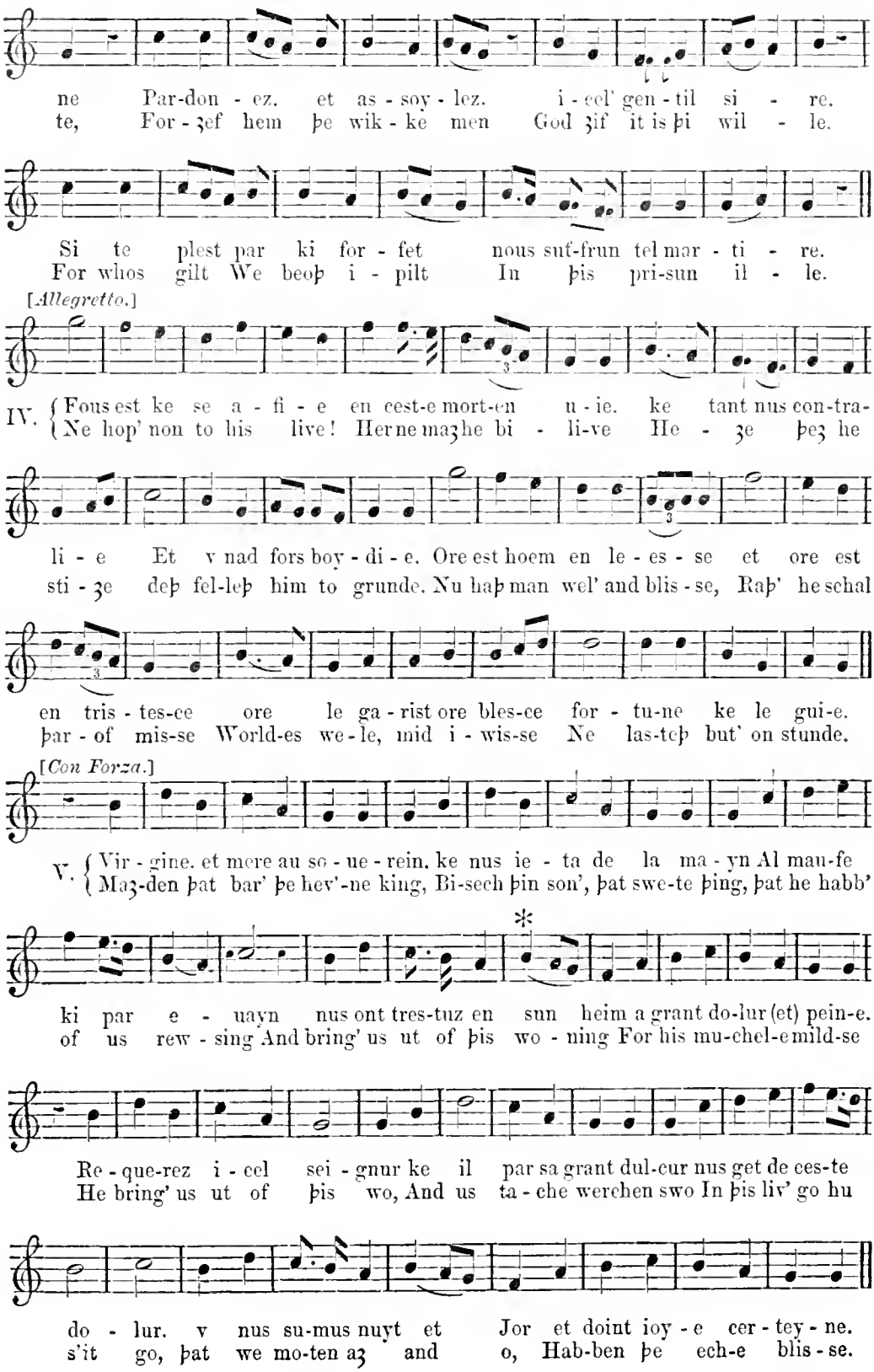
[1] Final *-e*, elided before a vowel, kuþ' 1, sor' 3, ·bal' hal' 17, wel' 31, but' 34 (this is a conjectural emendation), habb' 37, bring' 40; before an H, oþr' habbeþ 13, raþ' he 32; before a consonant, þin' 5, hop' 27, bar' 35, son' 36, liv' 42; internal *e* omitted, much'le 4, hev'ne 18, 35; and if Dr. Stratmann's correction is adopted we have *s'it* for *so it*, v. 42.

THE PRISONER'S PRAYER.

From the Liber de Antiquis Legibus, fo. 160 b.

Note. The French as in the Original MS.; the English according to the Corrected Text. The slurred and joined notes represent the original ligatures. The time and bars are modern, the original being in *plain chant*. The last five bars are not in the MS., but have been supplied from the parallel passage commencing with the bar marked *.




ne Par-don - ez. et as - soy - lez. i - eel' gen - til si - re.
te, For - ȝef hem þe wik - ke men God ȝif it is þi wil - le.
Si te plest par ki for - fet nous suf-frun tel mar - ti - re.
For whos gilt We beoþ i - pilt In þis pri-sun il - le.
[Allegretto.]
IV. Fous est ke se a - fi - e en cest-e mort-en u - ie. ke tant nus con-tra-
Ne hop' non to his live! Her ne maȝhe bi - li-ve He - ȝe þeȝ he
li - e Et v nad fors boy - di - e. Ore est hoem en le - es - se et ore est
sti - ȝe deþ fel-leþ him to grunde. Nu haþ man wel' and blis - se, Raþ' he schal
en tris - tes-ce ore le ga - rist ore bles-ce for - tu-ne ke le gui-e.
þar - of mis-sse World-es we - le, mid i - wis-se Ne las-teþ but' on stunde.
[Con Forza.]
V. Vir - gine. et mere au so - ue - rein. ke nus ie - ta de la ma - yn Al mau-fe
Maȝ-den þat bar' þe hev'-ne king, Bi-seeh þin son', þat swe-te þing, þat he habb'
ki par e - uayn nus ont tres-tuz en sun heim a grant do-lur (et) pein-e.
of us rew - sing And bring' us ut of þis wo - ning For his mu-chel-e mild-se
Re - que-rez i - eel sei - gnur ke il par sa grant dul-eur nus get de ees-te
He bring' us ut of þis wo, And us ta - che werchen swo In þis liv' go hu
do - lur. v nus su-mus nuyt et Jor et doint ioy - e cer - tey - ne.
s'it go, þat we mo-ten aȝ and o, Hab-ben þe ech-e blis - se.

From the *Liber de Antiquis Legibus*, Guildhall, London, fol. 160*b*.

Norman French Original.	*Early English Translation.*
I.	I.
Eẏnſ ne ſoẏ ke pleẏnte fu	Ar ne kuthe ıch ſorghe non.
ore pleẏn dangulle treſſu	nu ıch mot manen mın mon.
trop aı mal *et* contreẏre	karful welfore ıch ſyche.
Sanz decerte en prıſun ſuı.	Geltles ıhe sholẏe muchele ſchame
car maẏdez treſpuıſ ıhe*ſu*.	help god for thın ſwete name
duz deuſ *et* deboneẏre.	kẏng of heuene rıche.
II.	II.
Ihe*ſu* crıſt veırſ deu ueırſ hom.	Jeſu crıſt ſod god ſod man
prenge vuſ de meı pıte.	louerd thu rew vponme
Jetez meı de la prısun	of pr*ı*ſun thar ıch ın am
v ıe ſuı atort gete.	brin*g* me vt and makẏe frc.
Io e mı autre com*p*aıgnun	Jch and míne feren ſume
deus enſet la ucrıte.	god wot ıch ne lẏghe noct
tut pur aut*re* meſprıſun	for othre habbet mıſ nome ben
ſumes a hunte líuere.	ın thẏſ pr*ı*ſun ıbroct.
III.	III.
Sıre deuſ	Al mıctı
kẏ aſ mortels	that wel hetlı
eſ de pardun ueíne.	of bale ıſ hale and bote.
ſucurez	heuene kíng
delıuerez	of this wonın*g*
nuſ de ceſte peıne.	vt vs brın*g*e mote.

Verbal Translation of the Norman French.—I. Once (I) knew not what affliction was, Now, full of anguish, tormented (*très sué*), Too much (I) have (of) ill and misfortune. Without guilt in prison am (I), Wherefore help me right soon (*très puis*) Jesus, Sweet God and gracious. II. Jesus Christ, true God, true man, Take you pity on me, Cast me from the prison, Where I am wrongfully thrown. I and my other companion, God knows of it (*en sait*) the truth, All for other mistake (in mistake for others), Are delivered to shame.—III. Sire God, Who to (*aux*) mortals Art of pardon source (*veine*), Help, Deliver Us from this pain.

Corrected Text.	*Conjectured Pronunciation.*
I.	I.
Ar ne kuþ' ich sorȝe non,	Aar ne kuuth itsh sor·ghe noon,
Nu ich mot manen min mon.	Nuu itsh moot maa·nen miin moon.
Karful wel sor' ich siche.	Kaar·ful· wel soor itsh siitsh·e.
Giltles, ich þolie much'le schame.	Gilt·les, itsh thoo·lie mutsh·le shaa·me.
Help, God, for þin' swete name,	Help, God, for dhiin swee·te naa·me,
King of hevene riche.	Kiq of nee·vene riitsh·e.
II.	II.
Jesu Crist, soþ God, soþ man,	Dzhee·su Krist, sooth God, sooth man,
Lhoverd, rew þu upon me!	Lhov·erd, reu dhu upon· mee!
Of prisun þarin ich am,	Of priisuun· dhaarin· itsh am,
Bring me ut and makie fre!	Briq me uut and maa·kie free!
Ich and mine feren some,	Itsh and mii·ne fee·ren soo·me,
(God wot, ich ne liȝe noȝt,)	(God wot, itsh ne lii·*gh*e nokht,)
For oþr' habbeþ ben misnome	For oo·dhr- -ab·eth been mis-noo·me
[And] in þis prisun ibroȝt.	[And] in dhis priisuun· ibrokht·.
III.	III.
Almiȝti,	Almi*kh*·tii·,
Þat wel liȝtli	Dhat wel li*kh*t·lii·
Of bal' is hal' and bote,	Of baal is haal and boo·te,
Hev'ne king!	Heev·ne king!
Of þis woning	Of dhis woo·niq·
Ut us bringen mote.	Uut us briq·en moo·te.

Verbal Translation of the Early English (*corrected text*).—I. Erst not knew I sorrow none, Now I must moan (ags. *mænan*) my moan. Ful of care right sorely I sigh. Guiltless, I suffer much shame. Help, God, for thy sweet name, King of heaven's kingdom.—II. Jesus Christ, true God, true man, Lord, rue thou (have mercy) upon me! Of (the) prison wherein I am, Bring me out and make (me) free! I and my companions (plural here, singular in the French) together (God knows, I not lie nought), Have been for others mistaken, i.e. wrongfully taken, [And] in (to) this prison brought.—III. Almighty, That well easily Of harm is healing and remedy, Heaven's king, Of this affliction May (he) bring us out.

Norman French.		*Early English.*
Pardonez.		Forẏhef hem
et aſſoẏlez.		the wẏkke men
icel' gentil ſire.	23	god ẏhef it if thi wille
si te pleſt		for woſ gelt
par ki forfet		we bed ipelt
nuſ ſuffrun tel martire.	26	in thoſ priſun hílle.
IV.		IV.
Fouſ eſt ke ſe aſie		Ne hope non to hiſ líue
en ceſte morten uie.		her ne mai he bilíue
ke tant nuſ contralie.		heghe thegh he stighe
Et v nad fors boẏdie.	30	ded him felled to grunde.
Ore eſt hoem en leeſſe		Nu had man wele and blíſce
et ore eſt en triſteſce		rathe he ſhal thar of miſſe.
ore le garíſt ore bleſce		worldes wele midẏwiſſe
fortune ke le guíe.	34	ne lasted buten on ſtunde.
V.		V.
Virgine. *et* mere au ſouereín.		Maíden that bare the heuen kíng
ke nuſ ieta de la maẏn		biſech thin ſone that ſwete thing
al mauſe ki par euaẏn		that he habbe of hus rewſíng
nuſ ont treſtuz en ſun heím		and bring hus of this woning
a grant dolur [et] peine.	39	for his Muchele milſe.
Requerez icel ſeignur		He bring hus vt of this wo
ke il par ſa grant dulcur		and huſ tache werchen ſwo
nuſ get de ceſte dolur.		in thoſ líue go wu ſit go.
v nuſ ſumus nuẏt *et* Jor		that we moten eẏ and o
et doint ioẏe certeẏne.	44	habben the eche bliſce.

Verbal Translation of the Norman French, continued.—Pardon And absolve Him, gentle sire, If (it) thee please, By whose crime We suffer such martyrdom. —IV. Mad is (he) that has confidence In this death in life (*mort en vie*,) Which afflicts (*contralie* = *contrarie*, Roquefort) us so much, And where (there) is nothing but deceit (*et ou n'a* = il n'y a, *hors* = que, *boydie* = boisdie = voisdie, from *versutia*). Now is man in joy, And now (he) is in sorrow, Now him heals (*guérit*), now wounds, Fortune who guides (*guide*) him.—V. Virgin and mother to the sovereign Who cast us with his (*la*, lit. *the* as in modern French) hand To the devils (*aux malfaits*), who through Eve (*Evain*) Have us right all (*très tous*) on their hook (*heim*, *haim*, *hain* = Latin *hamus*, modern *hameçon*) In great grief and (supply *et*, wanted for the construction, metre, and music, the word originally written has been erased,) pain. Beseech that Lord, That he by his great sweetness (*douceur*) May cast us from this grief, Where we are night and day, And give (*donne*) sure joy.

Corrected Text.		*Conjectured Pronunciation.*
Forȝef hem		Forȝeef· ʜem
Þe wikke men,		Dhe wik·e men,
God, ȝif it is Þi wille,	23	God, ȝif it is dhii wil·e,
For whos gilt		For whoos gilt
We beoþ ipilt		We beeuth ipilt·
In Þis prisun ille.	26	In dhis prii·suun il·e.
IV.		IV.
Ne hop' non to his live !		Ne ʜoop noon too ʜis lii·ve !
Her ne maȝ he bilive.		Heer nee mai ʜee bilii·ve.
Heȝe Þeȝ he stiȝe,		Hekh·e dheekh ʜe stii·*gh*e,
Deþ felleþ him to grunde.	30	Deeth fel·eth ʜim to grund·e.
Nu haþ man wel' and blisse,		Nuu ʜath man weel and blis·e
Raþ' he schal Þarof misse.		Raath ee shal dhaar·of mis·e.
Worldes wele, mid iwisse,		World·es weel·e, mid iwis·e,
Ne lasteþ but' on stunde.	34	Ne last·eth buut oon stund·e
V.		V.
Maȝden, Þat bar' Þe hev'ne king,		Maid·en dhat baar dhe ʜeev·ne kiq
Bisech Þin son', Þat swete Þing,		Biseetsh· dhiin soon dhat sweet·e thiq,
Þat he habb' of us rewsing,		Dhat ʜe ʜab of us reusiq·,
And bring' us of this woning,		And briq us of dhis woo·niq·
For his muchele mildse.	39	For ʜis mutsh·el·e mil·se.
He bring' us ut of this wo,		Hee briq us uut of dhis woo
And us tache werchen swo,		And us taatsh·e wertsh·en swoo,
In Þis liv' go hu s' it go,		In dhis liiv goo ʜuu s- it goo,
Þat we moten, aȝ and o,		Dhat we moo·ten, ai and oo,
Habben Þe eche blisse.	44	Hab·en dhe eetsh·e blis·e.

Verbal Translation of the Early English (*corrected text*), *continued.*—Forgive them The wicked men, God, if it is thy will, For whose guilt We (have) been thrust In (to) this vile prison.—IV. Let none have trust in his life! Here may he not remain. High though he rise, Death fells him to (the) ground. Now hath one weal and bliss, Suddenly he shall miss thereof. (The) world's weal, with certainty, Lasteth not but one hour.—V. Maiden, that bare the heaven's king, Beseech thy son, that sweet thing, That he have of us pity, And bring us out of this affliction, For his great mercy. May he bring us out of this woe, And so to act teach us, In this life go how so it go, That we may, aye and ever Have the eternal bliss.

An examination of the pronunciation of old French, especially of the Norman dialect, is also almost forced upon our attention by the close connection of the two languages during the formation of English proper. The researches now being instituted by Mr. J. Payne into the persistence of Norman forms[1] have given the pronunciation of Norman a still greater interest. The investigation is fraught with difficulty, as will appear at once from the present attempt to resuscitate early English sounds. It must be conducted separately, first by an examination of all the documents tending to throw a light upon early French pronunciation; secondly, by a careful study of the living dialectic pronunciation in the North of France; thirdly, by a review of Norman French poetry, either in original manuscripts of known dates or in trustworthy editions of the same, such as M. Michel's edition of Benoit.[2] To assume that old Norman was pronounced as modern Norman,[3] or modern French, or modern English, would be against all historical precedent, and the most probable hypothesis is that it differed from all of these in many respects, but that we may find indications of the existence of all of the latter forms in particular cases. Such an investigation is entirely beside the present, although both have been occasionally brought in contact, through Palsgrave in the XVIth century, and such translations from the Norman as the Prisoner's Prayer, and the rhymes of English and French in Chaucer and the Political Songs. It would be difficult for any but a Frenchman to conduct,

[1] "The Norman element in the English, spoken and written, of the XIIIth and XIVth centuries, and in the provincial dialects," is the more extended title which Mr. Payne has adopted for his papers read before the Philological Society in 1868 and 1869.

[2] Chronique des Ducs de Normandie par Benoit, trouvère anglo-normand du XIIe siècle, publiée pour la première fois d'après un manuscrit du Musée Britannique par *Francisque Michel*, 1836–1844. 3 vols. 4to. Published by order of the French government. The MS. followed is Harl. 1717, and the printed text was compared with the original by Sir F. Madden. There is a copy in the Reading Room of the British Museum.

[3] It would be as wrong to suppose that there is *a* Norman dialect, as that there is *a* Scottish dialect. Both of them admit of separation into several distinct forms, requiring different forms of writing to be intelligible. M. l'abbé Delalonde, professor of history at the faculty of theology at Rouen, who has most kindly replied in writing to several questions which I took the liberty of putting to him on Norman speech, says: "On ne peut, à mon avis, généraliser aucune assertion sur les points de détail, attendu que l'expression et même l'accent se localisent extrêmement .... Ce qui est vrai ici, peut ne pas l'être là. ... Chez nous (dans le diocèse de Rouen) on trouve deux dialectes complètement différents d'accent: le brayon, parlé dans la portion orientale du département (ou diocèse) surtout dans l'arrondissement de Neufchâtel, et une portion de celui de Dieppe. L'accent est picard, par conséquent bref, et avec le système de syncopes propres au picard: *i' veul'tent bien, mais i' n' peuv'tent pas*, ils veulent bien, mais ils ne peuvent pas. Du reste pas de mots originaux. Le cauchois, parlé dans tout le plateau occidental allonge extrêmement la dernière ou l'avant dernière syllabe du mot, prononce l'à très ouvert: le dialecte cauchois est riche en mots originaux, mais ces mots sont fort localisés." The "bas Normand" speaks, again, a different set of dialects. Hence, although we may find remnants of old pronunciation in all these dialects, it would be hazardous to infer the old pronunciation from any one of them.

and we may probably have to wait for a considerable time, before a properly qualified investigator devotes himself to the task. May this last anticipation prove incorrect![1]

3. Miscellanies of the xiii th Century from Reliquiæ Antiquæ, Early English Poems, and Political Songs, with an Examination of the Norman French EI, AI.

Under this heading some brief notices will be given of short rhymed pieces belonging to the xiii th or the earliest part of the xiv th century, contained in the *Reliquiæ Antiquæ*,[2] *Early English Poems*,[3] and *Political Songs*.[4]

The most considerable poem in the *Reliquiæ Antiquæ* is the Bestiary, i, 208;[5] it is only partly in rhyme,[6] and the rhymes are not unfrequently broken by non-rhyming couplets, or fall into mere assonances, so that no reliance is to be placed upon them for determining the pronunciation. Thus we cannot be sure that *s*, which is used throughout the poem for *sh*, was pronounced (s), from the rhyme: fis is, p. 220, v. 499, 529, for between them we have: biswiken bigripen, v. 515. Other parts are alliterative and therefore of no assistance, but they burst out occasionally in rhyme for a few lines. This poem uses *u* consistently for (uu), and *ou*, *ow* for (oou, ou) as in: out p. 223, v. 645 = aught, nout p. 209, v. 18 = nought, occasionally written nogt, p. 212, v. 187, sowles p. 211, v. 118, soule p. 213, v. 206, knowe$\eth$ p. 211, v. 121, knov p. 212, v. 165. There seems to be no use of *u* for *i* or *e* throughout the poem, thus we have: mirie p. 221, v. 570, pit p. 226, v. 761; this consorts properly with the consistent use of *u* for (uu). Similarly

[1] Diez, Grammatik der romanischen Spraehen, 2nd ed. 1856, vol. 1, pp. 404–454, investigates the meaning of the old French letters, but leaves much to be desired. The commencement of an investigation into the values of Norman *ei*, *ai*, together with a few other casual remarks on old and modern Norman pronunciation, will be found below, p. 453. See also the extracts from Dr. Rapp, below, p. 509, n. 1.

[2] Reliquiæ Antiquæ. Scraps from Ancient Manuscripts illustrating chiefly Early English Literature and the English Languge. Edited by Thomas Wright and James Orchard Halliwell, 2 vols. 8vo. pp. 327 and 287, 1841–1843. The text has generally been carefully transcribed and printed, but some mistakes occur, as pointed out p. 429, note 1, p. 441, note 1, and p. 445, note 2.

[3] Early English Poems and Lives of Saints (with those of the Wicked Birds Pilate and Judas). Copied and edited from manuscripts in the Library of the British Museum by F. J. Furnivall, 1862, for the Philological Society.

[4] The Political Songs of England from the reign of John to that of Edward II, edited and translated by Thomas Wright, Esq. London, 1839. 4to. pp. xviii, 408. Camden Society.

[5] The text of this was especially read by the MS. Arundel 292, fo. 4. for the Rel. Ant. It has been reprinted with extensive notes, and a few conjectural emendations, in: Altenglische Sprachproben nebst einem Wörterbuche, unter Mitwirkung von Karl Goldbeck herausgegeben von Eduard Mätzner. Berlin, 1867. Large 8vo. vol. i, p. 57.

[6] The following parts are in rhyme, the pages refer to the *Rel. Ant.*, the number of the lines are taken from Goldbeck and Mätzner: p. 209, v. 40–45; p. 210, v. 54–87 in couplets, v. 89–119 alternate rhyme, p. 215, v. 307 to p. 217, v. 384, with a few short interruptions, p. 218, v. 424 to p. 219, v. 455, p. 220, v. 499 to p. 221, v. 554, p. 222, v. 588, to p. 224, v. 694, p. 225, v. 733 to p. 227 v. 802 and last.

we rarely find *o* for either (uu) or (u), thus: sunne = sun, p. 209, v. 19, cunne p. 210, v. 69, come p. 209, v. 35, but: cuneð p. 210 v. 67, sunder p. 214, v. 236, hule p. 214, v. 253, but: hole p. 217 v. 394, p. 226 v. 769, and the rhyme: cul ful p. 225 v. 741 = cowl full,[1] may be considered as establishing the value of long *u* as (uu) in opposition to the modern opinion that it is (ɔu) or (ou).

The spelling is generally good and consistent,[2] but it presents certain peculiarities. Thus *s* is always employed both for *s* and *sh*, and the rhyme, as already pointed out, ought to determine that (s) was the only sound. Also *g* is used throughout, generally as pure ȝ with the guttural effect after vowels, as in: sigte p. 211, v. 107, rigten p. 211, v. 117, drigtin p. 211, v. 119, ðurg p. 211, v. 119, inog p. 211, v. 142. Sometimes the resolution into (ɹ) or (i) seems indicated by a prefixed *i*, as: leigeð p. 216, v. 359, maig p. 210, v. 80, p. 220, v. 516, p. 221, v. 548, but the *g* is then most generally omitted as in: mai p. 211, v. 129, mainles = without power, *main* force? p. 211, v. 128, dai p. 210, v. 63, but dei p. 215, v. 305, meiden p. 209, v. 37, shewing that *ai*, *ei* were confused. Initially the *g* was simply (ɹ) to judge by: ging = young, p. 213, v. 214, gu = you p. 244, v. 700, ge = she p. 214, v. 243, but it may have been (*gh*). After *i* it disappears altogether as: sti p. 213, v. 198. The aspirate *h* is treated very irregularly, being sometimes startlingly inserted, as *hae* for *ae* p. 226, v. 792, and frequently omitted. After *w* it generally disappears, as: wit, wel = white, wheel, p. 225, v. 737. The form *wu* for *whu* = *hu* = how (supra p. 429, note 1,) is frequent, as p. 209, v. 36 and v. 55, but: hu p. 210, v. 56, in the next line. The pronunciation of *ch* seems intended for (tsh), and such apparent rhymes as: riche ilike = rich alike p. 222, v. 604, must be considered as assonances, unless we suppose -like to be an orthographical error for -liche. The use of ð is general, but we have bicumeth p. 210, v. 91, unless it be a misprint. After *s*, *t*, *d* this ð becomes *t*, as in Ormin, the instances are collected by Mätzner at v. 22.

The diphthongs *ai*, *ei* appear to be (ai) by the cases already cited. Forbroiden p. 211, v. 124, seems to stand for *forbrogden* and should imply therefore *oi* = (oi), but it is uncertain, and similar *oi* diphthongs are unknown, so that we cannot infer generally *oi* = (oi). In: newe p. 225, v. 724, spewed p. 211, v. 139, ðewes p. 212, v. 183, reufulike p 223, v. 652, we can hardly take *eu* for anything but (eu). In: taunede p. 226, v. 767, middle high German *zounen* to shew, (au) seems to be implied.

[1] Wor so he wuneð ðis panter,
he fedeð him al mid oðer der,
of ðo ðe he wile he nimeð ðe eul
and fet him wel til he is ful.
= Whereso he dwelleth, this panther, he feedeth him all with other deer (beasts), of those that he wil, he taketh the cowl (skin?) and feedeth him wel til he is full. This is Mätzner's interpretation of *eul*. The Latin has only: diversis pastus venatibus. The ags. eufle (*Ælf. gl.* 20), eugle (*ib.*), euhle, *cowl* is remarkable for the early interchange of (f, gh) which has not descended. If *eul* is to be thus interpreted, it has lost a final *e*. But is not rather *eul* the French word meaning rump, the prime piece?

[2] The handwriting of the MS. is particularly beautiful, large, and careful.

On the whole this poem, though presenting some peculiarities, fully confirms the conclusions derived from the two preceding old poems. In none of the others does the orthography seem so trustworthy.

The FAMILY PRAYER, PATERNOSTER, etc., vol. i, p. 22, mixes assonances with its rhymes freely, as: lif siche, bunden wndes; kingdom don; wndis bunde. Of these: lif siche = *sickness*, is useful in establishing the value of the long *i* as (ii) or (*ii*). The *u* is consistently used as (uu), and *ou* in *troue* as (oou), once erroneous spelled *true*, but *au* is also used in *sauk*, which, if correct, is an early and quite unusual transformation of *suk*. The rhyme to this word: bysuak seems to imply some error in the MS., which is here correctly transcribed. Another unusual form is: leyse for *lese*, and fleyes for *flesh*, compare suprà p. 265, and infrà p. 473, n. 4. Although *Marie* occurs fully in: Heil, Marie, ful of grace! = (Hail Marii·e ful of graa·se!) it is abbreviated to *Mari*, in

Moder of milce,[1] and maidin Mari,	(Moo·der of mils, and maidin Marii·,
Help us at ure hending, for þi merci.	Help us at uur end·iq for dhii mersi·.)

No doubt this was a very ancient occasional abbreviation of a name so common on the lips of all worshippers: thus in Germany (Maarii·) is fully as common as (Marii·e) in addressing persons of that name. See p. 446, Ex. 3. The aspirate comes in curiously in: hart = art, hus = us, as well as house, hending = ending, herdeþe = earthe, hure = our. The guttural is evidently expressed by *ch* in: þich,[2] halmichtende, licht, richt, which is very unusual.

The CREED and PATERNOSTER, vol. i, p. 57, are not in the pure XIII th century orthography. We have indeed: ure, wiþuten, but: Pounce (written Punce = Pontius, in the last example), ous, foule. This shews a period of transition, which will be especially noticed in Havelok, infrà p. 471, occasioned by the growing use of *u* as (yy) or (ii, i, e), compare in the Creed: y-buriid, and in the Paternoster: als we forgivet *uch* oþir man. Other peculiarities here are: sshipper = schipper, ags. scyppan, create; and: *fleiss* = fleisch, flesh; *steich* = steg, ascended. The rhymes in the Paternoster are correct, except: don man.

Another CREED, PATERNOSTER, Ave, etc., are given in vol. i, p. 234, in which the *u* long is perfectly preserved for (uu), and: biriedd, iche, are used. Pontius appears as *Ponce*, which compared with the first *Punce*, shews the use of *o* for short (u). The Paternoster is chiefly in assonances, and we cannot feel sure that: deadd soðfastheedd, in the next prayer, is a rhyme or an assonance, that is, whether the first word is (deed) or (deeth), or (deead). The last little moral has some assonances:

If man him biðocte	(If man -im bithokh·te,
Inderlike and ofte	In·erliik and oft·e,
Wu arde is te fore	Huu hard is te foo·re
Fro bedde te flore,	Fro bed·e te floo·re,

[1] This is the MS. reading, the printed text has *milte*, ags. *mildse*, see suprà p. 429, note 1.

[2] Imperative of *þeon* to prosper, compare *þeagh* in a sermon of the XIII th century, from MS. Trin. Coll. Cam. B. 14, 52, in Rel. Ant. i, 129, l. 2 and 14.

Wu reuful is te flitte	Huu reu·ful is te flit·e
Fro flore te pitte,	Fro floo·re te pit·e,
Fro pitte to pine	Fro pit·e te pii·ne,
Ðat neure sal fine	Dhat nev·er shal fii·ne,
I wene non sinne	Ii wee·ne noon sin·e
Sulde his herte winnen.	Shuuld -is nert win·en.)

But we might suppose that (bithof·te) was already occasionally pronounced, as in the West of England (suprà p. 212). The French *fine*, finir, end, establishes the pronunciation of *pine*. *Fore* for *fare* is a North-countryism, and *te* for the usual *to*, seems to indicate an indistinct utterance, perhaps (tə). I have ventured to pronounce: sal, sulde, with (sh), but I do not feel quite certain, for reasons named above, p. 440.

Immediately preceding this moral is the following in which: I ne, occurs in Mr. Wright's text, but: íne, in one word, occurs in the MS, just as in the old high German quoted by Graff, (suprà p. 292, n. 2), and clearly shewing the (in·e) or (ii·ne) pronunciation.

Wanne I ðenke ðinges ðre,	(Whan i theqk·e thiq·es three,
Ne mai hi neure bliðe ben;	Ne mai i nev·er bliidh·e bee;
ðe ton is dat I sal awei,	Dhet-oon is dhat i shal awai·,
ðe toðer is ine wot wilk dei	Dhet-oodh·r is in·e wot whilk dai,
ðe ðridde is mi moste kare,	Dhe thrid·e, is mi most·e kaa·re,
Ine wot wider I sal faren.	In·e wot whidh·er i shal faa·re.)

In this pronunciation I have taken some necessary liberties with the text, as the omission of an Infinitive *n* for the rhyme, rectification of the aspirate, *w* for *wh*, *d* for ð, etc.

The three first Paternosters, Aves, and Credos, are here given for comparison with those of Dan Michel, suprà p. 413. They have been read with the original MSS.,[1] and are printed accordingly, with the exception of capitals, punctuation, undotted ı, and long ſ. Titles, where wanting, are added for convenience. The pronunciation is adapted to a slightly amended text, as the manuscripts are often very faulty, but the different provincial characters are not disturbed. The whole writing and versification is very rude and uncouth.

MS. Cotton Cleop. B. vi. fo. 201 *v°.*
Rel. Ant. 1, 22.

PATER NOSTER.

Ure fadir þat hart in heuene,
halged be þi name with giftis seuene

samin eume þi kingdom,
þi wille in herþe: als in heuene be don,
vre bred þat lastes ai
gyue it hus þis hilke dai,
and vre misdedis þu forgyue hus,
als we forgyue þaim þat misdon hus,
and leod us in tol na fandinge,
bot frels us fra alle iuele þing.
Amen.

Conjectured Pronunciation.

Paa·ter nos·ter.

Uu·re faa·der dhat art in nev·ene,
nal·ghed bee dhi naa·me with gift·is
sev·ene,
Saa·min kuu·me dhi kiq·doom·.
Dhi wil in erth, als in hev·ne be don.
Uu·re breed, dhat last·es ai,
Giiv it us, dhis ilk·e dai,
And uu·re misdeed·is dhuu forgiiv·e us
Als wee forgiiv·e dhaim dhat miis·doon·
And leed us in til naa fan·diq·e, [us.
But freels us fra al iiv·le thiq·e.
Aa·men.

[1] The printed text of the *Reliquiæ Antiquæ* was first read by me with the MSS., and the proofs of these pages were again compared with the originals by Mr. Brock.

AVE

*H*eil Marie, ful of grace,
þe lauird þich þe in heuirilk place.
bliseed be þu mang alle wimmem,
and bliseed be þe blosme of þi wambe.
Amen.

CREDO

*H*i true in God, fader hal-michtende, þat makedȝ heuen and herdeþe, and in Ihesue Krist, is ane lepi sone, hure lauerd, þat was bigotin of þe hali gast, and born of þe mainden Marie, pinid under Puncc Pilate, festened to þe rode, ded and duluun, licht in til helle, þe þride dai up ras fra dede to liue, stegh in til heuenne, sitis on is fadir richt hand, fadir al-waldand, he þen sal cume to deme þe quike an þe dede. Hy trone hy þeli gast, and hely kirke, þe samninge of halghes, forgifnes of sinnes, vprisigen of fleyes, and life wiþ-hutin hend. Amem.

A a·v e

Hail, Marii·e, ful of graa·se, [plaa·se
Dhe laa·vird thi*k*h dhe in ev·rilk
Blis·ed be dhuu maq al·e wim·en·
And blis·ed be dhe blosm- of dhi
wamb. Aa·men·.

K r e e·d o

Ii troou·e in God, faa·der al·mi*k*ht·end·e, dhat maa·kede nev·en and erth·e, and in Dzhee·sus Krist, nis aa·neleep·i soo·ne, uu·re lav·erd, dhat was bigot·en of dhe Haa·li Gaast, and born of dhe Mai·den Marii·e, pii·ned un·der Puns·e Pilaat·e, fest·ened to dhe roo·de, ded and dulv·en, li*k*ht in til nel·e, dhe thrid·e dai upraas· fra deed·e to lii·ve, stee*g*h in til nev·ene, sit·es on nis faa·der ri*k*ht nand, faa·der al·wald·and·, nee dhen shal kuu·me to dee·me dhe k*w*ik·e and dhe deed·e. Ii trou·e [in] dhe Haa·li Gaast, and haa·li Kirk·e, dhe sam·niq·e of nal·ghes, forgif·nes of sin·es, up·rii·si*g*hen of flaish, and lii·ve withuu·ten end·e Aa·men.

Harl. MS. 3724, *fo.* 44. *Rel. Ant.* 1, 57. *Camden's Remaines*, p. 24. *Lyttelton's History*, 4, 130.

PATER NOSTER IN ANGLICO

Vre fader in heuene riehe,
þi name be haliid euer iliche
þu bringe vs to þi michil blisce,
þi wille to wirche þu vs wisse,
Als hit is in heuene i-do
Euer in eorþe ben hit al so,
þat holi bred þat lesteþ ay
þu send hit ous þis ilke day,
Forgiue ous alle þat we hauiþ don,
Als we forgiuet uch oþir man
Ne lete vs falle in no fondinge,
Ak scilde vs fro þe foule þinge.
Amen.

CREDO

I bileue in God fadir almichty, sshipper of heuene and of eorþe, and in Ihesus Crist, his onlepi sone, vre louerd, þat is iuange þurch þe holy gost, bore of Marie Mayden, þolede pine vnder Pounee Pilat, pieht on rode tre, ded and yburiid, lieht in to helle, þe þridde day fram deth aros, steich in to heuene, sit on his fadir rieht honde, God almichti, þenne is eominde to deme þe quikke and þe dede. I bileue in þe holy gost, al holy ehirche, mone of alle halwen, forgiuenis of sinne, fleiss vprising, lyf wiþuten ende.
Amen.

P a a·t e r n o s·t e r

Uu·re faa·der in hev·ne riitsh·e,
Dhi naam e be hal·jed ev·er iliitsh·e
Dhuu briq us too dhe mitsh·el blis·e,
Dhi wil·e to wirtsh·e dhuu us wis·e,
Als nit is in hev·n- idoo·
Ev·er in erth·e ben it al·soo·,
Dhat noo·li bred dhat lest·eth ai
Dhuu send nit us dhis ilk·e dai,
Forgiiv· us al dhat wee navth doon,
Als wee forgiv·eth eech ooth·er man,
Nee leet us fal in noo fon·diq·e,
Ak shild us froo dhe fun·le thiq·e.
Aa·men·.

K r e e·d o

Ii bileev· in God, faa·der al·mi*k*ht·i, ship·er of nev·ene and of erth·e, and in Dzhee·sus Krist, nis oon·leep·i soo·ne, uu·re lov·erd, dhat is ifaq·e thurkh the Hoo·li Goost, boo·ren of Marii·e mai·den. thoo·lede pii·ne un·der Pun·se Pilaat·, pi*k*ht on the roo·de tree, deed and iber·ied, li*k*ht into nel·e, dhe thrid·e dai from deeth aroos·, stai*k*h into nev·ene, sit on nis faa·dir ri*k*ht nond·e, God al·mi*k*ht·i, dhen·e is kuum·end·e to deem·e dhe k*w*ik·e and dhe deed·e. Ii bileev·e in dhe Hoo·li Goost, al noo·li tshirtsh·e, moon·e of al·e hal·wen, forgiv·nes of sin·e, flaish upriisiq·, liif withuu·ten end·e.
Aa·men·.

Arund. MS. 292, *fol.* 3. *Rel. Ant.* 1, 234.

PATER NOSTER.

Fader ure ðatt art in heuene blisse
ðin hege name itt wurðe bliscedd,
Cumen itt mote ði king dom,
ðin hali wil it be al don
In heuene and in erðe all so,
So itt sall ben ful wel ic tro;
ȝif us alle one ðis dai
Vre bred of iche dai
And forgiue us ure sinne
Als we don ure wiðerwinnes;
Leet us noct in fondinge falle,
Ooc fro iuel ðu sild us alle.
Amen.

AUE MARIA

Marie ful off grace, weel de be,
Godd of heuene be wið ðe,
Oure alle wimmen bliscedd tu be,
So be ðe bern datt is boren of ðe.

CREDO IN DEUM

I leue in Godd al-micten fader,
ðatt heuene and erðe made to gar;
And in Ihesu Crist his leue sun,
Vre onelic louerd, ik him mune,
ðatt of de holigost bikennedd was,
Of Marie ðe maiden boren he was,
Pinedd under Ponce Pilate,
On rode nailedd for mannes sake;
ðar ðolede he deadd widuten wold,
And biriedd was in de roche cold,
Dun til helle licten he gan,
ðe ðridde dai off deadd atkam,
To heuene he steg in ure manliche,
ðar sitteð he in hijs faderes riche,
O domes dai sal he cumen agen,
To demen dede and liues men:
I leue on ðe hali gast,
al holi chirche stedefast
Men off alle holi kinne,
And forgiuenesse of mannes sinne,
Vprisinge of alle men,
And eche lif I leue. Amen.

Camden's Remaines p. 24.

Paa·ter nos·ter.

Faa·der uu·re dhat art in nev·ne blis·e
Dhiin nekh·e naam it wurdh·e blis·ed,
Kuu·men it moo·te dhii kiq·doom·
Dhiin naa·li wil it bee al doon
In nev·en and in erth al soo,
So it shal been ful wel ik troo,
Gif us al·e on[1] dhis dai
Uu·re bred of iitsh·e day
And forgiv· us uu·re sin·e
Als wee doon uu·re wiidh·erwin·es;
Leet us nokht in fon·diq·e fal·e,
Ook fro ii·vl dhuu shild us al·e.
Aa·men·.

Aa·ve

Marii·e ful of graa·se, wel de[2] be,
God of nev·ne bee with dhee,
Ov·r- al·e wim·en blist tu[2] bee,
So bee dhe bern dat-s[2] born of dhe.

Kree·do

Ii leev in God al·mi*k*ht·en Faa·der,
Dhat nev·n-and erth·e maad togaa·der;
And in Dzhee·sus Krist, his lee·ve suu·ne,
Uur oo·neliik lov·erd, ik him muu·ne,
Dhat of dhe Hoo·li Goost biken·ed was,
Of Marii·e dhe mai·den boorn he was,
Pii·ned un·der Puns·e Pilaa·te,
On roo·de nail·ed for man·es saa·ke.
Dhar dhoold -e death withuu·ten woold,
And ber·ied was in dhe rotsh·e koold,
Duun til hel·e li*k*ht·en he gaan,
Dhe thrid·e dai of death atkaam·,
To nev·n -e stee*g*h in uur man lii·tshe,
Dhar sit·eth -e in -is faa·dres rii·tshe,
O doo·mes dai shal -e kuu·men agen·
To dee·men deed and lii·ves men.
Ii leev·e on dhe Haa·li Gaast,
Al-hoo·li tshirtsh·e stee·defast,
Men of al·e hoo·li kin·e,
And forgiv·nes· of man·es sin·e,
Up·riis·iq· of al·e men,
And ee·tshe liif ii leev. Aa·men·.

The short PROVERBIAL VERSES, vol. ii, p. 14, are taken from the margin of the Cott. MS. Cleop. C. vi, fo. 21, where they are in a different hand from the text and are probably much later, though, as Mr. Wright observes, "in a hand of the thirteenth century." They contain some peculiarities as: þeise midoutin lesing, for: þese

[1] This line is probably corrupt. The hiatus (al·e on), is unlikely, but to read: (Gif us aloo·ne . . . dhis dai), would be deficient unless we inserted (nuu) or some such word, after (aloo·ne), meaning: give us alone [now] this day. The rhyme is, however, so rough, that criticism is out of the question.

[2] (De) for (dhe) after (wel); (tu) for (dhu) after (blist) which must be taken as a monosyllable, this change of (dhu) into (tu) shewing that the preceding letter was voiceless, that is (t) not (d), as þu would have otherwise been (du), compare the first case, and also (dat) for (dhat) after (bern).

wiþuten lesing = these without lying. This form *þeise* is not named by Stratmann, and is perhaps an individuality. The *ou* in: midoutin stroutende, belong to the transition period, shewn distinctly by: "that *tu*, and *tou*," both of which = *þu*, in two following lines. The form *ielu*, printed *jelu*, for *ȝelu* = yellow, is peculiar, as shewing the complete passage of ȝ into *i*.

In vol. i, p. 89, there is a Hymn to the Virgin, and another on p. 102,[1] preceded by a curious parabolal poem, beginning: "Somer is comen and winter[2] gon," not entirely legible, all taken from MS. Egerton 613, fo. 1 and 2. The first and last are in the same hand, the second in a different hand, but they all belong to the transition period; thus on p. 89 we have: thou, our, flour, ous (twice), foule; but also: hut = out, thu (3 times); also: put = pit, shewing the (y) or (i, e) sound of *u*. The last has: foules = fowls, witoute = without, ous = us, but generally keeps the *u* pure. And the second prayer p. 102, while it has: thu (16 times), flur, withuten, oreisun, tunge, has also: out, foul; and: sunne (3 times) = sin. It is curious to note also: ic chabbe, and ich chabbe, for ich habbe, implying probably the running on of the words thus: (i,tshab·e). The orthography: flehs, for: flesh, is perhaps to be compared with: ihe, for: ich, in the preceding line.

The other poems in the *Reliquiæ Antiquæ*, belonging either to the transition or later periods, do not call for any further remark.

The first seven pieces in the *Early English Poems* taken from Harl. MS. 913, are all assigned to a date prior to 1300, but like the fifteen pieces which follow from Harl. MS. 2277 and ascribed to 1305-10, they belong to the transition period with respect to *ou* and *u*.

In the Sarmun pp. 1-7, the transition period is marked by: ous 1 (the figures refer to the stanzas), nou 2a, mouþ 4, aboute 4, þou 5, wiþoute 7, etc.; against: ure 1, us 3, schuldres 5, luse = *louse* 5, wiþoute prute = *proud* 6 (the adjective always end in *t*; prude 10, pride 12, is the substantive in which *u* = *i*,) acuntis 24, lude = *loudly* 31, ȝur 41, etc. The *u* for *i* is common, as munde kunde = *mind kind* 26, ihuddid 11. The palatalised guttural usually sinks into *i*, as: sciþ 3, mei 8, dai 18, ei hei = *eye high* 22, etc.; but ȝ sometimes remains, as: heiȝ 53, 56, neȝbor 9; þeiȝ = *though* 27. We find also: fleisse meisse = *flesh mass* 6 (see infrà p. 473, n. 4), hir hirist = *herr, hearest* 33, file = *vile* 3, drit = *dirt* 7, dritte = *dirt* 10, ihe 13, mov = mow 14, nov = *now* 31, verþing = *farthing* 24, wl = *will* 31, angles = *angels* 33, woni = *to dwell* 51, and these infinitives in *i*, usually accented, occur as will be presently seen, in other parts of the same MS. There is an assonance: sprede wrekke 30, and: virst best 57 may probably be: þrist = *thirst* best, a rhyme of *i*, *e*, but the rhymes in general are not remarkable. The final *e* seems simply disregarded in rhyme and metre, but the metre is so hummocky that it is difficult to make anything of it.

[1] Both are printed in Goldbeck and Mätzner's Altenglische Sprachproben, p. 53.

[2] The *is* here inserted in the printed text of the *Rel. Ant.* is not in the MS.

Take for example the last stanza, p. 7, which may perhaps be read as marked:

Alle ƿat beƿ icommin here	(Al dhat beeth ikum·en neer
fort to hire ƿis sarmun	For to nii·re dhis sarmuun·,
loke ƿat we nab no were	Look·e dhat je u-ab no weer·e.
for seue ȝer ȝe habbiƿ to pardoun.	For sev ȝeer ȝe nabth parduun:)

The whole MS. seems marked by provincialisms, which it is extremely difficult to understand. The first stanza of the XV. SIGNA ANTE JUDICIUM, p. 7, is in the same style, and was probably due to the same author:

ƿe grace of ihesu fulle of mi3te	(Dhe graas of Dzhee·su ful of mikht
ƿro3 prier of ure swete leuedi	Thrukh prii·er of uur sweet levdii·
mote amang vs mƿe alisste	Moot amaq us muudh alikht
And euer vs ȝem and saui.	And ev·er us ȝeem and saavii·)

Such attempts, however, to give pronunciation, must be viewed with indulgence, they are necessarily very hazardous. In this piece: ysaie profecie 9, must have the vowels in *ai* divided, *y-sa-i-e*. The final *e* in *mercie* 25 is idle, added on to rhyme with *crie* in the same stanza, where it was probably not pronounced, as we have: of ihesu crist merci to cri 80, and

ƿe. xii. dai ƿe fure. clemens sul cri
al in one hei3 steuene
merci ihesu fi3 mari
as ƿou ert god and king of heuene, 177

which gives us another example of *Mari*, see suprà, p. 441, and similarly: to cri, merci 137. Remarkable forms: dotus angus = *doubtful anguish* 113, probably = (dmtus· aqgus·) with a Norman *u* = (u), fisses = *fishes* 121, euch uerisse watir = *each fresh water* 125, skeis = *skies* 133, where I suspect an accidental transposition of *ei* for *ie*, as the form is otherwise incomprehensible, fentis = *fiends* 161, fure = four 169, 177, wolny mulni = *wullen-hi ne-wullen-hi*, = *will they n'ill they* 173, maugrei = *maugre* 173, probably a Norman form.

THE FALL AND PASSION, p. 12, has the rhyme: frute dute = *fruit doubt* 23 (line) which is decidedly favourable to the English pronunciation of Norman *u* at that time as (uu) see p. 424, note 3. Remarkable forms: maistre = *mastery* 21, maistri = *mystery* 50, sso = *she* 52, ȝo = *she* 79, flees, = *flesh* 49, as he is manhed *siwed* 97, hou hi lord ssold *siu* ƿe 105. The following infinitives in *-i* occur: suffri = *to suffer* 66, honuri = *to honour* 72, biri = *to bury* 74, 76; and: sauid isinid 43, being accented on the last syllable imply the same form. The same accent occurs in the rhyme: ipinsed suffred 89, siwed suffrid 97. The rhyme: alowe two 79, seems to be an error.

THE TEN COMMANDMENTS, p. 15, has also: honuri worƿi = *to honour, to worship* 17, and the assonance: iwisse limmes 5. THE FRAGMENT ON THE SEVEN SINS, p. 17, has also: clansi = *cleanse* imperative st. 5, herrid = *horrid*, st. 10, nemeni = *to name* st. 10, woni = *to dwell* v. 9, prute shrute = *proud shroud* v. 10, fleis = *flesh* v. 12, ƿer is mani man bi pei3te (= *bepeached, deceived*?), so ƿe

fend him hauiþ iteiȝte (= *taught*?) 22, susteni = to sustain 58. CHRIST ON THE CROSS p. 20, has: bewonde wnde = *wounded wound* v. 3, fote blode 11, anguis 14, gredind deiend 25, strang hond 26. The RHYME BEGINNING FRAGMENT p. 21, is only remarkable for making *in me* answer to *inne*, but as the trick of beginning a line with the last word of the preceding line is not carried out consistently, this assonance may have no special meaning. The whole examination does not lead to much. The orthography is so singular and so irregular, we might almost say so ignorant, and the dialect so peculiar, that it is of very little assistance. No general result could be deduced. The rhymes are not certain enough to be of much value, and are generally the veriest doggrel conceivable, while the metre is nowhere. In the parts from Harl. MS. 2277, we may notice the false rhymes: poynte queynte p. 66, v. 5, (unless indeed *poynte* is to be Normanized into *peynte*), britaigne fawe p. 68, v. 85, against: britaigne fayne p. 69, v. 133, and the assonance: makede glade p. 108, v. 35. The form *sede* for *seide* is found in: rede sede p. 66, v. 28; p. 68, v. 99, sede mede p. 72, v. 56, dede sede p. 74, v. 48. See infrà, p. 484. But *seide* also occurs, p. 72, v. 58, v. 60, etc., being the regular form.

In an extract from Cott. MS. Vesp. D. IX., (which being of the XV TH century, does not properly belong to this place), WHY I CAN'T BE A NUN, p. 138, we find: wept few accept *ihesu* trew observaunce new variaunce p. 139, v. 40, but *ihesu* may not have been intended to rhyme with *few trew new*, because we find a line ending with this name thrown in without a rhyme on the next page 140, v. 88, kyn necessite wyn me omnipotent *Ihesu* present ys thys, etc. In p. 140, v. 100, we find:

> To the for comfort I make my sute
> To have that ioy that lastythe ay,
> For her loue that bare that frute
> Swete ihesu miserere mei.

giving the rhyme: ay mei, the last word being Latin: This may be compared with: Sinay day, in Chaucer, suprà p. 264, and Dr. Gills (cci) p. 114.

In the *Political Songs* Mr. Wright has collected a number of short poems in Latin, Norman French, and English, referring to the XIII TH or beginning of the XIV TH century. Unfortunately most of the English songs, as: the Song against the King of Almaigne p. 69, Song of the Husbandman p. 149, Song against the Pride of the Ladies p. 153, Satyre on the Consistory Courts p. 155, Song of the Flemish Insurrection p. 187, Execution of Sir Simon Fraser p. 212, Song against the Retinues of Great People p. 237, Elegy on the Death of Edward I. p. 246, are from Harl. MS. 2253, which has adopted the full XIV TH century orthography, so that they are of little use here. The principal points are the assonances: lonke songe wlonke thonke p. 156, and longe londe p. 193. There are numerous instances of *u* = (i, e), as: hude prude p. 150, sturne hurne p. 150, wunne sunne p. 153, prude shrude hude p. 153, prude drede p. 190. The apparent rhyme: ded sayde p. 246,

is probably no rhyme at all, but the nature of the stanza is broken and the first and third lines do not rhyme, which is precisely what we find in the next stanza but one, p. 217, where otherwise: sunne Edward, would form a rhyme! Still, as we have just seen, the form *sede* also occurs, and may here be meant (p. 447). Ded gret redde p. 248 must be regarded throughout as an assonance. In: chivalrie deye heyze crie p. 249, the second and third words should have been written: dye hye, as often in Chaucer.

Of all the Political Songs the only two which exhibit almost precisely the orthography of the XIII th century, are those from the Harl. MS. 913, viz. The SONG OF THE TIMES, p. 195, and the SONG OF NEGO, p. 210. The last raises no new points, and may be passed over. The first exhibits *ss* for *sch* in: ssold p. 197, also written *schold* in the same page, ssal pp. 201, 203, 204, ssul pp. 202, 205, precisely as in the *Ayenbite*, suprà p. 409. There are some little slips as: feloni = felonie p. 197, line 13, amy lie, ami mei both on p. 200, where *mei* is an error for *me*. The first will not rhyme unless we read: *li'*, which is unusual, but the final *e*'s are lax in this song. The use of *boi* = boy, in: tel me, boi, what hast ido? p. 199, l. 5 is noteworthy. The curious word *i-pilt*, in the Prisoner's Prayer, v. 25, (suprà p. 429, note 1), is well illustrated by the passages

And so men didde that seli asse,
That trepasid nost, no did not gilte,
With ham bothe iwreiid was,
And in the ditement was ipilt. p. 198.
Godis grame most hi have
That in the curte the so pilt!

When hit is so, ich vouchsave,
Ic forgive the this gilte. p. 199.
Ic am iwreiid, Sire, to the,
For that ilk gilt;
Sire, ichul sker me,
I ne ȝef ham dint no pilt. p. 200.

The Auchinleck[1] MS. in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, has not thoroughly adopted the XIV th century orthography,[2] and as it belongs to the very beginning of the XIV th century[3] has a claim to

[1] "In the year 1504, the barony or manour of Auchinleck (pronounced *Affleck*) in Ayrshire, which belonged to a family of the same name with the lands, having fallen to the crown by forfeiture, James the Fourth, King of Scotland, granted it to Thomas Boswell." — Boswell's Life of Johnson, anno 1776. "The pronunciation of *Affleck* for *Auchinleck*, was formerly common, but is fast disappearing, and is now confined, I should say, to the lower classes of the parish and neighbourhood." Private letter from Mr. Halkett, Librarian of the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, 18 Jan. 1869.

[2] *Nu*, *hu*, occur occasionally, but rarely. *Nu* occurs once in the piece immediately cited, *nu* and *hu* several times in the second piece, which, though last in the MS., is said to be in an older hand. I have not noticed any such forms in Sir Tristrem, the 37th piece.

[3] An "Account of the Auchinleck MS. Advocates' Library (W. 4, 1,) and a catalogue of its contents," forms the fourth appendix to the introduction to Sir Walter Scott's edition of *Sir Tristrem*, to which a facsimile of the first two stanzas of that poem are prefixed It is a quarto of 334 leaves, containing 44 pieces of poetry, on parchment, "in a distinct and beautiful hand, which the most able antiquaries are inclined to refer to the earlier part of the XIV th century. The pages are divided into two columns, unless where the verses, being Alexandrine, occupy the whole breadth of the quarto. In two or three instances there occurs a variation in the handwriting; but as the poems regularly follow each other, there is no reason to believe that such alterations

be considered here. There are two extracts from it, On the King's Breaking his Confirmation of Magna Charta, p. 253 (MS. No. 21), and the Evil Times of Edward II. p. 323 (MS. No. 44). The second only offers the curious orthography: muis huis, p. 326, for: mous hous, and the assonance: hundred wonder p. 344. But the first is very singular. The second, third, fourth, fifth, and sixth stanzas, containing the sayings of the "iiij. wise men" have a peculiar arrangement of rhymes, differing from the rest of the poem, which may be symbolised thus, like letters shewing rhymes: *a a b c c b d d d e e e.* The last five stanzas stand thus: *a a b c c b.* None of these lines present any difficulty or novelty. The following is the first stanza, which Wright prints in divided lines, but which in the MS. itself runs across the page, although the pages of the MS. are usually divided into two columns, indicating, apparently, that the transcriber considered the final rhymes only as pointing out the divisions.

Len puet fere *et* defere ceo fait il *trop* souen*t*
It nis nouþer wel ne faire þ*er*fore e*n*gelo*n*d is shen*t*
Noſtre p*r*i*n*ce de engletere p*ar* le *con*fail de sa gen*t*
At weſtmi*n*ſter after þe feire maden a gr*et* p*ar*lemen*t*
La chartre fet de cyre ieo le*n*teink *et* bien le erey
It was holde to neih þe fire and is molten al awey
Ore ne say mes q*ue* dire tout i va at*ri*polay,
hu*n*dred. chapitle. court a*n* shire al hit goþ a deuel wey [2]
des plusages de latere ore efeotez vn sarmou*n*
Of iiij. wise me*n* þ*at* þer were whi engelo*n*de is brouht adoun [3]

indicate an earlier or later date than may be reasonably ascribed to the rest of the work; although the satire against Simonie, No. 44, seems rather in an older hand than the others, and may be an exception to the general rule. The MS. was presented to the Faculty of Advocates, in 1744, by Alexander Boswell, of Auchinleck, a Lord of Session, by the title of Lord Auchinleck, and father of the late James Boswell, Esq., the biographer of Dr. Johnson. Of its former history nothing is known. Many circumstances lead us to conclude that the MS. has been written in an Anglo-Norman Convent. That it has been compiled in England there can be but little doubt. Every poem which has a particular local reference, concerns South Britain alone . . . . On the other hand, not a word is to be found in the collection relating particularly to Scottish affairs."

[1] Compare "And lete me slepe, a twenty devel way!"—Cant. Tales 3713.

[2] The passage as we learn by Mr. Wright's note on p. 385, was transferred to his pages from: "an interesting little volume of early poetry, edited and printed privately by David Laing, Esq., and W. B. D. Turnbull, Esq., under the title of 'Owain Miles, and other Inedited Fragments of Ancient English Poetry. 8vo. Edinburgh, 1837.'" The present copy follows a careful transcript obligingly made for me by Mr. Halkett, the Librarian of the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, who says: "In *Owain Miles* the editors have divided each line into two; in my transcript you have them as they were originally written. There are no points except a dot after the word hu*n*dred, and another after the word chapitle; I am not sure whether they have been put there by design or by accident." On examining the orthography of the two pieces in this MS. given by Wright, and of Sir Tristrem as edited by Scott, we find it very irregular with respect to final *e*, in which it agrees with the MS. of Hampole (p. 410). Similarly, in the poems of the "deeff, sick, blynd," monk John Audelay of Haughmond, four miles from Shrewsbury, written 1426, necessarily from dictation and of course unrevised by the author (edited from MS. Bodl. 546, for the Percy Society, by J. O. Halli-

Now if we adopted Mr. Wright's arrangement in half lines we should be led to suppose that the rhymes were intended to be arranged thus: *a b a b a b a b c d c d c d e f e f*, and thus make: defere faire Engletere feire, rhyme together. But the first and third words probably ended in (-ee're) and our previous investigations lead us to consider that the second and fourth ended in (ai're).[1] We have not hitherto found a single instance in any good XIVth century MS. of *e* rhyming with *ay* or *ey*.[2] The few

well, 1844), the final *e* has apparently no phonetic meaning at all. The whole character of the spelling of Sir Tristrem (MS. No. 37) is northern. In the present short extract we have both *Engelond* and *Engelonde* in the nominative; in the second line *faire* should be *fair* (p. 383), and then of course *feire* must be *feir'* if it is intended to rhyme. *maden a gret parlement*, seems an error for, *made a grete parlement;* Wright reads *made a gret.*

[1] A Somersetshire farming man once asked me if I had seen the (ship) on the (fair), which sounded remarkably like a *ship on fire*, but merely meant the sheep in the fair from which I was walking. This is therefore an existent (fair) pronunciation of the Norman (feire.)

[2] This rhyming of *ey* with *e*, must be distinguished from the double forms *ey, e*, in certain words which occurs in a few instances, see suprà p. 265, and compare the double forms *ey, i*, pp. 284-286. The apparent rhyme: ded, sayde, p. 448, we have seen may not have been meant for a rhyme at all. Since the text was in type my attention has been directed to some apparent rhymes of *ay, e* in the poems of Audelay referred to in the last note but one. It will be advisable to consider these rhymes in this place. We must remember that the poet was both *blind and deaf*, and had an *illiterate scribe*. These three points are well proved by the notice (p. vi., Halliwell's edition, to the pages of which all references will be made): "iste liber fuit compositus per Johannem Awdelay, capellanum, qui fuit *ceeus et surdus*, in sua visitacione, ad honorem Domini nostri Jhesu Christi, et ad exemplum aliorum, in monasterio de Hagmon, anno Domini millesimo cccc.mo viccssimo vi.to cujus anime propicietur Deus." The *ceeus* for *ceeus*, or as we now write *caecus*, shews the trustworthiness of the scribe. The English part is full of the grossest orthographical eccentricities and inconsistencies, and was probably written by an ignorant brother, whose labours the author was unable to revise either by eye or ear. Under these circumstances we should rather be surprised at the regularity of the rhymes than at the occasional utter forgetfulness of rhyme, as: law withdrawe dais p. 22, (but perhaps *dawes* should be read, see suprà p. 371, Ex. *b.*), leudmen corexeon relegyon p. 24, Christ charyte p. 26, to therfro more p. 40, worlde Lorde reward p. 40, reprevyd dispilid p. 60 (both accented on the penultim), Lorde worlde p. 60, Judas cos = *kiss* p. 60, Lord soffyrd p. 61, thorst last p. 64, opus masse p. 73, on-morwe undorne p. 75, dirnes masse p. 76, dynt stont p. 78, masse worse p. 79, prayere honoure p. 79. It is evident from these examples that we must not press Audelay's doggrel rhymes too closely, and certainly not draw any inference from a few isolated examples. There can be no doubt, however, that he did not distinguish short *i* and short *e*, and there seems little doubt that he confused long *i* and long *e* also. Every page offers examples of the first, and the rhyme in *-e, -i, -y, -ye* is the commonest he has. The words, *die, high, eye*, were to him *dye, hye, ye* the last was even written *-e*, (p. x), and the two former constantly rhyme *-e*. Mr. Halliwell says (p. xi) that in Shropshire "*i* is still turned into *e*, which may be regarded one of Audelay's dialectical peculiarities, especially in the prefixes to the verbs." Another peculiarity, of the scribe at any rate, is to consider *oi* and *i* as identical, at least in some words. We have already cited *dispilid* = despoiled, p. 60, and we have *dystry* p. 20 but *dystroy* p. 33, *foyre* = fire, p. 48, rhyming to *were*. Another singular rhyme, if any weight is to be attached to it is: hyng drynke p. 61, see suprà p. 192. The word *eros* has various rhymes: was, losse p. 61, choys p. 8,

earlier cases which appear to exist in Havelok, etc., will hereafter be shewn to have probably arisen from errors (p. 473). Could we then

were it evidently stands for *eroyse* which is used p. 64 to rhyme with *voyse*. This preliminary examination will enable us to appreciate the examples of *ay* which apparently rhyme with *e*. In the first place, although *-e*, is the commonest rhyme sound throughout the poems, and *-ay* is also frequent, the instances in which *-ay* rhymes with *-e* are very rare. The following are all that I have noted throughout the extracts edited by Mr. Halliwell. In the poem on Henry VI, p. viii, there are 16 lines which should rhyme in *ay*, but in one case the word is *euntre*, the rhymes being: veray day play away fray day way day aray day cuntre Fryday may betray pray Awdlay. The rhymester was evidently hard up, or he would not have used *day* five times, and if his *ay* had really rhymed to his common *e*, he would certainly have introduced it many times. The single instance might be a case of carelessness, which the blind and deaf man failed to discover and correct. But *eountry* is one of those words which had a double orthography: cuntre cuntrey, corresponding to two forms in the Norman, which generated two pronunciations in (*-i* -e) in XVII th century (suprà p. 125), and hence probably had two sounds (-ee, -ai) in the XIV th century at least. To this list belong: country, valley, journey, livery, most probably. Hence the error may be merely scribal, *cuntre* for *cuntrey*. *Cumpane*. which at first sight seems to rhyme with *say*, p. 16, is apparently a simple mistake, and the line containing it, which is unnecessary to the sense, should be expunged. It occurs among a set of 78 stanzas of 13 lines each, having the complicated rhyme system *a b a b b c b c d e e e d*. In this particular piece the rhyming words are: spiryt say epocryte pay day *eompane* clene say lene mynde by truly cumpany unkynde. That is, this one stanza has 14 lines; and the line which is subversive of the whole rhyme system, is this very one which ends in *eompane*. Degre be may p. 44 is also a mere error, it occurs in a stanza of the last kind, corresponding to the *e e e* portion, and on the same page, in the next preceding stanza, in the same portion, we find: ȝeve know laue, which no one would hesitate to consider a false rhyme. To the same category I relegate the example in the same place of the next stanza: sayne eyne sene p. 45, where *sene* = *seen* is the infinitive mood of *see*, y-seyne bene p. 68 = *i-seen been*, are past partici ples, and the spelling of the first word is erroneous, but we have a similar form in Chaucer, suprà p. 265. Bred betrayed p. 70, I class with: wayt algat p. 47, as mere helpless rhymes; if the one could prove that *ay* = (ee), the other would prove *ay* = (aa), for the rhyme: face alas p. 60, would establish long a = (aa). In cownsele asayle batayle p. viii, the first word should have its usual form *counseyl*. In *eme* = modern *aim* p. 12, 37 and often, the *e* is correct, the modern spelling is wrong, the origin being Fr. *esmer* = æstimare. The above are absolutely all the cases observed, and the impression produced on myself by the examination of these rhymes, is, that Audelay pronounced *ay*, *e*, differently, and that the conclusions deduced from other sources apply to these cases also, viz: ay = (ai), e = (e). Nevertheless there are at least two MSS. and there may be more, which certainly confuse *ey*, *ay* with *e*, both in spelling and sound. The most striking of these in the Lincoln's Inn MS. 150, from which Weber has printed the greater part of King Alisaunder (in vol. 1 of Metrical Romances of the XIII th, XIV th and XV th centuries, published from Ancient Manuscripts, with an introduction, notes, and a glossary, by Henry Weber, Esq., Edinburgh, 1810, 3 vols., 8vo.), and which must be carefully distinguished from the Bodl. MS. Laud, I. 74, from which he has taken v. 4772—5989 of the same romance. This poem is supposed to have been written before 1300, and both the MSS. are attributed by Weber to the XIV th century, but Mr. Furnivall and Mr. Skeat date the Lincoln's Inn MS. about 1450. The Bodleian MS. has nothing strange, except: noye daye 5412, ryth nyth 4812 (but: nighth righth 5076) which reminds one of Havelock's peculiar th, infrà p. 477. and there are a few *i*, *e* rhymes, as: elere fire 5342, and some *e*, *a*, as: art eert 5802, but not frequent, and some assonances, as: blith wyf 5138. But on the whole it

from this popular song conclude that all this is a mistake, and suppose that Chaucer, and Gower, and other writers, although frequently hard up for rhymes, never employed such an extremely convenient jingle which lay ready to hand? The conclusion would be hazardous in the extreme, and is certainly unnecessary, for the apparent

is tolerably regular, and admitting the correctness of: cuntrey 4898, 5008, charrey 5096, curreye 5118, tornay play journay noblay 5212, presents no other remarkable orthography. But the Lincoln's Inn MS. is very peculiar, and if we had to deduce pronunciation from its rhymes, we should be badly off indeed. Omitting the false rhymes, 63, 305, 1515, 1708, 3173 etc., the assonances, the cases in which the first syllable of a dissyllable rhymes with a monosyllable as: bridel ride 953, walles al 1876, foughte doughte 2761, certis heort 6544, etc., the rhymes of *a* with *e*, *o* and even *i*, as: wist cast 716, fynde thousand 2403, often spelled *thousynde*, sixe waxe 6038; of *e* with *i*, *a*, *o*; and confining ourselves to the combinations *ei*, *ai*, *oi*, *ui* or *ey*, *ay*, *oy*, *uy*, we find *ei* written for *e* in: leynthe streyuth 788, 7351, nobleys 1373, eynde 1573, 1912, cleir 2885, steil 3211, speide neide 3441, yeilded 3791, heynde 4206, yeir 6963, which are conclusive as to confusion in the scribe's mind between these sounds. But we also find *ai* rhyming with *a*, *e*, *i*, *oi*; *ei* with *ai*, *e*, *i*, *uy*; *oi* with *ai*, *i*; *ui* with *e*, *i*, *oi*. These rhymes are so curious that many of them may be cited. AI, A; saide made 525, 7339, barbicans mayne 1591, amiraylis talis 1780, Taran, mayn 3247. AI, E: camelis vitailes 854, bonere = *debonnair* faire 6732, saide lede 6942, saide maied = mede? 7327. AI, I: Akaye Arabye 3399, play dye = deye 3442, bywryghen sayn 4116, raineth schyneth 6450, high contray 7143. AI, OI: y-said anoyed 273, 876, 1287, 1599, and often, play boy 1730, (*boy* is absolutely written *bay* 4376), taile spoile 2133, faile Tysoile 2148, palfray boy 3207, pays = *peace* noise 3373. EI, AI: chevynteyn mayn 3199, reyne mayne 7378. EI, E: thede feide 95, deys = *dais* nobles 1039, ese deys = *dais* 1153, kene eyghnen 1317, yeilde sheldis 2067, seye = *sæn* pudre 2179, corteys pes = *peace* 2951, yeld field 2959, steil wel 3419, keip = *keep* deop 3429 (but: kepe deop 3477), seide felawrede 6838, mesteir conseiler 7480. EI, I: nygh fleygh 119, kynde heynde 425, yilde feilde 2956, is deys = *is dais* 3966, eighte knyght 3884, 6042, countrey sygh 6440, wite disseyte 7704. EI, UY: reyn abuyn = *abide* 2991. OI, AI see AI, OI. OI, I: annoyed distryed 129, syghe joye 6060, nigh anoye 6116, anoye dye 6568. UI, E: kuyn = *kine* slen 760, quarter wildfuyr 1902, pruyde wede 2093, there afuyre 7549. UI, I: Tyre wildefuyre 3031. The conclusion seems to be that the writer occasionally pronounced *a*, *ai*, *e*, *ei*, *i*, *oi*, *ui* in the same way = (ee). This must certainly indicate some great peculiarity of pronunciation, and it is sufficient to note its inconsisteney with the results already obtained. No more can be said than that some xv century scribes in some part of the country, did perhaps so pronounce. But I cannot think that these rhymes justify our supposing an invariable pronunciation of *ai*, *ei*, *oi*, *ui* in this manner by any speaker. There is another MS. Advocates' Library Jac. V. 7, 27, supposed to have been written in the xv th century, from which Weber has printed his Sir Amadas (Ibid. vol. 3), which exhibits great peculiarities, of which we need only notice: reyr = *rear* 7, leyt = *let* 10, geyt = *get* 24, deytte = *debt* 37, feyr = fere 118, greyt = *great* 156, seyt = *set* 218, deyd reyd = *deed rede* 236, speyke meyte = *speak meet* 284, etc., shewing a complete fusion of *ei*, *e*. The other pieces printed by Weber, and all the other old spelling which I have examined are free from such fusion. The above peculiarities are also absent in the second copy of Sir Amadas printed in: Ghost-thanks or the Grateful Unburied, a mythic tale in its oldest European form, Sir Amadace, a middle North English metrical Romance of the XIII th century, reprinted from two texts with an introduction by *George Stephens*, Cheapinghaven (i.e. Copenhagen), 1860, which Mr. Payne has brought under my notice. With this explanation, therefore, I allow the text to stand unaltered, convinced that although a few words may have had both (ai, ee), and a few provincials may

anomaly is easily explained. The writer began in Norman French, meaning to mix up English with it, just as Norman French, English and Latin are intermixed in a haphazard manner in the Song of the Times, p. 251. In this way he wrote the two first lines, taking the arrangement in the MS., (which did *not* rhyme in the middle); but reverting to Norman French in his third line he threw off a middle rhyme to his first, and then for the sake of symmetry he made his fourth line have a middle rhyme to his second, thus producing, if we count the middle rhymes, the somewhat singular arrangement: *a b c b a b c b*. Naturally enough in adding the next four lines he adopted the more obvious arrangement: *a b a b a b a b*, for the words: eyre fire dire shire, all rhyme;[1] and the words: erey awey Tripolay wey,[2] also rhymed to English ears at least, as (-ai). A question, however, arises whether the Norman French: erey, Tripolay, ended in (ai) as well as the English: awey, wey. Of the latter we can at present feel little doubt, of the former there may be considerable cause for hesitation. In modern French *ei*, *ai*, are in most words called (ɛɛ), and the stanza we have been considering has been relied upon to establish that *ai*, *ei* in English had the sound of (ee), on the presumption that: defere, faire, Engleterre, feire, were all intended to rhyme in (ee·re).[3] If we take the arrangement of the lines in the MS. itself, there is no room at all for this assumption, because in fact we have only ten rude Alexandrines, rhyming thus: *a a a a b b b b c c*, at their ends, and occasionally, but not essentially, rhyming their middles. As, however, the other view is strongly insisted on, it is advisable, without further reference to an isolated song which can really establish nothing, to enter upon an examination of the probable value of *ei*, *ai*, in old Norman, a question so extensive and so beset with difficulties that it is impossible to discuss it fully.[4]

The conclusions to which I have been led by an examination of all the rhymes in Wace's Roman de Rou,[5] and several other Norman

have used (ee) for *ei* (ei, ai) in some words at a very early period precisely as Hart did in the xvi th century (p. 122), the great majority of educated men, and all speakers of the Court dialect said (ei) or (ai) where *ei*, *ai* were written, down to the middle or end of the xvi th century, and believing that the hypothesis of an original (ee) sound, followed by an (ai) pronunciation in the xvi th century as distinctly laid down by Sir T. Smith (p. 121), which again became (ee) in the xvii th, is untenable.

[1] *Fire* has a dative *e*; *shire* ags. scire an essential *e*. The word *shire* is still pronounced (shiir) by many, suprà p. 275, note 3. Cyre, dire, were French (siire, diire) anglicized, perhaps to (*siir*re, d*iir*re). The rhyme was therefore (-ii·re) or (-*ii*·re) in all, or the first in the French and the second in the English.

[2] Mr. Wright prints *way*, Mr. Halkett transcribes *wey*.

[3] Rapp has adopted the pronunciation (ee) for *ai* in old French, see infrà, p. 509, note 1.

[4] See the previous remarks, p. 438.

[5] Le Roman de Rou et des Dues de Normandie, par Robert Wace, poète normand du xiie siècle, publié pour la première fois, d'après les manuscrits de France et Angleterre, avec des notes pour servir à l'intelligence du texte, par *Frédéric Pluquet*, Rouen 1827, 8vo, 2 vols., 16547 verses.

poems, are that *ei*, *ai*, when written were always meant to indicate the diphthongs (ei, ai) or the dissyllables (e,i) and (a,i), but that they were occasionally employed, perhaps by a scribal error, for simple *e* (e). It also appears tolerably certain that in a small series of words both (ai) and (e) were pronounced at a very early period, and that in other cases, by the same sort of habit which at the present day leads an Englishman to terminate his (*ee*, *oo*) in (i,u), thus (*ee*i, *oo*u), and which led him in the last century to palatalise *k*, *g* into (kj, gj) before (æ, ɔi),—habits which, it is important to observe, exist in full force at the present day in Icelandic, the living representative of the language spoken by the Norsemen before they acquired Normandy, and therefore probably indicating the tendency of the pronunciation these would adopt—the Normans introduced an unhistorical, but really pronounced (i) after *e*, *a*, in many words; so that this introduced *i* was not an idle orthographical ornament, but implied an actual alteration of sound. Whether the sounds (ei, ai) were kept as distinct as they now are in modern French *conseil*, *travail*, it would be difficult to determine, but they were certainly confused in writing, and it is probable that to English ears, which seem to have long confused the sounds, they sounded the same as the ordinary English (ai).[1] The existence of the sounds (ei, ai) in *vieil*, *ail* and such words, seems indeed to imply a prior (ei, ai) pronunciation, because, as we have every reason to suppose that the palatisation of the *l* in (lj) and even (ɹh) or its entire absorption in (i), as (vjei, ai), is comparatively modern, and we know that *l* had the contrary tendency to labialisation after the same vowels *e*, *a* in French, compare *eux*, *aux*, it seems probable that this palatisation was generated by a preceding (i) and did not conversely generate the (i). Supposing these conclusions were correct, an Englishman, at least, would rhyme: crey awey Tripolay wey, as we have supposed, in (-ai). The following is a brief statement of some of the grounds on which these conclusions rest.

Both *ai* and *ei* occasionally represent divided vowels and not diphthongs, in which case the French editors generally write *aï*, *éi*, but it is more convenient to use the ordinary signs *aï*, *eï* with Dr.

[1] Modern Englishmen readily hear all combinations which approach in sound to their (ɔi), as (ɔi). Compare p. 123, note 4. Observe the common error (kuu·dɔil) for (ku dœi) *coup d'œil*. See also the various Scotch sounds, p. 290, which Englishmen usually find the greatest difficulty in distinguishing. When I was recently endeavouring to make a literary English friend appreciate the difference (ei, ai), I entirely failed, and he heard both sounds as (ɔi). The Dutch *ei*, *ij* = (ei, ɔi) as I heard them (p. 295, note 1), are both heard as (ɔi) by Englishmen, and as (ai) by Germans. The modern Icelandic diphthongs corresponding to *ei*, *ai* are written *ei*, *æ* and pronounced (*eei*, aa*i*) with a distinct and lengthened primary, and an extremely abbreviated secondary element. Compare the effect of the similar sound (*ee*i) of southern English long *a* at Tenby, p. 272, note 3. Also observe the actual change of long *a* into (ei) or (æi), as (rœin·*i* dœi) for *rainy day*, among the children of the uneducated classes in London, pointed out to me by school-teachers to whom it occasioned difficulty, see p. 294 and note 2. The change of (ee) into (ei) and thence (ai) is therefore not merely à priori likely from Norse habits, but actually corroborated by existing English uses.

Delius.[1] These divisions occur even in words which in modern times have received the sound of (ee) or (EE), as well as in such words as: poiz fu ocis en traïson 51,[2] et en France mainte envaïe 135, guerpi ont toz li plein païs 529, where the separation still remains in: trahison, envahir, pays, and the pronunciation has altered in the last word only.

Aider in the Norman war-cry is always *aïe;*

Franceiz crient: Monjoe. e Normanz: Dex[3] *aïe.* 4665

The complete: aïder, occasionally occurs, and this divided form seems etymologically more ancient than the diphthongal: aider, which is however more common.[4] It is worthy of remark that the diphthongal pronunciation (ai'der) remained well into the XVI th century, as it is classed with: aymant, hair, as having both vowels pronounced by Meigret (suprà p. 118), and Ramus, 1562, classes: paiant gaiant aidant (Livet, p. 205). The older pronunciation of this one word, therefore does not admit of doubt.

Par false e par feinte *haïne*
Fu faite ceste desaisine. 15670

This word: haine, is now pronounced (een), Féline writes (en), but: hair is (a,iir) not (eer, air), haissable (a,isabl'). The verb is now very variable: je hais, tu hais, il hait; nous haïssons, vous haïssez, ils haïssent. The old French: hadir, cited by Diez, seems to imply the greater antiquity of the divided vowels.

[1] Maistre Wace's St. Nicholas. Ein altfranzösisches Gedicht des zwölften Jahrhunderts aus Oxforder Handschriften, herausgegeben von Dr. Nicolaus Delius, Bonn, 1850, 8vo. pp. 95. "Eben so unentbehrlich erscheinen die Trennungspunkte über zwei Vokalen, die sonst, zur Beeinträchtigung des Verses, für einen Diphthong gelesen würden, z. B. *eü*, *oï*, u. s. w. Die Methode französischer Editoren im ersteren Falle *éu*, *blesséure* u. s. w. zu schreiben, ist schwerlich zu rechtfertigen, da ein so betontes *é* wohl kaum von dem folgenden Vokal verschluckt worden wäre, wie das in der neuern Sprache doch geschehen ist; *eu*, *blessure* u. s. w." Preface, p. xi. Dr. Delius's reason may admit of dispute. The proper method is, of course, *to follow the manuscript*, and leave the rest to the reader, but in the present case I shall use *aï*, *eï*, as the object is to point out such cases to the eye.

[2] The simple figure refers to the verse in the Roman de Rou. The letters B, E, refer to Benoit (suprà p. 438, note 2,) and Eustache (Roman d'Eustache le Moine, edited by F. Michel, Lond. 1834, 8vo).

[3] On this extraordinary form *Dex* for *Deus*, Dr. Rapp remarks (Phys. d. Spr. ii, 86) that the black letter v, x of the middle ages only differed by a small tail affixed to the latter, and this he supposes induced the scribes to abbreviate the frequent termination *us*, *ux*, that is, *vs*, *vx*, as they should have been written, into *x*, which meant *v* with a subscribed *x*, and also led them to write *x* for *v*. Modern editors, he complains, have overlooked this, and hence written this pseudo *x* for *v*, in characters where the resemblance of form has altogether disappeared. So that now we find generally at one time *als*, *els*, *fils*, at another *ax*, *ex*, *fix*, and even where there was no *s*, at one time *diu*, at another *diex*, or *dieu*, which are, Dr. Rapp thinks, entirely due to errors of writing or reading. Hence we must always determine in the printed copies whether *x* stands for *s*, *u*, or *us*. To this abbreviation Dr. Rapp also attributes the German proverb, to make one an *x* for a *u*, "einem ein X für ein U machen," that is, substitute the false for the true, which he thinks is a proof that the custom was objected to even in the middle ages.

[4] It. aïta, Pr. ahia, O. Fr. aïde aïe, Fr. aide, Eng. aid, It. aïtare, Pr. aidar, Fr. aider. Donkin's Diez's Rom. Dic. sub *ajuto.*

Mult veïssiez . . . .
Homes a terre jambeter,
E chevals resnes *traïner*. 6737-44

The modern French is (treene). The divided vowels again appear to be more ancient.[1]

Ausi cum glaive ist de *gaïne*
U cum lion prent sa rabine. B. vol. i. p. 16.

Here again the modern French is (geen), but the divided vowels are more ancient.[2] For *eï*.

Emme sa fille fu *reïne*
A lie fu Engleterre eneline. 6548

The modern French is (reen), but the *g* extruded from *regina* shews the divided vowels to be the more ancient, and they were more common in this word in old Norman. Even the form: roïne is found in Wace's Brut.

Grant partie sor la marine
Malgre sa feme la *roïne* v. 43.

Compare also

Tu *meisme*, dist Rou, as fet ton jugement. 2029

The following examples are curious:

Sire, dist un Visconte, jo vos dirai ja veir,
Cele vile n'est pas legiere a *asseïr*
Par l'ewe e par li pont povez sovent *veïr*
Chevaliers e serjanz cha dedenz recheveir. 4196
Turna sei pur li eors *veïr*:
Gis tei, dist il, ne te moveir. 5462
En la boisiere volt *veïr*,
Ne sai s'il out de rien espeir. 5688

Here we see a divided: veïr, rhyming with an undivided: -eir. Now the hypothesis that *ir* was in such a case pronounced as *eir*, seems contrary to all possibility or probability. But this might be simulated by the prefixing of an *e*, thus making the ordinary: veir into: vëeir, so that in this case we should not so much have a divided *eï*, as an omitted *e*. This notion is partly sustained by comparing

A plusors des Baronz a monstre son cunseil;
Si l'en tindrent trestuit a bon et a *feïl*. 3314
Ki li donouent tel cunseil
Ne li unt pas este *fëeil*. 8483

where the same word *feïl*, L. fidelis, rhyming with the same word *cunseil* is at one time spelt *feïl* and at another *feeil*, which I have interpreted by a diæresis. This may however have been only a scribal accident. Still this insertion of *e* is similar to the familiar use of *u* or *eü* as the metre seems to require. This explanation hardly applies to

Normendie prendront e tendront soubs lor peiz
E se voudrent la Francc partiront entr' eïz, 3633

[1] It. traíno, Sp. tragin, Pr. trahi, Fr. E. train (O. Fr. traïn), from trahere; vb. It. trainare, Pr. trahinar, Fr. trainer. The suffix íno is not added to verbs, so the Ital. and Sp. forms may have been borrowed from the Pr. Fr. trahim traïm. Donkin's Diez.

[2] It. guaina, Fr. gaine, O. Fr. gaïne, Rou. waine, W. gwain a sheath; from vagina. Milanese has guadinna, Venetian guazina. Donkin's Diez.

and it seems more natural to suppose that (e,i) and (ei) were found sufficient rhymes, when a trouvère was hard pressed. But whatever explanation is adopted, we must remember that whereas *veir* is generally a monosyllable, it is made a dissyllable in these places for the exigencies of the met·e, which could hardly have been done unless it contained within itself the elements of resolvability, by containing two vowel sounds usually diphthongizing. This reminds us of the division of *ueine*, *mayn* into *ueïne*, *maïjn* for the exigencies of the music only, and even against the metre, in the Prisoner's Prayer, p. 432, line 7, and p. 433, line 6, of the music, which certainly could not have been attempted if both vowels had not been sounded. See also the apparent division of the diphthong in Chaucer, suprà p. 264, and Havelok, infrà p. 476. The double orthography: esmaier, esmaai, the last of which rhymes with *ai*, in:

Guert, dist Heraut, ne t' *esmaier*,
Dex nos pot bien, s'il volt, aidier. 13015
Guert, dist il, nos anemiz creissent;
Chevaliers vienent et espeissent,
Mult part en vient, grant poor *ai;*
Unkes maiz tant ne m' *esmaai.* 13027

is scarcely comprehensible on the supposition that *a* was not clearly pronounced.

These quotations seem to establish the existence of *ei*, *ai* as diphthongs, and as divided vowels with the pronunciations (ei, ai) and (e,i, a,i) and the confusion of *ei*, *ai* when *ai* was an undoubted diphthong as in *aider*, compare *sentreeident* = s'entr'aident, in the Norman version of the Proclamation of Henry III, p. 502, l. 2. The question then becomes whether this pronunciation was universal,or whether *ei*, *ai* were not occasionally pronounced (ee) as at present.

Now in the first place we must not lose sight of the fact that several words were spelled indifferently with *e* or *ai*.

Odes n'en volt pur li rien *fere*,
Orguil respundi e *euntrere.* 6612
Cil n'en osa plus nient *fere*
Dez ke li Dus le rova *tere.* 7057
Ki a sun euer vunt a *euntraire*
Maiz n'en pot il a eel tems *faire.* 8433
E de la grant destrucion
Ke paen a Dol orent *fet*:
S'il en France venir les *lait.* 6946
Se il nel fet, a nul jur *mais*
N'ara trieves de li ne *pais.* 8453
Mez par li bons clers ki l'escristrent. 37
Ne *mez* tant com l'en vait disant. 59
Sul Deus est sachanz e *mestre*
D'Oecean fist eissir e *naistre* B. vol. i. p. 5

Compare: estre maistre ib. p. 10. If we examine old French, as distinct from Norman, we shall find the interchange of *ai*, *e* constant. It is almost impossible to open Roquefort's Dictionnaire at hazard without finding examples. But at this early period, XII th or XIII th century, I have not yet seen the confusion in many words. In the Roman de Rou, the only final words in *-ere* for *-aire* which

I have noticed are: fere, tere, contrere, and these, so far as I have observed, do not rhyme with words that are not also spelled with *ai*. Such words would, therefore, be probably words of double sounds, and if we met a rhyme like: faire cuntrere, we should naturally suppose that the scribe had mistaken in spelling one of the words. Thus, in the lines just cited, for: fet lait, read fait lait. This is precisely similar to the double forms in Chaucer: dye deye, ye eye, etc. (suprà p. 284-6.) That the change had taken place in a large number of words in the XIV th century we see by such English words as: ese, pees, cler = *aise*, *paix*, *clair*, in Chaucer, but the double form: ese eyse, shew that the tradition at least, of the old diphthongal form was not lost in England (p. 265). In this examination it would be necessary for certainty to revert to original manuscripts of a known date, for at a late period scribes must necessarily have confused spellings which had come to be identical in signification.

The Normans, if they carried with them Norse traditions, as interpreted by modern Icelandic,[1] into the French pronunciation, must have had a tendency to palatisation; they must have been fond, that is, of prefixing or subjoining *i* to any other vowel, either always or occasionally. This is fully borne out in the Roman de Rou. Thus, for preceding *i*: triege 1362, trieves 1320, legiere 1323, aidier 13016, chierte 1571, cunquiere 4677, similarly matiere, baniere, chief; mangie, eslaissie, E. p. 4, the practice being common. For a succeeding *i* we have the frequent termination *-aige* co-existing with *-age*, as langage usaige 5217, messaige passaige 10790, rivaiges damaiges[2] 127, and: tuit = *tout*, *tous* 1074, trestuit = *très tous* 1076, where the change is made to rhyme with: s'enfuit, muit, deduit, but all the forms: tuit, tut, tot, are found. Now to this Norman tendency I attribute the addition of an *i* to a pure *e*, as in dei = *dé* 3770, creimon 14966, compare cremuz 15049, and such common forms as: sei mei tei dei meserei lei porkei 2021-8, meiz 3636, which are all alterations of a Latin *e* in the direction of palatalisation, whereas the French forms: soi moi toi etc. = (sue mue tue) etc. are in the opposite direction of labialisation.[3] Compare also: vezins 186, with: veizin 2292, which seem to show how Latin *i* passed through Norman *e* before it became Norman *ei*, as a palatalisation of the *e*. From insufficient research I have not met with *-tei* for *-te*, answering to the Latin *-tas*, but Mr. Payne says he has found in *Lymage del Monde*, Harl. MS. 4333, dated 1246, all the forms: pouretei humilitei ueritei, vanitei, vanite, and similar

[1] See an account of Icelandic, infrà § 4, No. 2. See also suprà p. 454.

[2] In addition to the observations at the close of the note on p. 120, M. l'abbé Delalonde, (p. 438, n. 3), says: "La pronunciation *rivaige*, etc., n'existe pas dans la Seine-Inférieure, sauf à St. Valery-en-Caux, où l'on pourrait trouver quelque chose d'analogue: on dirait plutôt à St. Valery *rivége*: mais il faut noter que l'accent Valeriguais diffère sensiblement de l'accent caulchais; à St. Valery on *ferme* les lettres: *a* devient *é*, et *è* devient *i*. Je n'ai jamais entendu dire *rivaïge*."

[3] See suprà p. 131, note, col. 1; p. 138, note, col. 1; and p. 187. A lady informs me that (sue, mue, tue,) etc., were the received pronunciations, when she was in French Canada.

varieties in the past participle. I am inclined to class these forms with the others as Norman palatalisations, but of less frequent occurrence than those with which we are so familiar, and confined to particular writers and localities.

This discussion is necessarily left in a very incomplete form, and it is evident that lengthy researches would be necessary to arrive at a satisfactory conclusion. Nevertheless, it seems to me, that a high degree of probability has been attained for the theory that when the scribe wrote *ei, ai* he meant (ei, ai), or (eei, aai).[1] The true English diphthongs were derived from the Saxon, *eg, ag, æg*, and passed through (eɔh, aɔh, æɔh) most probably, to become finally fused into (ai). They do not in any respect depend upon the Norman, and hence, from the rhyming of: awey wey, both from ags. *weg*, and hence both necessarily (wai), with the Norman: crei Tripolay, in the passage which has led to this discussion, (suprà p. 449), we should conclude that the Anglo-Normans said (-ai) rather than allow the unproved theory that the Anglo-Normans of the XIII th century called: crei Tripolay (kree Tripolee), to establish by a single example the English pronunciation of: awey wey, as (awee· wee), in contradiction to the evidence that the diphthongal (awai· wai) were recognised by Dr. Gill as late as 1621, and still exist dialectically. Such a conclusion would be similar to the theory which, starting from modern use, makes old English long *i* = (ɔi), finds the same sound in Anglosaxon, and even imagines that the old Norman was pronounced so in England, so that the rhymes: cyre fire dire shire of our song (p. 449) should be: (sɔir foir dɔir shɔir), an hypothesis which our examination of long *i* in the XIV th century (pp. 270–297) must render extremely improbable.[2]

[1] Mr. Joseph Payne, as a consequence of his researches on Norman orthography, etc. (suprà p. 438, note 1), dissents from the conclusions in the text respecting the Norman value of *ei, ai*, which he believes to have always had the sound (ee), and he considers that the French rhymes cited suprà p. 264 would tend to prove that Chaucer also pronounced his *ei, ai* as (ee). So far as I understood, he considers that *ei, ai* had the same sound (ee) from the earliest times in England, but that *ai, ei* had the sound (ai) in the English of the XVI th century, as well as that of (ee) which Hart accepts as the only sound, suprà p. 122. The reader is referred to pp. 118-124, p. 238, pp. 263-266, to the rhyme ay, mei = English *aye*, Latin *mei*, p. 447, and to the use of aʒʒ, eʒʒ in Orrmin, infrà p. 489, as well as to the preceding investigation, for the reasons which lead me to the conclusion that *ei, ai* were (ei, ai), or simply (ai) from the earliest times to the end of the XVI th century, allowing the northern habit of (ee) to have co-existed from, at least, the beginning of the XVI th century in Scotland, suprà p. 410, note 3, and perhaps at a still earlier period in some districts of England, probably north-midland, suprà p. 452, note, col. 2, although even there it is unlikely that the forms (ei, ai) had invariably the sound of (ee). See also infrà p. 473, note 1. I much regret that owing to Mr. Payne's researches not being yet (April, 1869) in type, I am unable to examine the proofs which he has adduced, but no one can hereafter properly appreciate the evidence on which a decision has to be taken, without thoroughly examining what he has so carefully and conscientiously adduced.

[2] Nevertheless as M. Le Héricher has advanced an opinion that the pronunciation *aï* (ai) for long *i* was by no means unknown to the old Norman language, and has stated that it is even known in the modern Norman dialect, it is necessary to consider what he has

Our knowledge of English pronunciation in the XIII th and XIV th centuries, is now so much more certain than any knowledge which

advanced. The following are the words of his assertion, Histoire et Glossaire du Normand de l' Anglais, etc., i. 27, "On retrouve en Normandie l' I ouvert des Anglais, c'est-à-dire Aï. Dans la Hague on dit: "Il est en praïson;" c'est-à-dire prison, "il est jolai," c'est-à-dire joli. Ce son d'ailleurs n'était pas étranger au vieux normand, comme le prouve ce vers de Wace:

Eve est isle, Zornée (thorn) est espaine (épine)
Soit rain, soit arbre, soit raine.

Les paysans de Molière, c'est-à-dire de l'Ile-de-France, prononcent quelquefois ainsi; voyez dans l'acte II de *Dom Juan*: 'Chagraine, Chopaine.' Mais les exemples sont assez nombreux en vieux normand; outre celui de Wace nous pouvons en citer un de Beneoit:

Noise, meslée n'ataïne,
Gardez que chascun en devine.

Nous pouvons encore en citer un moderne, tiré d'une chanson patoise, sur le nom propre Edeline:

Vous y v'là donc, monsieur Edlaine.
(*Condoléance hagnaise*, par Edeline.)

Le paysan bas-normand rentre dans la prononciation anglaise de l'Y final, par exemple *To sanctify*, lorsqu'il dit "Tu betifaïes," tu dis ou fais des bêtises; et il prononce *Envaie*, envie, comme l'Anglais prononce *Vie*, apocope du mot normand. Du reste, c'est aussi la prononciation de Picardie, où le mot "Arnould daïne" est devenu célèbre. Le normand a traduit en *ei* l'I du latin, que le français a traduit en *oi*: *Deit* (digitus), *Freid* (frigidus), *Peil* (pilus), *Neir* (niger), *Peis* (pisus), *Sei* (sitis). C'est ainsi que la forme primitive *Franceis*, *Angleis*, *Daneis* représente *Franci*, *Angli*, *Dani*." We have seen the uncritical manner in which this author cites Palsgrave, suprà p. 120, note, making him assert that in the French of his time A was pronounced as the modern French *a*, *ai*, whereas Palsgrave gives *a* as the general sound, and *aï* not *ai*, that is (ai) not (EE), as a sound of *a* in a very limited class of words. I therefore considered it necessary to check the assertions in the above quotation as well as I could. My friend Mr. W. Babington, being resident at Havre when this passage came under my consideration, obligingly made inquiries for me of the vicars of Notre Dame at Havre, Messrs. Herval and Le Duc, and of Norman gentlemen from the different departments of Seine Inférieure, Calvados, Orne and Eure, but could find no trace of this pronunciation of long *i* as *aï* (ai). M. l'abbé Delalonde (suprà, p. 438 n. 3) whom I also consulted on this point, writes to me: "*I* changé en *aï* est tout à fait étranger à notre contrée." But respecting "Arnould daïne," he says: "Le *célèbre* proverbe est totalement inconnu chez nous; il signifie bien: *Arnould dîne*, ... quant à la manière de prononcer le mot *dîner*, je le représenterais plutôt ainsi: *deînner*, et cette prononciation est fort répandue parmi les paysans." This probably means (DEENE). As, however, none of these inquiries had extended to the precise district pointed out by M. Le Héricher as that in which *aï* was said for long *i*, viz. la Hague, the peninsula containing Cherbourg, I wrote to M. Totain, the curé of Beaumont, the nearest town to Cape de la Hague, and he has favoured me with the following reply: "Etranger au pays de la Hague que je n'habite que depuis quelques années, je ne suis pas autant au courant que beaucoup d'autres de la prononciation des habitans. J'ai cependant interrogé quelques personnes de la localité que j'habite, et elles m'ont affirmé que, dans le canton de Beaumont, nulle part on ne dit: *praïson* pour prison, ni *jolaï* pour joli; ni: *tu bêtifaïes* pour bêtifies. On dit: il est parti en prison; il est jôli—tu dis ou tu fais des bêtises. On ne dit pas non plus *envaïe* pour envie." In a subsequent communication, M. Totain says: "Mon Maire, M. Le Taillis, Docteur médecin, originaire de Montebourg," a small town fifteen miles S.S.E. of Cherbourg on the same peninsula, "m'a affirmé que la prononciation: il est jolaï, il est en praïson, tu bêtifaïs, qui n'est pas usité dans la Hague, l'est très généralement parmi les habitants de Montebourg et des environs." (suprà p. 297, note.) After this examination we may feel certain that the pronunciation of long *i* as (ai) adduced by M.

we possess of the old Norman pronunciation, that, as it is in general derived from independent sources, we are rather justified in reversing the process of investigation and using rhymes of English and

Le Héricher is a remarkably circumscribed local pronunciation of no historical value, although it has the phonetic importance of shewing that the change of (ii) to (ai) is not confined to England, Germany, and Holland, but has an analogue, confined indeed to a very small district, but still existent in Normandy. We proceed then at once to what bears more directly on our present investigation, an examination of the evidence on which he attributes this pronunciation to the old Norman of the XII th century. M. Le Héricher does not give the reference to Wace and it was not without considerable difficulty that I discovered the passage he apparently meant to cite in Roman de Rou, vol. ii, p. 105, v. 10659. Wace is explaining the meaning of the English word *Zonee* as he writes it, that is, *Thorney*, Thorn island, on which Westminster Abbey was built, and says—not what M. Le Héricher has written, but—

Ee est isle, *zon* est espine,
Seit rainz, seit arbre, seit racine.

All trace of an *aï* = (ai) sound here disappears. The next passage cited from Beneois (Benoit?) again without any reference, I have been unable to verify, but supposing that it is correctly cited —a very hazardous supposition, after the above misquotation—the metre requires the separation of the syllables *a-ta-i-ne*, and the rhyme becomes regular. Roquefort gives the verb under the forms: atainer, ataigner, atayner, athir, atiner = *nuire*, referring to the low Breton *atayn-a*, and the substantive in the forms: atahin, ataine, atainement, atayne, atenes, athaine, athine, atie, atine, attaine, attine = *haine*. The word was evidently pronounced in a variety of ways, and it is not an example which establishes anything. From M. Le Héricher's assertion with which he introduces this instance, that there are "numerous" examples of the rhyming of *aï* with *i* in old Norman, it would seem that he had confused the diphthong (ai) with the divided vowels (a, i), and that when, as is quite right, proper, and consistent, (a,i) rhymes with (i), he concluded that (ai) rhymes with (i), which is perfectly different. Certainly no one who can confuse the two cases, is competent to make use of rhymes to determine pronunciation. We may therefore dismiss M. Le Héricher's assertion that the pronunciation *aï* (ai) for long *i* was not unknown to the old Normand, as perfectly destitute of foundation, neither of his examples bearing in the least upon it, and both discrediting his method of research. My own examination of all the rhymes in Wace's Roman de Rou has not produced a single instance of this monstrosity. In the modern example from La Hague, as the author writes *Edlaine* and not *Edlaïne*, this does not seem to be a case in point, but appears to refer to some other dialectic tendency similar to that cited by M. Delalonde of *dainner* for *dîner*. I have not been able to see or hear of a copy of the poem *Condoléance Haguaise* cited by M. Le Héricher. Respecting the two words cited from *Don Juan*, we must remember that Molière lived in the XVII th century, hence his *ai*, not *aï*, should mean (ee). There are many curious spellings in *Le Festin de Pierre*, Act 2, sc. 1, as *ai* for *oi* and conversely, *ar* for *er*, *i* for *u*, but perhaps no cases of *ai* for *i* except those cited: "Igha que tu me *chagraines l'esprit*, franchement." "Je m'en vais boire *chopaine* pour me rebouter taut soit peu de la *fatique* que j'aie eue." The *esprit*, *fatique* shew that there was no general change. M. Totain says in reference to words in *-ine*, as "poitrine, chagrine, vermine, chopine, etc., nos paysans les prononcent généralement comme s'il y avait: *ène* ou *aine*. Ainsi ils disent; Viens bêre une chopéne ou une chopaine, c'est-à-dire; Viens boire une chopine." This confirms the above view of *Edlaine*. After this examination it would be unsafe to build upon M. Le Héricher's account of Norman pronunciation, which begins with an assertion very far from being borne out by his subsequent remarks, even supposing them correct: "Quand la prononciation normande n'existera plus, on pourra la retrouver presque tout entière, dans la prononciation anglaise."—*Credat Judæus!*

Norman to elicit the English pronunciation of Norman. Of course it is necessary to be sure that apparent rhymes are meant to be such, and to exclude assonances when consonants are to be determined, and not to deduce anything from single instances, which may be only scribal errors. For example the passage last cited (p. 449) could not be used to deduce the pronunciation of any of the Norman words, except: tere, sarmoun, which certainly rhyme with: were, adoun, in the last stanza, and which must therefore have been called (teˑreˑ, sarmuunˑ), an important conclusion as respects the last word, as it excludes the idea of the English having heard any approach to the modern French nasality in the last word. It is evident that in the former part of the stanza the Norman words may rhyme with Norman and the English with English throughout, as shewn by the italics for the Norman in: *defere sovent*, faire shent, *Engletere gent*, faire parlement; *cyre crey*, fire awey, *dire Tripolay*, shire wey, and hence no information would result. The construction of ballads is so loose that we have really no right to assume anything else, if we take the middle rhymes into account.

The following lines are curious (Pol. Songs, p. 49, from Harl. MS. 978, undoubtedly of the XIIIth century, suprà p. 420, n. 1).

> Competenter per *Robert*, *robbur*[1] designatur:
> Et per *Richard riche hard* congrue notatur;
> *Gilebert* non sine re *gilur* appellatur;
> *Gefrei*, si rem tangimus, in *jo frai* commutatur.

The consonants must here not be pressed too hard, and we cannot be certain that *Robert* was pronounced *Rober* as at present. The *Gilebert*, *gilur* = Gilbert guiler, shew the identity of Norman and English *i* long, guaranteed as (*ii*, ii) by the present and perhaps ancient short vowel in the first syllable of Gilbert; and *Gefrei*, *jo frai* = je ferai, is useful in assigning the pronunciation of Geoffrey as (Dzhefˑraiˑ). But (Dzhefˑreeˑ) must have also been in use, see p. 498. There is scarcely anything else which is useful in the Pol. Songs, but the following may be noted, the French words being italicised as before: *pas* was p. 189, *Dé* be p. 191, Boloyne *moyne* assoygne loyne Coloyne Sesoyne p. 191, *Dée* contree p. 216, *eglise* wise p. 251, and the Latin: *custodi* mody p. 251.

There are three poems from Univ. Camb. MS. Gg. 4, 27, in which many French rhymes occur.[2] This MS., from which also the Chaucer Society are printing the Canterbury Tales, is supposed to belong to the first half of the XVth century, but evidently cannot belong to a Southern locality on account of its treatment of the final *e*.[3] Although

[1] In the spelling *robbur*, *gilur* the *u* stands for *e* as usual; the English reader should not think of such a sound as (ə) or (ɹ).

[2] These were printed 11 July 1864 for private circulation by Rev. H. Bradshaw, of King's College, Cambridge, to whose kindness I am indebted for the copies from which I quote.

[3] See an interesting account of this MS. and its numerous peculiarities, prefixed to the Chaucer Society's reprint. It may be compared with Audelay (suprà p. 450, note 2), in the interchange of *o* with *a*, *e*, *u*, the use of *ony* for *any*, the frequent use of *e* for *i*, the neglect of final *e*, and in many other points, so that its authority on questions of Southern pronunciation is very slight.

these rhymes do not properly belong to the period of this chapter, this seems the most appropriate place for their consideration. The first stanzas of the poems are as follows:

I. De Amico ad Amicam.

1. A celuy qui pluys eyme en Mounde
Of alle tho that I haue founde
Carissima
Salu3 od treye amour
With grace ioye and alle honour
Dulcissima

2. Sache3 bien pleysant et beele
That I am ry3t in good heele
Laus cristo
Et moun amour done vous ay
And also thynowene ny3t and day
In eisto

II. Responcio

1. A soun treschere et speeial
Fer and ner and oueral
In mundo
Que soy ou salt3 et gre
With mouth word and herte fre
Iocundo

2. Ieo vous san3 debat
That ȝe wolde of myn stat
Audire
Sertefyes a vous ieo say
I wil In tyme whan I may
Venyre

III. [The Songs of the Birds]

1. In may whan euery herte is ly3t
And flourys frosschely sprede and sprynge
And Phebus with hise bemys bry3te
Was in the bole so eler schynynge
That sesyn in a morwenynge
Myn sor for syghte to don socour
With inne a wode was myn walkynge
Pur moy ouhter hors de dolour

2. And in an erber sote and grene . . . . .
That benchede was with clourys newe
A doun I sat me to bemene
For verray seyk ful pale of hewe
And say be syde aturtil trewe
For leue gan syngyn of hire fere
In frensch ho so the roundele knewe
Amour me fait souent pensere.

The following arrangement of these rhymes will shew their bearing. The French words are in Italics, the references to the number of the poem, as above, and the line, explanations in brackets:

A. debat *senbat* [s'en bat] iii 22, *debat* stat ii 7—*speeial* oueral ii 1—*allas* was ii 31—toward *gard* [garde] i 70

AI. *ay* [ai] day i 10, *serray* [serai] day ii 13, *say* [sais] may ii 10

E. *le* [*lé*, broad] me i 52, *le* the ii 28—*pete* [pité] me ii 40, *verite* the i. 23, *charite* be i 67, *volunte* the [thee] i 37, ii 46—*gre* [gré] fre [free] ii 4, *tresame* [très aimé] be i 55, *tresame* the

[thee] i 13, *done* [donné] the i 61, *en presone* [emprisonné] sle [slay, as often in Chaucer] i 34—fere [companion] *penere* [penser] iii 14, *manere* were ii 34, *chere* pere [peer] i 43, *et pur ceo Ieo vous creser* [?] daunger i 28,—*leal* [loyal] fel [feel] i 16, *beele* [belle] heele [health] i 7.

EI. weye *soye* [sois] iii 46, *espeye* [épée, should be *espie*, the *e* was a subsequent insertion] deye [should be *dye* as often in Chaucer, p. 284] i 22

EU. rewe *adeue* iii 94, crew *deeeu* iii 54

I. *rye* [vie] curteysye ii 49, *pry* [prie] curteysy [should be *curteysye* as in the last case] i 64, ermony [should be *harmonye*] *oublye* iii 30, *maladye* sikyrlye [should be *sikyrly*, but then the rhyme is faulty in a northern or late xv th century manner] ii 16, *ieo vous pry* [for *prye*] stedefastly [another faulty northern or xv th century rhyme] ii 52—fere [=fyr = fire for this rhyme, see p. 272] *aymyer* iii 38, *quoer* [cœur] fyr [evidently taken as (keer, feer), see last case] i 40, entyre *departer* [compare the last case but one] iii 118—*dyȝ* [dis] pris i 31—*tryst* [triste] nyȝt [night, see remarks below] i 19.

O. *a costys ay maunde de vous ore* [or?] more ii 43, *note* rote i 46, sort *mort* iii 62.

OU. vertenous *ioyous* [joyeux] iii 86, *amour* flour ii 22, *amour* honour i 4, socour *dolour* [douleur] iii 6.

Nasals.—penaunce *languissaunce* iii 70—*dolent* schent ii 19, *entendement* entent i 58, *greuousement* schent ii 37—*seyn* [sain] serteyn i 49——*mounde* [monde] founde i 1.

So far as these rhymes establish anything they go to confirm our former conclusions in every respect, and to shew an absence of nasality in the English pronunciation of French in the xv th century, as we shall find again in the xvi th, Chap. VIII, § 3. The rhyme: *tryst* nyȝt, is very remarkable. It cannot be supposed either that ȝ was in such a position as *nyȝt* ever pronounced as *s*, although we find *dyȝ* = *dis* i 31 in the French; nor on the other hand can we suppose that *s* was omitted in *tryst* and ȝ in *nyȝt*, producing the rhyme: (triit, niit,) because *s* is still pronounced in this French word. Hence we are compelled to assume an assonance (trist, niht), which a clumsy poet found quite near enough to satisfy his ear. Mr. Lumby however entertains a different opinion. In his edition of King Horn, infrà p. 480, n. 1, from this same Cambridge MS. Gg. 4, 27, 2, he observes on the forms, m i f t e = miȝte 10, d o f t e r = doȝter 249, rhyming with þoȝte, and r i f t = riȝt in line 663 of *Florisȝ* in the same MS., which line also contains n o ȝ t, with ȝ and not f: "This interchange," he says, "occurs so often in early MSS. that it is a conclusive proof of a similarity in sound between the letters," and adds that "in several copies of Piers Plowman *soure* occurs for *ȝoure*,"[1] and refers to Rel. Ant. i, 48, for a poem where this substitution occurs throughout. This poem, The Five Joys of the Virgin, is from Trin. Coll. MS. B 14, 39,[2] which Mr. T. Wright

[1] Mr. Skeat knows only of one copy, MS. Cotton Vesp. B. xvi, where there are several, but not many, examples, and the spelling is altogether singular.

[2] Some account of this MS. is given in Mr. Albert Way's Preface to the Promptorium Parvulorum, p. lxxii, under the heading "Femina." This MS., I am informed by Mr. Aldis Wright, the librarian of Trinity College, disappeared from that library between 1853 and 1859, and as no one had taken it out on bond in that interval, it must have been appropriated. There are notices of it in Hickes, Thesaurus i, 144, 154, and its disappearance is a serious loss to Early English philology. The poem of the Five Joys is reprinted in Golbeck and Mätzner's Sprachproben p. 51, but these editors have taken the liberty of replacing -f t by -h t throughout.

assigns to the first half of the XIII th century, a conclusion at variance with the orthography *thou* which is invariable and occurs frequently, and *wid-oute*. The only other test word is *ure*, which has the XIII th century form, so that the close of the XIII th century is the time indicated, as for Havelok. The words containing ſ for ȝ in this poem are: briſt miſt, liſte riſte, miſte, driſt riſt, miſte briſte, briſt. This same poem contains some other curious orthographies as: sue [such], scal, sculde, scene. It omits the guttural altogether in: broutest [broughtest], slo [slew]. It apparently confuses *v* with þ in

The thridde dai he ros to live;
Levedi, ofte were thou blive [bliþe?] [1]
Ac never so thou were tho.
Levedi, for then ilke sive [siþe?]
That tou were of thi sone blive [bliþe?]
Al mi sunnes thou do me fro!

In the last stanza we have: beue newe, printed, meaning apparently: bene newe, which would be an assonance, and is the reading adopted by Mätzner.

Levedi, tuet thou me mi bene
For the joie that ever is newe,
Thou let me never be furlorn.

These peculiarities render this text not particularly useful for our purpose, and inasmuch as ȝ was used for both *z* and ȝ, some inaccurate scribes may have considered that ſ, which was also certainly (z) at times, might be used for ȝ. The only passage I have yet met in which ȝ standing for ȝ has apparently the sound (s), is this very suspicious couplet of a poem full of bad spelling (i 19, suprà p.463):

Jeo suy pour toy dolant et tryst
Ther me peynyst bothe day and nyȝt
Amore,

and it would be unwise to found a theory upon a single instance of such small authority. In the first passage of King Horn, the parallel MSS. in Mr. Lumby's preface, p. vi, give myhte, miete; and miȝte occurs two line above in his own text.

These rhymes of Norman and English are rather to be treated as jokes than as serious attempts to determine the Norman pronunciation. They may be classed with Hood's description of an Englishman's difficulties in France:

Chaises stand for chairs,
They christen letters *Billies*,
They call their mothers *mares*,
And all their daughters *fillies*;
Strange it was to hear,
I'll tell you what's a good 'un,
They call their leather *queer*,
And half their shoes are wooden.

For wine I reel'd about
To show my meaning fully,
And made a pair of horns
To ask for "beef and *bully*."
Then their cash was strange,
It bored me every minute.
How here's a *hog* to change,
How many *sows* are in it!

Comic Annual, 1831, p. 82.

[1] *Blive* means *quickly*, which will not make sense here. The rhyme here then sinks into an assonance, which even more resembles a rhyme than: liue biliue stighe (Prisoner's Prayer 27), because (f, th) and therefore (v, dh) are more readily confounded than (v, *g*h); we may suppose *bliþe* to have

Moore's Fudge Family in Paris, shews: joy *Roi*, *St. Denis* penny, swear is *Véry's*, throat *papillote*, fond *Fronde*, cracker *fiacre*, Natties *pâtés*, *affiches* wish, *Russes* use, *mon Prince* sense, *jolie* Dolly, *écrevisses* bliss, coach *poche*. In Byron we find: true is *petits puits* (Juan, 15, 68) *éprouveuse* muse (ib. 9, 84), *Vauban* hang slang (ib. 5, 11), *à l'Allemande* understand hand (ib. 15, 66), French *Pervenche* 14, 75. These modern instances should teach us not to ride our old examples too hard, and certainly not to draw conclusions from a few cases.

4. THE STORY OF GENESIS AND EXODUS, CIRCÀ A.D. 1290.

Mr. Richard Morris attributes the composition of the rhymed account of GENESIS AND EXODUS contained in a MS. in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, to about A.D. 1250, but the actual writing of the MS. to nearly as late as 1300,[1] so that it was "the work of a scribe to whom the language was more or less archaic." The dialect he considers, together with that of the Bestiary (suprà, p. 439), and the Orrmulum (infrà, p. 486) to be East Midland. This poem being well known to all the members of the Early English Text Society, I have examined the rhymes to obtain indications of the pronunciation, and shall refer to them by the number of the lines in which they occur.

Assonances are not uncommon, but the principal are those in which *an*, corresponds to *am*, as: ðan nam 481, nam canahan 725, abram leman 781, abram iurdan 805, abram man 909, bigan abram 921, abraham ðan 1189, nam laban 1653. Occasionally *in im*, caym kin 543, clim sin 3307; *on om*, on-on hom 2199; *un um*, cumen munen 1621. Probably: gate quake 1054 is an error of the scribe for: gate quate. Joseph swep 2085, hond wrong 2063, sokoth pharaofh 3209, are single cases, but *oc* occurs more frequently: fot oc 2497, oc mod 3923, moð boc 3603. Altogether false rhymes are rare, and are probably scribal errors: agen undergon 1159, drog nuge 1327, get bigat 2277, ðor ger 2417, speeande loekende 2821, moysen man 3109, eliazar or 4091. In: numen comen 343, broken luken 361, 3779, this is almost certainly the case, and in: swem greim 391, which would otherwise be an example of *e*, *ei* rhyming, the second word should be *grem* or *grim*. The rhyme *i*, *e*, is normal, as in Chaucer, (suprà p. 272): liðer neðer 369, effraym hem 2151, wliten eten 2289, abiden deden 2483, mide dede 2963, and probably implies that i = (*ii*, *i*). Oc-

been called, (bliidh·e), at present both (bləidh, bləith) are heard. Mätzner reads *blithe*, *sithe*, saying: "Wir schreiben hier *blithe* für *blive*, und *sithe* für *sive*; da sonst die Stelle unerklärbar bleibt. Dadurch tritt in *live* die Assonanz an die Stelle des Reims. Dass *blive* = *bilife*, *beliue*, quickly, nicht geduldet werden kann, ist selbstverständlich."

[1] The story of Genesis and Exodus, an Early English Song, about 1250, now first edited [for the Early English Text Society] from a unique MS. in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, by Richard Morris, London, 8vo. pp. xl. 224; A.D. 1865.

casionally an *e* final seems omitted, or added by mistake, as: song amonge 699, child milde 985, compare: childe mild 1305. In many instances *-e*, and *-en* rhyme, where the editor has apparently changed *-e* into *en*, though in some cases it would seem more correct to change *-en* into *-e*.

As regards *u*, it had certainly generally the pronunciation (uu), and those rare cases in which it is replaced by *ou*, may be attributed to the more modern habits of the scribe, as the use of *ou* for (uu) seems to have commenced about the close of the XIII th century. Thus we find: run = *speech*, circumcicioun 991, town dun = *down* 2739, but: tun dun 713, teremuth = *Pharaoh's daughter's name*, out 2615. But the Hebrew: man hu? nu 3329, alluding to Ex. xvi, 15 (man huu?), what is this?, the question asked when the manna was first seen, as clearly points to the use of *u* for (uu) as the *cuccu* of the Cuckoo Song. The use of *u* for (yy, y), probably called (*ii*, *i*, e) is rare, but we find *untuderi* = barren, 964.

That the unaccented syllables were occasionally pronounced in a slovenly manner, we collect from the rhyme: euenche uone 331.

Diphthongal combinations are altogether rare.

Ea occurs, but rhymes with *e*, and may be always a scribal error: forbead dead 311, opened dead 387, red dead 401, bead dead 1059, ear ðear = *dear*? 1089, forked dead 1329, dead red 2513. Probably pronounced (ee') or (ee, e) in all cases.

Oa rhymes always with *a*, and may have been (*aa*): moal = *speech* natural 81, woa = *woe* eua = *Eve* 237, gomorra ðoa = ða 839, oba woa = *woe* 879, salmona ðoa 3893, fasga doa = ða 4129.

Ai, *ei* rhyme together, and must have both been (ai): ay day 87, wei dai 1429, grei awei 1723, dai awei 2305, day wey 2721, dai mai 2747. In: awei deai 861, the last word is a mere scribal error for *dai*.

The guttural *g* is occasionally omitted, as: ru esau 1539, where *ru* = rough. Sometimes it is merely changed into *w*, probably indicating (wh) or (g*w*h): noght sowt 2869. We also find initial *gh*, in ghe = she, 237, 337, 339, but ge = *she* 1024 possibly a remnant of (*g*h), though (ȝ) seems to have been the sound intended.

This examination confirms our previous conclusions as to the pronunciation of the XIII th century.

The following is an attempt to convey a notion of how the poem may have been read. The text is according to the MS., the pronunciation introduces some conjectural emendations, without which it would have been impossible to read the text.[1]

[1] In one or two points I differ from Mr. Morris, particularly in the last line but four, where he takes *buten hunte* = "without search, or hunting, without delay," but by restoring *ie* in the preceding line, wanted for the metre and the sense, and taking ðor *buten* to mean *there about* as in: ðor buten noe long fwing he dreg 566, .vii. moneð ðorbuten he ben 3625, *hunte* becomes the infinite mood, and the construction is *ic sal hunte ðor- buten*, I shall hunt there about, I shall endeavour to accomplish it.

Genesis and Exodus, 269-318.	*Conjectured Pronunciation.*
Wiſdom ðe made ile ðing of nogt,	Wiis·doom dhe maad ilk thiq of nokht,
Quaat-ſo-euere on heuone or her if wrogt.	Kwhat-s-eer· on nevn- or neer is rwokht.
Ligber he fridde a dere frud,	Likhtbeer· ne srid an deer·e sruud,
And he wurðe in him-ſeluen prud,	And ne wurth in himsel·ven pruud,
An wið ðat pride him wex a nyð,	And with dhat priid -im weks a niidh
ðat iwel weldeð al his fið;	Dhat ii·vel weldeth al -is siidh,
ðo ne migte he non louerd ðhauen,	Dhoo nee mikht -ee noon lov·erd thaa·ven
ðat him fulde ðhinge grauen:	Dhat nim suld [al·e] thiq·e thraa·ven:
Min fligt, he ſcidè, ic wile up-taken	Miin flikht, ne said, ic wil up taa·ken,
Min fete norð on heuene maken,	Miin see·te north on nev·ne maa·ken,
And ðor ic wile ſitten and ſen	And dhoor ic wiil·e sit·n- and seen.
Al ðe ðhinges ðe in werde ben,	Al dhe thiq·es dhee -n werld·e been,
Twen heuone hil and helle dik,	Tween nev·ne nil and nel·e diik,
And ben min louerd geuelic.	And been miin lov·erd gee·veliik,
ðo wurð he drake ðat ear was knigt,	Dhoo wurdh -e draak·e dhat eer was knikht,
ðo wurð he mire ðat ear was ligt,	Dhoo wurdh -e mirk dhat eer was likht,
And euerilc on ðat helden wid him,	And ev·erilk oon dhat held·en with nim
ðo wurden mire, and ſwart, and dim,	Dhoo wurdh·en mirk and swart and dim,
And fellen ut of heuones ligt,	And fel·en uut of nev·nes likht,
In to ðis middil walknes nigt;	Intoo· dhis mid·il walk·nes nikht;

Translation.

Wisdom then made each thing of nought,
Whatsoever in heaven or here is wrought.
Light-bear [Lucifer] he [God] clothed in precious clothing,
And he became in himself proud,
And with that pride in-him waxed an envy
That ill ruleth all his path.
Then not might he no lord endure,
That for-him should [all] things control.
My flight, he said, I will up-take,
My seat north in heaven make,
And there I will sit and see,
All the things that in the world be,
Between heaven's hil and hell's ditch,
And be to-my lord even-like.
Then became he dragon that ere was knight,
Then became he mirky that ere was light,
And every one that held with him
Then became mirky, and black, and dim,
And fell out of heaven's light,
In to this middle welkin's night,

Genesis and Exodus.	*Conjectured Pronunciation.*
And get ne kuðe he nogt blinne	And jet ne kuudh·e hee nokht blin·e
for to don an oðer ſinne.	for to doon an oodh·er sin·e.
Eſten he sag in paradiſ	Eest·en he saagh in paa·radiis
Adam and eue *in* mike p*riſ*,	Aa·dam and Eev in mik·e priis,
Newelike he was of erðe wrogt,	Neu-liik·-e was of erth·e *w*okht,
And to ðat mirie bliſſe brogt;	And too dhat mir·ie blis·e brokht,
ðowgte ðis q*ue*ad, hu ma it ben,	Thoukht·e dhis k*w*eed, huu mai it been,
Adam ben king and eue q*u*uen	Aa·dam been kiq and Ee·ve k*w*een,
Of alle ðe ðinge i*n* werlde ben.	Of al·e thiq·e dhee -n werld·e been,
Hu mai it hauen, hu mai it ſen,	Huu mai ie haan, huu mai ie seen.
Of fiſ, of fugel, of wrim, of der,	Of fis, of fuugh·el, of wirm, of deer,
Of alle ðinge ðe wunen her,	Of al·e thiq·e dhee wuun·en heer,
Eu*e*rile ðing haued he geue name,	Eer·ilk· thiq havd -e geev·e naa·me,
Me to ſorge, ſeaðe, and ſame;	Mee to sorgh·e, seaadh and saa·me.
for ada*m* ful ðus, and his wif,	For Aa·dam sal dhus, and his wiif
In bliſſe ðus leden leſteful lif;	In blis·e leed·en les·teful liif;
for alle ðo, ðe of hem ſule cumen,	For alle dhee -f hem sul·e kuu·-men
ſulen ermor i*n* bliſſe wunen,	Sul·en eermoor· in blis·e wuu·-nen,
And we ðe ben fro heuene driuen,	And wee dhe been froo nev·ne drii·ven,
ſulen ðuſſe one in ſorwe liuen;	Sul·en dhus oon in sorgh·e lii·ven,
Get ic wene I can a red,	Jet ik ween i kan a reed
ðat hem ſal bringen iwel ſped;	Dhat hem sal briq·en ii·vel speed.

Translation.

And yet not could he not cease	Of all things that dwell here,
For to do another sin.	To-every thing has he given name,
Eastwards he saw in paradise,	For my sorrow, scathe and shame.
Adam and Eve in much honour,	For Adam shall thus and his wife
Newly he was of earth wrought,	In bliss lead lasting-full life.
And to that merry bliss brought.	For all who of them shall come
Thought this evil-one, how may it be,	Shall evermore in bliss dwell,
Adam be king and Eve queen	And we that be from heaven driven,
Of all things that in world be.	Shall thus only in sorrow live.
How may I have, how may I see!	Yet I ween I know a plan
Of fish, of fowl, of worm, of beast,	That them shall bring evil speed.

Genesis and Exodus.	*Conjectured Pronunciation.*
for gef he don ðad god for-bead,	For jef ne doon dhat God for-beed
ðat fal hem bringen to ðo dead,	Dhat sal nem briq·en too dho deedh,
And fal get ðis ilke dai,	And [ic] sal jet dhis ilk·e dai
ðor buten hunte if ic mai;	Dhoor buut·en nunt·e jif ik mai·
Ic wene ðat ic, and eue hiſe wif,	Ik ween·e dhat ik and Eev -is wiif
ſulen adam bilirten of hiſe liſ.	Sul·en Aa·dam biliir·ten of nis liif,
Ic wene ðat ic and eue	Ic ween·e [to sooth] dhat ik and Ee·ve
ſulen alle is bliſſe dreue.	Sul·en [Aa·dam] al -is blis·e dree·ve.

Translation.

For if they do that-which God forbade,	I ween that I, and Eve his wife,
That shall bring them to the death.	Shall Adam betrick of his life,
And [I] shall yet this same day	I ween [in sooth] that I and Eve
There about hunt, if I may.	Shall [for-Adam] all his bliss trouble.

5. HAVELOK THE DANE, CIRCÀ A.D. 1290.

Sir Frederick Madden in his edition of this poem[1] considers its author to have been a Lincolnshire man, and the time of composition between A.D. 1270 and 1290. As the romance was popular, there may have been many copies, and the manuscript followed by Sir F. Madden may not have been original. In its orthography, apart from its dialectic peculiarities, (which are numerous but do not here come into consideration, as the object is merely to determine the value of the letters,) it shews a transition from the customs of the XIII th to those of the XIV th century, much more marked than in Genesis and Exodus. Thus *ou* is frequently used for (uu), *þou* being the common form, though *þu* is by no means unfrequent, indeed both forms occur in the same line: Grim, *þou* wost *þu* art mi thral 527, and we have *þw* 1316, and þo 388, where, probably, a final u has been accidentally omitted by the scribe. The following

[1] The Ancient English Romance of Havelok the Dane, accompanied by the French Text, with an Introduction and Glossary by Frederick Madden, Esq., F.A.S., F.R.S.L., subkeeper of the manuscripts in the British Museum, printed for the Roxburgh Club, 1828, 4to. This edition being very scarce, a new one compared afresh with the MS. has been prepared for the Early English Text Society under the title: The Lay of Havelock the Dane: composed in the reign of Edward I., about A.D. 1280, formerly edited by Sir F. Madden for the Roxburghe Club, and now re-edited from the unique MS. Laud Misc. 108, in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, by Rev. Walter W. Skeat, M.A., London, 1869. It will therefore be assumed to be accessible to all members of that Society, and will be cited by the number of the verses, as usual. The citations originally made from Sir F. Madden's edition have been verified by Mr. Skeat's. I am much indebted to Mr. Skeat for many hints, and for kindly allowing me to make use of his proof sheets before publication, so as to enable me to insert this notice in its proper place.

rhymes serve to shew the identity of the two spellings: yow now 160, prisoun laȝarun 330, mouth suth 433, yw = *you* nou 453, nov = *now* you 484, bou*n*de*n* wnden = *wounden* 546, unbou*n*den fu*n*den 602, hw = *how* he was mike, hw he was strong 960, doun tun = *town* 1630, wounde grunde 1978, bowr tour 2072, dune croune 2656. Of course *ou*, *ow* also occur as (oou) corresponding to ags. aw, oh, and the guttural is generally lost in (w) after *o*, thus: ynowe slowe 2682. In: croud god 2338, we should probably read *crod*, as the proper form of the past participle.[1] The frequent occurrence of *ou*, however, would lead one to suppose that the actual MS. must belong to the very end of the XIII th, if not to the beginning of the XIV th century.[2]

Assonances are frequent, and the more marked that there is often no relation between the consonants which follow the identical vowels. Thus: rym fin 21, yeme quene 182, harde crakede 567, beþe rede 694, knaue plawe 949, stareden[3] ladde*n* 1037,

[1] Ags. creódan (creád, crudon, croden) Ettmüller, Lex. Anglos. p. 400. Nall (suprà p. 166, note 1) under *Crowd-Barrow*, quotes: "She sent my mother word by Kate, that she should come hither when God sent time, though she should be *crod* in a barrow. *Letter of Margery Paston*, A.D. 1477."

[2] Mr. Skeat informs me that: "No other MS. of Havelok has ever been heard of, or known to exist: though of course there may have been several. If this is not the original, it is at any rate a very early copy. I do not think Sir F. Madden, or any other judge of writing, would admit it to be later than about 1280, the probable date of the composition. The evident age of the MS. is one evidence of its early composition." The MS. containing Havelok begins with lives of Saints, and Havelok was overlooked for years, because it does not begin till fo. 204. It ends on fo. 219*b*, and is immediately followed by Kyng Horn in the same column. This has all the appearance of a copy, not an original MS., and as we have two other copies of King Horn (p. 480, n. 1), we may some day find another of Havelok. Even a much later one (as in the case of Laȝamon) would be of great service. It is of course impossible to date a MS. by the writing only, within 30 years, the working life-time of a single scribe. The orthography would lead me to place the actual manuscript after the copying of Genesis and Exodus, and within the variable period, say 1280 to 1310. Probably after the last date *ou* was universally employed for (uu). If the reader will turn to: Seinte Marherete, the Meiden ant Martyr, in old English, first edited from the skin books in 1862 by Oswald Cockayne, M.A., and now reissued for the Early English Text Society, 1866, and compare the three versions there given, the first from the MS. Reg. 17, A. xxvii., apparently written in 1230, in which no case of *ou* = (uu) occurs; the second from MS. Harl. 2277, attributed to 1330, in which *ou* is always used for (uu); and the third from the lost Cam. MS. (suprà p. 464, n. 1) as printed by Hickes, in which, if the text is to be trusted, there is just a trace of *u* = (uu) —þu 22, prisun 26, etc., dragun 44, ut 28, 56, þoru 47—amidst a great preponderance of *ou*, the value of this sign of age in a MS. will become more apparent; compare also suprà, pp. 408, 423, 439, 445, 467, and p. 481, l. 11.

[3] "Probably miswritten for *stradden* contended." Skeat, Glossary, Sir F. Madden, and Garnett are of the same opinion. It is with great diffidence that I presume to doubt this correction. *Stradden* would introduce a Norse word, whereas the noun *strout* is used immediately 1039, and verb *stroute* in 1779, from ags. *strudan*, *strutian*, and it does not seem likely that both words should coexist in the same dialect, or, if they did, should be used in immediate proximity. Nor, I must confess, does *contended* seem to make very good sense. The passage relates to the game of "putting the stone," the point being to see who should throw an enormous stone furthest, for he whose stone was

shop (?) hok 1101, odrat bad 1153, drawe hane 1297, fet ek 1303, ioye trone 1315, maked yschaped 1646, riche chinche 1763, 2940, feld sword 1824, 2634,[1] sernede werewed 1914, wend gent 2138, shauwe knawe 2206, grauen namen 2528, thank rang 2560,[2] boþe[3] rede 2585, boþen drowen 2659, shawe knawe 2781.

Apart from these assonances there are no bad rhymes which do not admit of explanation. Thus: hey fri 1071, might possibly be: hy fri, see p. 285, but as the form *hy* does not occur in Havelock, we should probably read: hey sley, compare 1083.[4] The

even an inch before the others was to be held a champion:

Hwo so mithe putten þore
Biforn anoþer, an inch or more,
Wore ye [= he?] yung, [or] wore he hold,
He was for a kempe told. 1033

What would then be more natural than for the champions and the lads to stand and look intently, *stare*, prior to the throw, and then make a great contention, *strout*, about the best cast. This is what the text says as it stands:

Al-so þe[i] stoden, an[d] ofte stareden
þe chaunpiouns, and ek the ladden,
And he maden mikel strout
Abouten þe alþerbeste but. 1037

It would, however, be rather curious to say that the champions and lads stood and *contended* and made a great *contention* about the best throw. If we must alter the passage, *straden*, strode about (Ettm. 746), would make decent sense, but not so good as *stareden*. It was doubtless the apparent harshness of the assonance: stareden ladden, which led to this conjecture. In the same way Mr. Morris, anxious to avoid the assonance: harde crakede 567, proposed to change

And caste þe knaue adoun so harde,
þat hise croune he þer crakede

into

And caste þe knaue so harde adoun,
þat he crakede þer hise croune.

(Skeat, p. 91). Where the rhyme requires *adoune* as in King Horn 1487 (Lumby's edn.)

Fikenhildes *croune*
þer ifulde adune . . .

which is quoted in Mr. Skeat's glossary (from MS Harl. 2253,) as: crowne adoune, shewing the more ancient form of the other version of King Horn. But the only alteration really required is: þer he crakede, for: he þer crakede, in order to preserve the *e* in *croune*. As to the assonance itself, it is harsh to our ears only. We must remember the constant habit of the metathesis of *r*, so that: harde crakede, may have been called: harde carkede, which would have been almost a rhyme, as: star'den ladden, also is. On the principle of not making unnecessary changes, I prefer accepting the reading of the MS. in each case as it stands, and therefore retain both: harde crakede, and stareden ladden, as assonances.

[1] And þe þredde so sore he slow,
þat he made up-on the feld
His left arm fleye, with the sword.

On which Mr. Skeat remarks: "Cf. l. 1825. We should otherwise be tempted to read *sheld*; especially as the shield is more appropriate to the *left* arm." This was Sir F. Madden's original suggestion. But *with* may denote the instrument: he slow þe þredde so sore with the sword, þat he made, etc. Compare the constructions, suprà p. 376. art. 110. Compare also the parallel passage:

For his sword he hof up heye,
And þe hand he dide of fleye,
That he smot him with so sore. 2750

I feel doubtful whether the other interpretation: that he made his left arm *together with* the sword, fall on the field, could be justified by parallel passages.

[2] This may be a rhyme, see suprà p. 192.

[3] As we find: rede beþe 694, beþe rede 1680, we should of course read: beþe rede in this place. This is only one of the numerous instances of the interchange of *e*, *a*, *o*, to be noticed presently. Thus we have: baþe 1336, 2543, and boþen 173, 697, 958.

[4] According to the text Godrich hears the knights talk of Havelok:

Hw he was strong man and hey,
Hw he was strong and ek fri, 1071,

and then he thought that King Athel-

rhyme: yhe se 1984, is a mere misprint in Sir F. Madden's edition, corrected by Mr. Skeat to: ȝhe se, where the *h* is an idle insertion, compare ȝe = *thigh* 1950, and: ȝhinge = ȝinge, Gen. and Ex. 300.

The passages which present the greatest difficulty are the following: eir tother 410, misdede leyde 994, deled wosseyled 1736. The last is explained by: wosseyle*n* todeyle 2098, which ought to shew that the writer had two ways of pronouncing: delen, deylen, (deel·en, dail·en). Compare:

So ȝat ȝe blod ran of his fleys,
ȝat tendre was, and swiȝe neys, 216
And woundede hi*m* rith i*n* ȝe flesh
ȝat tendre was, and swiȝe nesh. 2742

As the dialect of Havelok shews a Scandinavian character in many words, the form *deylen* may have arisen from that source, Icelandic *at deila*, (dee·i·la) to divide, and it would be in fact more difficult to account for the forms *fleys neys*.[1] If we do not accept

wald had made him swear to give his daughter to the "hexte" = highest, *tallest*, man alive, and then asks

Hwere mithe i finden ani so hey
So hauelok is, or so sley? 1083

It is evident that the two couplets ought to correspond. *Sley*, of course, means skilful, Havelocks skill: hw he warp ȝe ston Ouer ȝe laddes euerilkon 1061, having made him the common talk. *Fri* yields no good sense.

[1] For *fleys* see suprà pp. 265, 441, 445. The form is, in fact, not unusual. For *neys* there seems to be no authority, and cognate languages do not exhibit the diphthong (ei), as they do in the case of high German *fleisch*, *theil*, *weich* (flaish, tail, bhaikh), compare Dutch, *vleesch*, *deel*, *week* (vlees, deel, bheek). These undoubted correspondences of (e, ai) in high and low German, and the occasional use of *ei* in Icelandic as *deila*, *veikr* (dei·la, vei·kr), but its rejection in other cases, as *flesk* (flesk), may at least serve to render intelligible some doubtful usages in such a provincial region and early time as that which gives us the rhyme of Havelok. Not only does provincial, but even metropolitan usage at the present day, furnish examples which may give as much trouble to a future investigator. Compare the example Chap. XI. § 3, where it will be seen that Mr. Melville Bell writes: (deiz, weisted, fein, geiv, keim, sei), where I have (deez, weested, fe·n, gee·v, kee·m, see) = *days*, *wasted*, *fain*, *gave*, *came*, *say*, though we are both supposed to speak the same dialect. See also p. 450 n. 2, and p. 459, n. 1, and the forms *sede saide*, p. 446. . . . After the preceding observations had gone to press, I received a remarkable confirmation of the views there expressed concerning the possibility of different pronunciations coexisting in limited districts, from an account of the present pronunciation of English in the Peak of Derbyshire, orally communicated to me by a native of the district, Mr. Thomas Hallam, of Manchester. A somewhat detailed account of these remarkable pronunciations will be given below, Chap. XI. § 4, but it is as well to notice here, that on the west of the mountain ridge of the peak we find (mee, dee, ewee·, pee) and on the east (mii, dii, ewii, pii) for *may*, *day*, *away*, *pay*, and again on the west we have (shiip, sliip, mi·i) and on the east (sheip, sleip, mei) for *sheep*, *sleep*, *me*. This characteristic diphthong (ei), found also in the west of the ridge in (dzheist, dzheint, beil, peint, eint·mynt) for *joist*, *joint*, *boil*, *point*, *ointment*, is, as pronounced to me by Mr. Hallam, a sound which one Southerner will hear as (ee) and another as (əi). Compare *poynte* = *peynte*, p. 447, l. 14. We can guess how a peasant of the Peak, with his partial inoculation into the mysteries of modern orthography is likely to write, but to put ourselves into the position of the most careful of ancient scribes, we have only to endeavour to appreciate such sounds and attempt to commit them to paper, after a careful study of phonetics. The extreme difficulty of appreciation, the readiness with which we mentally as-

the form *deyle*, then one of three things must be the case: 1) The rhyme may be faulty, but it would be perhaps the only faulty rhyme. Or, 2) the *ey*, *e* may be a true rhyme, but then, independently of previous investigations, the persistent avoidance of such rhymes is remarkable, and there would have been no reason to lug in, for example, *withuten faile* 179, 2909, as a rhyme to *cornwayle*, with scarcely a shadow of excuse from the sense. Or 3) the passages containing *deled*, *to deyle*, may be corrupt. For this there is some ground. The passages are:

But hwan he haueden þe kiwing deled,
And fele siþes haueden wosseyled. 1736
Hweþer he sitten nou, and wesseylen,
Or of ani shotshipe to-deyle. 2098

The first line contains at least one corrupt unintelligible word *kiwing*, and not only is the metre of the last line unusually defective, but the construction *to-deyle of* for *participate in*, seems forced and unsatisfactory. It would, however, be too hazardous, in the absence of parallel passages, to propose any emendation.

The second passage

Neuere more he him misdede,
Ne hond on him with yuele leyde. 994

cannot be so explained, as *dede* never appears as *deide*, and it would not be right to conclude that there was an assonance formed by calling *leyde* (leid·e) rather than (laid·e), in face of the older Lagamon forms: læide, læiden, leide, laiden, leaide. There was no period of English pronunciation in which *misdede leyde* would have rhymed, so far as our researches extend. The passage must therefore be corrupt. In the first place the sense is bad: "never more he hurt him by deed, and never laid hand on him with evil intent," merely repeats in the second line what is said in the first. We

sociate the unusual with the usual sound, the hesitation which we feel in selecting one orthography in place of another, and the variety of pronunciations prevalent within a limited district, none of which can claim the pre-eminence — true picture of English habits of speech in the XIII th century —will make us more readily understand the varieties of orthography adopted by ancient scribes, and rather admire than depreciate the partial uniformity to which they attained. For myself I should feel no surprise to find one writer representing the "Derbyshire" sound of *sheep*, in "ordinary spelling" as *sheep*, another as *shape*, and a third as *shipe*. Should we then be surprised if we found an old monk proceeding from a similar district at one time writing *shep*, and at another *sheyp*? and should we conclude in the modern case that *ee*, *a*, *i*, had the same sound, or in the old case that *e*, *ey*, had the same meaning? At most, they would be different appreciations of the same sound, and might possibly indicate the co-existence of different sounds within the same district. And such coexistence is not confined to English dialects. The vulgar (een, keen,) coexists with the polite (ain, kain) = *ein*, *kein*, in Berlin, Saxony, and many parts of Germany. In the Dyak (Dai·ak) languages of Sarawak (Śaraa·wak), (*ee*, ai) constantly interchange even in adjacent house-clusters, sometimes even in the same house-cluster, so that (bəsee·) or (bəsai·) would be equally intelligible for *great*. Generally in these languages (ii, *ee*, ai) interchange on the one hand, and (*oo*, uu, au) on the other, as I have just been informed (April, 1869) by an English resident of long standing in Sarawak. See also *neither*, suprà p. 129, n. 1.

want the sense, "he never more wronged him by *word*, or deed." This is supplied by reading *misseyde* for misdede, and of the correctness of this reading we can have no doubt after considering the parallel passages.

Ne found he non that him misseyde,
N[e] with iuele on[ne] hand leyde. 49
Roberd hire ledde, þat was red,
Þat hau[ed]e þarned for hire þe ded
Or ani hauede hire misseyd,
Or hand with iuele onne leyd. 1686
Me wore leuere i wore lame,
Þanne men dide him ani shame,
Or tok, or onne handes leyde,
Vn-ornelfke [vn-ornelike?], or same seyde. 1938

The first instance

Hauelok, þat was þe eir
Swanborow, his sister, Helfled, the tother. 410

is also corrupt on the face of it,[1] for the second line of the couplet is outrageously prolonged. The word *eyr* occurs not unfrequently at the end of a line, as 110, 288, 605, 1095 and always rhymes with *fair*. This suggests the reading

Hauelok, that was the eir,
Swanborow, Helfled her sister fair,[2]

which at least preserves metre and rhyme, and is immediately suggested by the parallel passage:

Of his bodi ne haude he eyr
Bute a mayden swiþe fayr. 110

The rhyme *i*, *e*, as: bidde stede 2548 is frequent. Shewed knawed 2057, must be considered in connection with: shewe lowe 1698, and lowe awe 1291, where *lowe*, ags. hlaw, means a hill, preserved in the Scotch *law;* as well as with the not unfrequent interchange of *e*, *o*, as: sore wore = *were* 236, wore = *were* more 1700, were sore 414, (where Mr. Skeat reads *wore*), more thore = *there* 921, ele[r]k yerk = *York* 1177, and also of *o*, *a*: longe gange 795, 2586, sawe wowe = *wall* 1962, 2142,

[1] "Corrupt? Lines 410, 411 do not rime well together." Skeat.

[2] We may even imagine how the extraordinary error in the MS. arose. Suppose, as usual, that the scribe was writing from dictation. The reader gives out: "Swanborow, Helfled her sister fair," the scribe writes "Swanborow, his sister;" altering *her* to *his* as a matter of course, because only a masculine noun had preceded; the reader sees the error and exclaims, "Thou hast forgotten Helfled thet other;" the scribe immediately claps down the words "Helfled the tother," and is quite satisfied he has correctly followed the reader in the monstrosity: "Swanborow his sister, Helfled the tother!" *Se non e vero, è ben trovato.* I had at first proposed: Swanborow, Helfled his sisters fair, in order to preserve as much of the original as possible, but the examples: hise children yunge 368, we aren boþe þine 619, kniues longe 1769, hundes teyte 1841, wundes swiþe grete 1898, monekes blake 2520, shew that: his sisters faire, would have been required and this would have militated against the rhyme. Unless, indeed, the author could have dispensed with this final *e* if the necessity of rhyme lay on him, as he does dispense apparently with an *e*, which is at once plural and dative, in:

Hwan he hauede manrede and oth
Taken of lef and of loth. 2312

where however perhaps: othe, lefe, lothe, should be read.

thare = thore = *there* more 2486, open drepen = *kill* 1782. We have then to admit that the pronunciation of the writer varied in the same word at different times, and that he allowed himself to interchange *e*, *a*, *o*. The same interchange of (*ee*, *oo*) is observable in the modern Scotch and English: *aik* oak, *aits* oats, *aith* oath, *caip* cope, *claith* cloth, *craik* croak, *daigh* dough, *dail* dole, *gaist* ghost, *gait* goat, *grain* groan, *graip* grope, *hail* whole, *haim* home, *kaim* comb, *laid* load, *laird* lord, *laith* loath, *main* moan, *mair* more, *maist* most, *raid* road, *raip* rope, *saip* soap, *sair* sore, *spaik* spoke of a wheel, *taid* toad. In Aberdeen we even find (stiin, biin) for *stone*, *bone*. But it will be seen on examining other Scotch *ai* = (*ee*) forms, that they often derive from an ags. *a*, *e*. Herein then we seem to have an indication of the key to this dialectic peculiarity. The original (aa) was at one time broadened into (oo), and at another squeezed into (ee), and the habits of the speaker became so uncertain that all three forms in (ee, aa, oo) were in sufficiently common use to allow a rhymester to employ whichever was most convenient, till at last (oo, ee) interchanged without the intervention of an original (aa).

We find the regular interchange of *ai*, *ei*, as: at hayse = *at ease* preyse 59, deye preye 168, seyl nayl 711, ay domesday 747. There seems to be even a probability of *seint* having been occasionally dissyllabic, as suprà p. 264. Thus, comparing *ion* 177:

In al denemark is wimman [non]		= (In al Denmark· is wum·an noon,
So fayr so sche, bi seint iohan.	1719	Soo fair so shee, bi saa·int Dzhon.
But gaf hem leue sone anon		But gaa· -em lee·ve soon anoon·.
And bitauhte hem seint Iohan.	2956	And bitaut· -em saa·int Dzhon).

We have also occasionally the (*i*) value of *u*. In two instances this value is apparently given to *u* in words which were undoubtedly generally pronounced with (*u*), as:

So þat þei nouth ne blinne	
Til þat to sette bigan þe sunne.	2670
Þer was swilk dreping of þe folk	
Þat on þe feld was neuere a polk	
Þat it ne stod of blod so ful,	
Þat þe strem ran intil þe hul.	2684

In the first case read *so þat þei* [*stunte*] *nouth ne blunne*, the ags. forms, *stunte*, *blunne*, making metre, rhyme, and construction, perfect. In the second, *hul*, which was supposed by Sir F. Madden to mean *hill*, is perhaps a provincial pronunciation of the ags. and old norse *hol*, Swedish *hol*, Danish *hul*, a hollow for the valley, as the battle was fought at Tetford, near Horncastle. But the line is possibly corrupt, and there is no obvious means of correction from the want of parallel passages.[1]

[1] As it stands the passage must be translated: "There was such slaying of the people, That on the field there was never a puddle, That it stood not so full of blood, That the stream ran into the hollow(?)." Mr. Murray, who suggested the insertion of *stunte* above, inclines to *hul* hollow, on account of the Scotch use of *howe* (hoou, hɜu), a direct descendant of a previous (hʉl), as opposed to *knoll*, for a small valley or depression. Part of a village in Teviotdale is called Hnole-o-the-Burn (hʉ'l, hʉ[o]l, hú:ɜl, hú:əl).

The other rhymes do not require particular notice. The value of the *letters* is clearly that established for the XIII th century, by previous research, with, in the case of *ou*, an anticipation of the usages of the XIV th. The metre is rugged and the spelling irregular, so that the use of the final *-e* cannot accurately be determined. But there is no reason to suppose it different from what had been found for others.

The orthography of the guttural in connection with *t* is very remarkable, as: kniet 239, knieth 77, knith 1068, kniht 2706, brouth 336, brihte rithe 2610, bitawte authe 1409, etc., implying a peculiarity of pronunciation, which, in the absence of parallel usage, and determining rhymes, cannot be appreciated with certainty. We must not forget, however, that *sigh*, *drought*, *height*, were sometimes called (sɔith, draath, nɔith) in the XVII th century (p. 212), and that *Keighley* in the West Riding of Yorkshire, and therefore likely to be somewhat inclined to the same pronunciation as the writer of Havelok, is now called (Kiith·li), and the pronunciation (nekth) for *height*, has been noted near Ledbury in Herefordshire, which greatly resembles *-cth* in *knieth*. At first sight *-th* looks like a metathesis of *ht*, just as we find *ihe* 1377 for *ich*, and this in connection with the actual occasional occurrence of *-ht* or even *-et*, *-eth*, would lead directly to the usual (-kht) pronunciation. But an examination of the orthography in the poem shews a systematic avoidance of the guttural except in relation to *t*. In all other cases it is expressed only by *y i*, *w u*, as: eie, fleye, heie, leye = *mentire*, seyen, sleie; awe = *possess*, dawes = *days*, drawen drou, fawen = *fain*, flow, galwe, mowe, slou, þou = *though*. Even with *t* the sign of the guttural is frequently omitted, as: aute laute 743, but: awete 207, lauthe 1673. It seems then very possible that these *-et*, *-eth*, *-th*, *-t*, only mean *t*, with a merely orthographical indication of the guttural. This pronunciation of final *-cht* is not unknown in German.[1] The otiose *h* after initial *t*, and even elsewhere (suprà p. 473, l. 8), found occasionally in various manuscripts, but never systematically carried out, is not to be compared with this use of *h* in connection with final *t*, where in most other MSS. the guttural is inserted as *h*, *g*, ȝ.[2] We must also recollect that in MSS., as we have had occasion to see also in the Prisoner's Prayer and elsewhere, the letter *h* is used very loosely, even when initial. In Havelok it is unnecessarily prefixed in: holde 30, hete 146, het 653, but: et 656, heuere 17, her 229, hof 1976, helde 128, etc., etc., and we find it omitted in: aueden 163, osed 971, etc., but with no

[1] "*Ch* lautet gar nicht vor *t* Ober-Rhein und Donau Gebiet, Land und Stadt, (-it, -ət) Endsylbe *-icht*, (-let, -lət) Eudsylbe *-licht*, (nit nɐt) nicht, ostlech. Rab, Land, (fait·n) Feuchten, Fichte, (Furt) Furcht, (knet) Knecht, (liət) Liecht, (Nat) Nacht, (rɐət) recht, (shlɐət fed·elu) schlecht fechteln, (brat) gebracht." Schmeller, Mundarten Bayerns, art. 432.

[2] The French *thé*, German *Thee* has (t) or if it is more dental (.t) on the continent more than with us, this applies to every *t* and not merely to those written *th*. In one dialect of the Peak of Derbyshire (.t) is heard only, but always, before *r* and *-er*.

sort of uniformity. Hence the temptation to use it as an idle letter, or an orthographical expedient.

That long *i* was (ii) or (*ii*) appears among other passages from

Als she shulde hise clothes handel
On forto don, and blawe þer[1] fir (= *fire*)
She saw therinne a lith (= *light*) ful shir (= *sheer*). 586
Al so brith, al so shir,
So it were a blase of fir. 1253

The word *sheer*, Gothic *skeirs* (skiirs) bright, clear, old Saxon *skiri*, middle high German and new low German *schir*, new high German *schier* (shiir), old high German *scieri* (skii'ri ?), ags. *scir* old norse *skir* (skiir), Orrmin *shir*, is a word which from the earliest times and in almost all dialects, and specially in English, has retained the sound of (-iir), and hence is an excellent rhyme to determine the old sound of *fir*.

The reader will find many points of orthography and pronunciation touched on with great care in Mr. Skeat's edition §§ 27 and 28, and a full consideration of the treatment of final *e* in § 29.[2]

It is with great diffidence that I annex an example of this difficult provincial poem. The text is given exactly, in the pronunciation I have ventured on a few alterations, intended to be corrections.

Havelok 2312-2345.	*Conjectured Pronunciation.*
Hwan he hauede manrede and oth	Whan ne hav·de manreed· and oodh·e,
Taken of lef and of loth,	Taak·en of leev and [ook] of loodh·e
Vbbe dubbede him to knith,	Ub·e dub·ed nim to kniit,
With a swerd ful swiþe brith,	With a sword ful swidh·e briit,
And þe folk of al þe lond	And dhe folk of al dhe lond
Bitauhte him al in his hond,	Bitaut· -im al in [too·] nis hond
Þe cunriche eueril del,	Dhe kin·eriitsh·e ev·ril deel,
And made him king heylike and wel.	And maad -im kiq nai·liik and weel.
Hwan he was king, þer mouthe men se	Whan nee was kiq, dher mout·e men see
Þe moste ioie þat mouhte be :	Dhe most·e dzhoi·e dhat mout·e bee :

Translation.

When he had homage and oaths
Taken of dear and [eke] of loath (ones),
Ubbe dubbed him (to) knight,
With a sword ful very bright,
And the folk of all the land
Committed to-him al in[to] his hand
The kingdom every part,
And made him king, highlike and wel.
When he was king, there might one see
The most joy that might be;

[1] Mr. Skeat reads þe.

[2] Mr. Skeat having requested me to read and comment on some of these points, I endeavoured to do so, in great haste, at a time when accidental circumstances disabled me from given them proper attention. In those cases where the present statements differ from those hasty expressions of mine which Mr. Skeat, anxious not to smother opinions opposed to his own, has politely printed, they must be considered as corrections, resulting from careful re-examination. I regret not having been able to examine all the cases of final *e*, to determine the circumstances of its elision and suppression, but I believe that it was not otherwise treated than in the Cuckoo Song and Prisoner's Prayer.

Buttinge with sharpe speres,
Skirming with taleuaces, þat men beres,
Wrastling with laddes, putting of ston,
Harping and piping, ful god won,

Leyk of mine, of hasard ok,
Romanz reding on þe bok;
Þer mouthe men here þe gestes singe,
Þe gleymen on þe tabour dinge;

Þer mouhte men se þe boles beyte,
And þe bores, with hundes teyte;

Þo mouthe men se eueril gleu,
Þer mouthe men se hw grim greu;
Was neuere yete ioie more
In al þis werd, þan þo was þore.

Þer was so mike yeft of cloþes,

Þat þou i swore you grete othes,

I ne wore nouth þer-offe croud:
Þat may i ful wel swere, bi god!
Þere was swiþe gode metes,
And of wyn, þat men fer fetes,
Rith al so mik and grete plente,
So it were water of þe se.
Þe feste fourti dawes sat,
So riche was neuere non so þat.

But·iq· [dher was] with sharp·e speer·es,
Skirm·iq· with tal·vases, dhat men beer·es,
Rwast·liq· with ladz, put·iq· of stoon,
Harp·iq· and piip·iq·, ful good woon,

Laik of Miin, of Has·ard ook,
Room·ans· reed·iq· on dhe book;
Dher mout·e men ʜee·re dhe dzhest·es siq·e,
Dhe glai·men on dhe taa·bur diq·e;

Dher mout·e men see þe bol·es bai·te
And the boo·res, with ʜund·es tait·e;

Dhoo mout·e men see ev·ril gleu,
Dher mout·e men see ʜuu Grim greu;
Was nev·er ɹet·e dzhoi·e moor·e
In al dhis werld, dhan dhoo was dhoor·e.

Dher was so mik·e ɹeft of kloodh·es

Dhat dhou i swoor·e ɹu greet oodh·es,

In·e woor·e nout dherof·e krod:
Dhat mai i ful wel sweer·e, bi God!
Dher was swidh·e good·e meet·es,
And of wiin, that men fer fet·es,
Riit al soo mik and gret plen·tee·
Soo it wer waa·ter of dhe see.
Dhe fest·e foour·ti dau·es sat,
So ritsh·e was nev·er noon so dhat.

Translation.

Butting [there was] with sharp spears,
Fencing with shields that one bears,
Wrestling with lads, putting of (the) stone.
Harping and piping, full good quantity,
Game of Mine, of Hasard eek,
Romanee reading on the book.
There might one hear the jests sung,
The gleemen on the tabour drum,
There might one see the bulls baited,
And the boars, with merry [staunch?] hounds,
Then might one see every glee,
There might one see how Grim grew;
Was never yet joy more
In all this world than then was there.
There was so great gift of elothes
That though I swore you great oaths
I-(not) were not thereof oppressed:
That may I full well swear, by God.
There were very good meats,
And of wine, that one far fetches,
Right also much and great plenty,
As-if it were water of the sea.
The feast fourty days lasted,
So rich was never none as that.

6. KING HORN, CIRCÀ A.D. 1290.

The story of King Horn exists in three several manuscripts which present such great varieties both of orthography and language, that the text must be considered uncertain. The oldest [1] was apparently written about the latter half of the XIII th century, and is that which will be followed here. In some cases f occurs for ȝ or z which represents ȝ. On this orthography see suprà (p. 464). The dialect is Midland, and the whole poem bears a great affinity to Havelok.

There is the usual rhyming of *i*, *e* or *u*, *e* when *u* stands for *i*: adrenche ofþinche 105, Westernesse blisse 157, ire = *ear* were 309, wille telle 365, pelle fulle = *pall fill* 401, brunie = *armour* denie = *din* 591, dunte wente 609, ferde hurede 751, custe = *kissed* reste 1189, etc.

There are a few cases of *e*, *a*, in which the *a* should be replaced by *e*, as: biweste laste 5, warne berne 689.

As in Havelok, there are cases of *e*, *o*, in which one or the other letter must be dialectically altered, if the readings are correct: more ȝere 95, swerde orde 623, sende yrlonde 1001, posse Westernesse 1011. We have *a*, *o* in: felawe knowe 1089.

A few cases of *u*, *o*, may shew a dialectic pronunciation of *u* as (o), or *o* as (*u*): stunde londe 167, þoȝte þuȝte 277, buȝe iswoȝe 427, ȝonge isprunge 547, hunde fonde 831.

In some cases *u* = (uu) seems to rhyme with *u* = (yy). In bur mesauentur 325, 649, bure couerture 695, one might fancy that the French word was mispronounced with (uu). The word *lure* 270, might therefore be *to lure*, which makes good sense, and have been used as a term of falconry, but would then, probably in a Saxon's mouth, have been called (luur·e), but it must apparently have been *to lower* or watch for,[2] which would be properly (luur·e), since the Harl. MS. 2253, fo. 85, reads *loure*. *Stuard* 275, 393, is probably a clerical error for *stiuard* compare ags. *stiward*, which

[1] Cambridge Univ. Lib. Gg. 4. 27, 2. This is contrasted with the Bodleian MS. Land 108 fo. 219*b*, and Harl. MS. 2253, in the preface to: King Horn, with Fragments of Floriz and Blauncheflur, and of the Assumption of our Lady, from a MS. (Gg. 4, 27, 2) in the Cambridge University Library; also from MSS. in the British Museum. The Assumption of our Lady (Add. MSS. 10036) and Fragments of the Floyres and Blancheflur (Cotton Vitellius D. iii), edited with notes and glossary by J. Rawson Lumby, M.A. London, 1866, 8vo. pp. xx, 142. E. E. T. S. The extracts from the three MSS. taken in the above order present the following among other varieties,

he he heo	*they*
beon ben ben	*be*
ihc ich y	*I*
ȝou you ou	*you*
laste *sg.*, lesten *pl.*, yleste *sg.*,	*last*
fairer feyrer feyrorer	*fairer*
rein reyn reyne	*rain* s.
miste micte mihte	*might*
birine upon-reyne by-ryne	*rain upon*
briȝt briet bryht	*bright*
flur flour flour	*flower*
colur colur colour	*colour.*

[2] "l u r e (n), *O. Dutch* leuren, loren, *Fr.* leurrer, *lure*, *Chauc. C. t.* 5997; lured (*part.*) *vis. P. P.* 3351.—(lûren) lourin, *L. Germ.* lûren (*speculari?*) *lour* (*lower*) *scowl, prompt. parv.* 316; loure *Gow. conf. am.* 1, 47; *Rich.* 3470; *vis P. P.* 2735; *Triam.* 1032; louring (*part.*) *Chauc. C. t.* 6848." Stratmann, 373.

occurs 227, and is the reading of the Harl. MS. 2253 elsewhere. In: ture pure = *tower peer* 1091, we must suppose *pure* = (puur·e), to pore or look intently The origin of the word is very obscure. The reading of the Harl. MS. 2253 is totally different, and introduces *loke* for *pure*.

The form *ou* occasionally, but very rarely occurs, by no means so frequently as in Havelok, is: galun glotoun 1123, harpurs gigours 1471. This applies only to this particular MS. of King Horn. Probably the *ou* is fully as frequent in the Laud. MS. 108, as it is in that MS. copy of Havelok, both these poems being in the same handwriting. The greater rarity of *ou* in this Cam. MS. of King Horn is evidence of its greater antiquity, and forms a presumption in favour of earlier copies of Havelok having also existed. It is certainly desirable for the investigation of the orthography and development of the English language in the XIII th century, and especially with a view to illustrate Havelok, to have the Laud MS. copy of King Horn accurately printed and compared with the Cam. MS. The scribes of the two MS. possibly belonged not only to different times but to different districts, and yet were so nearly contemporary, that the comparison would probably clear up many points of difficulty. In the Harl. MS. 2253, "which has been printed, but very badly, by Ritson in the second volume of his Metrical Romances," (Lumby, p. vi.) the *ou* is paramount.

Sometimes a word is changed for the sake of the rhyme, as; birine = *be-rain* bischine 11, yþe = *ethe* = *easily* diþe = *dethe* = *death* 57, ires = *ears* tires = *tears* 959. The two latter are however perhaps rather to be considered as dialectic peculiarities.

Notwithstanding all these resources the shortness of the lines seems to have driven the rhymester to great shifts, unless the scribe has much belied him, for we have such decidedly false rhymes as: he deie 331, fofte briȝte 389, biþoȝte miȝte 411, ȝonge bringe 279, ringe ȝonge 565, 1187, (query, read *ȝinge*, the form found in the Harleian MS. 2253,) sede *read* seide leide 691, heirs *read* heiris pris 897, his (?) palais 1255, yrlonde fondede *read* fonde 1513, quene beon 1519. To these we must add: bure foure 1161, unless we admit for (fuu·re) (foou·re) as suprà p. 446, l. 21. It is however probable that all these cases are mistakes. The great diversity of the MSS., forbids us to lay great store by any particular readings.

The marked peculiarity of the poem, and one which makes it worth while to notice it especially, is the prevalence of assonances, single, or double, that is, assonances in which the consonants after the identical accented vowel are different, but those, if there are any, following the identical unaccented vowel are the same or different, as in Spanish; and assonances which being half rhyme and half assonance, may be called *conassonances*, the accented syllables rhyming, and the unaccented being assonant, which also occur in Spanish though they are not legitimate. Compare the assonances of dissyllables and monosyllables in King Alisaunder, suprà p. 452, note, col. 1, l. 13. These assonances, which are so

clearly developed in King Horn, remove any difficulty about admitting them in Havelok, where they are not so frequent. The following is a list of both kinds.

Assonances: sones gomes 21, beste werste 27, gripe smite 51, admirad bald 89, makede = mak'de uerade 165, swiþe bliue 471, whit ilik 501, proue woȝe 545, take rape 553, trewe leue 561, man cam 787, woȝe gloue 793, nadde harde 863, rynge Rymenhilde 873, 1287, compaynye hiȝe 879, shorte dorste 927, bliþe bliue 967, iknowe oȝe 983, haue felaȝe 995, blowe þroȝe 1009, loȝe rowe 1079, wunder tunge 1247, grauel castel 1465, yswoȝe louȝe *read* loȝe 1479.

Conassonances: moder gode 145, gumes icume 161, doster *read* doȝter þoȝte 249, scholde woldest 395, liȝte kniȝtes 519, feste gestes 521, igolde woldest 643, doȝter ofte 697, ride bridel 771, ariued fiue 807, fiȝte kniȝtes 811, borde wordes 827, hundes funde 881, kniȝtes wiȝte 885, doȝter lofte 903, while bigiled 957, kniȝtes fiȝte 1213, houe proued 1267, draȝe felaȝes 1289, hundred wunder 1329.

The rhyme: time bi me 533, is interesting from its association with the same rhymes in Chaucer and Gower (p. 280).

The word *pleing* 32, seems to be a contraction of *pleying*, and this renders the rhyme: king pleying 32, perfect.

The following may serve as a specimen of the language of this poem, according to this more ancient version. The pronunciation indicates occasionally conjectural emendations, principally for the sake of the metre.

King Horn 223-234, 241-276.	*Conjectured Pronunciation.*
Þe kyng com in to halle	Dhe Kiq kaam in to hal·e,
Among his kniȝtes alle:	Amoq· his knikht·es al·e:
Forþ he clupede aþelbrus,	Forth he klep·ed Aa·thelbruus,
Þat was ſtiward of his hus.	Dhat was Stii·ward of his huus.
Stiwarde, tak nu here	Stii·ward· taak nuu heer·e
Mi fundlyng for to lere	Mi fund·liq, for to leer·e
Of þine meſtere,	Of dhiin·e mesteer·e,
Of wude *and* of riuere,	Of wuud and of riveer·e,
And tech him to harpe	And teetsh him to harp·e
Wiþ his nayles ſcharpe,	With his nail·es sharp·e,
Biuore me to kerue	Bifoor·e mee to kerv·e,
And of þe cupe ſerue.	And of dhe kup·e serv·e.
Ailbrus gan lere	Aa·thelbruus gan lee·re
Horn *and* his yfere:	Horn and his ifee·re:
Horn in herte laȝte	Horn in hert·e lakht·e
Al þat he him taȝte.	Al dhat hee him takht·e.
In þe curt *and* ute	In dhe kuurt and uut·e
And elles al abute,	And el·es al abuut·e
Luuede men horn child,	Luv·de men Horn Tshild.
And meſt him louede Rymenhild,	Meest luvd- im Riim·enhild

Þe kynges oȝene doſter,
He was meſt in þoȝte,
Heo louede so horn child
Þat neȝ heo gan wexe wild:
For heo ne miȝte at borde
Wiþ him ſpeke ne worde,
Ne noȝt in þe halle
Among þe kniȝtes alle,
Ne nowhar in non oþere ſtede:
Of folk heo hadde drede:
Bi daie ne bi niȝte
Wiþ him ſpeke ne miȝte.
Hire ſoreȝe ne hire pine
Ne miȝte neure fine.
In heorte heo hadde wo.
And þus hire biþoȝte þo.
Heo ſende hire ſonde
Aþelbrus to honde
Þat he come hire to,
And alſo ſcholde horn do
Al in to bure,
For heo gan to lure.
And þe ſonde ſeide
Þat ſik lai þat maide
And bad him come ſwiþe,
For heo nas noþing bliþe.
Þe ſtuard was in herte wo,
For he nuſte what to do.

Dhe kiq·es oogh·ne dokht·er.
Hir was -e meest in thokht·e.
Heo luv·de soo Horn Tshild
Dhat ʜeo gan weks·e wild.
For ʜeo ne mikht at boord·e
With ʜim speek·e noo word·e
Nee nokht in dhe ʜal·e
Amoq· dhe knikht·es al·e,
Nee in noon oodh·re steed·e.
Of folk ʜeo ʜad·e dreed·e.
Bi dai·e ʜee bi nikht·e
With ʜim speek ʜeo ne mikhte.
Hir sor·ghe nee ʜir piin·e
Ne mikht·e nev·re fiin·e.
In ʜert ʜeo had·e woo.
Dhus ʜir bithokht·e dhoo.
Heo ſende ʜire sond·e
Aa·thelbruus to ʜond·e,
Dhat he kuum ʜir too,
And al·so shold Horn doo
Al in too ʜir buu·re,
For ʜeo gan to luu·re.
And dhe sond·e said·e
Dhat sik lai dhat maid·e
And bad him kuum·e swiidh·e,
For ʜeo n-as noo·thiq bliidh·e.
Dhe Stii·ward was dher woo,
For ʜe nust·e what to doo.

Translation.

The king came in to hall
Among his knights all.
Forth he called Athelbrus
That was steward of his house.
"Steward take now here
My foundling, for to teach
Of thy craft,
Of wood and of river,
And teach him to harp
With his sharp nails,
Before me to carve,
And serve of the cup."
Athelbrus began to teach
Horn and his companions.
Horn received in his heart
All that he taught him.
In the court and out
And else all about
Loved one Horn Child.
Most loved him Rimenhild,
The king's own daughter.
To-her was he most in thought.
She loved so Horn Child
That she began to grow wild.

For she might not at table
With him speak no word,
Nor nought in the hall
Among all the knights,
Nor in no other place.
Of people she had dread.
By day nor by night
With him she might not speak.
Her sorrow nor her pain
Might not ever cease.
In heart she had woe.
Thus bethought her then.
She would-send hir messenger
To the hand of Athelbrus,
That he should come-to her,
And thus should bring Horn
All into her bower.
For she began to lower (lure ?)
And the messenger said,
That sick lay the maid
And bad him come quickly (?)
For she was in no wise blithe.
To-the steward was woe,
For he knew-not what to do.

7. Moral Ode, Pater Noster, Orison, end of xii th Century.

The compositions of the xiii th century have all a decidedly local character, but the phonetic meaning of the letters, *which is all we have to deal with*, seems as firmly established as in the xiv th. The poems mentioned above belong perhaps to the xii th century. The copies to which we shall refer have been published for the Early English Text Society.[1] It will not be necessary to examine them in much detail. They present much the same character as Havelok, with the *e*, *i* and *e*, *o* and *o*, *a* rhymes. The orthography is very unsteady, and it is difficult to feel certain in any place that we are not dealing with a scribal error rather than a peculiarity of pronunciation. It will be sufficient to deal with a few peculiarities.

The Moral Ode, or Poema Morale: Rowen sowen = *rue sow* 19, written: ruwen seowen, in the Egerton MS., are ags. hreowan, sawan, and can only rhyme by the dialectic interchange of *e*, *o*, as: shewe lowe, in Havelok (suprà p. 476). Seide misdede 129, seiden reden 223, require a peculiar dialectic pronunciation of *seide* as *sede*, and that this existed we learn not only from the orthography: of sede, rede 155, in this MS. but from the parallel rhymes: sede misdede 131, sede rede 225 in the Egerton MS. See suprà, p. 447. Hulde felde 343, hulle fulle 347 and durlinges 385, are examples of the use of *u* for *i*, or *e*, common in this MS.

The Pater Noster offers many examples of *u* for *i*: wule 14, of-þunche$\eth$ 16, ufele 17, þenne wunne = *win* 19, inne sunne = *sin* 23, 139, 224, wulle ifulle 55, sunne unwune 282. The rhyme: bone clene 167, shews how *o* was written for *e* even when *e* was pronounced. Wrei$\eth$ segge$\eth$ 179, shews the derivation of the (ai) sound from (*egh*), and: mei dei 169, shews the identity of *ei*, *ai*.

The Orison, or On God Ureison of Ure Lefdi, contains a few peculiarities which suggest scribal errors: Marie lefde 1, lefdi liuie 11, lefdi beien 17, could not have rhymed. The first would be satisfied by the more ancient form *lefdie*, ags. hlæfdie, which is justified by *lafdie* in Layamon, 15647, or else by the contracted form *Mari*, which we have already had reason to suspect, p. 441. The difficulty of: lefdie beie 17, as it would then be written, is the same as that of: beie offrie 2, and: lefdie liuie 11 offers a singular form for *liue*, and a transmuted accent. See several other instances of like forms, suprà p. 446. See also the infinitives in the *Assumpcioun* in Lumby's King Horn, p. 44, and in Dan Michel's *Ayenbite*. Kwene reine = *queen rain*, 57, should evidently be: kwene rene, the old ags. form *ren*, which existed as well as *regen*, here coming into use.

[1] Old English Homilies and Homiletic Treatises (Sawles Warde, and þe Wohunge of Ure Lauerd: Ureisuns of Ure Louerd and of Ure Lefdi, etc.) of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries, edited from MSS. in the British Museum, Lambeth and Bodleian Libraries, with introduction, translation and notes by Richard Morris, 1867–8. The Moral Ode is No. 17, p. 158, and a duplicate of the first 270 lines from the Egerton MS. is given in an Appendix, p. 288. The Pater Noster is on p. 55, and the Orison on p. 191.

The following brief extract from the Paternoster will convey some notion of the language.

Paternoster, 75-98.	*Conjectured Pronunciation.*
Adueniat regnum tuum.	Adveen·iat reg·num tuu·um.
Cume þi riche we seggeð hit.	Kuum·e dhi riitsh·e! We sai·eth hit.
Hercnið alle to þis writ.	Herk·nith al·e too dhis r*w*it.
his riche is al þis middeleard.	His riitsh is al dhis mid·el erd,
Eorðe *and* heofene and uwilcherd	Erth and hev·n- and ii·wilk herd.
of*er* alle is his muchele mihte.	Ov·er al is his mutsh·le mikht·e
lauerd he is icleped mid rihte.	Lav·erd he is iklep·ed mid rikht·e
Lauerd he is of alle scafte.	Lav·erd he is of al·e skaft·e.
In eorðe. i*n* heuene is his mahte	In erth, in hev·en is his makht·e:
alle þe scafte þe he bi-gon.	Al·e dhe skaft·e dhee he bigon·,
þet is þet sodðe hit wes for mon	Dhet is dhet soodh, hit wes for mon.
alle þi*n*ge he makede æt agan.	Al·e thiq he maaked [? ?]
Er he efre makede mon.	Eer he ev·re maak·de mon.
he makede mon i rihtwisnesse.	He maak·de mon i rikht·wisnes·e,
Onlete on his onlichnesse.	On·leet on his on·litshnes·e.
Alle dor *and* fuȝel ifliht ⁝	Al·e door and fuugh·el iflikht·
lete he makede adunriht.	Leet -e maak·ed aduun·rikht:
þene Mo*n* he lufede *and* welbi-þohte.	Dheen·e Mon he luvd- and wel bithokht·e,
and for-þi his neb upward he wrohte.	And fordhii· his neb up·ward· he r*w*okht·e.
þ*et* wes al mid muchele skile ⁝	Dhet was al mid mutsh·le skiile,
ȝif he hit understondon wile.	Jif je hit un·derstond·on wiil·e.
Neb upwardes he him wrohte.	Neb up·ward·es hee him r*w*okht·e.
he walde þ*et* he of him þoht[e].	He wald·e dhet hee of him thokht·e,
Al swa þe lauerd þ*et* him wrohte.	Alswaa dhe Lav·erd dhet him r*w*okht·e.

Mr. Morris's Translation.

Adveniat regnum tuum.
Thy kingdom come, we do say it,
Hearken all unto this writ!
His kingdom is this middle earth,
Earth and heaven, and each abode;
Over all is his great might.
Lord he is called with right;
Lord he is of all creatures,
In earth and heaven is his might.
All the creatures that he formed,
That is truth, it was for man,
All things he made to appear
Before he ever made man.
He made man in righteousness,
In the form of his own likeness.
All deer (animals) and fowl of flight
He made to stoop adownright (downwards).
Man he loved and cared for well,
And therefore his face upward he wrought,
That was all for a good skill (reason),
If that understand ye will.
Face upwards he him wrought,
He would that man of him thought,
That he should love him with thought (in his mind)
As the Lord that him wrought.

§ 2. *Unrhymed Poems of the Thirteenth Century and Earlier.*

The rhymed poems having resulted in a satisfactory determination of the values of the letters, it is necessary to apply the result to the examination of documents in which no rhyme is employed. The first of these that has been selected is so careful in its orthography that it is in many respects more fitted for our purpose than the laxly written poems already considered. The second has chiefly antiquity to recommend it, and its principal phonetic value lies in the great diversity of representations which it supplies for the same word.

1. ORRMIN'S ORRMULUM, END OF XII TH CENTURY.

Orrmin's Orrmulum[1] is written in a strict orthography, with some inevitable slips here and there perhaps, which escaped the author's evidently careful and repeated revision,[2] and as the object of this orthography was phonetic, the poem may be fairly considered as being the first example of the application of the purely phonetic principle in the orthography of English.

Orrmin's scheme was to double the following consonant when a vowel was short. The origin of the feeling which led to this notation has been already explained (p. 55). This plan has the obvious disadvantage of not indicating the length of a vowel when *no*

[1] The Ormulum. Now first edited from the original manuscript in the Bodleian (Jun. MS. 1.) with Notes and a Glossary by Robert Meadows White, D.D. Oxford, 1852, 2 vols. 8vo. "If we consider alone the character of the handwriting, the ink, and the material used by the scribe, we find reasons for placing the date of the MS. early in the thirteenth century," pref. lxxii. Mr. Garnett considers it to have been written in Peterborough. Dr. White writes "*The* Ormulum" with a prefixed *the* and single *r* in the above title, but in the introduction we read—

þiss boc iss nemmnedd Orrmulum
forrþi þatt Orrm itt wrohhte

where *Orrm* is a contraction for *Orrmin* as we see by the example given below, p. 491 dedication 324.

[2] In the facsimile of the sixteen opening lines prefixed to White's edition, we see that the second consonant in a reduplication was sometimes written over the other, and sometimes not. The same was the case occasionally with h in gh, etc. Thus, representing the superior consonant by an italic, we have in these sixteen lines, broþer*r* (twice), trow*w*þe, taken*n*, re*gh*ell, follg*h*enn, swasum*m* (twice), þi*n*wille, wen*n*d, lit*t*le, hafeþ*þ*. As we have also at length broþerr (twice), Wallt', afft', flæshess, crisstenndom, þurrh (three times), fulluhht, godess, þatt, witt, hafenn, etc., and as in the cases of superposition the writing was crowded, I conceive these to have been corrections, similar to the little accent marks by which words were separated that had been too closely written. If then in some cases we find a single consonant where we should have expected a double consonant, we may fairly attribute it to a slip which has escaped correction. Occasionally, where two consonants follow the vowel, the first consonant seems not to have been doubled, either through the author's inadvertence or from his not having thoroughly settled the system of writing, so that we find *kinde* and *finndenn*, which must have both had a short *i*, and may be compared to the double forms *amang*, *amanng*, which must have signified the same sound.

consonant followed. Thus in the opening lines *þe, i, o, to, swa* were all probably short, and *ba* = both, was long. The writing, however, shews no difference. There was also this inconvenience that as the short vowels are more frequent than the long, the writing was overladen with doubled letters. The expedient of doubling the vowel to indicate length, also very common and natural, overcomes both difficulties, as may be seen by the example of pronunciation in palæotype below p. 490. Thorpe in the Preface to his *Analecta Anglo-Saxonica*, 1846, p. xi, attributes to Orrmin the precise correspondence of long and short vowels which exist at the present day,[1] so that according to him Orrmin's *a, e, i, o, u* represented (*ea* æ, ii e, ɔi *i*, *oo* ɔ, uu ɔ), an hypothesis which our preceding investigations render untenable. If any weight is to be attributed to our determination of the values of *a, e, i, o* in Chaucer, and *u* in the *Cuckoo Song*, we can hardly conceive the pairing of the vowels to have been otherwise then (aa a, ee e, ii i, oo o, uu u), except that very possibly (*aa a*, EE E, *ii i*) may have replaced the first three pairs, and as to the last pair, there might, from previous examples, be a suspicion that the long and short *u* may have been at least occasionally (yy, y); but no examples of the use of *u* for *i, e* seem to occur, so that *u* should probably be always read as (uu, u). The form *ou* for (uu) never occurs.

There are very few divided vowels, but we meet with *æ* and *eo*. The *æ* in numerous instances replaces an ags. *ea* as in: dæd *dead* dead, dræm *dream* sound, ræm *hream* cry, tæm *team* offspring, flærd *fleard* mockery, stæp *steap* steep. It often alternates with *e* and sometimes even with *eo*, thus we have: drædenn dredenn, 2 pr. drædesst, 3 pr. dredeþþ, 2 pl. drædenn, 3 p. dredde, imp. dred; dræfedd, dreofedd, drefedd. These confusions seem to indicate that *æ, eo, e* had the same sound. Even if *æ* retained its true ags. sound, which was probably (ææ, æ), this would readily be confounded with (EE, E), and this again with (ee, e). It seems preferable then to give *æ* the same sound as *e*, viz. (ee, e), or else to regard *æ* as (E), and *e* as (e).

As respects *eo*, Mr. White observes that: "a remarkable instance of the preference of *e* for *eo* will be found by the omission, nearly

[1] He says: "The author seems to have been a critic in his mother-tongue; and to [through ?] his idea of doubling the consonant after a short vowel (as in German), we are enabled to form some tolerably accurate notions as to the pronunciation of our forefathers. Thus he writes min with a single *n* only because the *i* is long or diphthonal, as in our *mine*. So also in kinde (pronounced as our *kind*,) dom, boc, had, lif (pronounced as our *life*), etc. On the other hand, wherever the consonant is doubled, the vowel preceding is short and sharp, as in ȝett (pronounced as our *yet*, not *yate*, as it would be if written with a single *t*) Godd (pronounced *God*, not *Gode*), etc. Thus hus is to be pronounced *hoos*, whereas þuss, with a double *s*, is our *thus*." Tyrwhitt, in his Essay on the Language and Versification of Chaucer, Part III. § iv. note 52, declares himself unable to comprehend the meaning of those doubled consonants, and in quoting the commencement of the Dedication, "ventures (first begging Ormin's pardon for disregarding his injunction) to leave out the *superfluous* letters." To have been consistent, then, he should have written: beging, lev, leters, instead of the "superfluously lettered" beg*g*ing, lea*v*e, let*t*ers!

uniform, of *o* in the latter part of the MS., in the inserted leaves, and in the dedication and preface, as in the forms lede, þede, werelld, etc., the *o* having been written in the above words and in others in the first part of the MS., afterwards erased, and then re-written. In these last named instances the *o* has been retained in printing in order to preserve the orthography. Perhaps the *o* was rejected as not essential for pronunciation; Cf. our word *people.*" Of course such deletions and restitutions of *o* could not have taken place unless *eo* formed one syllable, as White observes, quoting v. 8571 :

þa shulenn beon off heore kinn.

Possibly the writing may have been Orrmin's, the deletion his brother's, who was requested to examine the manuscript, ded. v. 65 :

Annd te bitæche ice off þiss boc
heh wikenn[1] alls itt semeþþ
all to þurrhsekenn ille an ferrs
annd to þurrhlokenn offte,

certainly rather for the purpose of detecting trips in doctrine,

þatt upponn all þis boc ne be
nan word ȝæn Cristess lare,
nan word tatt swiþe wel ne be
to trowwenn annd to follȝhenn ;

but we can easily imagine "broþerr Wallterr" having extended his observations to the spelling, and Orrmin having on further reflection, restored his own orthography. In this case Orrmin attached a value to *eo* different from (ee). However it be, we find as a matter of fact that in White's glossary almost every word spelled with *eo* has a secondary form spelled with simple *e*. This would rather indicate (ee⌊o), with a strongly marked (ee) and an evanescent (o), comparable to the (*oo*⌊u, *oo'w*) in our modern pronunciation of *know* = (n*oo*u).

The forms *ai*, *ei*, *au*, *ou* do not occur, but the syllables iȝȝ, eȝȝ, aȝȝ, aww, eww, most probably indicated the presence of diphthongs. The letter ȝ had of course a different sound from *g*. The regular (gh) sound seems to have been written ȝ*h*, while (kh) was *h* or *hh*. Thus from *aȝhenn* to own, we have *ah* owns, and *ahhte* goods, cattle. We have also *berrȝhenn* to save, *berrhless* salvation. Observe that in these cases ȝ*h* comes before a vowel, as in *hallȝhe*, *reȝhell*, *folȝhenn*, etc., and *h*, *hh*, before a consonant or at the end of a word, and this rule appears to have been consistently carried out. The simple ȝ then probably functioned as (ɹ), as in : ȝarrken, ȝate, ȝe, ȝelden, ȝellpenn, ȝeorne ȝeorrne ȝerne ȝerrne, ȝer, ȝife, ȝiff, ȝilt, ȝoce, ȝol, ȝung, ȝure. The initial ȝh is peculiar to the word ȝ*ho* = she and the contraction ȝ*hō't* = ȝ*ho itt*. In the later text of Laȝamon we have ȝ*eo* for she; see also *ghe*, *ge*, suprà p. 467. It would be difficult to pronounce ȝ*ho* otherwise than (*g*ho, ɹho), and it would seem to be a peculiar derivative from *heo*, the (ɹh) being generated in the same way that it is in a not unusual modern pro-

[1] White translates, office, duty, charge. See Laȝamon's wikenares = attendants, and Stratmann sub voce wîken.

nunciation of the words, *hue*, *Hume*, *Hughes* = (ȷhuu, ȷhuum, ȷhuuz). From these (ȷho, ȷhe) forms the subsequent (shoo, shee, shii) easily follow. What then was the effect of ȝ when final? We know that many orthoepists, as Wallis, consider that the final element in the diphthongs (ai, au) is (ȷ, w) and not (i, u), p. 186. We see also from the example of *Awwstin*, Ded. v. 10, which we know from Latin sources must have been (Austiin·), that Orrmin belonged to this class. It follows therefore that *eww* must must have been (eu) in *cnewwe* and that *aȝȝ*, *eȝȝ* must have been (ai, ei), or (aai, eei), as it is unlikely that Orrmin would have made the difference, the duplication of ȝ serving only to shew the strict diphthongation of the elements.

The legitimacy of this interpretation will be more readily admitted after an inspection of the following lists of all simple words which I have observed in Orrmin containing aȝȝ and eȝȝ.

aȝȝ *aye*
daȝȝ *day*, gen. and pl. daȝhess, daȝȝess; ags. dæg
faȝȝerr *fair*, ags. fægr
faȝȝre *fairly*, ags. fægere
fraȝȝnen *to ask*, ags. fregnan, Lancashire frayne.
maȝȝ (1) *may*, ags. mæg; (2) *maid* icel. mey.
maȝȝdenn *maiden*, ags. mægden
maȝȝstre *magister*
maȝȝþe *tribe*, ags. mægð
naȝȝ *nay*
naȝȝlenn *to nail*, ags. næglian
waȝȝ *woe*
waȝȝn *wain*, ags. wægn
waȝȝneþþ *earrieth*, ags. wegan
beȝȝen *gen. of* ba both
beȝȝsanns *bezants*
beȝȝse *bitter*, icel. beiskr
beȝȝtenn *to beat*, ags. beatan
elænleȝȝe *chastity*
eȝȝe *fear*, ags. eg
eȝȝlenn *to ail*, ags. eglan
eȝȝþerr *either*, ags. ægþer
eȝȝwhær *everywhere*, ags. æghwær
fleȝȝl *flail*, old Fr. flaial, Lat. flagellum
geȝȝnen *to gain*, icel. at gégna
geȝȝnlike *conveniently*, icel. gégnilega
idelleȝȝe *idleness*
leȝȝest leȝȝeþþ leȝȝde leȝȝ *layest layeth laid lay, from* leggenn *to lay.*
leȝȝkenn *to play*, icel. at leika
leȝȝtenn *to inquire*, icel. at leita
metleȝȝe *humility*
reȝȝn *rain*, ags. ren, regn
reȝȝnenn *to rain*
reȝȝsenn *to raise*, icel. at reisa *to travel*
seȝȝst seȝȝþ seȝȝde *sayest saith said from* seggeun
tweȝȝen *twain*
þeȝȝ *they*
þeȝȝm *them*
þeȝȝre *their*
weȝȝe *way*, age. weg

In almost all these cases we see aȝȝ answering to ags. *ag æg eg*, and eȝȝ to ags. *eg* and once *ea*, or Icel. *ei*, and twice *é* = (ȷe). The most remarkable exception is *þeȝȝm* from ags. *þam*, as it accounts for the form *þeim*, *þaim*, (p. 442, Pater. v. 8), and perhaps for *þeis*, forms sometimes found in old English. It does not seem possible to establish the transition of *ag* into *ai* (agh, aȝh, aȷ, ai) more clearly.

The combinations *iȝ* or *iȝȝ* occur in *-liȝ*, as *innwarrdliȝ*, *witerrliȝ*, and in *twiȝȝess* and similar words, where the difference of the single ȝ and double ȝȝ has to be noted. Properly the sound should be that of the very common German termination *-ig*, as *inwendig*, *wahrhaftig*, which is theoretically (-igh) and practically (-ikh), as (in·bhend:igh, bhaar·haft:igh), or (in·bhend:ikh, bhaar·haft:ikh). It would therefore be hazardous to read *iȝ*, *iȝȝ*, otherwise than as (iikh, ikh) final or (iigh, igh) before vowels. The objection that these sounds when final should have been written *-ih*, *-ihh*, must be met by the habit of the ags. final *-ig*. The same reason may have led Orrmin to use ȝȝ in the middle of a word in

place of ȝȝ*h*, which would have been the regular reduplication of ȝ*h*, compare *ssh* in *Englissh*, dedication 109. The value of *uw* in ȝ*uw* is doubtful, but it does not seem likely to have differed from (uu). The *f* between two vowels, and frequently elsewhere, was most probably (*v*), a letter which Orrmin avoids, but *ff* was of course (f). This would accord with the modern Welsh usage.

As to the final *e*, the rule of pronunciation given, by the strict observation of the number of syllables in each line, is precisely that at which we arrived for Chaucer, down to the occasional elision of an inflectional final *e*, even when not preceding a vowel, in which case Orrmin simply left it out.[1] The elisions, however, are not so frequent as in Chaucer. Thus, in the first 1000 lines of the Homilies in White's text, final *e* is elided five times before *himm*, three times before *he*, twice before *himm* and *hiss*, once before *hu* and once before *Herodess* v. 277, which is very peculiar. The elisions before a vowel are more common. Open *e* perhaps does not occur, so that the practice of the end of the XIV th century is justified by an English practice at the beginning of the XIII th, which cannot have been influenced by Norman habits. Coalescent words also occur as *þalde*, *namm* = þe alde, ne amm, *hét* = he itt, *noff* = ne off, *nafe*, *naffde* = ne hafe, ne haffde, etc. A final *d* or *t* changes the following þ to *t*, a practice which we have met with before (p. 444, n. 2), and which was still preserved in Chaucer's: *wiltow* = wilt thou, etc. (p. 371), but here carried much further. We may therefore feel considerable confidence in pronouncing Orrmulum as follows:

Orrmulum, Dedication.	*Conjectured Pronunciation.*
Annd whase wilenn shall þiss boc	And whaa·see wii·len shal this book
efft oþerr siþe writenn, 96	eft oo·dher sii·dhe *w*ii·ten,
himm bidde ice þatt hétt wríte rihht	nim bid ik dhat nee-t *w*ii·te ri*k*ht
swa summ þiss boc himm tæch-eþþ,	swaa sum dhis book him TEETSH·eth,
all þwerrt úʼt affterr þatt itt iss	al thwert uut aft·er dhat it is
uppo þiss firrste bisne, 100	upoo· dhis first·e biis·ne,
wiþþ all swille ríme alls her iss sett,	with al swilk riim als heer is set

Verbal Translation.

And whoso shall desire this book	All throughout after (the way) that it is
Again another time to write, 96	On this first example, 100
Him beg I that he it write rightly	With all such number as is here set (forth,)
Just as this book him teacheth,	

[1] White cites the examples: fra mann' to manne 11219; to king' 8449, to kinge 8370; to grund' 11773, to grunde 12547; o faderr hallf' 2269, o faderr hallfe 2028; i Godess hus' 625, inn huse 2112; off slap' 1903, off slæpe 3143; þatt læredd' folle 15876, þatt lærede folle 7440; att inn' 12926, att inne 12739; whæroff' 13694, whæroffe 13704; off witeȝhunng 14416, off witeȝhunnge 14617, where I have introduced an apostrophe to mark the elision. This omission of *e* in writing sometimes takes place before a vowel, where it was not necessary according to Orminn's system of writing.

wiþþ all se fele wordess;
annd tatt he loke wel þatt he
an boestaff wríte twiȝȝess 104
eȝȝwhær þær itt uppo þiss boc
iss wrĭtenn o þatt wise;
loke he well þatt hé't write swa,
107
forr he ne maȝȝ nohht elless
onn Ennglissh wrítenn rihht te
word,
þatt wite he wel to soþe.
Annd ȝiff mann wile wĭtenn whi
icc hafe don þiss dede, 112
whi icc till Ennglissh hafe wennd
goddspelless hallȝhe lare;
icc hafe itt don forrþi þatt all
crisstene follkess berrhless 116
iss lang uppo þatt an, þatt teȝȝ
goddspelless hallȝhe lare
wiþþ fulle mahhte follȝhe rihht,
þurrh þohht, þurrh word, þurrh
dede.

* * * *

Icc þatt tiss Enngliss hafe sett
Enngliss̆he menn to lare, 322
ic wass, þær þær I crisstnedd
wass,
Orrmin bi name nemmnedd.
annd icc Orrmin full innwarrdliȝ,
wiþþ muþ annd ec wiþþ
herrte, 326
her bidde þa Crisstene menn
þatt hereun oþerr rédenn
þiss boc, henm bidde icc her þatt
teȝȝ
forr me þiss bede biddenn: 330

with al see fee·le word·es;
and tat ne look·e wel dhat nee
aan book·staf *rwii*·te twi*gh*·es
ei·wheer dheer it upoo· dhis book
is *rwit*·en oo dhat wii·se;
look nee wel dhat nee-t *rwii*·te
swaa,
forr nee ne mai nokht el·es
on Eq·lish *rwii*·ten ri*kht* te
word,
dhat wiit ne wel to sooth·e
And *j*if man wiil·e wit·en whii
· ik naav·e doon dhis deed·e,
whii ik til Eq·lish naav·e wennd
god·spel·es nal*gh*·e laa·re;
ik naav· it doon fordhii· dhat al
cristee·ne folk·es berkh·les
is laq upoo· dhat aan, dhat tei
god·spel·es nal*gh*·e laa·re
with ful·e makht·e fol*gh*·e ri*kht*,
thur*kh* thokht, thur*kh* woord,
thur*kh* dee·de.

* * * *

Ik dhat tis Eq·lish naav·e set
Eq·lish·e men to laa·re,
ik was, dheer dheer i krist·ned
was,
Ormiin· bi naam·e nemm·ned.
And ik Ormiin· ful in·wardli*gh*
with muuth and eek with
hert·e,
neer bid·e dhaa kristee·ne men
dhat nee·ren oo·dher ree·den
dhis book, nem bid ik neer dhat
tei
for mee dhis bee·de bid·en:

Verbal Translation.

With all so many words,
And that he look well, that he
One letter write twice, 104
Everywhere where it upon this book
Is written on that wise;
Look he well that he it write so,
For he may not else 108
In English write rightly the word,
That know he well to sooth.
And if one will know why
I have done this deed, 112
Why I into English have turned
Gospel's holy lore;
I have done it because that all
Christian people's salvation 116
Is along of that one (thing), that they
Gospel's holy lore
With full power follow rightly,
By thought, by word, by deed. * * *
I that this English have set (forth) 321
Englishmen to teach,
I was there where I christened was,
Orrmin by name named;
And I Orrmin full inwardly,
With mouth and eke with heart 326
Here pray the Christian men
That hear or read
This book, them pray I here that they
For me this prayer pray: 330

þatt broþerr þatt tiss Enngliss writt	dhat broo·dher dhat tis Eq·lish rwit
allræresst wrá't annd wrohhte,	alREE·rest rwaat annd rwokht·e,
þatt broþerr, forr hiss swinne to læn,	dhat broo·dher, for nis swiqk to LEEN
soþ blisse móte findenn. 334	sooth blis·e moo·te find·en.

Verbal Translation.

That brother that this English writing
First of all (men) wrote and wrought,
That brother for his labour to reward,
True bliss may (he) find.

As considerable doubt attaches to the length of the vowel in old English, and as Orrmin's orthography is meant to resolve that doubt, it seems worth while to collect together all the instances where he seems to mark vowels as long. In the following lists, which have been collected from White's glossary, all the simple (uncompounded) words in which a long vowel before a consonant appeared to be indicated with tolerable certainty have been collected. To all cases in which a vowel is followed by more than one consonant, and the first of those consonants is not doubled, doubt attaches, because Orrmin's usage fluctuates in some of them, and he seems to have thought that two consonants would act occasionally as well as a doubled consonant. Such words are therefore excluded, as are also all monosyllables ending in a vowel, and therefore of undetermined quantity. The use of the short sign (˘) sometimes seems to indicate a short vowel, where only one consonant follows, and hence a few of the following words may be doubtful, but on the whole it would seem that a long vowel was intended in each of the following cases.

LIST OF ORRMIN'S WORDS CONTAINING LONG VOWELS.[1]

Long A (aa)	dale	ladeþþ	raþe	wraþ
adle	drake	laf	raþenn	þafe
afell	draȝhenn	laferrd	sake	þraȝhe
aȝhe	faderr	lah	same	
an	fakenn	lakenn	samenn	*Long Æ* (EE)
aniȝ	farenn	lare	sare	ædiȝ
ar	frame	late	shame	æfre
are	gal	laȝhe	shapeþþ	ær
arenn	gan	makenn	skaþesst	ærd
atell	gate	male	slan	ære
aþell	ȝate	man	snaþ	æst
aþess	ȝatenn	manaþ	stan	æþ
aþumm	ȝehatenn	maniȝ	strac	bære
awihht	grap	mare	sware	bærenn
baþe	had	nakedd	swat	bætenn
brad	hafenn	name	takenn	bræd
braþ	hal	nan	tale	dæd
kafe	haliȝ	naness	wac	dæf
kare	ham	naþe	wakenn	dæh
chariȝ	hat	ran *touched*	war	dæl-enn
clake	hatenn	rap	wat *knew*	dæw
claþ	lac	ras	waterr	dæþ
cnape	lade	raþ	wrat	dræfedd

[1] This list and the following have been checked by Mr. Brock.

dræm
færenn
fæwe
flæsh
ȝæp
gætenn
hæfedd
hæle
hæp
hær
hæse
hæte
hæþenn
hæwenn
whær
læc
læche
læfe
læpenn
lærenn
lætenn
mælenn
mæless
mæne
mære
mæþ
næfre
ræd
rædiȝ
ræfenn
ræm
ræw
sæm
shædenn
shæwenn
shrædenn
slæn
slæp
spæche
stæp
stræm
stræte
tæchenn
tælenn
tæm-enn
wæde
wædle
wælinng
wæpenn
wæte
þær-e
þæw
þræpenn

Long E (ee)
ægede
bede
bene
berenn
betenn
breme

kechell
kelenn
kene
chepinng
chesenn
kepenn
elene
clepenn
cnedesst
cnelenn
cwemenn
cwen
dede
deme-nn
depe
deȝenn
drefedd
dreȝhenn
ec
eche
efenn
ekenn
ele
etenn
eȝhe
fedenn
fele
fere
fleteþþ
fleȝhenn
frend
ȝemenn
ȝer
ȝetenn
grediȝ
grene
gresess
gretenn
hefenn
heh
her
here
herenn
hete
hew
hewenn
heȝhe
ledenn
lefe
lefenn
lem
lenenn
letenn
leȝhe
leȝhenn
mede
mekenn
mele
menenn
meneþþ
mete

metedd
meȝhe
ned
nedl
neh
new
peninng
prest
redenn
reȝhell
sec
sed
sefenn
sekenn
sel
ser
shene
shep
shetenn
slep
smec
smere
smeþe
sped
spedenn
spekenn
stekenn
ster
stren
swere
swet
tekenn
tene
tredenn
wedenn
wel
wen-enn
wepenn
were
werenn
wrekenn
wreȝenn
þede
þes
þeþenn

Long I (ee)
abidenn
bisne
bliþe
kiþenn
enif
drifenn
fif
filenn
fir
ȝifenn
giferr
hiderr
hire
hiȝ

whil
idell
ifell
irenn
lie
lich
lif
like
likenn
lim
limess
lin
litell
liþe
mikell
min
mineþþ
nimenn
niþ
niȝhen
pine-nn
ridinngess
rime
risenn
shineþþ
shir
shridenn
shrifenn
side
sikenn
sikerr
siþe
siȝe
skiledd
skir
smikerr
smitenn
stidiȝ
stih
stirenn
stiȝhenn
swin
swiþe
tid
time
wic
wide
wif
win
wis
wise
wite
witenn
witerr
wiþerr
writenn
þiderr
þise

Long O (oo)
blod

blome
boc
bode
bodiȝ
bone
boȝhess
bote
boþe
broþerr
clofenn
come
croc
dom
don
flod
flor
flowedd
fode
fon
fot
frofre
god
ȝol
gom
hof
holeþþ
hope
hoȝhefull
inoh
lofenn
lokenn
lome
loȝhe
mod
moderr
mone
moneþ
mot-e
notesst
oferr
ofne
oþerr
ploh
rhof
rode
ros
rosenn
rote
rotenn
scone
shop
sloþ
snoterr
sone
soþ
stoke-ss
toc
tor
wod
woh
wokenn

wop	buȝhenn	ȝure	muȝhenn	þutenn
woȝhe	cludess	huniȝ	numen	tun
þolenn	clutess	hus	rum	uferr
	crune	husell	rune	ure
Long U (uu)	cumenn	hutenn	shrud	usell
brukenn	cuþ	lhude	sumerr	ut-e-nn
bufenn	dun	lufe-nn	sune	uþe
bule	dure	lukenn	sur	wude
bun	fule	lutenn	sutell	wuke
bure	fus	muþ	suþ	wunenn
butenn				

As considerable interest attaches to the determination of such adjectives and substantives as had a final *e* in early English, and as Orrmin's versification establishes with certainty the pronunciation of such letters, except when they are elidably situate, I have collected from White's glossary all such words, adding the meaning. A few substantives are only found in oblique cases, and these are marked † because the *e* may be only inflexional. In the case of the adjectives it is not always certain, from a simple inspection of the glossary, whether the *e* is a mere mark of the plural or of the definite inflection. When I have detected either of these to be the case I have omitted the adjective from the list, but I have not thought it necessary to verify every case. Such a table of German nouns and adjectives would seem ridiculous to a German, because he cannot dissociate the *e* from the words. We have become so used to its absence that every kind of artificial means is necessary to restore the association.

LIST OF ORRMIN'S ADJECTIVES AND SUBSTANTIVES ENDING IN E.

adle *disease*	blisse *bliss*	dædbote *repentance*	fallse *false*
æbære *clear*	bliþe *blithe*	dale *part*	fasste *fast* s.
ægede † *luxury*	blome *blome*	dærne *secret*	féle, fĕle, fele *many*
ære *ear*	blostme *blossom*	daffte *humble*	feorþe *fourth*
æte *food*	bode *command*	dăle *valley*	fére fĕre *power*
ahhte *goods*	bone *boon*	dede *deed*	fifte *fifth*
ane *alone* (? adv.)	bote *remedy*	deme † *judge*	fiftende † *fifteenth*
ange *sorrow*	boþe *booth*	deope, depe *deep*	fode *food*
anndsæte *odious*	braþþe *anger*	deore, dere *dear*	forrme *first*
anndsware *answer*	breme *furious*	driȝȝe *dry*	frame *profit*
are *grace*	bridale *bridal*	druhhþe † *drought*	fremmde *strange*
arrke *ark*	bridgume *bride-groom*	dure *door*	frofre † *comfort*
asse *ass*	bulaxe *axe*	dwillde *error*	frummþe *beginning*
axe *axe*	bule *bull*	eche *eternal*	fulre *foul-er*
aȝhe *awe*	bure † *bower*	egge † *edge*	galle *gall*
bære *bier*	eare *care*	ehhte *eight*	gate *way*
bede *prayer*	ehele *cold*	elde † *age*	genge *gang*
belle *bell*	ehepinngboþe *market-booth*	ele *oil*	gillte † *tribute*
bene *prayer*		ende *end country*	grene *green*
benneh † *bench*		eorþe, erþe *earth*	greȝȝe *herald*
berrme † *barm*	ehesstre *city*	errfe *animal*	grimme *grim*
berrne † *barn*	elake † *accusation*	errnde *errand*	hæle *health*
bettre *better*	elene *elean*	eȝhe *eye*	hæse † *command*
bilenge *belonging to*	cribbe *crib*	eȝhesallfe *eye-salve*	hæte † *heat*
birde *lineage*	eŭde *cud*	eȝhesihhþe *eyesight*	helle *hell*
bisne *example*	eullfre *dove*	eȝȝe † *fear*	hellfe *handle*
bĭte *morsel*	eweme *agreeable*	fæwe *few*	hellpe *help*

heoffne *heaven*
heore *their* (pron.)
heorrte *heart*
here *host*
hete, hĕte *hate*
hirrde *guardian*
hire *her*
hírne *corner*
hope *hope*
irre *ire*
karrte *eart*
kemmpe *champion*
kene *keen*
kide *kid*
kinde *kind* s.
kineriche *kingdom*
kirrke *church*
kirrkedure *church-door*
lade *guiding* s.
læche † *leech*
læfe *belief*
lare *lore*
láte, late † *appearance*
lattre *latter*
lawe *mound*
laȝhe † *law*
lefe *leave*
leode *people*
leome, leme *gleam*
leȝhe *wages*
lifisshe *living*
like *form*
lĭre † *loss*
liþe *lithe gentle*
loȝhe † *fire*
lufe *love*
maeche, make, *mate, wife*
mæne † *company*
male † *tribute*
mare *more*
maȝȝstre *master*
maȝȝþe *tribe kin*
mede † *meed*
mele *meal*
merrke † *mark*
messe *mass*
mĕte *meat*
meȝhe *female cousin*
milde *mild*
mile † *mile*
millce *mercy*
minde † *mind*
minnstre † *minster*
missdede † *misdeed*
mone *moon*
name *name*
náþe † *grace*
neddre *adder*
nedle † *needle*
-nesse *-ness*
nesshe *soft*
orrmete *measureless*
orrtrowwe *distrustful*
orrtrowwþe *distrust*
oxe *ox*
pappe † *breast*
píne *pain*
profége *prophet*
resste *repose*
riche *kingdoms rich*
rime † *metre*
rode † *rood*
rote *root*
rume *wide*
rune *counsel*
sæte † *seat*
sahhte *concurring*
sake *dispute*
sallfe *salve*
sallme † *psalm*
same † *same*
sawle *soul*
scone *beauteous*
seollþe sellþe *happiness*
serrȝhe *sorrow*
sexe *six*
sexte *sixth*
sextene *sixteen*
shæþe † *sheath*
shaffte *creature*
shame *shame*
shande *disgrace*
shene *sheen* a.
shriffte *shrift*
sihhþe *sight*
siȝe † *victory*
smere *ointment*
smeþe *smooth*
soffte *soffle*
spæche *speech*
stĕde *stead place*
steffne *voice*
steorrne *star*
stirne *stern* a.
stoke † *stock*
stræte † *street*
strande † *strand*
strennegþe *strength*
sune *son*
sunne *sun*
sware † *answer* s. *grievous* a.
swepe *whip*
swiþe *great*
tăle *tale number*
temmple *temple*
tende *tenth*
téne *ten, injury* s.
time *time*
tunge *tongue*
turrtle *turtle*
twinne *twin*
þeode *people*
þeȝȝre *their*
þraȝhe † *throw, time*
þridde *third*
þrinne *three*
þrittene *thirteen*
þrittennde *thirteenth*
þrowwinnge † *throe*
þurrfe *needful*
þusennde *thousand*
unnelene *unclean*
unneweme *unacceptable*
unnfæle *deceitful*
unnfæwe *not a few*
unnhæle † *unsoundness*
unnorne *plain*
unnride *vast*
unnsmeþe *uneven*
unnwine *enemy*
unnwræste *weak*
nppbrixle *object of reproach*
ure *our*
wæde *clothing*
wædle *poor*
wæte † *drink* s.
walde † *power*
wambe *belly*
wasstme *fruit*
waȝhe *wall*
weeche *watching* s.
wehhte † *weight*
wĕre were *man*
werre *worse*
werrse *worse*
wesste *waste desert* s. and a.
weȝȝe *way*
whæte *wheat*
wicke *mean weak wicked*
widdwe *widow*
wilde *wild*
wille *will*
wis, wise *wise* a.
wise *wise* s.
wite *prophet*
wíte † *punishment*
witeȝhunnge *prophecy*
wiþþerrstrenneþe † *opposing power*
wlĭte † *face*
wræche *vengeance*
wraþþe † *wrath* s.
wreeche *wretched*
wrihhte (1) *maker;* (2) *blame*
wude *wood* s.
wuke *week*
wulle † *wool*
wunde † *wound*
wurrþe † *worship*
wurrþshipe *worship*
ȝate *gate door*
ȝerrde † *yard rod*
ȝife *gift*
ȝure *your*

It will be found on examination that though many of the above *-e* are justified by the existence of some final vowel or syllable in Anglosaxon or Icelandic, not a few have been clearly subsequently developed. See supra, p. 345, note 2, and the Table, pp. 379-397.

2. LAȝAMON'S BRUT, BEGINNING OF XIII TH CENTURY.

Although Laȝamons Brut[1] is written in verse, yet the rhythm and orthography are so irregular that it is scarcely easier to conjecture the pronunciation than if it were mere prose. In fact with Orrmin we take leave of all certainty arising from metre or strict orthography. But the extraordinary diversity of spelling is of itself some assistance.

Weighing the results already obtained we cannot be very far wrong in supposing *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u* to be (aa a, ee e, ii i, oo o, uu u), with the doubtful (*i*) or (y) for *u* occasionally as in *lut*, *lutel*, *luðere* (l*i*t, l*i*t·el, l*i*dh·ere) few, little, wicked.[2] Again *æ* may be called (EE, E), and as *eo* interchanges with *e* it may be (ee) or (ee⌊o). *Ea* is rare and interchanges with *a*, so that it may be (ea) or even (eá) with a more distinct (a). Among the consonants ȝ, *h*, follow the same rule as in Orrmin, *ch* is of course (tsh), but (sh) does not seem to have been developed, as *sc* is constantly used.

On account of the extreme western locality of the author's residence ($3\frac{1}{2}$ miles south-east of Bewdley, in Worcestershire) there may have been many dialectic peculiarities which would tend to give the letters slightly different values from those thus assigned, but it seems probable that such a pronunciation as the following would have been intelligible.[3]

Laȝamon's Brut.	*Conjectured Pronunciation.*
Madden's edition, vol. i. p. 124, v. 2922.	
Sixti winter hefde Leir :	Siks·ti win·ter ɴeev·de Lair
þis lond al to welden.	dhis lond al to-weld·en.
þe king hefde þreo dohtren :	Dhe kiq ɴeev·de threo dokht·ren
bi his drihliche quen.	bii ɴis dri*h*·litshe kween.
nefde he nenne sune :	Neev·d ɴe nen·e suun·e,
þer fore he warð sari.	dheerfoor· ɴe wardh sar·i,
his manscipe to halden :	ɴis man·skiipe to hald·en,
buten þa þreo dohtren.	buut·en dha threo dokht·ren.

[1] Laȝamons Brut, or Chronicle of Britain; a poetical semi-saxon paraphrase of the Brut of Wace, now first published from the Cottonian manuscripts in the British Museum, accompanied by a literal translation, notes, and a grammatical glossary. By Sir Frederic Madden, K.H., keeper of the MSS. in the British Museum. Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1847. 3 vols, royal 8vo. The Cottonian MSS. are Calig. A. ix, the older version, which is attributed to the beginning of the XIII th century at latest, and Otho. C. xiii, which is of a much later date.

[2] The forms litul, li*ð*ere also occur. It is quite possible that in such words both modes of speech (lut·el, lit·el) occurred in these Western dialects, see p. 298, p. 300 note 2, and p. 424.

[3] The many interesting points which would arise from a careful study of the dialectic peculiarities indicated by the orthography are of course passed over here, as the object is only to ascertain the phonetic meaning of the letters, which is an entirely preliminary investigation without which the other could not properly succeed, but which is quite independent of any other research.

Þa ældeste dohter haihte Gornoille.
Þa oðer Regau.
Þa þridde Cordoille.
Heo wes þa ȝungeste suster:
a wliten alre uairest;
heo wes hire fader al swa leof:

swa his aȝene lif.
Þa ældede þe king:
& wakede an aðelan.
& he hine bi-þohte:
wet he don mahte.
of his kineriche:
æfter his deie.
He seide to himsuluen:
þat þat vuel wes:
Ic wlle mine riche to-don:
& allen minen dohtren.
& ȝeuen hem mine kine-þeode:

& twemen mine bearnen.
Ac ærst ic wille fondien:
whulchere beo mi beste freond.
and heo scal habbe þat beste del:

of mine drihlichen lon.
Þus þe king þohte:
and þer æfter he worhte.

Dha ELd·este dokh·ter naikhte Gornuil·e,
dha oo·dher Reeg·au
dha thrid·e Kordnil·e
Heo wes dha JUq·este sus·ter,
a lwii·ten al·re vair·est.
Heo wes niir·e faa·der al swa leof
swaa nis aagh·ene liif.
Dhaa ELd·ede dhe kiq
and waa·kede an aa·dhelan
and nee niin·e bithokht·e
whet ne doon makht·e
of his kin·eriitshe
EFt·er nis dai·e.
He said·e to him sel·ven,
dhat· dhat iivel wes:
Ik wil·e miin·e riitsh·e to-doon
and allen miin·en dokht·ren,
and JeeV·en nem miin·e kin·e-theo·de
and tweem·en miin·e bearn·en,
ak EErst ik wil·e fond·Jen
whilk·ere beo mi best·e freond,
and neo skal nab·e dhat best·e deel
Of miin·e drikh·litshen loon.[deel
Dhus dhe kiq thokht·e
and dheeraft·er ne workht·e.

Sir F. Madden's translation of the above, omitting the parts relating to the more modern text.

Sixty winters had Leir
this land 'all' to govern.
The king had three daughters
by his noble queen;
he had no son,—
therefore he was sorry,—
his honor to hold,
except the three daughters.
The eldest daughter hight Gornoille,
the second Regau,
the third Cordoille.
She was the youngest 'sister,'
of beauty fairest of all;
she was to her father as dear
as his own life!
Then the king grew old,
and weakened in strength,
and he bethought him
what he might do
with his kingdom,
after his day.
He said to himself
that that was evil:
"I will divide my realm
to 'all' my daughters,
'and give them my kingdom,
and share among my children;'
but first I will prove
which is my best friend,
and she shall have the best part
of my lordly land."
Thus the king thought,
and thereafter he wrought.

§ 3. *Prose Writings of the* XIII *th Century and Earlier.*

Here we have only the spelling to trust to, and to see whether the determination of the values of the letters by means of the poets is borne out by the systematic orthography of the prose writers. Very brief notices are all that need to be given.

1. ONLY ENGLISH PROCLAMATION OF HENRY III, 18 OCT. 1258.

This proclamation, issued by the barons in the king's name, has been fully considered in a separate work,[1] in which the pronunciation was assigned in accordance with the results at which I had then arrived,[2] but subsequent research has induced me slightly to alter my opinion on certain points. Considering that the document is formal, it seems probably that *ea, eo* had their full (éa, éo) sounds. It is even possible that *eow* may have been (éou) rather than (éu), but the constant practice of writing *ew* in *trewe* leads me to believe that the initial *eo* of this combination has to be read (e) simply. The occurrence of simple *ew*, however, casts some doubt upon this conclusion as respects the actual pronunciation of the scribe. There is probably little doubt that the more general pronunciation of *ea, eo*, at that time was (ee), and of *eow* (eu). The combination *oa* is rare. We have seen it rhyme with (aa) in Genesis and Exodus (p. 467), and the writer may have said (aa, *aa*, *aah*), the last as an intermediate sound. As a compromise I use (*aa*, *a*). The interchange of *æ*, *e* in *rædesmen redesmen*, seems to imply that *æ* had become simple (ee, e). In accordance with former usage (ai) is employed for *ei*, but we must not fail to observe the correspondence of the French *Fiz Geffrey*, p. 504, with the English *Geffrees sune* p. 505, shewing that the pronunciation (Dzhef·ree·) was then current (suprà p. 462). The name *Aldithel'* in the English, p. 504, and *Audithel'* in the French, p. 505, seems to be a contraction for the name *Aldidelege* in Staffordshire (Domesday Book, printed edition, fo. 250*b*, col. 2, photozincographed edition, *Staffordshire*, p. x. col. 2,) =*ald-ide-lege*, or ags. *eald yðа lega*, that is, *old-water-land*, compare Cædmon's *ea-stream-yðа*. Ide, still called (Iid) suprà p. 291, is in Devonshire (Domesday Book, fo. 101*b*, col. 2,) as also Ideford; Idehill is in Kent, Iden in Sussex. Hence the probable alteration of the name was (ald-ii·dha-lee·*gh*a, ald-ii·dhe-lai, auld-i-lai, aud-e-lai, AAD·lee, AAD·l*i*), compare *Audelay*, p. 449, n. 2, and the modern *Audley*. The other vowels and the consonants present no difficulty. The length of the vowels, where it differs in my scheme

[1] The only English Proclamation of Henry III, 18 October 1258, and its treatment by former editors and translators, considered and illustrated; to which are added editions of the Cuckoo Song and The Prisoner's Prayer, Lyrics of the XIII th century, London, 1868, 8vo. pp. 135, by the author of this treatise.

[2] The error of supposing long *i* to have been occasionally (ai), see suprà p. 279, was not detected till after the book had been printed off, and is referred to in the errata. The use of H e n r' . . . . s e n d e i g r e t i n g e for s e n d e þ, is well illustrated by Prof. F. J. Child, suprà p. 354, art. 51.

from that assigned to Anglosaxon, will generally be found justified by the spelling of Orrmin, or by more recent usage. The quantity of the Anglosaxon short vowels seems to have frequently suffered in passing through the Norman period of repression, when the language ceased to be cultivated by men of letters.

The complete proclamation, with the French original, is here reproduced from the stereotype plates of the work cited in note 1, in order that the first correct presentation of this venerable and interesting document may be preserved for the use of the Early English Text Society. To insure accuracy, the proofs had been compared three times with the originals in the Public Record Office. A few very slight inaccuracies in the stereotype plates have been removed in this edition, after a fourth comparison. The bracketed numbers refer to the numbers of the lines in the original MSS.

The following is an abstract of the history of this important proclamation, the only public English document known to have been issued under our Norman kings. On account of the quarrels between Henry III. and his barons, the latter were summoned to Westminster 7 April, 1258, when Henry submitted himself to a Council of Twenty-four, twelve chosen by himself, and twelve by the Barons, or, as they called themselves, the Commons. This Council appointed a Committee of Four to choose a Cabinet of Fifteen. To this Council and Cabinet were due the provisions of Oxford, 11 June 1258, which ordered a Parliament consisting of the Fifteen, and Twelve Magnates to meet three times a year, and for the first time on 6 October 1258. At this Parliament the following Proclamation was agreed to, and issued in Latin, French, and English. The Latin version has not yet been found. There are two copies of the French, and one of the English in existence. The French version which follows contains the names of thirteen out of the Cabinet of Fifteen, and three from among the first appointed Twelve Parliamentary Magnates. The object of the Proclamation, was to make each man in the country take the oath already taken by the King and the Commons at Oxford, pledging him to obey the Council of Twenty-four, to assist it to the utmost of his power, and to oppose its enemies.

The English proclamation seems to have been published from the original by Somner 1659, Hearne 1720, Henshall 1798, the Record Commission (in its edition of Rymer's Fœdera 1816,) the Master of the Rolls (in Sir H. James' photozincographed National Manuscripts 1865), and, in part, by Astle 1803 (in facsimile), but in all cases incorrectly, and the errors made by these editors have increased in the hands of Tyrrel 1700, Lyttelton 1767, Henry 1781-93, Latham 1841, and Koch 1863, who followed Somner; and Craik 1851, who followed Rymer. Pauli 1853, and Regel 1856 (who is followed by Marsh 1862,) conjecturally, and on the whole satisfactorily, amended Rymer by means of the French version, which has been published by Rymer and Pauli only, but the latter merely transcribed the former, leaving a grievous blunder uncorrected. Some of the errors of these various editions are given on page 504.

OLD FRENCH VERSION.

Patent Roll, 42 *Henry* III. *m.* 1, *n.* 1.

[1] Henrí par la grace deu Reỳ de Englet're Sire de Irlande. Duc de Normandie de Aqui'en *et* Cunte de Angou. a tuz ſes feaus Clers et Laỳs saluz. Sachez ke nuſ uolons *et* otrions ke ce ke noſtre conseil [2] v la greignure partíe de eus kí est esluz par nuſ *et* par le co'mun de noſtre Reaume a fet v fera al honur de deu *et* noſtre feí *et* pur le p'fit de noſtre Reaume ſicum il ordenera ſ' feit ferm *et* eſtable [3] en tutteſ choſeſ a tuz íurz. Et comandons *et* enioínons a tuz noz feaus *et* leaus en la feí kıl nus deíuent kıl fermement teígnent *et* íurgent a tenír *et* a maíntenír les eſtabliſſemenz [4] ke ſunt fet v ſunt a fere par lauant dıt Cunseıl v la

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Modern English Translation of Old English Version.

[1] Henry, by the grace of God, king of England, Lord of Ireland, Duke of Normandy, of Aquitaine, and Earl of Anjou, sends greetings to all his lieges, clerical and lay, in Huntingdonshire. [2] That know ye well all, that we will and grant that that which our councillors, all or the greater part of them, that have been chosen by us, and by the people of the country of our kingdom, have done, and shall [3] do, to the glory of God, and in furtherance of our allegiance, for the benefit of the country, by the provision of the aforesaid councillors, be stedfast and lasting in all things ever without end. And we call upon [4] all our lieges in the allegiance that they owe us, that they stedfastly hold and swear to hold and to defend the acts that have been passed, or shall be passed by the aforesaid councillors, [5] or by the

OLD ENGLISH VERSION.

Patent Roll, 43 Henry III. m. 15., n. 40

[1] ¶ Henr' þurȝ godes fultume king on Engleneloande. Lhoauerd on Yrloand'. Duk on Norm' on Aquitain' and eorl on Anȝow Send igretinge to alle hise holde ilærde and ileawede on Huntendon'schir' [2] þæt witen ȝe wel alle þæt *we* willen and vnnen þæt. þæt vre rædesmen alle oþer þe moare dæl of heom þæt beoþ ichosen þurȝ us and þurȝ þæt loandes folk on vre kuneriche. habbeþ idon and schullen [3] don in þe worþnesse of gode and on vre treowþe. for þe freme of þe loande. þurȝ þe besiȝte of þan to forenisceide redesmen: beo stedefæst and ilestinde in alle þinge abuten ænde. And we hoaten [4] alle vre treowe in þe treowþe þæt heo vs oȝen. þæt heo stedefæstliche healden and swerien to healden and to werien þo isetnesses þæt beon imakede and beon to makien þurȝ þan to foren iseide rædesmen. [5] oþer þurȝ þe

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Conjectured Pronunciation of Old English Version.

[1] Hen·rii thurkh God·es ful·tume kiq on Eq·lenel*a*n·de, lh*a*v·erd on Iir·l*a*nde, Dyyk on Normandii, on Akitain·e and eorl on Andzhuu·, send igreet·iqe to al·e his·e hold·e ileer·de and ilee·wede on Hun·tendooneshii·re. [2] Dhet wii·ten ȝe wel al·e, dhet we wil·en and un·en dhet, dhet uu·re ree·desmen al·e odh·er dhe m*aa*·re deel of heom, dhet beoth itshoo·sen thurkh us, and thurkh dhet l*a*nd·es folk on uu·re kin·eriitshe, hab·eth idoon· and shul·en [3] doon, in dhe worth·nese of God·e and on uu·re treuth·e, for dhe free·me of dhe l*a*nd·e, thurkh dhe besi*kh*·te of than to foo·renisaide ree·desmen, beo stee·defest and iles·tinde in al·e thiq·e abuut·en en·de. And we h*aa*·ten [4] al·e uu·re treu·e in dhe treuth·e dhet heo us oogh·en, dhet heo stee·defestliitshe heald·en and swee·rien to heald·en and to weer·ien dho iset·neses dhet beon imaa·kede and beon to maak·ien thurkh dhan to foo·ren isaid·e ree·desmen, [5] odh·er thurkh dhe

Old French Version.—(Continued.)

greígnure partíe de eus. en la maníere kıl eſt dıt deſuz. *et* kıl ſentreeident a ee fere par meiſmes tel s'ment eunt' tutte genz [5] dreit feſant et p'nant. *et* ke nul ne preigne de t're ne de moeble par queí eeſte purueance puiſſe eſtre deſturbee v empiree en nule manere. *et* ſe nul v nus viegnent eneunt' eeſte chose [6] nuſ uolons *et* comandons ke tuz noſ feaus *et* leaus le teígnent a enemí mortel. *et* pur ee ke nus volons ke eeste chose feit ferme *et* eſtable: noſ enueons noſ lettres ou'tes ſeelees de n're [7] ſeel en cheſcun Cunte a demorer la entreſor. Tesmoín Meímeiſmes a Londres le Dıſutíme Iur de Octobre lan de noſtre regne Q'raunte ſecund. Et eeſte chose fu fete deuant Boneface Aree[8]eueske de Cantrebur'. Gaut' de Cantelou. Eueske de Wyreceſtr'. Símon de Montfort. Cunte de Leyceſtr'. Richard de Clare Cunte de Glouceſtr' *et* de Hertford. Rog'

Modern English Translation of Old English Version.—(Con.)

greater part of them, as it has been before said. And that each help the other so to do by that same oath, against all men, doing and receiving justice. And let no man take any land or [6] chattel, whereby this provision may be let or impaired in any wise. And if any person or persons oppose this provision, we will and enjoin that all our lieges hold them as mortal enemies. And because [7] we will that this should be stedfast and lasting, we send you this letter patent signed with our seal, to hold among you in the treasury. Witnesses ourselves at London, the eighteenth day of the month [8] of October, in the two and fortieth year of our reign. And this was done in the presence of our sworn councillors, Boneface, archbishop of Canterbury; Walter of Cantelow, bishop of Worcester; [9] Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester; Richard of Clare, earl of Gloucester and Hertford; Roger

Old English Version.—(Continued.)

moare dæl of heom alſwo alſe hít ıf bíforen ıſeid. And þæt æhc oþer helpe þæt for to done bí þan ılche oþe aȝenef alle men. Rıȝt for to done and to foangen. And noan ne níme of loande ne of [6] eȝte. wherþurȝ þıf beſiȝte muȝe beon ılet oþer ıwerſed on oníe wıſe. And ȝıf oní oþer oníe cumen her onȝenef: we wıllen and *hoaten* þæt alle vre treowe heom healden deadlıche ıfoan. And for þæt [7] we wıllen þæt þıf beo ſtedefæſt and leſtınde: we ſenden ȝew þıf wrít open ıſeíned wıþ vre ſeel. to halden a mangef ȝew ínehord. Wítneſſe vf ſeluen æt Lunden'. þane Eȝtetenþe daȳ. on þe Monþe [8] of Octobr' In þe Twoandfowertıȝþe ȝeare of vre cruníngе. And þıf weſ ıdon ætforen vre ıſworene redeſmen. Bonefac' Archebıſchop on Kant'-bur'. Walt' of Cantelow. Bıſchop on Wırecheſtr'. [9] Sım' of Muntfort. Eorl on Leircheſtr'. Rıc' of Clar' eorl on Glowchestr' and on Hurtford.' Rog'

Conjectured Pronunciation of Old English Version.—(Con.)

m*aa*·re deel of ʜeom al·swo als·e ʜit iz bifoo·ren isaid·. And dhet eetsh oodh·er ʜelp·e dhet for to doon·e bii dhaan il·tshe ooth·e ȷee·nes al·e men, ri*kh*t for to doon·e and to f*aq*·en. And n*aa*n ne nii·me of l*a*nd·e ne of [6] e*kh*t·e, wheerthurkh· dhis besi*kh*t·e muugh·e beon ilet· odh·er iwers·ed on on·ie wiise. And ȷif on·i odh·er on·ie kuum·en ʜeer onȷee·nes, we wil·en and ʜ*aa*·ten dhet al·e uu·re treu·e ʜeom ʜeald·en dead·litshe if*aa*n· And for dhet [7] we wil·en dhet dhis beo stee·defest and lest·inde, we send·en ȷeu dhis r*ui*t oop·en isain·ed with uu·re seel, to ʜald·en amaq·es ȷeu in·e ʜoord. Wıt·nese us selv·en et Lun·deene, dhaan·e e*kh*t·etenthe dai, on dhe moonth·e [8] of Oktoo·ber in dhe twoo and foour·ti*kh*thе ȷear·e of uu·re kruun·iqe. And dhis wes idoon· etfoo·ren uu·reiswoo·reneree·desmen, Bon·efaase, Ar·tshebish·op on Kan·-terber·i; Walt·er of Kan·teloou, bish·op on Wii·retshester; [9] Sii·moon of Munt·fort, eorl on Lair·tshester; Rii·tshard of Klaa·re, eorl on Gloou·tshester and on Hert·ford; Rodzh·er

Old French Version.—(Continued.)

le Bigod Cunte de [9] Norf' *et* Mareſchal de Englet're Humfreỳ de Bohun Cunte de Hereford. Piere de Saueỳe. Gulame de forz. Cunte de Aubemarle. Iohan de Plesseiz Cunte de Warrewỳk'. Rog' de Quencỳ [10] Cunte de Wỳnceſtr'. Iohan le Fiz Geffreỳ. Piere de Muntfort. Richard de Greỳ Rog' de Mortemer Iames de Audithel. *et* Hug' le Despens'.

Modern English Translation of Old English Version.—(Con.)

Bigod, earl of Norfolk and Marshal of England: Peter of Savoy; William de Fort, earl of Albemarle; [10] John de Plessis, earl of Warwick; John Fitz Geoffrey; Peter de Montfort; Richard de Grey; Roger de Mortimer; James Audley, and in the presence of other kinsmen.

[11] And in exactly the same words it has been sent into every other shire throughout the kingdom of England and also in till Ireland.

Principal errors of former editions. Only such blunders are here given as make nonsense of the original. The numbers refer to the lines of the MS., the spaced letters to the original, and the italics to the errors.

S e n d i g r e t i n g e 1, Tyrrel, Henry, Latham: *send I greting.*

h o l d e i l æ r d e 1, Henshall: *hol theilaerde.*

f r e m e 3, Somner: *freine;* Henshall *freime.*

i l e h e o þ e 5, Tyrrel, Henry, Lyttelton: *ilche other.*

R i ȝ t 5, Somner: (*in alle þinge þæt*) *ogt;* Tyrrel: (*in all thinge thæt*) *ogt;* Henry, Lyttelton: *in alle thet heo ogt;* Craik: [*in alle thaet heo*] *oght.*

n o a n n e n i m e o f 5, Somner, Tyrrel, Henry, Henshall, Rymer, Craik: *noan ne mine of;* Latham: *noan ne of mine.*

e ȝ t e. w h e r þ u r ȝ 6, Somner: *egtewhær þurg;* Tyrrel, Henry: *egetewher thurg;* Latham: *egetewhere, thurg;* Henshall: *egte-whær, thurg;* Rymer: *egteohæro þurg;* Craik: *eghteohæro, thurg.*

d e a d l i c h e i f o a n 6, Somner, Tyrrel, Henry, Latham, Rymer, Craik: *deadlicheistan;;* Henshall: *deadliche. If than.*

In consequence of these errors the translations given by Somner,

Old English Version.—(Continued.)

Bigod eorl on Northfolk' and Mareſcal on Engleneloand.' Perref of Sauueye. Will' of Fort eorl on Aubem'. [10] Ioh' of Pleſſeiz. eorl on Warewik Ioh' Geffreef ſune. Perref of Muntfort. Ric' of Grey. Rog' of Mortemer. Iamef of Aldithel' and ætforen oþre moȝe.

[11] ¶ And al on þo ilche worden if iſend in to æurihee oþre sheire ouer al þære kuneriche on Engleneloande. and ek in tel Irelonde.

Conjectured Pronunciation of Old English Version.—(Con.)

Bii·god, eorl on North·folke and Maa·reskal on Eq·lenel*a*nd·e. Per·es of Savai·e; Wil·helm of Fort, eorl on Au·bemarle; [10] Dzhoon of Ples·aiz, eorl on Waa·rewiike; Dzhoon Dzhef·rees suun·e; Per·es of Munt·fort; Rii·tshard of Grai; Rodzh·er of Mor·temer; Dzhaam·ez of Al·dithel, and etfoo·ren oodh·re moogh·e

[11] And al on dho il·tshe word·en is isend· in to ev·ritshe oodh·re shii·re oo·ver al dhee·re kin·eriitshe on Eq·lenel*a*nde, and eek in til Iir·l*a*nde.

Henry, Latham, and Craik of the passage: And þæt æhe oþer helpe .... deadliche ifoan, 5, 6, are ludicrously wrong.

Somner's Latin version is: "Et quod unusquisque, vigore ejusdem juramenti, contra omnes homines, in omnibus tum faciendis, tum recipiendis, ut id ita fiat et observetur, alter alteri sint auxilio. Et (quod) nullus sive de terrâ (vel, gente) meâ, sive quacunque aliâ, per consilium hujusmodi (hujus scil. consilii obeundi causâ) impediatur, sive damnum patiatur, ullo modo. Et si quis, sive vir sive fæmina, huic (edicto) contravenerit, volumus et mandamus ut omnes fideles nostri eos habeant infensissimos."

Craik's English version is: "And that each other help that for to do, by them (to) each other against all men (in all that they) ought for to do and to promote. And none, nor of my land nor elsewhere, through this business may be let (hindered) or damaged in anywise. And if any man or any woman come them against, we will and enjoin that all our lieges them hold deadly foes."

The most remarkable error in the copy of the French version printed in Rymer is: *nos Giueons*, for nos enueons 6, which has the false appearance of an appropriation of a Saxon word by the Normans, with a French inflexion,—a philological curiosity!

2. ANCREN RIWLE, XIII TH CENTURY.

The ANCREN RIWLE and the HALI MEIDENHAD may be considered together.[1]

In the ANCREN RIWLE it will be seen that the simple vowels *a, e, i, o, u* must be taken as usual to mean (aa a, ee e, ii i, oo o, uu u), with a much larger allowance of *u* = (y) or (i, e) than is found, except in the west of England. Thus we have *gult, cluppen, fustes, fur, lupes, lut, nule,* for guilt, clip (embrace), fists, fire, lips, little, n'ill. Besides this there is a very extensive assortment of diphthongs and even triphthongs, which should be apparently pronounced thus: *ai, au, ea, ei, eo, eu, oa, oi, ou, ui* = (ai, au, eea ea, ai, eeo eo, eu, ooa, uui, oou ou, ui). The *oa, oi, ui* as in *bloawen bloamen buine* are too rare to form a good judgment on.

The combination *iw* which only occurs in the foreign word *riwl* is most probably intended to give the sound (yy), for it is scarcely possible to imagine that (yy) could not have been pronounced, and that therefore *iw* = (iu).[2] On account of the action of the (r) the sound (riul) is difficult to enunciate purely, and (rʊʊl, ryyl, rɪɪl) are all easier, and they are consequently still in use provincially.

The following brief example from p. 70 of the Ancren Riwle,[3] will shew the effect of these assumptions, and will render an example from Hali Meidenhad needless:

Original Text.	*Conjectured Pronunciation.*
Muche fol he were, þe muhte, to his owene bihoue, hweðer se he wolde, grinden greot oþer hwete, ȝif he grunde þet greot *and* lefde þene hwete. Hwete is holi speche, ase Seint Anselme seiþ. Heo grint greot ðe cheflеð. Þe two cheoken beoð þe two grinstones. Þe tunge is þe cleppe. Lokeð, leoue sustren, þet ouwer cheoken ne grinden neuer	Mutsh·e fool hee weer·e, dhe mukht·e, to his oou·ene bihoo·ve, whedh·er see he wold·e, grind·en greeot oo·dher wheet·e, jif he grund·e dhet greeot and leev·de dheen·e wheet·e. Wheet·e is hool·i speetsh·e, as·e Saint Anselm·e saith. Heeo grint greeot dhe tsheef·leth. Dhe twoo tsheek·en beoth dhe twoo grin·stoon·es.[4] Dhe tuq·e is the klep·e. Look·eth, leo·ve sustren, dhet oou·er tsheok·en ne grind·en nev·er

[1] The *Ancren Riwle;* a treatise on the Rules and Duties of Monastic Life, edited and translated from a Semi-Saxon MS. of the thirteenth century by James Morton, B.D., vicar of Holbeach, prebendary of Lincoln; printed for the Camden Society, 1853, London, 4to. *Hali Meidenhad,* from MS. Cott. Titus D. xviii, fol. 112 c., an alliterative homily of the thirteenth century, edited by Oswald Cockayne, M.A., London, 1866, 8vo. pp. viii, 50; E. E. T. S.

[2] As the combination *iw* does not occur in other words, and as *riule, reule* are found in very old Norman, the point must be considered doubtful. In the XIV th century the sound was almost certainly (ryy·le). Mr. Payne is inclined to think that the old Norman sound was (riú·le).

[3] The proof was read by Mr. Brock by the original MS., Cott. Nero A. xiv.

[4] The "colloquial" pronunciation (grin·stən), mentioned by Smart, is thus shewn to be very ancient, and becomes a proof that *grind* was formerly (grind) not (grəind), suprà p. 276, and p. 290, l. 3.

bute soule uode : ne our earen ne herenen neuer bute soule heale : *and* nout one our earen, auh ower eie þurles tuneð agein idel speche : þet to ou ne cume no tale, ne tiðinge of þe worlde.

buut·e sooul·e vood·e ; ne oour ea·ren ne nerk·nen nev·er buut·e sooul·e neal·e ; and nout oon·e oour eea·ren, aukh oou·er ai·e thirl·es tuun·eth ajain· ii·del speetsh·e ; dhet to oou ne kunm·e ne taal·e netiidh·iqe of dhe worlde.

Verbal Translation.

Much fool he were, that might, to his own behoof, whether so he would, grind chaff (grits) or wheat, if he ground the chaff and left the wheat. Wheat is holy speech, as Saint Anselm saith. She grinds chaff that chaffs (chatters). The two cheeks are the two grindstones. The tongue is the clapper. Look, dear sisters, that your cheeks do not grind never but soul's food; nor your ears do not harken never but to soul's health; and not only your ears, but your eye's windows fence against idle speech; (so) that to you (may) not come neither tale nor tiding of the world.

3. Old English Homilies, xii th Century.

The venerable homilies lately disinterred by Mr. Morris[1] cannot be read in any other way than the Ancren Riwle. The values of all the letters and combinations seem to be completely known, and no further change can be expected. A very brief example will therefore suffice. In the following, the original text is exactly reproduced except in [1]*mid* for *mið*, [2]*wolde* for *walde*, [3]*gað* for *gad*, [4]*doð* for *deð*, [5]*bulke* for *buke*. The *leinten* for *lenten* at the beginning, may, as so many other evidently are, be a dialectic pronunciation, and is comparable with *fleish* for *flesh* (suprà p. 473, n. 1), but Stratmann quotes the same form from Wright, Vocab. 90, Rob. Gloue. 187, 8. The experiment of writing (y) for *u*, when it may be (i, e), and (ei) for *ei*, as being older forms, has here been made.

Original Text, p. 25.

Dominica Prima in Quadrigesima.

[I]n leinten tiune uwile mon gað to scrifte ; þer beoð summe þe mare herm is þe gað al swa ie nuþe eow tellen wulle. He seið mid[1] þa muðe þet nis naut in his heorte. ie wulle gan to scrifte for scome alswa doð oðer men. ȝif ie forlete þe preost me wolde[2] eskien on ester dei hwa me scriue er he me ȝefe husul *and* ec for monne weordes ðinge. he ne gað[3] naut to scrifte al swa doð oðer men.

Conjectured Pronunciation.

First Sunday in Lent.

In lein·ten tii·me y·wilk mon gaath to skrift·e. Dher beoth sum·e, dhe maa·re herm is dhe gaath, alswaa· ik nuu·dhe jou tel·en wyl·e. He saith mid dha muu·dhe, dhet nis naut in his heorte : "Ik wyl·e gaan to skrif·te for skoo·me alswaa· dooth oo·dher men ; jif ik forlee·te, dhe preost me wol·de es·kien on eest·er dai whaa me skrii·ve, eer hee me jee·ve hus·ul, and eek for mon·e weor·des thiq·e." Hee no gaath naut to skrifte alswaa· dooth oo·dher men.

[1] In the same work with the *Moral Ode*, suprà p. 484, note 1.

Ah al swa he doð[4] swa þe swica þe biswikeð hine seolfe on ende *and* bið al swa is an eppel iheowes. he bið wiðuten feire *and* frakel wiðinne. Awah þet he efre wulle þristelechen oðer bi-þenchen mid his fule heorte þe heo wulle underfon swa heȝ þing *and* swa hali swa is *cristes* licome *in* his sunfulle bulke.[5] *and* wene ð þet hit wulle him helpen: Neisoð-liche nawiht ah þenne þe preost hit deð *in* his muþe. þenne cumeð drihtenes engel and binimeð þa halinesse mid him toward heouene riche. þet þer bileft ð *in* his muðe, ah ȝif eni mon hit muste isean. he mahte iseon ane berninde glede þet hine al for-berneð þurut to cole.

Akh alswaa· ne dooth, swaa dhe swiik·a dhee biswii·keth niin·e seol·fe on end·e, and biith alswaa· is an ep·el iheo·weth; nee biith withuu·ten fai·re, and frak·el within·e. Awakh·, dhet ne ev·re wyl·e thris·teletsh·en odh·er bi-then·tshen mid nis fuu·le neor·te, dhee neo wyl·e un·derfoon swaa nei thiq and swaa naa·li, swaa is Krist·es liic·oome in nis syn·fule bulk·e, and ween·eth dhet nit wyl·e nim nelpen! Nei, sooth·-liithshe naawikht! akh dhen·e dhe preost nit deeth in nis muu·the, dhen·e kuu·meth drikhtenes eq·el, and binii·meth dha naa·lines·e mid nim toward· neo·vene rii·tshe. Dhet dher bileth· in nis muu·the, akh nif en·i mon nit mus·te isee·an, ne makh·te isee·on aa·ne bern·ind·e gleed·e, dhet nii·ne al forbern·eth thuruut· to koole.

Mr. Morris's Translation, p. 24.

In Lenten time each man goes to confession; there are some to whom there is greater harm in going (than in abstaining), as I will now tell you. He saith with the mouth what is not in his heart. "I will go to shrift for shame, as other men do; if I neglect the priest will ask me on Easter day who shrove me, before he administer to me the sacrament, and also for the sake of man's esteem." He does not go to shrift as other [good] men do, but acts like the cheat who at last deceiveth himself, and is as a rosy apple—fair without and rotten within. Alas that he will ever dare or think with his foul heart to receive so high and so holy a thing as is Christ's flesh into his sinful body, and thinketh that it will help him. Nay truly not! but when the priest putteth it in his mouth, then cometh the Lord's angel and taketh the holiness with him toward heaven-kingdom. As for what remaineth there in his mouth, if any man were able to perceive it, he might see a burning gleed that consumes him all to coals.

§ 4. *Teutonic and Scandinavian Sources of the English Language.*

The pronunciation of English has now been traced up to the earliest period in which it is known in a literary form as distinct from Anglosaxon. To complete the edifice, some account must be attempted of the pronunciation of Anglo-saxon, the direct mother, and Old Norse, an important modifier of our tongue. These again point to Gothic as the oldest low German dialect that is known. It would be highly desirable to add an account of Old Norman, but no

sufficient researches have been made into that language to warrant any detailed statement of the pronunciation of that language. It must be therefore entirely passed over.[1]

[1] See the observations on p. 438, and the remarks on Norman *ai*, *ei*, p. 453. Dr. Rapp, while owning that the decyphering of the phonetic meaning of Northern and Old French documents was one of the most difficult parts of his task, has yet ventured to assign such definite values to the symbols as to give detailed specimens, which he has not attempted for Anglosaxon and Old Norse. Although I am far from agreeing with his results, which appear to be founded upon insufficient examination of the sources of information, the reader will probably be pleased to have a brief account of his opinions, Phys. d. Spr. ii, 82–117. The following seems to be his alphabet: A aa a, AI ee, AU au, B b, C k s sh, CH sh, D d, E *ee* e ə *ə*, EI *ei*, EU œ *ey*, G g zh, H ɲ, I ii, i, J zh, K k, L l, M m, N n, [AN aq, EN eq, IN iq, ON oq, UN yq, AIN EIN eq, OIN oiq, UIN uiq,] O *oo o* o, Œ œ, OI oi, OU u əu, P p, Q k, R r, S s, T t, [-NT -n, -q], U y o, UI úi, V v, X u s us ks, Y i, Z s ts. The following is a small portion of his example taken from *Etienne Barbazan*, Fabliaux et Contes des Poétes françois des XI, XII, XIII, XIV et XV siècles, 1808, 8vo. 4 vols., vol. 1, p. 82, the original text, which Rapp omits, is here added by way of comparison. As I have not been quite able to appreciate his system of accentuation, I omit it altogether. I have also forborne to correct any apparent errors, such as making *meisme* v. 35, of two, instead of three syllables.

Du Chevalier, qui ooit la Messe et Notre-Dame estoit pour lui au tournoiement.

Extrait d'un MS. de Sorbonne No. 331 (2).

Dous Jhesus, com eil bel guerroie,	Duus Zhesys, kom shil bel geroiə
Et come noblement tournoie,	*E* komə nobləmeq turnoiə
Qui volentiers au monstier tourne,	Ki voleqtiers au monstier turnə,
Où l'en le saint servise atourne	Uu l- *e*q lə seq servis- aturnə
Et celebre le saint mistere	*E* shelebrə lə seq misterə
Du doux Fils de la Vierge Mere.	Dy duus Fils de la Vierzhe Merə,
Pour ce vueil un conte retraire,	Puur she vœlɹ yq koqtə retreerə,
Si com le truis en exemplaire.	Si kom lə truis en eseqpleerə.—
Un Chevalier courtois et sages,	Yq shevalier kurtois *e* sazhəs,
Hardis et de grant vasselages,	Hardiis *e* de graq vaselazhəs,
Nus mieudres en Chevalerie,	Nyys miéudres eq shevaləriiə,
Moult amoit la Vierge Marie.	Mult amoit la Vierzhə Mariiə
Pour son barnage demener	Puur soq barnazhə demeneer
Et son franc cors d'armes pener,	*E* soq fraqk koors d- armos peneer
Aloit à son tournoiement,	Aloit a soq turnoiəmeq
Garnis de son contenement.	Garnis de soq koqtenəmeq
Au Dieu plesir ainsi avint,	Au Diœ plesiir eqsi aviq.
Que quant le jour du tournoi vint,	Ke kaq lə zhuur dy turnoi viq,
Il se hastoit de chevauchier:	Il se ɲastoit de shevaushieer;
Bien vousist etre en champ premier	Bieq vusit estr- eq shaq premieer.
D'une église qui près estoit	D- yn- egliso ki prest estoit,
Oï les sains que l'on sonoit	O,ii los seqs ke l- oq sonoit,
Pour la sainte Messe chanter.	Puur la seqtə mesə shaqteer.
Le Chevalier sans arrester	Lə shevalieer saqs aresteer
S'en est alé droit à l'église	S- en est alee droit a l- eglisə
Pour escouter le Dieu servise,	Puur eskuteer lə Diœ servisə;
L'en chantoit tanfost hautement	L- eq shaqtoit taqtost ɲautəmeq
Une Messe dévotement	Ynə mesə devotəmeq
De la sainte Vierge Marie,	De la seqtə Vierzhə Mariiə:
Puis a on autre comencie,	Puis a on autrə komeqshiiə,

1. ANGLOSAXON.

The value of the letters in Anglosaxon proper could not have materially differed from that which the whole of the preceding investigations has led us to assume for the letters used in the earlier part of the XIIIth and close of the XIIth century. The most remarkable difference was the vowel *y*, manifestly (yy, y), which however had become interchangeable with *i*, and therefore equivalent to (ii, i) or (*ii*, *i*) before the inflectional system of the Anglosaxon literature had disappeared. The vowel *æ* we may also assume to have had its deeper sound, now again familiar in England (ææ, æ). It is very probable that *a* was sounded fully as broad as (*aa*, *a*), but *e* was probably not so broad as (EE E) because it would have been otherwise confused with (ææ, æ). That short *i* was (*i*), from the Saxon times to the present day, there can be very little doubt, although, from having no direct authority for this conclusion, I have generally written it (i) before the XIVth century. But we

Le Chevalier bien l'escouta,		Lə shevalieer bieq l- eskuta,
De bon cuer la Dame pria.	32	De boq kœr la damə pria.
Et quant la Messe fut finée,		*E* kaq la mesə fyt fineeə
La tierce fu recomenciée		La tiershə fy rekomeqshieeə
Tantost en ce meisme lieu.		Tantost eq shə meesmə liœ.
Sire, pour la sainte char de Dieu,	36	Siir, pur la seqtə shar de Diœœ,
Ce li a dit son Escuier,		Shə li a dit son escuieer,
L'heure passe de tournoier,		L- œrə pasə de turnoieer,
Et vous que demourez ici ?		*E* vus kee demurees ishii ?
Venez vous en, je vous en pri,	40	Venees vus eq, zhə vus eq prii,
Volez vous devenir hermite,		Volees vus deveuiir nermitə,
Ou papelart, ou ypocrite ?		U papəlart u ipokritə ?
Alons-en à nostre mestier.		Aloqs eq a nostrə mestier.
Amis, ce dist li Chevalier,	44	Amiis, shə dist li shevalieer,
Cil tournoie moult noblement,		Shil turnoiə mult nobləmeq
Qui le servise Dieu entent,		Ki lə servisə Diœ eqteq ;
Quant les Messes seront trestoutes		Kaq ləs mesəs seroq trestutəs
Dittes, s'en irons à nos routes :	48	Dıtəs, s- en ıroqs a nos rutəs ;
Se Dieu plest, ains n'en partirai,		Se Diœœ plest, eqs n- eq partiree,
Et puis au Dieu plesir irai		*E* puis a Diœ plesir iree
Tournoier vigueureusement ;		Turnoieer vigœrœsəmeq ;
De ce ne tint parlement.	52	De shə ne tiq parləmeq.
Devers l'autel sa chiere tourne,		Devers l- autel sa shierə turnə,
En saintes oroisons séjourne		Eq seqtəs oroisoqs sezhurnə
Tant que toutes chantées furent,		Taq ke tutəs shaqteeəs fyrə,
Puis monterent, com fere durent,	56	Puis moqterə, kom ferə dyrə,
Et chevauchierent vers le leu		*E* shevaushierə vers lə lœœ
Ou fere devoient leur geu.		Uu ferə dəvoiə lœr zhœœ.

GLOSSAIRE.

3. monstier, *monastère*
8. truis, *troure*
11. mieudres, *meilleur*
13. barnage, *courage, force, valeur, noblesse*
14. pener, *tourmenter*
16. contenement, *état*
22. sains, *cloches.*
26. le Dieu servise, *le service de Dieu*
30. puis, *on en a une autre commencée*
39. que, *pourquoi demeurez-vous ici ?*
42. papelart, *faux dévot*
43. alons-en, *allons nous-en*
48. s'en irons, *si nous, et nous nous en irons*
55. tant que, *jusqu'à ce que.*

find (*i*) or even (*e*), so rooted in the North of Europe at the present day, among not merely the English, but the Scotch, Dutch, Danes, and Swedes, and above all, the Icelanders, who acknowledge it orthographically, that it presents the appearance of an original sound, rather than of a modern development. The *o* was almost certainly (oo o); the distinction (*oo* ɔ) is quite of modern growth, nor have we been led to suppose that there was any equivalent distinction from the XVI th century upwards. The *u* was perhaps (*uu u*) rather than (uu u) or (uu *u*), the modern use.

The digraphs *ea*, *eo* could scarcely have been (ja, jo) as Rask supposes, being misled apparently by modern Scandinavian usage. The confusions of *ea* with *æ* on the one hand, and *a* on the other, even in Anglosaxon, and its further confusion with *e* in more recent times, as the XIII th century, exclude the sound of (j) with certainty.[1] And similarly for (eo). But it is possible that they were occasionally pronounced with the second element more conspicuous than the first, so that though we may generally write (ea, eo), as true diphthongs, in the ordinary manner, it may be occasionally necessary to indicate the preponderance of the second element by writing (eá, eó) or perhaps more truly (eaa, eoo) which might fall into (aa, oo, uu). On examining the long list of Anglosaxon words commencing with *ea eo*, the following are all that I have noticed which could give rise to the notion of the pronunciation (ja jo), which Rask seems to have adopted through his own Scandinavian habits: *ealo* ale, vulgar (jel, jəl): *Eoforwic*, in Domesday *Eurvic*, York, with the secondary form *Eferwic; eond* yond, the proper form being *geond*, *eow* you; *eowu* ewe, dialectic (joo). Remembering how recently the sounds (w, j) have been prefixed to the English *one*, Scotch *ane* (won, jen), we can find no difficulty with these words. The Icelandic *Jarl*, which many persons rely upon for proving that ags. *eorl* must have been (jorl), was perhaps a derivative of *ar* the hearth, and was anciently applied to an upper domestic, whereas the ags. word was probably connected with the old Saxon *erl*, constantly used for *male*, *man*, and in the plural *erlos*, and compound *erlseepi* for *men*, *people*, collectively (Schmeller's *Heliand*, Gloss. p. 29). Hence the effect of palatisation can alone be relied on in support of this (j) theory.

Now the palatisation of a preceding *e* (k) into (*k*) would be produced by the simple action of the palatal (e) and would not require that that (e) should be squeezed into (i, j). Indeed, we have observed a tendency to palatisation in French and English before (a) sounds, which in French produced (kj, tsh, sh) (p. 53), but in English after flourishing for a little time as (ki, kj, kij) and still dragging out an obscure existence in a fast disappearing generation, or on the boards of second-rate theatres, (p. 206), is rapidly going out of use and favour.[2] In modern French, too, both (kj) and (gj) are used with-

[1] The isolated identification of *ea* with (je) in certain words, by Salesbury, we have seen reason to suppose was a misprint, p. 80.

[2] It is strongly marked in the dialects of the Peak of Derbyshire.

out any tendency to becoming (sh, zh) as in *queue, gueux* (kjœ, gjœ). Icelandic is a conspicuous example of the same, as k, g are there always palatised into (kj, gj) before (aa*i*, ee, *eei*, *i*, i, ɪ) without having the least tendency to become (tsh, dzh). The (k) itself is naturally an unstable letter; either the tongue has a tendency to rise, producing (kj), or the lips a tendency to round, producing (k*w*), and from these physiological actions can be traced a vast variety of changes in time and place. The same remarks apply also to (g) and to (kh, gh). A proper understanding of the relations, palatal (k, kj, tj, tsh, sh), and (kh, kjh, ɥh, ɪ, i), labial (k, ʀ, k*w*, w, b, p) and (kh, ʀh, k*w*h, wh, f) will serve to solve numerous riddles in comparative philology. Not only does, however, a palatal vowel by direct action, or occasionally a guttural vowel by contrary action, tend to palatalize a consonant, but also the presence of the liquids (l, m, n, r) produces the same effect in the Germanic languages, as we have already had occasion to observe (p. 205). It is curious to note how certain words, however, resist palatalization, while their fellows readily succumb to the influence, as in *drink drench*. The resistance to palatization is not purely Scotch. We find *werchen* in the PRISONER'S PRAYER, v. 41, and *werch* often in Chaucer, but we constantly find *werk*. In the ANCREN RIWLE, while *k* had yielded to (tsh) by itself, *sc* had not become (sh), as in Italy and Germany, and as generally in England at that time, and the modern *shot scot*, ags. sceat, shews both the palatized and unpalatalized form of the same word still current. Again although *ceale* is now *chalk* (*k*eálk, tshaak), and *ceap* is *cheap* (*k*éap, tsheep, tshiip), *ceald, cealf* are *cold, calf*[1] (*k*eáld, ka*u*ld, koold, koould, k*oo*ld; *k*eálf, ka*a*lf, kaaulf, kauf, kaaf), and if *cicen* has become *chicken* (tsh*i*k·en), altering the first and retaining the second (k), *cicene* has become *kitchen* (k*i*tsh·en) by a precisely contrary action. Again, the single word *wicca* seems to have given rise to both *witch* and *wicked*, (*wicke* in Orrminn) and similarly ags. *wic* gives *wick* as an independent word, also heard in *Wickham* and in terminations as *bailiwick, sheriffwick*, as well as *Berwick, Alnwick*, while in other cases it gives (w*i*tsh) as in *Ipswich*[2] or (*i*dzh) as in *Norwich*. Hence the pure (k) is no more the sign of a north country pronunciation than the (tsh) of the south; nor is it at all necessary to suppose that *ea, eo* were (ɥa, ɥo) to account for the change of a preceding (k) into (tsh).

As to the consonants generally there is very little to observe, except that probably (kj, gj) were well in use in the early Anglosaxon times, that *g* also probably became (*g*h) that is, (gjh) in many cases, in the same way as it now does in Iceland, and in Modern Saxony,[3] so that the preparation for the (ɪ) or simple (i) sound was early made. On the other hand, after (o, u) sounds and in other

[1] In Cumberland (k*oo*f).

[2] So called generally by persons living away from East Anglia. In Norwich I heard it called (*I*ps·*i*dzh) which follows the analogy of Norwich and Greenwich.

[3] Modern Saxon is *high* German, old Saxon and Anglosaxon *low* German. There was no connection between the two, and no connection is intended to be implied by this illustration. They are two independent phenomena.

places *g* may have had an early tendency to (g*w*h) as we also find in Icelandic, and thus prepared the subsequent changes (p. 212 and p. 311.)

The letter *h* seems to have naturally played a triple part, the three functions being frequently confused, and by no means generally understood at the present day. At the beginning of words *h* was either (ʜ) or (ʜ‘), probably sometimes one and sometimes the other as in modern English, and in almost all languages where *h* is pronounced at all. At the end of words, the (ʜ‘) was replaced by the (kh) which is an easier terminal sound, and more adapted to check a vowel sound. The initial combinations *hl*, *hr*, *hn*, *hw*, are ordinarily assumed to be (khl, khr, khn, khw) and at a remote period, before Anglosaxon was properly constituted, they may have been (kjhl, kjhr, kjhn, k*w*h). But it seems more probable that in the more cultivated period they were reduced to (lh, rh, nh, wh), the last (wh) remaining to the present day, although sadly neglected in the South of England, and the first (lh) existing in the XIII th century, though the second and third (rh, nh) rapidly disappeared. This view is strongly confirmed by the existent Icelandic pronunciation of *hj*, *hl*, *hn*, *hr*, *hv* as (ɟh, lh, nh, rh, wh). The device of prefixing *h* to form the symbols for these sounds, is so natural, that many persons still insist that the proper way of writing *when* is *hwen*, and when I was printing phonetically I found this position of the letters practically sufficient. An accurate analysis, however, would shew that (ʜ‘wen) was materially different from (when), and that therefore in all accurate phonetic writing the sounds should be distinguished.

The letter ƿ[1] I presume was (w), certainly not (v), and probably not (bh). It is supposed by some to be merely a variety of the medieval form of *r*, but I consider it to be rather the old rune called wén = hope, in Cotton MS. Otho B. 10, as quoted in Hickes's Anglosaxon Grammar (Thesaurus i. 135). The sound of *v* consonant in ancient Latin, is a matter of dispute; it was probably (w) or (bh), and more probably the latter than the former, because we can hardly imagine (w) generating (v) except through (bh), but the passage from (bh) to (v) is so easy and slight, that the two parts of Germany which are distinguished by the two different sounds at this day, profess to pronounce their *w* in the same way. (Bh) is a kind of bat sound, readily falling into (w) or (v), but the real (w) has a very moderate domain in Europe.[2] The (bh) is thoroughly established in high Germany and in Spain, where the old joke of

"felices populi quibus *vivere* est *bibere*"

[1] Mr. Skeat notices only seven or eight instances of the use of ƿ in Havelock, adding:- "This evidence is interesting as shewing that this letter was then fast going out of use, and I think we may safely date the final disdisappearance of this letter from MSS. at about 1300."—Havelock, Preface § 26.

[2] An accurate conception of the three sounds (w, bh, v) is necessary for the proper understanding of many linguistic relations. For (w) the lips are rounded nearly as for (u) and the

points at once to the antiquity of the sound in that country in which it is still used for both *b* and *v*, and to the probable pronunciation of *v* in Latin as (bh) at that time. The example of *καυνέας* being heard as *cav' n' eas* = *cave ne eas*, would be solved by the identity (kabhne· aas) in both languages at that time. At the time when the Anglosaxons, being Christianized, adopted the Christian Roman alphabet, the Roman *v* consonant was certainly (v), a sound which the Anglo-Saxons did not then distinguish from (f), as we have reason to suppose that the letter *f*, like the letter *s*, served the purposes of both hiss and buzz. The consequence was that the Anglosaxons had no sign for their *w* consonant, which was distinct from *v*, and they therefore retained their runic *ƿ*. For these reasons I think that *ƿ* was (w) not (v), and that the German habit of transliterating *ƿ* by *v* is improper.

The combinations cw, wl, wr, were probably the labial modifications (k*ʍ*, l*ʍ*, r*ʍ*). The first has been already explained. The other two still occur in French *loi*, *roi* = (l*ʍ*a, r*ʍ*a), confused with (lua, rua) on the one hand and (lwa, rwa) on the other, suprà p. 187. The action is however truly simultaneous. The ags. *wlaco* (l*ʍ*aa·ko) seems to have generated (luuk) in *lukewarm*, and

back of the tongue is raised, but the outer edges of the lips are brought more together than for (u), and the sound of (w) when continued is therefore a *buzz*, a mixture of voice and whisper, and not a pure vowel sound. When the buzz is strong the tremor of the lips is very perceptible, and a little more force produces the labial trill (brh). If the voice is removed we have (wh), and the back of the tongue being raised as before mentioned, the slightest effort suffices to raise it higher and produce (k*ʍ*h). This gives the relation between the gutturals and labials which plays such an important part in comparative philology. On the other hand, for (bh) the tongue is *not* raised, the sound is a pure labial, less like (u), but easily deduced from (w) by lowering the tongue and slightly flattening the lips. It is, to those used to it, an extremely easy and pleasant consonant, produced with the least possible effort. By dropping the voice it produces (ph), which is not now used in Europe, but was probably a value of *φ*. For (w, bh) there must be no contact with the teeth. Directly the lower lip touches the upper teeth, an impediment is raised to the passage of the air through the mouth, and the breath, escaping out on both sides, produces a rushing, rubbing, rustling sound, distinctive of the "divided" consonants, and known as (v), which, on dropping the voice, becomes (f). But all degrees of contact between the lower lip and the teeth are possible, producing varieties of (f, v), from sounds which can scarcely be distinguished from (ph, bh), up to extremely harsh hisses and buzzes. Generally, then, (w) is a consonant framed from (u) by closing the lips too closely to allow of a pure resonance for the vowel sound; (bh) is a (b) with the lips just slightly opened, or a (v) without touching the teeth, that is, a pure labial; (v) is a denti-labial. The (w) is further distinguished from (bh, v) by having the tongue raised. It is possible, of course to raise the tongue when sounding (v); the result is (vh), a very peculiar and disagreeable sound. But if the tongue is raised when sounding (bh) no ear would distinguish the result from (w). The following words should be carefully pronounced to shew these differences: Fr. *oüi*, *oui*; Eng. *we*, German *wie*, Fr. *vie* = (u,i úi wii bhii vii), Dutch letters u, v, w = (yy, vee, bhee); usual Scotch *quhen*, English *when*, Aberdeenshire *fen* = (k*ʍ*hEn, when, fEn); usual German *schreiben*, faulty German *schreiwen* = (shrai·bən, shrai·bhən); German *pferd* now (pfert), once probably (pphert) and in some Bavarian dialects (puert).

wlite (lwii·te) has become (loo·te), *lote*, countenance in G. and E. 1162, 2328. On the other hand, as *wrong* exists as (vraq) in Aberdeenshire, so *wlæneo* (lwæqk·o) generated the Scotch *wlonk* (vlɔqk) the origin of our *flunkey*. In ags. wlips (lwips) the labial modification has been simply dropped in Chaucer's *lipsen* 266, Sir T. Smith's (lips) and our *lisp*. Ags. *wlætian* to nauseate, loath, seems to be lost, but (lwat) and (laadh) = ags. láð, loath, are closely related in sound. *Wl*, *wr*, could scarcely be pronounced initially as (wl-, wr-), but would require the insertion of (ˈ), thus (wˈl-, wˈr-), as seems to be the case in some Scotch dialects at the present day (p. 290.) The mode of writing would then be similar to that adopted for *hl*, *hr* = (lh, rh). The reason why *cw* was used in preference to *we*, is probably to be sought in the Latin *qu*, and the probability that (kw-) being sounded with tolerable ease may have been confused with the correct sound (k*w*), for which there was a single character both in the Runic and Gothic alphabets.

The letter (g) of the Roman alphabet was also not quite the same as the ags. *g* in all cases. In later stages of the language, as in the XIIIth century, two forms (g, ȝ) are found in use, the latter of which, under the form ȝ became confused with z in writing, and subsequently in printing (p. 310). But the Roman *g* represented some of the sounds of ags. *g* and hence the Anglosaxons found no more difficulty in using it than is now felt by the modern high Germans. The two sounds (th, dh) however, had no Latin equivalent. Though the old Latins had introduced *th*, *ch*, for the Greek sounds θ, χ, the probability is that these letters were never properly pronounced, and that at the period in question they were merely (t, k) as at present in Italy, and therefore quite unsuited for Anglosaxon. Hence the necessity for þ ð, the former a rune, the latter a modified *d*, whereas the use of *y* for (y) would imply that the Latins still made some distinction between *i* and *y*.

What were the precise meanings of þ ð, or rather how the meanings (th, dh) were distributed over them, it does not seem possible to elicit from the confused state of existing manuscripts. It is generally accepted that þ is (th) and ð is (dh),[1] yet þ is generally employed in initials, and ð elsewhere, quite disregardful of modern usage, which we know has remained unaltered for 300 years, and therefore might be supposed to represent the old practice. We find, however, in modern Icelandic, a systematic adherence to the rule

[1] Mr. Oswald Cockayne seems to consider ð = (th), and þ = (dh), for in the preface to his edition of Hali Meidenhad (suprà p. 506, n. 1), which is otherwise in ordinary orthography, he generally, but not quite consistently, employs þ ð in these senses. Thus I find: þe, þis, þose, þat, þey, þem, þeir, but: þirteenþ, faiþ, and in one place: auþor, though in three other cases: auðor, is writen; with this last spelling agrees: lengð, deað, and, perhaps: wið, which some still call (with), but then we also find: ðough. These inconsistencies in a modern writer who was evidently desirous of indicating the two sounds (th, dh) by appropriate letters may serve to explain the numerous inconsisteneies of ancient and perhaps less careful scribes, who were certainly not less intending to carry out theoretical conceptions of orthography. See infrà, No. 2, under ð þ in the Icelandic Alphabet.

of initial Þ and medial and final ð in writing, and a uniform corresponding pronunciation of (th) for Þ and (dh) for ð. Hence we should not be justified in pronouncing pure Anglosaxon in any other way, and we must suppose the change to have occurred[1] in the transition period from pure Anglosaxon to Early English.

In the above remarks we have endeavoured to assign the probable values of the Anglosaxon letters from the conclusions to which we were gradually led for the XIIIth century, but these values differ materially from those assigned by our native Anglosaxon scholars. We have seen (p. 255, note 1) that one of them, an excellent scholar, who has paid much attention to the subject, decidedly calls long *i* (ɔi), long *e* (ii), long *a* (oo), long *u* (ɔu). The well known scholar, Benjamin Thorpe, evidently made long *i* (ɔi), and short *u* (ɔ), although he makes long *e* and *u* in Orrmin (ee, uu), see p. 487, note. Now it is certainly desirable to have some direct evidence as to the sounds of these long vowels, and this seems to be furnished by a valuable and interesting MS. at Oxford, to which attention was drawn by Hickes,[2] who gave some extracts from it, which will be here reproduced. In order to correct the errors in Hickes's transcription, Mr. G. Waring, of Oxford, obligingly collated the text with the MS., and has subsequently compared the proofs of the extracts with the original. I am also indebted to him for the account of the MS. given below.[3]

[1] Usage is not yet quite fixed in some few cases. *Meath* and *Louth* are commonly called (Miith, Lɔuth) by the uninitiated, and (Miidh, Lɔudh) comes on them as a surprise. *With* the preposition was always (with) in the XVIth century, and *with* the substantive is still so called. Sometimes an arbitrary distinction is made. Dr. R. G. Latham calls himself (Leth·ɐm), but informs me that his family says (Ledh·ɐm). This is an instance of a variation of the medial *th*, which, so far as I can recall, is always (dh) in ordinary words. The change of final (dh) to (th) is natural enough, through the frequent use of (-dhth) as in *breathe* = (briidhth) at the end of a sentence, or when prolonged without a following vowel. The initial change has only affected the common words: that, the, thee, their, them, then, thence, there and its compounds, these, they, thine, this, those, thou, though, thus, thy. These have all (th) so far as they exist in Icelandic. But it must be remembered that we have a western dialect which uses (dh) initially in all cases. It would be interesting to know if there are any dialects which use (th) initially in all. Enclitically and after words ending with *d*, *t* we know that so late as Orrmin, and even later, Þ became t, and not d, even in Þat, Þu, etc., and even after d, which is rather in favour of a (th) than a (dh) sound. But see a different use, p. 444, note 2.

[2] Linguarum Vett. Septentrionalium Thesaurus grammatico-criticus et archæologicus. Auctore *Georgio Hickesio*, S.T.P. Oxford, 1705, folio, 3 vols; preface p. xi.

[3] The MS. is thus described by Hickes: "Dum in Bibliotheca Bodleyana Codd. Saxonicos perscrutarer, inveni pervetustum librum MS. cujus nota, NE. D. 2. 19. in quo quidem libro nonnullæ lectiones è veteris testamenti LXXII. interpretum versione Græca, cum Latina translatione ex adverso in alterâ columnâ scriptâ, Saxonicis literis describuntur." Mr. Waring says that the present signature of the MS. is Auct. F. 4. 32. It is a small quarto volume containing several unconnected pieces of great age and value. On the first page is a figure of Christ with an entry stating it to have been drawn by the hand of St. Dunstan. Fo. 1-8, "In honomatis sumi tonantis ars Euticis Gramatici." with several interlinear glosses, partly Latin and partly Old British.—Fo. 10-18. Anglosaxon homily on the Invention of the

The peculiarity of this manuscript is that it gives certain Greek texts in Anglosaxon characters, which are seen immediately not to reproduce the original letters, but to be intended to represent the sounds in reading. There is no indication of the age of the MS. in any part of the book, but Mr. Waring thinks that these transcriptions were probably written in the latter half of the x th century.[1] Now we shall see that Greek was at that time probably pronounced almost, if not quite, as at present. Hence, by comparing the letters by which the Anglosaxon scribe translated the Greek sounds, we have direct evidence of the values he assigned to the Anglosaxon letters themselves. To make this comparison the more complete, I append the extracts given in Hickes, which are quite sufficient for the purpose, as collated by Mr. Waring, and contrast them with the modern Greek pronunciation, as obligingly furnished to me by Prof. Valetta,[2] adding the ancient text for comparison.[3] As the

Cross, superscribed lxiii, as if forming part of a collection. The handwriting is ancient, the language pure and strictly grammatical. Judging from these characteristics and certain peculiarities of dialect, Mr. Waring assigns it to the latter half of the x th century. The legend is that of the poem of Elene.—Fo. 19. See below at fo. 24.—Fo. 20–22. A Lunar and Paschal Calendar.—Fo. 23. Panca de Mensuris, containing several Old British glosses. —Fo. 19 and fo. 24–36. Extracts from the Septuagint with corresponding texts from the Itala, in two parts: fo. 24–28, the Septuagint text in Greek characters, full of flagrant blunders, and critically worthless; fo. 19, and half of fo. 28 to 36, the Septuagint text in Anglosaxon characters, of a decidedly better quality than the other. —Fo. 37 to end, Ovidii Nasonis Artis Amatoriæ, Lib. prim., accompanied with many interlinear glosses in Latin and Old British.—The pieces commencing on folios 1, 20, 23, 37, are noticed in Lhuyd, Archæol. p 226, and Zeuss, Celtica I. p. xxxviii, and II, p. 1076 ff. The whole codex is described in p. 63 of: Antiquæ Literaturæ Septentrionalis Liber Alter seu *Humphredi Wanleii* Librorum Vett. Septentrionalium, qui in Angliæ Bibliothecis extant, nec non multorum Vett. Codd. Septentrionalium alibi extantium Catalogus Historico-Criticus, cum totius Thesauri Linguarum Septentrionalium sex Indicibus, Oxford, 1703, folio, forming the second volume of Hickes. The Scribe apparently did not know Greek. The letters are run much into each other, with very imperfect attempts at arrangement into words.

[1] The following are his reasons: There could be little doubt of the date, if a period could be assigned when priests of the Anglosaxon church might have been brought into connection with those of Constantinople, and this is easily done. Otho I, emperor of Germany, 936 - 973, married Eadgith, daughter of King Athelstan I of England. 930, and his son and successor Otho II, married Theophania, daughter of the Greek Emperor Nicephorus, in 972, after the latter emperor's assassination. At the court of Otho, then, where constant connection was kept up with the Anglosaxons and the Greeks, there was a means opened out for the priests of the former to receive some tincture of Hellenic letters. We shall therefore hardly be wrong in referring such transcriptions to the latter part of the x th century. Want of opportunity is against an earlier date, and the confusion and ruin occasioned by the Danish invasion in the early part of the xi th century, the close connection of Canute with Rome, and the subsequent Norman influence through Edward the Confessor, render a later date almost impossible. To this we may add the agreement of the Saxon homily in the same book with the language of the x th century.

[2] Author of a learned work in modern Greek on the Life and Poems of Homer. Ὁμήρου βίος καὶ ποιήματα, πραγματεία ἱστορικὴ καὶ κριτικὴ, ὑπὸ Ἰωάννου Ν. Βαλέττα, London, 1867.

[3] There will be found many dif-

modern Greek does not distinguish long and short vowels, and does not seem to appreciate any such difference, but pronounces the same vowel in the same word sometimes long and sometimes short, according to the feeling of the moment, I felt that it would be misleading to indicate long and short vowels in the following, and I have therefore, for convenience marked them all as short. The same indistinctness exists in the Italian, Spanish,[1] and French languages, and probably exists naturally wherever the vowels are in perfect pairs. On a very accurate examination of the vowel pairs in English it will be seen that in many words they differ rather in quality than in quantity, and that there is, as Professor Haldeman urges, a medial length of vowel,[2] which is sometimes heard as short and sometimes as long. The Scotch consider most of their vowels as short, though they strike an English ear at first as long, being probably medial, and Féline marks almost all French vowels as short, though other writers mark them frequently as long. When I have placed the accent mark after the vowel instead of after the consonant, there seemed to be certainly an option in pronouncing long or short, and the shortest vowels, are, as in Italian, always perfectly clear and never degenerate into obscurities like the English. The letters β, ϕ, seem to be naturally pronounced by Prof. Valetta as (bh, ph), but when he became particularly emphatic he made them (v, f). I have, therefore, used (v, f) in my transcription as more convenient,[3] and for the same reason have transcribed $\alpha\upsilon$, $\epsilon\upsilon$ as (av, ev) or (af, ef).

ferences between the two editions, but it was thought best to follow the usual text of the Septuagint.

[1] My attention was first drawn to the doubtful medial quantity of the Italian vowels by H.I.H. Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte, and Señor Cubí y Soler made me notice the absence of truly 'stopped,' or shut, short vowels in Castilian, which he said was a particular mark of that leading Spanish dialect, so that he suggested the use of long vowel signs in all Spanish words.

[2] Analytic Orthography, p. 80. Prof. Haldeman makes short vowels last about a quarter of a second, medial about three-eighths or one-half, and long vowels about five-eighths or three-quarters, so that the comparative lengths are about as 2, 3 and 5, or 1, 2, 3.

[3] The sounds (bh, ph) are most probably very ancient. Prof. Goldstücker in his learned paper on the Greek Digamma, read before the Philological Society, 20th Nov. 1868, attempted to point out the Greek words in which it had existed by means of a comparison with the Sanskrit form, inferring a digamma in many cases where the latter began with (v), or (sv), and the Greek had either no initial consonant or only an aspirate. Remembering that the Sanskrit grammarians affirm the Sanskrit sound to be a true (v), made with action of the teeth, and that in Spanish we know historically that Latin F, certainly (f), passed through (h) and became lost, as in *filius*, old Spanish *fijo*, modern *hijo* in which the *h* is not pronounced (i·xo), and knowing first how easily (v, f) are confused, next how unlikely the Greeks who had $\sigma\phi$ = (sph) would be to allow (sv) or (sf), the case with which therefore an initial (s) in this combination would be rejected, and at the same time the very probable transit of (s) into (f), we are led to the sound of (f) as that most likely to fulfil the phonetic conditions imposed on the digamma by comparative philology. The sound (w) would not be easily lost except before (o, u), and the sound (bh) was already probably existent, and became fixed as *one* (if not the only) sound of $\beta\tilde{\eta}\tau\alpha$.

Extracts from the Bodl. MS. Auct. F. 4, 32.

Anglosaxon Transcription.

MS. fo. 30, *b*.

26. Phyisomen anthropon eat icona ee cath omyosin imeteran ee archeto ton iethyon tis talasas ee ton petinon tu uranu ee ton etinon ee passes tis gis ee panton ton herpeton ton herponton epi tis gis ee egeneto utos

27. ee ephyisen o theos ton anthropon eat icona theu epyisen auton aren ee thily epyoeisen autos.

28. ee eulogisen autus legon auxanesthe ee plithynesthe ee plirosate tin gin ee eataeyrieusate autis ee archete ton iethyon tis thalassis ee ton petinon tu uranu ee ton panton etinon tis gis ee panton ton erpeton ton erponton epi tis gis

29. ee ipen o theos idu edoca ymin panta chorton spomonri spiron sperma ó estin epano passis tis gis ee pan xylon o echi en eauto earpon spermatos sporimu ymin estae is brosin.

30. ee passin tys thiriys tis gis ee pasin tys petinys tu uranu ee panti erpeto erponti epi tis gis ó echi en eauto pnoin zois ee panta chorton chloron is brosin ee egeneto utos.

Modern Greek Pronunciation.

Genesis ch. i.

26. Pi,i·somen an·thropon kat iko·na imeter·an ke kath omi·osin, ke arkhet·osan ton ikhthi·on tis thala·sis, ke ton petinon· tu uranu·, ke ton ktinon·, ke pa·sis tis jis, ke pan·don ton erpeton· ton erpon·don epi· tis jis.

27. ke epi·isen o theos· ton an·thropon. kat iko·na the,u· epi·isen afton·, ar·sen ke thi·li epi·isen aftus·

28. ke evlo·jisen aftus· o theos·, legh·on, afksa·nesthe, ke plithi·nesthe, ke pliro·sate tin jin, ke katakirief·sate aftis·, ke ar·khete ton ikhthi·on tis thala·sis, ke ton petinon· tu uranu·, ke pan·don ton ktinon·, ke pa·sis tis jis, ke pan·don ton erpeton· ton erpon·don epi· tis jis.

29. ke i·pen o theos·, idhu· dhe·dhoka imin· pan·da khor·ton spo·rimon spi·ron sper·ma, o es·tin epa·no pa·sis tis jis, ke pan ksi·lon, o e·khi en eafto· karpon· sper·matos spori·mu, imin· es·te is vro·sin·

30. ke pa·si tis thiri·is tis jis, ke pa·si tis petinis· tu uranu·, ke pandi· erpeto· er·pondi epi· tis jis, o ekh·i en eafto· psikhin·zo,is·, ke pan·da khor·ton khloron· is vro·sin, ke egen·eto u·tos.

Greek Text. Genesis, Ch. i.

26. ποιήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον κατ' εἰκόνα ἡμετέραν καὶ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν· καὶ ἀρχέτωσαν τῶν ἰχθύων τῆς θαλάσσης, καὶ τῶν πετεινῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ τῶν κτηνῶν, καὶ πάσης τῆς γῆς, καὶ πάντων τῶν ἑρπετῶν τῶν ἑρπόντων ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.

27. καὶ ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον· κατ' εἰκόνα Θεοῦ ἐποίησεν αὐτόν· ἄρσεν καὶ θῆλυ ἐποίησεν αὐτούς.

28. καὶ εὐλόγησεν αὐτοὺς ὁ Θεὸς, λέγων, αὐξάνεσθε, καὶ πληθύνεσθε, καὶ πληρώσατε τὴν γῆν, καὶ κατακυριεύσατε αὐτῆς· καὶ ἄρχετε τῶν ἰχθύων τῆς θαλάσσης, καὶ τῶν πετεινῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ πάντων τῶν κτηνῶν, καὶ πάσης τῆς γῆς, καὶ πάντων τῶν ἑρπετῶν τῶν ἑρπόντων ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.

29. καὶ εἶπεν ὁ Θεὸς, ἰδοὺ δέδωκα ὑμῖν πάντα χόρτον σπόριμον σπεῖρον σπέρμα, ὅ ἐστιν ἐπάνω πάσης τῆς γῆς· καὶ πᾶν ξύλον, ὃ ἔχει ἐν ἑαυτῷ καρπόν σπέρματος σπορίμου, ὑμῖν ἔσται εἰς βρῶσιν.

30. καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς θηρίοις τῆς γῆς καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς πετεινοῖς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ παντὶ ἑρπετῷ ἕρποντι ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ὃ ἔχει ἐν ἑαυτῷ ψυχὴν ζωῆς, καὶ πάντα χόρτον χλωρὸν εἰς βρῶσιν, καὶ ἐγένετο οὕτως.

Anglosaxon Transcription.	*Modern Greek Pronunciation.*
31. ce yden o theos ta panta ósa ephyisen ce idu cala lian ce egeneto hespera ce egeneto prohi himera ecti .	31. ke i·dhen o theos· ta pan·da, os·a epi·ise, ke idhu· kala·li·an· ke ejen·eto esper·a, ke ejen·eto pro,i·, imer·a ek·ti.
MS. fo. 34, *b.*	Genesis ch. xxii.
1. O theus epirasen ton habracham ce ipen pros auton habracham habracham ce ipen idu ego.	1. o theos· epi·rasen ton Avra,am·, ke i·pen afto·, Avra,am·, Avra,am·, ke i·pen idhu· egho·
2. ce ipen labeto yion su ton agapeton on egapesas ton isac ce poreutheti is ten gen ten ypselen ce prosenencon auton eci is olocarposin is ena oros on sy ipo	2. Ke i·pe, lav·e ton i,ou· su ton aghapiton·, on igha·pisas ton Isa,ak·, ke poref·thiti is tin jin tin ipsilin·, ke anen·eqke afton·cki· is olokar·posin ef en ton ore·oon on an si i·po.
3. anastas de habracham to prohi	3. anastas· dhe Avra,am· to pro,i· . . . .
MS. fo. 34 *a.*	Psalm xlii.
1. on tropon epipothie elafos epi tas pegas ton ydaton utos epipothi e psuÿche mu pros se o theus	1. on trop·on epipothi· i el·afos epi· tas pighas· ton idha·ton u·tos epipothi· i psikhi· mu pros se, o theos·
2. edipsisen e psyche mu pros ton theon ton zonta pote ixo cae opthesome tu prosopu tu theu	2. edhip·sisen i psikhi·mu pros ton theon· ton zon·da; po·te iks·o ke ofthi·some to proso·po tu the,u·?
3. egenethe my ta dacrya mu artos emeras cae nyctos.	3. ejeni·thi ta dhak·ria·mu emi· ar·tos imer·as ke niktos·
MS. fo. 32, *b.*	Isaiah ch. iv.
1. Ce epilempsonte epta gyneces enos anthropu leguse ton arton emon fagometha ce ta	1. ke epilip·sonde epta· jine·kes anthro·pu enos·, legh·use: ton ar·ton imon· faghom·etha, ke

Greek Text.

31. καὶ εἶδεν ὁ Θεὸς τὰ πάντα, ὅσα ἐποίησε· καὶ ἰδοὺ καλὰ λίαν· καὶ ἐγένετο ἑσπέρα, καὶ ἐγένετο πρωΐ ἡμέρα ἕκτη.

Genesis Ch. xxii.

1. ὁ Θεὸς ἐπείρασεν τὸν Ἀβραὰμ, καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ· Ἀβραὰμ, Ἀβραάμ· καὶ εἶπεν, ἰδοὺ ἐγώ.

2. καὶ εἶπε, λάβε τὸν υἱόν σου τὸν ἀγαπητὸν, ὃν ἠγάπησας, τὸν Ἰσαὰκ, καὶ πορεύθητι εἰς τὴν γῆν τὴν ὑψηλὴν, καὶ ἀνένεγκε αὐτὸν ἐκεῖ εἰς ὁλοκάρπωσιν ἐφ' ἕν τῶν ὀρέων ὧν ἂν σοι εἴπω.

3. ἀναστὰς δὲ Ἀβραὰμ τὸ πρωΐ . . . .

Psalm xlii.

1. ὅν τρόπον ἐπιποθεῖ ἡ ἔλαφος ἐπὶ τὰς πηγὰς τῶν ὑδάτων, οὕτως, ἐπιποθεῖ ἡ ψυχή μου πρὸς σὲ, ὁ Θεός·

2. ἐδίψησεν ἡ ψυχή μου πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν τὸν ζῶντα· πότε ἥξω καὶ ὀφθήσομαι τῷ προσώπῳ τοῦ Θεοῦ;

3· ἐγενήθη τὰ δάκρυά μου ἐμοὶ ἄρτος ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός.

Isaiah Chap. iv.

1. Καὶ ἐπιλήψονται ἑπτὰ γυναῖκες ἀνθρώπου ἑνὸς, λέγουσαι· τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν φαγόμεθα, καὶ τὰ ἱμάτια ἡμῶν

Anglosaxon Transcription.

imatia emon peribalometha plen to onoma su ce clite ef emas afele ton onidismon emon

2. te de emera ecinie empilampsi o theus en boile meta doxes epi tes ges tu ypsose ce doxase to catalipthen tu israhel.

3. ce este to ypolipthen en sion ce to catalipthen en hirusalem agiy clethesonte pantes y engraphentes is zoen en hirusalem.

4. oti ceplyni kirios ton rupon ton yion ce thygateren sion ce to aema eccathari ec messo auton en pneumati eriseos ce en pneumati causeos.

5. ce exi ce este apas topos tu orus sion ce panta ta peri cyelo autes sciasi nefele emeras cae os capnu ce fotos pyros ccomenu nyctos pase te doxe scepasthesete.

6. ce este is scian apo caumatos en scepe ce en apocryfo apo scelerotetos ce yetu.

Isaiah ch. v.

1. Aso de to agapameno asma to agapeto to ampeloni mu Ampelos egeneto to ecapemeno en cerati en topo pioni

Modern Greek Pronunciation.

ta ima·tia imon· perivalu·metha: plin to o·noma to son keklis·tho ef imas·, af·ele ton onidhismon· imon·.

2. ti dhe imer·a eki·ni epilam·psi o theos· en vuli· meta· dhok·sis epi· tis jis, tu ipso·se ke dhoksaa·se to katalifthen· tu Isra,il·.

3. ke es·te to ipolifthen· en Sion· ke to katalifthen· en Ierusalim·, a·ji,i klithi·sonde pan·des i ghrafen·des is zoin· en Ierusalem.

4. o·ti ekplini· ki·rios ton ri·pon ton ion· ke ton thighater·on Sion·, ke to e·ma ekkathari,i· ek mes·u afton·, en pnev·mati kri·seos ke pnev·mati kaf·seos.

5. ke ik·si·, ke es·te pas to·pos tu or·us Sion·, ke pan·da ta perikik·lo aftes· skia·si nefel·i imer·as, ke os kapnu· ke fotos· piros· keomen·u niktos·, ke pa·si ti dhok·si skepasthi·sete.

6. ke es·te is skian· apo· kav·matos, ke en skep·i, ke en apokri·fo apo· sklirot·itos ke ietu·.

Isaiah ch. v.

1. a·so dhi to ighapimen·o as·ma tu aghapitu· mu to ambelo·ni mu. Ambelon· eyeni·thi to igapimen·o eq ge·rati en do·po pi·oni.

Greek Text.

περιβαλούμεθα· πλὴν τὸ ὄνομα τὸ σὸν κεκλήσθω ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, ἄφελε τὸν ὀνειδισμὸν ἡμῶν.

2. τῇ δὲ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ ἐπιλάμψει ὁ Θεὸς ἐν βουλῇ μετὰ δόξης ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, τοῦ ὑψῶσαι καὶ δοξάσαι τὸ καταλειφθὲν τοῦ Ἰσραήλ.

3. καὶ ἔσται, τὸ ὑπολειφθὲν ἐν Σιὼν, καὶ τὸ καταλειφθὲν ἐν Ἰερουσαλὴμ, ἅγιοι κληθήσονται πάντες οἱ γραφέντες εἰς ζωὴν ἐν Ἰερουσαλήμ.

4. ὅτι ἐκπλυνεῖ Κύριος τὸν ῥύπον τῶν υἱῶν καὶ τῶν θυγατέρων Σιὼν, καὶ τὸ αἷμα ἐκκαθαριεῖ ἐκ μέσου αὐτῶν, ἐν πνεύματι κρίσεως καὶ πνεύματι καύσεως.

5. καὶ ἥξει, καὶ ἔσται πᾶς τόπος τοῦ ὄρους Σιών, καὶ πάντα τὰ περικύκλῳ αὐτῆς σκιάσει νεφέλη ἡμέρας, καὶ ὡς καπνοῦ καὶ φωτὸς πυρὸς καιομένου νυκτὸς, καὶ πάσῃ τῇ δόξῃ σκεπασθήσεται.

6. καὶ ἔσται εἰς σκιὰν ἀπὸ καύματος, καὶ ἐν σκέπῃ, καὶ ἐν ἀποκρύφῳ ἀπὸ σκληρότητος καὶ ὑετοῦ.

Isaiah Chap. v.

1. ἄσω δὴ τῷ ἠγαπημένῳ ᾆσμα τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ μου τῷ ἀμπελῶνί μου. Ἀμπελὼν ἐγενήθη τῷ ἠγαπημένῳ, ἐν κέρατι, ἐν τόπῳ πίονι.

Anglosaxon Transcription.

2. ce fragmon perietheca cae echaracosa ce ephyteusa ompelon soree ce ocodomesa pyrgon en meso autu ce prolenion oryxa en auto ce emina tu pyese stafylen epyesen de acantas

MS. fo. 33, *b*.

1. Y dipsontes poreuesthe ef ydor ce osy men u ceecthe argyra^n badisantes agorasete ce piete aneu argyriu cae timis ymon ce stear

2. inati timasthe argyrio ke ton misthon ymon .u. chi plismonín acusate mu cae fagesthe ta agatha ce tryfisi en agathys i psychi ymon

3. prosechete tys osin ymon ce epacoluthisate tes odys mu acussate mu cae ziste en agathys i psychi ymon cae chathisome ymin diathicin eonion ta osia dauid ta pista.

4. idu martyrion auton dedoca ethnesin archonta ce prostassonta ethnesin.

5. ethni a uc idisan se epicalesonte se cæ y las .y. uc epistanto se epi se catafeuxonte enecen tu theu tu agiu israhel oti edoxasen se.

Modern Greek Pronunciation.

2. ke fraghmon· periethrika ke ekhara·kosa ke efi·tefsa am·belon Sorik· ke okodho·misa pir·ghon en mes·o aftu· ke proli·nion o·riksa en afto·, ke em·ina tu pi.i·se stafilin·, ke epi·isen akan·thas.

Isaiah ch. lv.

1. i dhipson·des, porev·esthe ef i·dhor, ke o·si mi ekh·ete arji·rion, vadhi·sandes aghora·sate, ke fa·jete an·ev arjiri·u ke timis·i·non ke ste·ar.

2. inati· timas·the arjiri·u, ke ton mokh·thon imon· uk is plismonin·? aku·sate· mu, ke fa·jesthe aghatha·, ke endrifi·si en aghathis· i psikhi· imon·.

3. prose·khete tis osin· imon·, ke epakoluthi·sate tes odhis·mu: isaku·sate· mu ke zi·sete en aghathis· i psikhi· imon·, ke dhiathi·some imin· dhiathi·kin e,o·nion, ta o·sia Dhavidh· ta pista·

4. idhu· marti·rion en eth·nesin e·dhoka afton· ar·khonda ke prostas·onda eth·nesin.

5. eth·ni a nuk i·dhasi· se epikale·sonde· se, ke la,i· i uk epis·tande· se epi· se katafef·ksonde en·eken Kiri·u tu the,u· su tu aji·u Isra,il·, ot·i edhok·sase· se.

Greek Text.

2. καὶ φραγμὸν περιέθηκα, καὶ ἐχαράκωσα, καὶ ἐφύτευσα ἄμπελον Σωρὴκ, καὶ ᾠκοδόμησα πύργον ἐν μέσῳ αὐτοῦ, καὶ προλήνιον ὄρυξα ἐν αὐτῷ, καὶ ἔμεινα τοῦ ποιῆσαι σταφυλὴν, καὶ ἐπόιησεν ἀκάνθας.

Isaiah Chap. lv.

1. οἱ διψῶντες, πορεύεσθε ἐφ' ὕδωρ, καὶ ὅσοι μὴ ἔχετε ἀργύριον, βαδίσαντες ἀγοράσατε, καὶ φάγετε ἄνευ ἀργυρίου καὶ τιμῆς οἶνον καὶ στέαρ.

2. ἱνατί τιμᾶσθε ἀργυρίου, καὶ τὸν μόχθον ὑμῶν οὐκ εἰς πλησμονήν; ἀκούσατέ μου, καὶ φάγεσθε ἀγαθὰ, καὶ ἐντρυφήσει ἐν ἀγαθοῖς ἡ ψυχὴ ὑμῶν.

3. προσέχετε τοῖς ὠσὶν ὑμῶν, καὶ ἐπακολουθήσατε ταῖς ὁδοῖς μου· εἰσακούσατε μου, καὶ ζήσεται ἐν ἀγαθοῖς ἡ ψυχὴ ὑμῶν, καὶ διαθήσομαι ὑμῖν διαθήκην αἰώνιον, τὰ ὅσια Δαυὶδ τὰ πιστὰ.

4. ἰδοὺ μαρτύριον ἐν ἔθνεσιν ἔδωκα αὐτὸν, ἄρχοντα καὶ προστάσσοντα ἔθνεσιν.

5. ἔθνη ἃ οὐκ οἴδασί σε, ἐπικαλέσονταί σε, καὶ λαοὶ οἳ οὐκ ἐπίστανταί σε ἐπὶ σὲ καταφεύξονται, ἕνεκεν Κυρίου τοῦ Θεοῦ σου τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰσραὴλ, ὅτι ἐδόξασέ σε.

From these extracts we may deduce the following table of the correspondence of the Greek and Anglosaxon letters. A third column shews the values now attributed to the Greek letters in Athens, including some combinations which do not occur in the extracts.

Greek Letters	Anglosaxon Transcription	Modern Greek Pronunciation	Greek Letters	Anglosaxon Transcription	Modern Greek Pronunciation	Greek Letters	Anglosaxon Transcription	Modern Greek Pronunciation
α	a	a	ηυ		iv	ῥ ῤ	r	r
ᾳ	a	a	θ	th	th	σ	s ss	s
αι	e ae	e	ι	i	i	τ	t	t
αυ	au av	av af	κ	c	k	τζ		tsh
β	b	v	λ	l	l	υ	y	i
γ	g c	gh ɹ	μ	m	m	υι	yi	i
γγ		ng g	μπ	mp	mb b	φ	ph f	f
γι		ɹ	ν	n	n	φθ	pth	fth
γκ	nc	ng	ντ	nt	nd d	χ	ch	kh
γχ		nkh	ντζ		dzh	χθ	cth	khth
δ	d	dh	ξ	x	ks	ψ	ps	ps
ε	e	e	ο	o	o	ω	o	o
ει	i	i	οι	y	i	ῳ	o	o
ευ	eu ev	ev ef	ου	u	u	ωυ		ov of
ζ	z	z	π	p ph	p	(̔)	h	–
η	i e	i	ρ	r	r	(̈)	h	–
ῃ	e	i	ῥ	r	r			

As Prof. Valetta pronounced, *α* was (aa, a) or (*aa*, *a*), but there was never any rounding or labialisation producing (*a*h, ʌ). From this, however, it does not follow that the ags. *a* which transcribes *α* may not have had a labialised form, for, just as the French *a* was called (ʌ) in England, when it was only (*a*), p. 226, note, col. 2, so the Anglosaxons would have transcribed *α* by *a*, even if the first said (a) and the last (ʌ). But we may safely conclude that ags. long *a* was not (*oo*) or even (oo).

The uniform transcription of ε, and almost uniform transcription of *αι*, by *e*, precludes the idea that ags. *e* was ever anything but (ee, e). When *αι* was not represented by *e*, which is very rarely, it is represented by *ae*, which must be regarded rather as a Latin than an ags. form, having then the invariable sound of (ee), although the ags. æ itself is found in *eæ* Is. 55, 1. 5. Thus *καὶ* is generally written *ee* but occasionally *eae* Ps. 42, 2; and *este* ἔστε Is. 4, 3. 5 is evidently more correct than *estae*, Gen. 1, 29; so that *aema* αἷμα Is. 4, 4, should be *ema*.

The transcription of *ω o* by *o*, shews that ags. must have been (oo, o) or (*oo*, *o*). Prof. Valetta pronounced Greek, and indeed English, with a clear (oo, o), and did not seem to be aware of (*oo*). But just as Englishmen nowadays report the Greek *ω* to be (*oo*). so the Anglosaxons would of course have used their *o*, whether it meant (oo) or (*oo*).

The uniform transcription of *ι* by *i* shews that ags. *i* was certainly

(ii, i) or (*ii i*). There are six letters and combinations in modern Greek which, in Prof. Valetta's pronunciation, have the sound of (ii, i), viz.: *η ι υ ει οι υι*. Of these the ags. transcription gives *i* for *ι* and *ει* uniformly, with the single error *ie* in Ps. 42,1 *epipothie* *ἐπιποθεῖ*. For *η* we find most generally *i*, but in about 50 instances *e*, not, however, uniformly, thus against *passes* *πάσης* Gen. 1, 26, we find *passis*, ib. v. 29; against *ten gen* *τὴν γὴν* Gen. 22, 2, we may put *tis gis*, Gen. 1, 30; against *emeras* *ἡμέρας* Ps. 42, 3, we have *himera* Gen. 1, 31; against *psyche* *ψυχὴ* Ps. 42, 2, we have *psychi*, Is. 55, 2; against *epyesen* *ἐποίησεν* Is. 5, 2, we have *epyisen* Gen. 1, 27, against *exi* *ἥξει* Is. 4, 5, we have *ixo* *ἥξω* Ps. 42, 2, and so on. Hence we cannot conclude that *η* was sounded as (e), or *e* as (i), but must consider that there was some confusion in the mind of the scribe, perhaps arising from the Latin transcriptions of *η*, with which he was necessarily more familiar. The forms *ecinie* *ἐκείνῃ* Is. 4, 2, and *agapameno* *ἠγαπημένῳ* Is. 5, 1 are mere mistakes. The Greek *υ οι* are uniformly rendered by *y* and *υι* by *yi*, mere clerical errors excepted, as *epyoeisen* *ἐποίησεν* Gen. 1, 27 when five words before it was *epyisen*; and *eepluni rupon* *ἐκπλυνεῖ ῥύπον* Is. 4, 4, between which words stands *kirios* *κύριος* (having *i* and not *y* for *υ*,) as if to shew the error, while *psuɣche* *ψυχή* Ps. 42, 1, indicates an intention to correct such errors. Now we have reason to suppose that the earlier sounds of *υ υι οι* were (y, yi, ui), and that the degradation of *y*, *yi* into (i), was similar to the common upper German use of (i) for (y), while (i) for (ui) is comparable to the French *français* (fraasE) for *françois* (fraasuE). At present Prof. Valetta will not admit any other sound but (i) for any one of the three combinations, *υ υι οι*, but Franz asserts in his Modern Greek Grammar,[1] that *υ υι οι* resemble Freneh *u*,[2] which at least shews a probability that the Anglosaxon scribe also recognized (y) rather than (i) in the combinations *υ υι οι*, and hence that the ags. *y* was, as is generally suspected, (y).

The Greek *ου* is the least disputed of the Greek sounds; it remained for writers of the XVIth century to start the theory that both Greek *ου* and Latin *u* were (ou), suprà pp. 150-1. We find it uniformly represented by *u*, with the exception of the manifest error *boile* *βουλῇ* Is. 4, 2.

As to the transcriptions *au*, *eu* for *αυ*, *ευ*, it is not easy to say whether they are to be taken as Latin (au, eu), or whether *u* is

[1] Grammatica Linguæ Græcæ Recentioris, Romæ in Collegio Urbano, 1837, 8vo. pp. v, 137, and tables. The preface is signed Joannes Franzius, and dated Romæ, Idibus Martiis, 1837. Franz was, I believe, a Bavarian priest who was sometimes at the court of Otho.

[2] "Vocalium pronuntiationem examinanti imprimis hæ tres *η ι υ* sese offerunt, de quibus si quis ex usu vulgari judicaverit, facile adduci potest, ut nullum in sono earum discrimen deprehendi arbitretur. Quanquam illud quidem negari non potest, quum *η* magis ex imo pronuntietur, *υ* ad sonum Gallici *u* propius accedere .... *οι υι* u (gall.) *ποῖος, υἱὸς* (pyos, yos)." Ib. p. 2.

"u consonant," that is *v*, in which case (av, ev) would agree with the modern sounds except before *π*, *τ*, *κ*.

These transcriptions establish, therefore, by direct evidence, that:

ags. *a* was one of the sounds (a, *a*, *a*h, A), and not (o, *o*).
ags. *e* was (e).
ags. *i* was one of the sounds (i, *i*), and not a diphthong like (ai)
ags. *o* was one of the sounds (o, *o*)
ags. *u* was one of the sounds (u, *u*), and not (ou)
ags. *y* was probably (y), but may have been (i) or (*i*)

The transcription has several foreign letters and combinations as, *ae*, *z*, *th*, *x*, *ph*, *ch*, the meaning of which is generally evident. The only difficulty is ph when used for *π* in *phyisomen* ποιήσωμεν, Gen. 1, 26, *ephyisen* ἐποίησεν, v. 27, where it is explained by the concurrent form *epyisen* in the same verse. In all other words *p* only is used. The concurrent form *f* when *ph* represents *φ* as in *nefele fotos* νεφέλη φωτὸς, Is. 4, 5, shews its value in this case. Before *th*, there seems to have been the same difficulty of pronouncing *ph*, as at the present day, where so many say, as most used to write *dipthong* (dip'thɔq), for we find *opthesome* ὀφθήσομαι Ps. 42, 2, *ypolipthen* ὑπολειφθὲν Is. 4, 3, where the modern Greek says (ipolifthen'). Similarly *eth* is used for *χθ* in *iethyon* ἰχθύων Gen. 1, 28. It is rather remarkable that þ was not used for *θ*.

The consistent use of *c* to transcribe Greek *κ*, to the exclusion of *k*, shews that the ags. always pronounced *c* as either (k) or (*k*), the distinction, of course, being unrecognized. As *b*, *g*, *d* are used for *β*, *γ*, *δ*, no countenance is given to the modern uses (bh, gh, dh), where (bh) becomes (v), and (gh) is rather (grh) or the lighter (*r*), but before (i, e) falls into (*g*h, *g*rh) or (j), the last being the recognized sound. The character ð stood in readiness for *δ*, but as *th* had been used for *θ*, *dh* would have been the only appropriate sign for *δ*, and this was not a known symbol. Perhaps the use of þ, ð, had begun to be unsettled, and this may have prevented their employment for *θ*, *δ*. The ags. *g* was itself most probably often (gh) and hence no better sign could be devised, even if the (gh) sound of *γ* was recognized. The modern change of *π*, *τ*, *κ*, into (b, d, g), after *μ*, *ν*, *γ*, is not acknowledged. But the change of *γ* into (q) before *κ* in the middle of a word is acknowledged as *prosenencon* ἀνένεγκε Gen. 22, 2.

The Greek aspirate is generally omitted, but an *h* is occasionally inserted where there is none in the original, especial to avoid an hiatus as *prohi* πρωΐ, Gen. 1, 31, *israhel* Ἰσραὴλ, Is. 55, 5, and this is occasionally strengthened in *ch* as *habracham* Ἀβαάμ.

The principal gain, then, of this transliteration is the establishment of the Anglosaxon simple vowel system within certain limits; nothing is gained for the double vowels *ea*, *eo*. On the whole, the results are confirmatory of those arrived at by the totally different process of gradual ascension from the English of the XIV th, XIII th, and XII th centuries.

We have assumed as well known that the pronunciation of Greek in the xth century at Byzantium was practically the same as that now in use at Athens.[1] The proofs of this are to be sought in the hieroglyphical transcription of the names and titles of the Greek and Roman Pharaohs, as collected in Lepsius's Königsbuch, in the Septuagint and the New Testament transcription of Hebrew words, and in the New Testament transcription of Latin names, in the Syriac vowel points, in the transcription of Latin names by Polybius and other Greek writers, in the numerous errors of the old Christian and other inscriptions, and, among other sources, in the writing of Latin words in Greek letters in the vith and viith centuries, by certain Greeks at Ravenna, who had to attest certain Latin documents which still exist, and have been published by Marini.[2] As a companion to the above transcription of Greek into Anglosaxon characters, a few of these attempts by Greeks to write Latin in Greek characters will be interesting, and, if we bear in mind that they were writing an unknown language from dictation and would be therefore likely to commit as many errors of audition and pronunciation as a decidedly provincial Frenchman, ignorant of English, who attempted to write English from dictation in his own characters, we shall see that the key to his meaning is to be found in the modern pronunciation of Greek. The Latin interpretation here annexed has been deduced from corresponding Latin attestations in the same documents. The Latin letters *u*, *n*, *d*, indicate some peculiar forms of *υ*, *ν*, *δ*, and *h* is sometimes Latin H, and sometimes a peculiar form of *η*. The transcript of Marini is not always trustworthy, and in a few

[1] "Why Greek alters not in fourteen centuries, and English must needs alter in four, is queer," wrote a friend in reply to an observation of mine on the pronunciation of Greek at the time of Ulfilas. Of course there must have been reasons for the preservation of any pronunciation for so long a time. Greece was a very small country, but it had numerous dialects, and by neglecting these we reduce the country almost to one city, Byzantium, the seat of the Greek empire, and of Greek learning and literature, till quite recent times. The pronunciation we have to deal with is therefore that of an undisturbed court and literary dialect, in which we should naturally expect the utmost uniformity to prevail, while as it gave the character to all Greek literature, it became the norm for all "correct" speakers. England offers the utmost contrast to this state of things, and the violent successions of two civil wars, the forcing of a peasant into a court dialect, the adoption of a whole vocabulary from a foreign tongue, the parliamentary introduction of provincial speakers among the highest of the realm, the general importance of secondary cities, and other causes, readily suggest themselves to account for the numerous changes which have prevailed. If we examined the Greek dialects at present for variety of pronunciation, we should probably obtain a large amount of information, important in its bearings even upon ancient Greek usages. The modern system of education however, which aims at uniformity of pronunciation and a recurrence to ancient idiom, only the ancient Greek Grammar being taught in schools, may soon efface these records of the past. In the disturbed state of Greece, from the death of Alexander B.C. 323 to the establishment of the Greek empire, A.D. 395, took place most probably those changes which separate the modern from the ancient system.

[2] I papiri diplomatici raccolti ed illustrati dall' abate *Gaetano Marini*, primo custode della Bibl. Vatic. e prefetto degli archivi secreti della Santa Sede. In Roma 1805, fol.

instances it has been corrected by his facsimiles, but the passages ought to be carefully re-edited from the original documents. The numbers and pages refer to Marini's book, and the numbers in ( ) to the lines of the document. The Latin contractions have not been extended, and Marini is not always clear as to their meaning.

No. 75, p. 116. Rome, in the Vatican.

Attestation to a will A.D. 575, by which certain property was left to the Church at Ravenna. The numbers are those of the lines. Corrected by facsimile, plate V.

(24). Πετρος *vh*. Κολεκταριως ουει τησταμηντων ρογατος α Μαννανη . . . (25) . . . . τηστατωρη φιλιως κωμδα Ναρδερη ηψου πρησεντη ετ σουσκριυεντη (26) . . . . ει τησταμεντω ρηλεκτον περ κον κονsετουετ ερηδε σαντα ηκλισια (27) . . . . κα Ραυεννατη τηsηs σουσκριψιη.

(24) Petrhs vh Collectarius huic testamentum rogatus a Mannane (25) vd testarore filio qd. Nanderit ipso præsente et subscribente (26) adque ei testamento relictum per quod constituit heredem santam ecclesiam (27) catholicam Ravennatem testis subscripsi.

No. 90, p. 139. In Bologna, Museo dell' Instituto.

Deed of Gift to the Church at Ravenna, VI th or VII th century. Corrected by facsimile, plate XII.

(38) Μαρι*n*ος χρυσωκαταλακτις ουεικ χαρτουλε ουσουφορτυ . . . (39) *n*ατιω*n*ις ssταρουμ σεξ ου*n*κεαρουμ πρικιπαριω ι*n*πιτρ . . . (40) *n*ομι*n*ατε τωτιους σουsτατιε μου*n*ελε ετ ι*n*μω*n*λε s . . . (41) μωμει*n*τι*n*ους σιγκουμ σουπεριους λεγιτορ φακτα . . . . (42) sακτα Ρα*n*εννατε Εκλισιε α Ιωα*n*ne *n*κ Εισπαταρ . . . (43) Γεοργι Μαειστρο Μιλιτ . . μ ετ *n*ο*n*ου Πριμικιριους Λουμ . . . (44) κουμ Θ . . . . . κ . . . . δωνατουρε κοι μι πρεσε . . . (45) *n*ου sακτι Κροκις φικετ . . τ κωρα *n*ο*n*s ει ριλικτα . . . (46) τος α*n* εοδεμ τεsτις sουsκριψι ετ δε κομσιρ . . . (47) *n*ι*n*ους ωμ*n*ι*n*ους κε sουπεριους sυκκριτα λεγου*n* . . . (48) sακτα ευ*n*αγελλια κορπορραλιτερ μεει πρεsεντι . . . (49) . . . *n* ουκ περ*n*ο*n*ε*n*ατε sακτε Ρα*n*ε*n*ατε εκλισιε τρα . .

(38) Marinus Chrysokatalactis huic chartulæ usufructuariæ (39) donationis sstarum sex unciarum principalium in integro. super (40) nominatæ totius substantiæ mubilæ et immubilæ seseque (41) moventibus sicut superius legitur facta in sstam (42) sanctam Ravennatæ Ecclesiæ a Johanne vc. Expatario qd. (43) Georgio Magistro Militum et nunc Primicirius Numeri felicum (44) qd. Theodosiakus ssto donatore qui mi presente (45) signum sanctæ Crucis fecit et coram nobis ei relicta est (46) rogatus ab eodem testis subscripsi et de conservandis (47) omnibus (?) omnibus quæ superius superscripta (?) leguntur ad (48) sancta evangelia corporaliter mei presentia [præbuit sacramenta et hanc donationem] (49) ab hoc prenominatæ sanctæ Ravennatæ Ecclesiæ traditam [vidi].

No. 92, p. 142. Rome, in the Vatican.

Deed of Gift, VI th or VII th century. Corrected by facsimile, plate XIII; line 19 is scarcely legible, and the whole is very obscure.

(17) φ*n* sεφα*n*ος ιλλουsριος κο*n*μα*n*ε*n*s (18) εν κιβιτατε Νεαπολιταναε οικ [καρ-] (20) τουλε α *d*ιε πρεσεντι *d*ο*n*α . . . . (21) *d*ε σοπρα ισκριπτα ομ*n*ια ε*n*μοβιλια (22) πρε*d*ια κυι σου*n*τ τερριτοριο Αγου (23) [Βι*n*]ο ουβι ουβι σεου ε*n*τρο κιβιτατε (24) [σε]ου φορι κιβιτατε ιουρις μει α με (25) φακτε ε*n* σα*n*κτα εκκλεσια Ραβε*n* (26) *n*ατε α*d* ομ*n*ια σοπραισκριπτα ρε (27) λεγι κο*n*σε*n*σι ετ σουσκριψι ετ τεsεs (28) κυι σουσκριβερεντ ρογαβι.

(17) Fn Stephanos illustrius conmanens (18) in civitate Neapolitanae huic (20) cartulæ a die præsentis donationis (21) de supra inscripta omnia inmobilia (22) prædia quæ sunt territorio Agu- (23) bino ubi ubi seu intro civitate (24) seu foris civitate, juris mei a me (25) facte en sancta ecclesia Raven (26) nate ad omnia suprainscripta re- (27) legi consensi et subscripsi et testes (28) qui subscriberent rogavi.

No. 110, p. 169. Bergamo, in the possession of the Marchesa Antonia Solzi Suardi.

Deed of Gift. Supposed to be of the VI th century. No facsimile.

(9) . . , . σπ. ουι ουσοφρȣκτυαριαι *d*ονατζιονες καρτουλαι . . . . . (11) εθ πȣτει αθκοιαι ινγρεσο εθ εγρεσο νεγ νον . . . . (12) . . . ριετε α πλατεα υελ ομνιμους *ad* εο*d*εμ περτενε . . . (13) . . . σικοθ σπ. λεγιτορ φακτα α σπ. γαυθιȣσο ρευ . . . (14) . . . μο *d*εφενσορε σαντε εκκλεσιαι ραυεννατε . . . (15) . . . ιν σπ. ραυεννατεμ εκκλεσ κ μ . . . (16) . . . ε σȣσριψιθ εθ κοραν ν . . . ις αι ρελικτα εστ . . . (17) . . . ουσ α σπ. γαυθιȣσο τεστες σȣσκριψι εθ ανκ . . . (18) . . . λαμ ποσιτα σουπερ σαντα ευαγγελια ακτζιο ... (19) ... ρεφατε εκκλεσιαι α μεμορατο γαυζιοσο σουκ . . . (20) . . . υραν*d*ομ τρα*d*εταμ υι*d*ι.

(9) . . . sp. huic usufructuariæ donationis cartulae ssti hortus in integro qui est in pergulis exornatus cum usu cortis (11) et putei adque ingresso et egresso nec non et (12) pariete vel omnibus ad eundem pertinentibus. (13) sicut sp. legitur facta a sp. Gaudioso reverentis(14)simo defensore sanctæ ecclesiæ Ravennatæ dona(15)tori in sp. Ravennatem eccles. qui me (16) presente subscripsit et coram nobis ei relicta est (17) rogatus a sp. Gaudioso testis subscripsi et hanc (18) cartulam positam super sancta evangelia actionariis (19) prefate Ecclesiæ a memorato Gaudioso sub (20) jusjurandum traditam vidi.

No. 114, p. 172. Rome, in the Vatican.

Deed of Sale. VI th century. No facsimile.

(92) Ιȣλιαnος *uh*. Αργεnταριος εις ειστρωμεnτις *u*ιγενται ιȣγερου (93) φοn*d*ει Κοnκωρ*d*ιακος ρωγατος α θορβιλιοnαι οφ. ματρε (94) ετ αβ ειοσκοι φιλιεις *d*ομnεκα οφ. ετ *d*ευτεριο *uh*. σσ ... (95) ... ιn*d*ιτωρεuος ειπσις πρεσεnτεβους τεστις σοσκρ ... (96) ψι ετ σσ. πρετιο αυρι σολε*d*ος κεnτου *d*εκει ειεις εν πρ ... (97) εnτια τρα*d*ετος *u*ι*d*ι.

(92) Julianus vh. Argentarius his instrumentis viginti jugerum (93) fundi Concordiacus rogatus a Thulgilone hf. matre (94) et ab ejusque filiis Domnica hf. et Deuterio vh. sstis (95) venditoribus ipsis præsentibus testis subscri-(96)psi et ss. pretium auri solidos centum decem eis in præs(97)entia traditos vidi.

No. 122, p. 187. Rome, in the Vatican.

Deed of Sale. A.D. 591. No facsimile.

(78) Πακειφικος Β*h* . εις εsορμεnτις σεξ εn ιnτριγρο ουnκειαρουμ φουnδι Γεnεκειαnι (79) σικοτ σουπεριως λεγιτορ ρογατος α σσ. Ρουsικειαnα *h*φ. *u*εn*d*ετρικαι ειουσ(80)καε ιουγαλ*h* Κειταnε Β*d* αυτουρε ε*d* εσποnταnεω φε*d*ιιουσσουρε κοε (81) με πρεσεnτε σιγnα φεικαερουμ ε*d* εεις ρελικτο εσ τεsτις σουσκριψι (82) ετ σουπραεσκριπτο πρεκειω αυρι σολι*d*ος *u*ειεnτι κ*u*υτουρ εεις εn πρε(83)σιnτια Ιωαnnε ΒΚ. Κοnπαρατωρε ατnομιρατος ετ τρα*d*ιτος *u*ει*d*ι.

(78) Pacificus vh. his instrumentis sex in integro unciarum fundi Geneciani (79) sicut superius legitur rogatus a ssta. Rusticiana hf. venditrice ejus-(80)que jugale Tzitane vd. autore et spontaneo fidejussure qui (81) me præsente signa fecerunt et eis relictum est testis subscripsi (82) et suprascriptum precium auri solidos viginti quatuor eis in præ(83)sentia Iohanne vc. comparatore adnumeratos et traditos vidi.

The Latin A is here uniformly represented by *α*. But E, though generally ε, is often η, and very rarely ι, indicating not so much a wavering pronunciation of ε, η, ι, as an uncertain appreciation of the sound of the Latin *e*, confirmed by modern Italian usage. I is regularly ι, but not unfrequently ει; in *u*ιγενται viginti (No. 114, line 92), if the transcription is to be trusted, ι, ε, αι all occur for *i*, and ε is also found occasionally, compare *u*ειεnτι (No. 122,

line 82); this again must be attributed to mishearing of the Latin. O is *o*, *ω*, and rarely *ου*, for similar reasons. U is regularly *ου*, occasionally *o*, *υ* in the words, *κοι*, *κυι*, for *qui*, and rarely *ω*. I have already recorded my opinion that the original sound of Greek *οι* was (úi), and Latin *oe* (né), see Trans. Phil. Soc. 1867, supp. p. 65. Probably *αθκοιαι*=*atque* (No. 110, line 11) is Marini's misprint for *αθκουαι*. AE is generally *ε*, occasionally *αι*. AU is represented by *αυ* in *αυρι* = *auri*, No. 122, line 82, but it is still possible that the Greek said (abh'ri), as I heard a guide at Pompeii call *centauro* (tshentabh'ro), and compare *Ραυεννατη*=*Ravennatem*. The Greek *ει*, *οι* are written occasionally for *εϊ*, *οϊ*; compare *ειϛ*, *εειϛ* = *eis*, *ουεικ οικ* =*huic*. Among the consonants *β* is used for Latin *v* =(bh)?, and *b*, but Latin *b* is also represented by *u* a special form of *υ*; *γ* is used for *g* which, however, occasionally falls into *ι*; *δ* is rather avoided, or receives a special form *d* for Latin *d*; *ζ* only occurs in one of the attempts *γαυζιοσο* to spell *Gaudioso*, and in *ακτζιο*, *δοναtζιονες* for *actio donationes*, which seem to indicate its present use in *τζ*, *ντζ* =(tsh, dzh), but observe the pure *t* in *πρεσιντια* = *præsentia*; *θ* is only used as a mispronunciation of *t*; *κ* universally represents *c*, indicating that the Latin letter had preserved its sound down to this period in Italy, as indeed the ags. use of *c* is sufficient to prove; *λ* = *l*; *μ* = *m*, but the *m* is often quite dropped when final, indicating the transition to the modern Italian *-o*, *-a*, from *-um*, *-am*, the accusative forms; *ν* = *n*, but *n* and *m* are much confused; *ξ* = *x*, *π* = *p*, *ρ* = *r*, *σ* = *s*, *τ* = *t*, *φ* = *f*, *χ* does not occur, *ψ* = *ps* as in *ηψου* = *ipso*, *σουσκριψι* = *subscripsi*, but *ειπσις* = *ipsis*, is also found. The use of *σαντα* = *sancta*, seems to indicate a transition to the modern Italian *santa*, although *σακτα*, *σαnκτα* also occur, and the combinations *γγ*, *γκ* are not found.

The extremely recent date of the present pronunciation of Greek in England is not generally appreciated. In 1554 the present modern Greek pronunciation was regularly taught.[1] Sir Thomas

[1] See: Institutiones Lingvæ Græcæ; N. Clenardo Authore cum Scholijs P. Antesignani Rapistagnesis, Lugduni, 1554, in which the only pronunciation taught is that now usual at Athens. Compare also the passage in *Rabelais*—La vie de Garagantua et de Pantagruel. Book ii, chap. ix. (first edn. 1535), "Dont dist le compaignon: "Despota tinyn panagathe diati sy mi ouk artodotis? horas gar limo analiscomenon eme athlion, ke en to metaxy me ouk eleis oudamos, zetis de par emou ha ou chre. Ke homos philologi pantes homologousi tote logous te ke remata peritta hyparchin, opote pragma afto pasi delon esti. Entha gar anankeï monon logi isin, hina pragmata (hon peri amphisbetoumen), me prosphoros epiphente." Quoy? dist Carpalim lacquays de Pantagruel, c'est grec, je l'ay entendu. Et comment? as tu demeuré en Grece?" The Greek is thus restored in the edition of the Œuvres de Rabelais par Esmangart et 'Eloi Johanneau (Paris, 1823, 9 vols. 8vo.) vol. 3, p. 296. *Δέσποτα τοίνυν πανάγαθε, διὰ τὶ σύ μοι οὐκ ἀρτοδοτεῖς; ὁρᾷς γὰρ λιμῷ ἀναλισκόμενον ἐμὲ ἄθλιον, καὶ ἐν τῷ μεταξύ με οὐκ ἐλεεῖς οὐδαμῶς· ζητεῖς δὲ παρ' ἐμοῦ ἃ οὐ χρή. Καὶ ὅμως φιλολόγοι πάντες ὁμολογοῦσι τότε λόγους τε καὶ ῥήματα περιττὰ ὑπάρχειν ὁπότε πρᾶγμα αὐτὸ πᾶσι δηλόν ἐστιν. Ἔνθα γὰρ ἀναγκαῖοι μόνον λόγοι εἰσὶν, ἵνα πράγματα, ὧν πέρι ἀμφισβητοῦμεν, μὴ προσφόρως ἐπιφαίνηται.* Observe the retention of e for *η*; dialectically *σίδερον θερίον*, etc., are still found for *σίδηρον θηρίον*, etc., in Modern Greek.

Smith's theories were quite heretical in 1568, see suprà, p. 35, note 1, and he called *α, ε, η, ι, ο, ω, υ, αι, ει, αυ, ευ, ου, υι* (aa a, e, ee, ei *i*, o, oo, yy, ai, ei, au, eu, ou, wei), entirely ignoring the long sound of (ii) both in Latin and Greek. In the XVII th century *α, ι, υ, ει, αυ, ευ, ου,* became (æa æ, ɔi *i*, iu, ɔi, ʌʌ, iu, ɔu), in the XVIII th *α, η,* became (ee, ii), and thus in one letter, *η,* the former pronunciation was restored. The extraordinary mispronunciation of Latin and Greek now prevalent in England, results from the application of our own changeable pronunciation to the fixed pronunciation of dead languages, and from the historical ignorance which assumes that a language may have only one pronunciation through the generations for which it lasts. We may never be able to recover the pronunciation, or appreciate the quantitative rhythm of the Athenian tragedians or of the Homeric rhapsodists, but we can read as Plutarch and as Lucian, and we should be satisfied with that privilege, remembering that if we pronounced these later authors otherwise than as the modern Greeks, we should certainly pronounce wrongly. It would indeed be just as absurd to read Lucian with the pronunciation of Aristophanes, as to read Tennyson with the pronunciation of Chaucer.[1]

[1] The following is Κοραῆ's eloquent apology for the modern Greek pronunciation in the preface to his edition of Isocrates, Paris, 1807. No one who is acquainted with ancient Greek will have any difficulty in reading it, and the English pronunciation of Greek is so mixed up with the history of our own pronunciation, that it is not out of place to give it here at length:—

Σώζυνται πολλώταται ἐπιγραφαὶ παλαιαὶ, τῶν ὁποίων ἡ κακὴ γραφὴ ἀποδείχνει, ὕτι τῶν σημερινῶν Ἑλλήνων τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς γλώσσης ἡ προφορὰ εἶναι ἡ αὐτὴ καὶ ἡ προφορὰ, ἥτις ἦτον εἰς χρῆσιν κατὰ τοὺς καισαρικοὺς, καὶ ἴσως ἀνώτερα κατ' αὐτοὺς τοὺς Πτολεμαϊκοὺς χρόνους, ἤγουν κατ' ἐκείνην ὅλην τὴν περίοδον τοῦ χρόνου, εἰς τὴν ὁποίαν ἐζησαν καθεξῆς ὁ Πολύβιος, ὁ Ἁλικαρνασσεὺς Διονύσιος, ὁ Σικελιώτης Διόδωρος, ὁ Στράβων, καὶ ἄν ἔλθωμεν κατωτέρω μέχρι τῆς δευτέρας ἀπὸ Χριστοῦ ἑκατονταετηρίδος, Δίων ὁ Χρυσόστομος, ὁ Πλούταρχος, ὁ Ἀρριανὸς, ὁ Παυσανίας, ὁ Λουκιανὸς, ὁ Γαληνὸς, Σέξτος ὁ Ἐμπειρικὸς, καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ ἀξιόλογοι συγγραφεῖς. "Ἐὰν ἦναι βάρβαρος ἡ σημερινὴ ἡμῶν προφορὰ, εἶν' ἐκεῖνοι ὄχ' ἡμεῖς οἱ αἴτιοι τῆς βαρβαρώσεως," ἐμποροῦμεν νὰ ἀποκρίνωμεν πρὸς τοὺς κατηγόρους, καὶ νὰ τοὺς παρακαλέσωμεν νὰ ὑποφέρωσιν μὲ μακροθυμίαν νὰ προφέρωμεν καὶ ἡμεῖς, ὡς ἐπρόφεραν ἐκεῖνοι. Στηρίζεται μάλιστα ἡ κατηγορία εἰς τον Ἰωτακισμὸν, ἤγουν τὴν ἐξανάγκης συμβαίνουσαν τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἤχου τοῦ Ἰῶτα συχνὴν ἐπανάληψιν, ὁπόταν καὶ αἱ δίφθογγοι ΕΙ καὶ ΟΙ προφέρωνται ὡς αὐτό. Ἀμφιβολία δὲν εἶναι ὕτι ἡ συχνὴ τῶν αὐτῶν στοιχείων ἐπανάληψις εἶναι φυσικὰ ἀηδής· ἀλλ' ὄχι διὰ τοῦτο πρέπει τις πάντοτε νὰ τὴν ἀποφεύγῃ μὲ περιεργίαν δεισιδαίμονα, ὅταν μάλιστα δὲν ἦναι σύμφωνα τὰ ἐπαναλαμβανόμενα στοιχεῖα: Παραδείγματος χάριν εἰς τὸν στίχον τοῦτον τοῦ Ὁμήρου (Ἰλιάδ. Ε. 222).

Οἷοι Τρῴοι ἵπποι, ἐπιστάμενοι πεδίοιο,

εὑρίσκεται ἑξάκις ἡ δίφθογγος ΟΙ. Μ' ὅλον τοῦτο δὲν βλέπω διὰ ποίαν αἰτίαν προφερόμενος κατὰ τὴν προφορὰν τῶν Γραικῶν,

Ἶι Τρῴϊι ἵπποι, ἐπιστάμενι πεδίιο

ἤθελεν εἶσθαι εἰς τὴν ἀκοὴν ἀηδέστερος παρὰ προφερόμενος, ὡς τὸν προφέρουσι πολλοὶ ἀπὸ τοὺς ἀλλογενεῖς Εὐρωπαίους.

ὄϊοϊ Τρῴϊοϊ ἵπποϊ ἐπιστάμενοϊ πεδίοϊο

Σέξτος ὁ Ἐμπειρικὸς ὀνομάζει καθαρὰ τὰς διφθόγγους ταύτας στοιχεῖα, ἤγουν τὰς στοχάζεται ὡς ἁπλᾶ γράμματα εἰς τὴν προφοράν. [In a footnote the author says that Sextus lived A.D. 190, and cites a long passage from his Πρὸς Γραμματικ. κεφ. έ, § 117, σελ. 241, beginning: Ἐπεὶ οὖν ὁ τοῦ ΑΙ καὶ ΕΙ

After thus establishing the value of these transcriptions of the Septuagint into Anglosaxon characters for indicating the precise signification of the Anglosaxon vowels in the x th century, it may seem superfluous to cite Norman traditions in the xii th and xiii th, were there not always a certain amount of satisfaction in cumulative evidence. In Wace's Roman de Rou, which unfortunately exists only in later transcripts, and whose author probably always pronounced the despised Saxon most vilely, and certainly spelled it abominably, we find the following indications. Describing the conduct of the Saxons the night before the battle of Hastings, he says:

Mult les veissiez demener	E *laticome* e *drincheheil*.
Treper e saillir e chanter	*Drinc Hindrewart* e *Drintome*
Butler e crier *welseil*	*Drinc Helf* e *drinc Tome*. v. 12471-6

which may perhaps be rendered: "You might see them much sporting, gamboling, leaping, singing, joking,[1] and crying *Wæs hæl*, and *Læt hit cuman*, and *Drinc hæl*, *Drinc Hindweard*, and *Drinc to me*, *Drinc healf* and *Drink to me*." In this *Wæs hæl* and *Drinc hæl* are well known, and we must not be surprised at finding Norman *ei* for ags. *æ*, a strange sound, when Orrmin shews *beggtenn* for ags. *beatan* (suprà p. 489). *Drink to me*, remains in our language.

φθόγγος ἁπλοῦς ἐστι καὶ μονοειδὴς, ἔσται καὶ ταῦτα στοιχεῖα, and proceeding very distinctly to shew that by this expression he excluded the conception of diphthongs.] Καὶ ἂν τοῦτο δὲν ἀποδείχνῃ ὅτι εἰς τοὺς χρόνους τοῦ Σέξτου ἡ προφορὰ δὲν ἦτο φθαρμένη, ἱκανὸν εἶναι νὰ δείξῃ, ὅτι εἰς τοὺς χρόνους του δὲν ὑπωπτεύετο κανεὶς, ὅτι οἱ ὀλίγας ἑκατονταετηρίδας προγενέστεροι εἶχαν προφορὰν διάφορον. Μήτ' ἐξεύρω, μήτε νὰ μάθω μὲ μέλει, πῶς ἐπρόφερεν ὁ Ισοκράτης, ὁ Πλάτων, ὁ Δημοσθένης, καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι ἤκμασαν εἰς αὐτὴν τῆς γλώσσης τὴν ἀκμήν· καὶ, ὅταν ὑπερασπίζω τὴν σημερινὴν προφορὰν, δὲν διϊσχυρίζομαι ὅτι προφέρομεν ἀπαραλλάκτως ὡς ἐκεῖνοι, ἐπειδὴ πιθανὸν εἶναι νὰ ἐσυνέβη καὶ εἰς τὴν Ἑλληνικήν, ὅ,τι συμβαίνει εἰς ὅλα τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὰ ἔργα καὶ ποιήματα. Τοῦτο μόνον ἀδιστάκτως πιστεύω ὅτι ἂν ἡ προφορὰ τῆς γλώσσης ἠλλοιώθη, νὰ τὴν ἀποκαταστήσῃ εἰς τὴν ἀρχαίαν αὐτῆς φύσιν δὲν εἶναι καλὸς παρὰ μόνοι οἱ ὁποῖοι τὴν ἐλάλουν καὶ τὴν ἔγραφον ὡς μητρικὴν αὐτῶν γλῶσσαν. Ἕως νὰ ἀναβιώσωσιν ἐκεῖνοι, καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς συγχωρημένον εἶναι νὰ προφέρωμεν, ὡς τὴν ἐπρόφερεν ὁ βάρβαρος Σέξτος, ὁ ἀγράμματος Πλούταρχος, ὁ ἀμαθέστατος Γαληνὸς, καὶ οἱ ἀλλογενεῖς Ἑλληνισταὶ φιλοσοφώτερον ἤθελαν πράξει, ἂν ἔπεμπον καὶ τὴν προφορὰν τοῦ Ἐράσμου ὅπου ἔπεμπον πολλὰς ἄλλας προλήψεις, τώρα μάλιστα εἰς τὴν ἀναγέννησιν τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ὁπόταν μὲ τὴν ὁμοφωνίαν τῆς προφορᾶς, καὶ τὴν ἀδιάκοπον παράθεσιν τῆς παλαιᾶς μὲ τὴν νέαν γλῶσσαν τῶν Ἑλλήνων, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀπὸ τὰς ἀκόμη δειλὰς ἡμῶν παρατηρήσεις, καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀπὸ τὰς σοφὰς αὐτῶν σημειώσεις ἠθέλαμεν μεγάλως ὠφεληθῆ εἰς τὴν κατανόησιν τῶν ἀρχαίων ποιητῶν καὶ συγγραφέων.

[1] I adopt the reading of the Duchesne MS. cited by Pluquet, since the reading in his text "*Bublie* crient e *weissel*" is unintelligible. *Bufler* is from "*buffe*, *buffet*, *buffle*: coup de poing, soufflet, tape; *buffa*, en Ital. *buffettone*; en Basq. *bufeta*; en Languedocien *bufa*," (Roquefort); whence English *buffet*, compare Italian *buffo*, whence our *buffoon*. Compare also the Norfolk *buffle*, to handle clumsily, to speak thickly and inarticulately (Nall), to abuse, to rate soundly (as I am informed by Mr. Waring); also German *Büffel*, buffalo, buff, lout (compare *Oehs* for a fool) and *büffeln* to drudge (Hilpert). Whether *bufler* is a Norman word adopted into English, or an English word Normanized — compare the modern French *boxer*, to box—it is impossible to determine in the absence of parallel passages. It seems here to imply rough joking.

Perhaps *Læt hit cuman*, is a good wish, may you have what you want, and the drinking *hindweard* and *healf*, may refer to some customs such as still prevail among those who, making an art of toping, such as standing back to back and giving each to drink from the other's cup, or both drinking from the same bowl, etc. The passage is, however, not of much service phonetically, and the Anglosaxon words are doubtful. The following are better:

Olicrosse sovent crioent, E *Godemite* reclamoent: *Olicrosse* est en engleiz Ke sainte Croix est en franceiz, E *Godemite* altretant Com en frenceiz Dex tot poissant. v. 13119-24.

Hence *Olicrosse* = *Hálig Cross*, which looks like an error for *Ród*, and *Godemite* is *God Almihtig*. The former would incline to a very broad pronunciation of *á* as (aa), and perhaps arose from the subsequent southern *holy*. The latter might imply that long *i* was (ii), and certainly that they did not pronounce *almighty* as at present; but as the vowel was certainly short in *miht*, we do not gain much, except to learn that this form coexisted with Orrmin's *Allmahhtiȝ*. The form *Godelamit* occurs in the singular poem called *La Pais aux Englois*, attributed to A.D. 1263, which ridicules English French in an orthography difficult to comprehend.[1]

Normanz escriént: Dex aie; La gent englesche: *Ut* s'escrie. v. 13193 Con est l'ensegne que jou di Quant Engles saient *hors* a cri.

The two last lines are an addition to the text of Phuquet, taken from MS. 6987, Bib. Roy. de Paris (E. Taylor's translation, p. 191), and imply that *ut* = ags. *ut*, and therefore fixes the traditional pronunciation as (unt), which is of some value. The *Man* of v. 109, and *Zoonee* of v. 10659 (suprà, p. 461, note col. 1) are useless.

Marie de France belonged to quite the beginning of the XIIIth century, and we have the advantage of an indubitably early manuscript of much of her poetry.[2] In her lai de *Laustic* (Roquefort 1, 315, Harl. MS. 978, fo. 142), which Roquefort explains as intended for a Breton word, meaning a nightingale, she says:

Lauſtic ad nun ceo meſt auiſ Sil apelent en lur paiſ Ceo eſt reiſun en *franceiſ* E nihtegale en dreit engleiſ. v. 3.

[1] See Journal de l' Institute Historique, Première Anné, 1834, p. 363, for which reference I am indebted to the kindness of M. Francisque Michel. In this poem *roi* is uniformly spelled *rai*, and *foire* rhymes to *Ingletière*, *guere*, *conquerre*, which seems to militate against the view I have taken on p. 453, and at least shews that (feer·e) was a presumed Anglo-Norman pronunciation at the time, but whether it was the only or general value, or whether this may not be due to the author's pronunciation, or to the Poitevin dialect to which the editor attributes the piece, it is difficult for any one to determine, who knows the inconsistent way in which dialectic or foreign pronunciation is still represented orthographically, e.g. Burns's Scotch. No doubt can be felt as to the presumed rhyming word *faire* (p. 449), after seeing Orrmin's orthography faȝȝerr, p. 489.

[2] The Harl. 978 described suprà, p. 419. The Fables of Esop there named are by Marie de France, and many of her lays occur in the latter part of the same MS. See: Poèsies de Marie de France, poète Anglo-normand du XIIIe siècle, par *B. de Roquefort*, Paris, 1819, 2 vols. 8vo. I am indebted to Mr. Payne for having drawn my attention to the transcription of English in her

In the lai de *Chevrefoil* (Roq., 1, 388, Harl. MS. 978, fo. 148*b*), we find:

En fuhtwales .v. il fu nez v. 16. Gotelef lapelent en engleif
En cornwaille uait tut dreit. v. 27. Chevrefoil le nument en *franceis*. v. 115

In the lai de *Milun* (Roq. 1, 328) we find Suhtwales v. 9, Irlande 15, Norweie 16, Guhtlande 16, Suhthamptune 318, Northumbre 453. In the lai *d' Yvenec* (Roq. 1, 274), we have Ineolne = *Lincoln* v. 26, and Yllande = *Ireland*, v. 27. In the Fables (Roq. 2, 141, Harl. MS. 978, fo. 53*b*), we have:

Si ad ure ke li nileinf Lung cum li witecocs aneit.
Euft tel bek mut li plereit v. 18-20

where Roquefort cites the variants: huitecox, widecos, witecoc, which all seem to mean *whitecock*, an unknown bird, but as Norman *ui* was probably not so truly (uí) as (úi), or according to Mr. Payne (uu), p. 424, n. 3, and certainly often replaced (uu), p. 458, l. 27, these may mean (úit·ekok, uut·ekok), that is (wuud·ekok), ags. wuducocc (Ettm. 86), English woodcock, with an omitted (w) before (uu), p. 420, note, col. 2. These words give (aa a, ee e, ii i, oo o, uu) as Marie de France's appreciation of the sounds of the Anglosaxon, or XII th century English *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*.

In order to see at a glance the different opinions that prevail respecting the values of the Anglo-saxon letters, a table has been annexed on p. 534, giving also the views of Rask, Grimm, and Rapp.[1] Neither Rask nor Rapp give any illustrations, though Rapp writes a few isolated words.[2] But as we have ventured to give a theoretical representation of the values of the letters, symbolizing of course different pronunciations according as they are used in different combinations to express the very distinct dialects which prevailed at the time, it is necessary to shew the effect of this theory, by attempting the phonetic representation of a short passage. The parable of the Prodigal Son,[3] has been selected for this purpose, and will be hereafter presented in Icelandic (No. 2), Gothic (No. 3),

and Wace's poems. It is true that her transliterations of English rather represent the pronunciation of the XIII th century, than of Anglosaxon, and should, properly speaking, have been adduced on p. 462, but as I was not aware of them till after that sheet was printed off, I am glad to have this opportunity of inserting them.

[1] *Ė. Rask*, Grammar of the Anglo-Saxon Tongue, translated from the Danish by B. Thorpe, Copenhagen, 1830, pp. 6-15. *J. Grimm*, D. G. I[3], 325-378, for vowels, and I[2], 243-269 or consonants, but the indications are often so indistinct, that much doubt is to be attached to the following interpretations. Grimm proceeds from an etymological, rather than a phonetic conception. ***K. M. Rapp***, Phys. d. Spr. ii, 140-149, iv, 245, Vergleichende Grammatik, vol. 3 (1859), pp. 125-129.

[2] This being contrary to his usual custom he explains by saying: "Da dieser Dialekt noch zu gar keinem festen Resultate über die Kritik der Buchstaben gelangt ist, sind wir weit entfernt, mit dahin einschlagenden Sprachproben uns zu befassen."

[3] Đa halgan Godspel on Englisc. The Anglo-Saxon version of the holy Gospels, edited from the original manuscripts by Benjamin Thorpe, F.S.A., London, 1842, 8vo. pp. 240. "The basis of the present text is the Cod. Bibl. Pub. Cant. Ii. 2, 11, collated with Cod. C. C. C. C. S. 4. 140. In doubtful cases Cod. Bodl. 441. and Cod. Cott. Otho, C. 1, have also been consulted."—*Preface.*

the Wycliffite version (Chap. VII., § 3), for the sake of comparison. The translation at the foot of the page is intended to point out the grammatical construction, and the etymological relations of each word to the English, and would be therefore scarcely intelligible if the passage were not so well known.

Letters	Rask	Grimm	Rapp	Ellis	Letters	Rask	Grimm	Rapp	Ellis
a	*aa*	aa	*aa*	*aa*	í	ii	ii	ii	ii
a	a	*a*	a	*a* a	i	*i*	i	i	*i*
ǽ	ææ	ææ	ææ	ææ	ie	ɹee	íe ié		íe ?
æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	iu	ɹuu			íu ?
aw	au			au	l		l	l	l
b		b		b	m		m	m	m
c	k	k	k	k *k*	n		n	n	n
cg	gg			g	ng				q qg
cw		kbh		k*w*	ó	*oo*	*oo*	*oo*	oo
d	d	d	d	d	o	o	o *o*	o	o
ð	dh	ds	th	dh	p		p	p	p
é	ee	*ee*	ee	ee	r		r		r
e	*e*	e *e*	e *e*	e	s		s	sj	s
ea	ɹ*aa* ɹa	ea eá	*e*a ea	ea e*á*	sc	sk *sk*	sk		sk s*k*
eo	ɹ*oo* ɹo	eo eó	*e*o eo	eo eó	t		t	t	t
f	f v	f	f	f v	þ	th	ths	th	th
g	g *g* ɹ	g	g ɹ	g *g*	ú	uu	uu	uu	uu
				gh *g*h	u	*u*	u	u	u *u* ?
h	ʜ' kh	ʜ	kh	ʜ ʜ' kh	w		bh	bh	w
hl			khl	lh	wl				l*w*
hn			khn	nh	wr				r*w*
hr			khr	rh	ý	yy	yy	yy	yy ii
hw			khw	wh	y	y	y	y	y *i*

Anglosaxon, Lucas 15, 11-32.

11 Soðlice sum man hæfde twegen suna.

12 Ða cwæð se gingra [*Thorpe*, yldra] to his fæder, Fǽder, syle me minne dæl minre æhte þe me to gebyreð. Ða dælde he hym hys æhte.

13 Ða, æfter feawa dagum, calle his þing gegaderode se gingra sunu, and ferde wræclice on feorlen ríce, and forspilde þar his æhta, lybbende on his gǽlsan.

Conjectured Pronunciation.

11 Soodh·lii*k*e s*u*m m*a*n ʜæv·de twee*g*h·en s*u*n·a.

12 Th*aa* k*w*ædh se *g*h*i*q·ra to ʜ*i*s fæd·er, Fæd·er, syl·e me miin·e dææl miin·re ækht·e thee me too·gebyr·edh. Th*aa* dææld·e ne ʜ*i*m ʜ*i*s ææ*k*ht·e.

13 Th*aa*, æft·er fea·wa d*a*gh·um, cal·e ʜ*i*s th*i*q geg*a*d·erode se *g*h*i*q·ra s*u*n·u, *a*nd fer·de r*w*æ*k*·lii*k*e on feor·len rii*k*·e, *a*nd forsp*i*l·de th*aa*r ʜ*i*s æækht·a, lyb·ende on ʜ*i*s gææl·san.

Verbatim Translation, Luke 15, 11-32.

11 Soothly some man had twain sons.

12 Then quoth the younger to his father, Father, sell (give) me mine deal (part) of-mine owning that me to belongeth. Then dealed he him his owning.

13 Then, after few days, all his things gathered the younger son, and fared banished-like (abroad) on far kingdom, and for-spilled (lost) there his ownings, living on his luxury.

14 Ða he hig hæfde calle amyrrede, þa wearð myccel hunger on þam ríce; and he wearð wædla.

15 Ða ferde he and folgode ánum burh-sittendum men þæs ríces: þa sende he hine to his tune, þæt he heolde hys swyn.

16 Ða gewilnode he his wambe gefyllan of þam beancoddum þe ða swyn æton: and him man ne sealde.

17 Ða beþohte he hine, and cwæð, Eala hu fela yrðlinga on mines fæder huse hláf genohne habbað, and ic her on hungre forweorðe!

18 Ic aríse, and ic fare to minum fæder, and ic secge him,

19 Eála fæder, ic syngode on heofenas, and beforan þe, nu ic neom wyrðe þæt ic beo þin sunu nemned: do me swa ænne of þinum yrðlingum.

20 And he aras þa, and com to his fæder. And þa gyt, þa he wæs feor his fæder, he hyne geseah, and wearð mid mildheortnesse astyred, and agen hine árn, and hine beclypte, and cyste hine.

14 Thaa ne nigh nærde eal·e amyr·ede thaa weardh mik·el nuq·er on tham riik·e; and ne weardh wæd·la.

15 Thaa fer·de ne and fol·ghode aan·um burkwh-sit·endum men thæs riik·es: thaa send·e ne nin·e to nis tun·e, thæt ne neold·e nis swiin.

16 Thaa gewil·node ne nis wam·be gefyl·an of tham bean·kod·um thee tha swiin æt·on: and nim man ne seal·de.

17 Thaa bethokht·e ne nin·e, and kwæth, Eá·la, nuu fel·a yrdh·liqa on mii·nes fæd·er nuu·se lhaaf genookh·ne nab·ath, and ik neer on nuq·re forweor·dhe!

18 Ik arii·se, and ik far·e to mii·num fæd·er, and ik seg·e nim,

19 Eá·la fæd·er, ik syn·gode on neo·venas, and befor·an thee, nuu ik neom wyrdh·e thæt ik beo thiin sun·u nem·ned: doo me swaa æn·e of thii·num yrth·liqum.

20 And ne araas· thaa, and koom to nis fæd·er. And thaa ghit thaa ne wæs feor his fæd·er, ne hin·e geseakh· and weardh mid mild-heort·nese astir·ed, and agen· nin·e arn, and nin·e beklyp·te, and kys·te nin·e.

Verbatim Translation.

14 Then (when) he them had all dissipated, then worth (became) muckle hunger on that kingdom; and he worth (became) destitute.

15 Then fared he and followed one borough-sitting man of-that kingdom: then sent he him to his town (inclosure), that he might hold his swine.

16 Then desired he his womb (belly) to-fill of (with) the bean-cods that the swine ate; and to-him man not sold (gave).

17 Then bethought he him, and quoth, Oh! how many earthlings (farmers) on mine father's house, loaf (bread) enough have, and I here on hunger forth-worth (perish).

18 I arise and I fare to mine father, and I say to him,

19 Oh! father, I sinned on heavens, and before thee, now I not-am worthy that I be thine son named: do to-me as to-one of thine earthlings (farmers).

20 And he arose theu, and came to his father. And then yet, then (while) he was far-from his father, he him saw, and worth (became) with mildheartiness a-stirred, and again him ran, and him be-clipped (embraced), and kissed him.

21 Đa ƿæð his sunu, Fæder, ic syngode on heofen, and beforan þe, nu ic ne eom wyrðe þæt ic þin sunu beo genemned.

22 Đa ƿað se fæder to his þeowum, Bringað raðe þone selestan gegyrelan, and scrydað hine; and syllað him hring on his hand, and gescý to his fotum;

23 And bringað an fætt stýric, and ofsleað; and uton etan, and gewistfullian:

24 forþam þes min sunu wæs dead, and he geedcucode; he forwearð, and he ys gemet. Đa ongunnon hig gewistlæcan.

25 Soðlice his yldra sunu wæs on æcere; and he cóm: and þa he þam huse genealæhte, he gehyrde þone sweg and þæt wered.

26 Đa clypode he ænne þeow, and acsode hine hwæt þæt wære.

27 Đa ƿæð he, Þin broðer com, and þin fæder ofsloh án fætt ceálf; forþam he hine halne onfeng.

28 Đa gebealh he hine, and nolde ingán: þa eode his fæder út, and ongan hine biddan.

21 Thaa kwæth nis sunu, Fædher ik syngode on neoven, and beforan thee, nuu ik ne eom wyrdhre dhæt ik thiin sunu beo genemned.

22 Thaa kwæth se fædher to nis theowum, Briqradh raadhre thonre scelestan gegyrelan, and skryydradh nine, and syladh nim rhiq on nis nand, and geskyy to nis footum:

23 and briqradh aan fæt styyrik, and ofsleadh; and uurton etan, and gewistfulian:

24 forthamm thes miin sunu wæs dead, and he geedkuukode; ne forweardh, and ne is gemeet. Thaa ongunon nigh gewistlæækan.

25 Soodhliike nis yldra sunu waes on ækere; and ne koom; and thaa ne tham huuse genealæækhte, ne gehyrdhe thonre sweegh and thæt werred.

26 Thaa klypode ne ænre théou, and aksode nine whæt thæt wæære.

27 Thaa kwædh ne, Thiin broodher koom, and thiin fædher ofslookh aan fæt keálf: forthamm ne nine naalne onfeq.

28 Thaa gebealkh ne nine and noldre ingaan: thaa eode nis fædher unt, and ongann nine bidan.

Verbatim Translation.

21 Then quoth his son, Father, I sinned on heaven, and before thee, now I not am worthy that I thine son be named.

22 Then quoth the father to his thanes (servants). Bring rathe (quickly) the best garment, and shroud (clothe) him, and sell (give) him a-ring on his hand, and shoes to his feet,

23 and bring one fat steer, and slaughter; and let us eat and feast,

24 for-that (because) this mine son was dead, and he again-quickened; he forth-worth (perished), and he is met. Then began they to-feast.

25 Soothly his elder son was on acre; and he came, and then (while) he to-the house neared, he heard the music and the company,

26 Then cleped (called) he one thane (servant) and asked him what that were.

27 Then quoth he, Thine brother came, and thine father slaughtered one fat calf; for-that he him whole fanged (received).

28 Then was-wrathful-at he him and not-would go-in: then went his father out, and began him to-bid.

29 Đa cwæð he, his fæder andswariende, Efne, swa fela geara ic þe þeowode, and ic nǽfre þin bebod ne forgymde, and ne sealdest þu me nǽfre án ticcen, þæt ic mid minum freondum gewistfullode:

30 ac syððan þes þin sunu com, þe hys spéde mid myltrystrum amyrde, þu ofsloge him fætt cealf.

31 Đa cwæð he, Súnu, þu eart symle mid me, and calle mine þing synd þíne: þe gebyrede gewistfullian and geblissian: forþam þes þin broþer wæs deád, and he geedcucode; he forwearð, and he ys gemet.

29 Thaa kwæth he, his fæd·er andswar·iende, Eev·ne swa fel·a ghea·ra ic the theo·wode; and ic næv·re thiin bebod· ne forghyym·de, and ne seal·dest thuu mee næv·re aan tic·en, thæt ic mid miin·um freon·dum gewist·ful·ode:

30 ak siidh·an thes thiin sun·u koom, thee his spee·de mid mil·tristrum amyrd·e thuu of·sloogh·e him fæt kealf.

31 Thaa kwædh he, Sun·u, thuu eart sim·le mid mee, and eal·e miine thiq sind thii·ne: thee gebyr·ede gewist·ful·ian and gebliss·ian fortham· thes thiin broo·dher wæs dead and ge,ed-kuu·kode; he forweardh·, and he is gemeet·.

Verbatim Translation.

29 Then quoth he, his father answering, Lo! so many years I thee thaned (served), and I never thine bidding not neglected, and not soldest (gavest) thou me never one kid, that I with my friends feasted:

30 Eke (but) sithens (sinee) this thine son came, that his speed (property) with mistresses lost, thou slaughterest for-him fat calf.

31 Then quoth he, Son, thou art ever with me, and all mine things are thine; to-thee belonged to-feast and to-bliss; for-that this thine brother was dead, and he again-quickened; he forth-worth (perished), and he is met.

2. Icelandic and Old Norse.

In the IX th century, Iceland was discovered and colonised by the Scandinavians. The writing at first used was runic, but Roman Christianity and Roman letters, which seem to have always gone hand in hand, were introduced in the XI th century, and MSS. of the XII th and XIII th centuries still exist. The sea usually unites; but large tracts of dangerous wintry sea, and a climate which for months in the year closes the harbours, separate. The Icelandic colonizers were so separated from their native country that their tongue was practically unaffected by the causes which divided it on the continent into two, mutually unintelligible, literary languages, the Danish and Swedish, and the numerous unwritten Norwegian dialects.[1] In Iceland, therefore, we have the strange

[1] "On the older Runic stones altogether the same tongue is found in all three kingdoms, and in the oldest laws of each people very nearly the same. This tongue occurs first under the denomination Dönsk túnga (Dœnsk tuuq·ga) because Denmark was in the oldest times the mightiest kingdom.... But the Old Norse began also first to decay in Denmark, and therefore took the name Norrœna (Nor·raæ·na), because it was probably spoken best and most purely in Norway .... Before the Union of Calmar [between Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, 1397], it was materially changed both in Sweden

spectacle of a living medieval tongue, with all its terminations, inflections, and vowel changes, whether of mutation (*Umlaut*) or progression (*Lautverschiebung*), practically unchanged, and in daily use. The language of the oldest MSS. scarcely differs from that of the most modern printed books as much as that of Chaucer from that of Shakspere. Practically the study of Icelandic is the study of the language spoken by those fierce invaders of our Eastern coasts, whose tongue has so powerfully and permanently affected all our Eastern and Northern dialects. It is, therefore, of extreme interest to all students of dialectic or early English.[1] But its orthographic laws are so different from those with which we are familiar, and many of its sounds are so singular,—living remnants of habits which seem to have been widely diffused in the xth century, but which have become lost, and generally misunderstood in modern times—that a careful examination and explanation of their nature is necessary. As no treatise has as yet appeared which conveys satisfactory information, I have availed myself of the kindness of Mr. Eiríkr Magnússon,[2] who, to a perfect knowledge of his native tongue joins a long and familiar acquaintance with the language and pronunciation of England, and who has taken the greatest pains to enable me to render the following account as complete and trustworthy as possible.[3] Whether the actual pronunciation of Icelandic is or is not the same as that in use in the xth century, it is not easy to determine. The antecedent probability

and Norway; then arose the name *islenska* (iis'lenska) which the tongue has kept to the present day."—*Rask*, Gram. art. 518. "From the North the same tongue was spread over the Ferro, Orkney, Shetland, and Western Isles, and from Iceland to the coast of Greenland: but the old Greenland has been now for a long time lost, and since the Scottish Isles were joined to Scotland, the Old Norse language has given way to the New English. On the Ferro Isles a dialect is still spoken, which comes very near to the Icelandic, but is of little interest since it has no literature except some popular songs."—Ibid. Art. 520. These songs were published with a Danish translation by Lyngbye, Randers, 1822 (Dasent's note). See also Ivar Aasen's Dictionary of the Dialects of Norway.

[1] Prof. Th. Möbius's Analecta Norroena, and Altnordisches Glossar, recently published, will be found useful for students who are acquainted with German. The glossary extends to several other selections named in the preface. A uniform modern orthography is adopted in all the extracts, but carefully printed specimens of the orthography adopted in ancient manuscripts are given in an appendix. A grammar is to follow, and in the meantime, Dasent's Rask's Grammar may be used. The following are Icelandic Dictionaries of repute, which have superseded Biörn Haldorson's Lexicon Islandico-Danicum, edited by Rask, Copenhagen, 1814, 2 vols., 4to. Sveinbjörn Egilsson, Lexicon Poeticum antiquæ Linguæ Septentrionalis, Copenhagen, 1840, 8vo. pp. 932. Erik Jonsson, Oldnordisk Ordbog, Copenhagen, 1863, 8vo. Fritzner, Ordbog over det gamle norske Sprog, Christiania, 1867.

[2] Editor of the revised edition of the Icelandic Version of the Bible for the British and Foreign Bible Society, author of Legends of Iceland, and translator of various sagas.

[3] Mr. Henry Sweet, of the Philological Society, having acquired the pronunciation of Icelandic from another teacher, Mr. Hjaltalín, I requested him to inform me where his impressions differed from mine. The observations which he has been kind enough to furnish, are added in the shape of footnotes, signed H. S.

is that there are differences, and with respect to *y* this probability amounts almost to a certainty. But Rask, Rapp, and Grimm[1] differ most materially in their views, and as they cannot all be right, it is very likely they are all wrong. None of them seem to have pursued a satisfactory course for arriving at the truth, which would require a long study of the phonetic relations of existing dialects in Denmark, Sweden, Norway, and Iceland, the careful examination of ancient manuscripts, of rhymes and assonances, and of the internal phonetic relations of the language itself. Mr. Henry Sweet having carried out this programme to a great extent, has obligingly furnished me with his own views on the subject, which I have appended to a tabular account of the opinions of Rask, Rapp, and Grimm, at the close of this section. It is first necessary to ascertain existing usage.

Icelandic now possesses eight simple vowels, *a*, *e*, *i*, *í*, *o*, *ö*, *u*, *ú* =(a, e, *i*, i, o, œ, ɔ, u) either short or long, the shortening being generally indicated by two following consonants, or a doubled consonant. The letters *ý y* are at present identical with *í*, *i*. It has also six diphthongs; namely, three *i* diphthongs, *æ au*, *ei* or *ey*, the two last being at present identical = (aa*i*, œœ*i*, *ee*i); two *u* diphthongs, *á*, *ó* = (aau, *oo*u), the great peculiarity of all these diphthongs being the importance of the first element, and the brevity of the second, which in the case of *ei*, *ó* amounts to that faint indication of an (i, u) heard in the English *day*, *know* (d*ee*'j, n*oo*'*w*), in Icelandic letters *dei*, *nó;* and one acknowledged diphthong with (i) prefixed, *é* or *è* as it is now written, and which might with equal propriety be written *je*, for in fact there are numerous other diphthongs of the same class, now written with a prefixed *j*, but formerly written with a prefixed *i*.

The consonants *b*, *d*, *h*, *j*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *p*, *r*, *s*, *t*, *v* = (b, d, ʜ, ᴊ, l, m, n, p, r, s, t, v) almost invariably; *f* varies between (f, v) and sometimes (b, m); *k*, *g* are properly (k, g) but are often palatalised to (*k*, *g*), and *g* takes all guttural phases of (gh, *g*h, ɣh; g*w*h, *w*h), down to (ɣ, w), and complete disappearance; *c* used to be employed in the combination *ck* only, and *q* in the combination *qv*, but as neither *c* or *q* belong to the language, they have been both superseded by *k*; *x* is occasionally used for *ks*, or *gs*; and *z* is employed for the sound of *s* before which a dental has been omitted, but not very consistently. The old letters þ, ð are retained as (th, dh), although *d* is often employed for ð in older printed books. The combinations *hj*, *hl*, *hn*, *hr*, *hv* are called (ɧh, lh, nh, rh, wh). The double letters *ll*, *nn* are mostly (dl, dn) when medial, and (tlh, tnh) or (dtlh, dtnh) when final. In the doubled *tt*, the first *t* indicates an assimilated guttural, which however is generally more or less heard. The following is a particular alphabetical account of the behaviour of each letter and principal combination.

[1] A Grammar of the Icelandic or Old Norse Tongue, translated from the Swedish of *Erasmus Rask* by G. W. Dasent, London, Pickering; Frankfort, Jaeger, 1843. The Swedish title is: Anvisning till Isländskan eller Nordiska Fornspråket, af Erasmus Christian Rask. Från Danskan öfver-

Icelandic Alphabet.

A, distinctly (aa, a), not so low as (*aa*, *a*), and never rounded to (*ah*), but occasionally as high as (aah, ah), though this may be an individual peculiarity, and was certainly unintentional.[1] Most of the words cited by Grimm as having short (a) are now pronounced with long (aa). Ex. hann (nan) *he*, alt (alht) *all*, haf$\eth$di (nav·dhi), landi$\eth$ (landidh) *the land*; drafi (draav·i) *husks*, matar (maa·tar) *meat = food*, taka (taa·ka) *take*, ma$\eth$ur (maa·dhər) *man*;[2] sag$\eth$i (saah⌊ghdhi)[3] *said*. In unaccented syllables, where open or closed, the short *a* is general.

Á, a clear diphthong (aau), with the first element predominant, and the final short, and thus distinguished from the German *au* (au). Not (ao, a*o*) as suggested by Rapp. Never (ʌʌ), but confounded occasionally with *o* in MSS, with which compare the Welch confusion of *aw*, *o* (au, oo). When á is final and emphatic there seems to be an inclination to sound after it a whispered *u* (·u), or the labio-gutturals (wh, *gw*h), just slightly touched, as *á* (aau⌊wh) river, *fá* (faau⌊wh). Before a doubled letter the first element is somewhat shortened, and before doubled *t*, the guttural is decidedly touched, as *átti* (au⌊k*w*ht·ti) *had*, but the whole combination is spoken with extreme brevity.

Æ, the diphthong (aa*i*), taken by Rapp as (a*e*), from his inability to appreciate (*i*); distinct therefore from German *ei*, *ai* (ai). There is an unacknowledged tendency to develop a palato-guttural sound, as (ɹ, ɹh, *g*h, *k*h), after *æ*, when final, or before a vowel, as: æ (aa*i*⌊ɹh) *aye ever*, æa (aa*i*·ɹa) *to cry for pain*. And before two consonants or a doubled consonant, the first element is shortened, as: ætla (a*i*t·la) *to think* ættir (a*i*t·t*i*r) *oughtest*.

AU sounds to me as the diphthong (œœ*i*), scarcely differing from the French *œil* on the one hand and the Dutch *ui* on the other. Rask refers the Icelandic sound to the German *eu*, as Dr. Gehle did the Dutch (suprà p. 235, n. 1, and p. 295, n. 1), and Rapp, as I understand him, says that Rask pronounced the diphthong *au* as (ɑɔ), which pronunciation seems to furnish the key to the orthography, for *a* changes its sound by *Umlaut* to *e* through a following *i*, and to ö (œ) through a following *u* (ɔ), as: fa$\eth$ir, fö$\eth$ur (faa·dhir, fœœ·dhər). This organic law of change was probably the cause why *au* was written for ö in old MSS. quasi, *a* as altered by the influence of *u*, and the same spelling was also used for *öu* (œœɔ) most naturally. Now since (ɔ) is often confounded with (y), and (y), when brief, is easily confounded with (*i*), we see how *au* might

satt och omarbetad af Författaren, 1818. Physiologie der Sprache von Dr. *K. M. Rapp*, vol. 2 (1839), pp. 128-139, vol. 4 (1841) p. 246. Vergleichende Grammatik, vol. 3, (1859), pp. 39-41. Deutsche Grammatik von *Jacob Grimm*, vol. 1, 3rd ed., 1840, pp. 421-495, 2nd ed. 1822, pp. 280-330.

[1] Decidedly (ah) in unaccented syllables, and in accented intermediate to (ah) and (a).—H.S. Is this sound (aɬ)?

[2] Compare the Norfolk *mawther*, a girl, and the observation in Nall's Glossary. This Icelandic word was formerly *mannr*, modern Danish *mand*.

[3] For the use of ⌊ to signify a scarcely audible utterance of the following element, see suprà, p. 419, note, col. 1.

come to be (œœə, œœy, œœi), and, in the present absence of (y) from the language, would naturally rest in (œœi). The German *eu* is very variously pronounced (suprà p. 321, note 2). Rask must have alluded to the somewhat rare (əy) sound, which he heard as (œy). If the view here taken be correct, the sound (œə) was probably the oldest form of this diphthong, and the antiquity of the (ə) sound of *u*, is also rendered probable.[1] Ex. hlaup (lhœəːp) *course*, lauf (lœəiv) *leaf*, skaut (skœəit) *lap*, kaupa (kœəiːpa) *buy*.

B is always (b).

C is "used by old writers indiscriminately with *k*, especially at the end of monosyllables. It is now used only in *ck* for *kk*, but many write *kk* and thus shut *c* entirely out of the language, a custom which is already (1818) old, though not general."—*Rask*.

D is always intended to be (d) according to the present orthography, but in older printed matter it also stood for ð. It is found only at the beginning of words and syllables, and after *l*, *n*, *m*, and *d*. It is occasionally written when not pronounced, as: syndga (sinːga) *to sin*.

Đ is precisely the English (dh), but never occurs initially in Icelandic, where it is found in place of (d), after vowels and *r*, *f*, *g*, and "in old writers it is sometimes found after *l*, *m*."—*Rask*. There are some districts in Western Iceland where it cannot be pronounced, and is replaced by (d). It has disappeared in Swedish, but is heard though not written, in Danish. The present use of þ, ð in Icelandic accords generally with their written use in Anglosaxon, and consequently there is a presumption that the English use of an initial (dh) is modern, see suprà p. 515.[2]

[1] This conjecture will be incorrect if, as seems probable, Mr. Sweet's views are to be adopted, infrà, p. 559.

[2] Since p. 515 was sent to press, Mr. Henry Sweet has read his investigation of the meaning of þ ð before the Philological Society (4 June, 1869). He considers that the sound was originally uniformly vocal = (dh), in the earliest stages of the Teutonic languages, and that the non-vocal (th) is a later and progressive development. He believes that the earliest Icelandic of the XIIIth century had the same pronunciation of þ ð as the modern, except in the words which have exceptionally an initial vocal form in English, thus, ancient ðat, ðessi ðú = modern það, þessi, þú. But the testimony of Icelandic MSS. he finds to be very uncertain. In modern Icelandic, ð is often evanescent (ıdh), according to Mr. Sweet, and in the Norwegian dialects it disappears entirely leaving an hiatus. See Rapp's opinion, infrà p. 555, n., col. 2. It should be mentioned that one of our words having an initial (dh), *though*, is pronounced with initial (th) in Scotland, (thoo), which however, may be a remnant of the form *thocht*, possibly a form of *thought*, for which initial (th) would be regular. As regards Anglosaxon, the real usages of MSS., disregarding the manipulation of editors, are very uncertain, according to Mr. Sweet. The Northumbrian writings use ð everywhere, except in the contraction þt. Rapp (Vergleichende Grammatik, iii, 128) complains that a great mistake has been made respecting Anglosaxon þ ð, especially in England. The Anglosaxons, he says, probably wrote first with runic, then with Latin letters, and there being no Latin letter for (th), the sound was represented in three ways; occasionally, even in the oldest monuments, by *th*, [compare suprà p. 525, l. 22]; afterwards by the runic þ, and thirdly by the Icelandic ð. Englishmen could not but feel that þ, ð were convenient representatives for their own two sounds (th, dh), although a cursory inspection of the MSS. would shew the discordance; so that some inverted the order and made þ, ð = (dh, th), [suprà p. 515, note 1]. Neither the Anglosaxon nor

E is properly (ee, e) long and short.[1] The sound did not appear to me to be so low as (EE, E), and certainly was not so high as (*ee*, *e*). Grimm (ib. pp. 427-432) endeavours to divide the sound into two, (e) corresponding to Gothic *a*, and (*e*), which he writes *ë*, corresponding to Gothic *i*. There is no trace of this in the spoken language. Ex. ennfremur (en·free·mər) *and further*; sem (seem) *who*; herrar (her·rar) *lords*, verk (verk) *work*, etc. Initially it is occasionally pronounced like *è*, as: eg (ɹee*g*h) *I*.

E', E', the form *è* was proposed by Rask, and has been generally adopted, the older writers employ *é* or omit the accent altogether, leaving it to be supplied by the reader—either form is considered equivalent to *je*, and should therefore be (ɹee, ɹe), but in fact, as in many cases where *j* is written, the result is often a diphthong with the stress on the first element, as: trè (tríee) *tree*, mèr (míeer) *to me*; but: fènu (fɹee·nə, fiée·nə) *fees*, *property*, rèttur (rɹet·tər)[2] *right*, fèll (fɹedtlh) *fell*, etc.

EI, EY. These two signs are now identical in signification. Rask says that the two sounds are still distinct in Norway, where *ey* = (œi), and in the Ferro dialect, where it is commonly (oi). At present, however, both are (*eei*) or (*ee*'j), not sensibly differing from southern English d*ay*, and having its first element distinctly (*ee*) and hence materially differing from *e*. It is occasionally shortened by shortening the first element, and then may be written (*e*⌊*i*) to shew the brevity of the second element, so that the effect is almost (*e*). Ex. seil (*seei*l) *towing line*, heill (He⌊*i*dtlh) *whole*, þeirra (the⌊*i*r·ra) *of them*, eytt (*e*⌊*i*t) *wasted*.

F, properly (f), with a very mild hiss, scarcely more than a single tooth being touched by the lower lip, so that it approaches (ph). It has this sound only at the beginning of syllables, or before *s*, or when doubled. At the end of a word or between vowels it falls into an equally mild (v). Before *l*, *n*, at the end of syllables it falls into (b), but if d or t follow the *n*, then *fnd*, *fnt* become (mnd, mnt), most generally, though some say (mnd, fnt). Ex. fótur (foou·tər) *foot*, ofsi (ov·*si*) *arrogance*; haf (naav) *sea*, arfr (arv·ər) *inheritance*; tafla (tab·la) *table*, nafn (nab·nh) *name*; nefna (neb·na) *to name*, nefnt (nemnt) supine of *nefna*; jafnt (ɹaft), from the pulpit (ɹamnt) *equally*.[3]

G is the most changeable of all the letters, and it is difficult to lay down rules which should apply to every case. At the beginning of syllables it is (g) before *a*, *á*, *o*, *ó*, *u*, *ú*, *ö*, *au*, and (*g*) before *æ*, *e*, *ei*, *i*, *í*, *y*, *ý*, *ey* and also before *j*. The first group corresponds

Early English use þ or ð in place of an organic (d). The Englishman now pronounces the demonstrative pronominal family with initial (dh), which no one has yet asserted for Anglosaxon (*was noch niemand im Angelsächsischen behauptet hat*). He considers that English (dh) has arisen partly from (th) and partly from (d), and that in Anglosaxon þ, *d*, must be everywhere restored, and ð eliminated. He even assumes initial *th* = (th) in Chaucer, see the introduction to Chap. VII. § 1, near the end.

[1] I took the *e* for (E) instead of (e). —H.S.

[2] The sound before *tt* is a pure aspirate without consonant quality, *rétt* (riEH·t) —H.S.

[3] *Jafnt* or *jamt* with voiceless *m* (ɹamht).—H.S.

to non-palatal vowels, and the second to palatal vowels, but this division is not exact, for *e*, *u ö* (e, ɔ, œ) have precisely the same elevation of the tongue as *ei* (*eei*), and *æ* (aai) is a back vowel, before which the use of the palatal (*g*) is exactly similar to that in older English *regard*, *sky* (ri*g*aard·, s*k*əi), suprà p. 206. The palatal *k*, *g* are expressed by *kj*, *gj* before the first group, and should always be so expressed. *G* after *a*, *o*, becomes (gh), and after *ó*, *ú*, it falls into (*ɯ*h, wh, w) or almost entirely disappears. But after an (i) sound, it becomes (*g*h, *k*h) or even completely (ɹh, ɹ), and occasionally disappears as (i). These changes are extremely interesting because they shew the stages through which the ags. ȝ passed in older English before it entirely subsided into the present (ɹ i, w u) or totally disappeared. We have, therefore, an actual living example of the intermediate sounds, already suggested by theory, establishing the correctness of the previous hypothesis, suprà, p. 512. Ex.:

(g), gáfa (gaau·va) *gift*, gás (gaaus) *goose*, gaukur (gœœi·kər) *cuckow*, glóð (gl*oo*udh) *live coal*, góður (g*oo*u dhʌr), göra (*gœœ*·ra) *to make*.

(*g*), gæs (*gaai*s) *geese*, gæta (*gaai*·ta) *to keep*, geit (*geei*t) *goat*, gjöf (*gi*œœv) *gift*, gjarn (*gi*ádtnh) *prone*, pýngja (piiq·*gi*a) *purse*, gefa (*gee*·va) *give*.

(gh) og (ɔogh) *and*, dögum (dœœgh·əm) *to days*, sagðí (saah⌊gh·dh*i*) daglaunamenn (daa⌊gh·lœœ*i*·namen·) *day labourers*.

(*gɯ*h, wh, w), ljúga (ljuu·⌊*gɯ*ha, ljuu·⌊wha, ljuu·wa, ljuu·a) *to tell a falsehood*, all varieties of barely pronounced (*gɯ*h) being permissible, and the last two forms being most common. This disappearance of (*gɯ*h) strongly calls to mind the absence of (gh) in the Welch system of mutation of initial consonants, thus (b, f, m; d, dh, n) should have in Welch a corresponding (g, gh, q), but instead of (gh) an hiatus is substituted as: eu gafr, dy afr, fy ngafr (e*y* gaav·'r, dɪ aav·'r, vɪ-qaav·'r), *their*, *thy*, *my goat*, where we ought clearly to have (dɪ ghaav·'r).

(*g*h, ɹh) mig (m*ii*g*h*) *me*, eigum (*eei*gh·əm) *possessions*, sig (s*ii*g*h*) *himself*, eg (ɹeeg*h*) *I*, gnægð (gnaai⌊*g*hd), *enough*.

(*k*h) fjarlægt (fiar·laai⌊*k*ht) *far lying*.

(ɹ) feginn (fee·ɹi*n*) *fain*, segja (seei·ɹa) *to say*, dragið (draa·ɹ*i*dh), *draw*, *put*, bogi (boo·ɹ*i*) *bow for shooting*, agi (aa·ɹ*i*) *chastisement*, bágindi (baau·ɹ*i*ndi) *troubles*.

In addition to these we must reckon the cases where a scarcely perceptible (*g*h, ɹh, g*ɯ*h, wh) is developed from (*i*, uu) as: æ, bú (ai⌊ɹh, buu⌊wh) *ever*, *farm*. The Swedish reading of *gn* as (qn) is unknown except when *d*, *t* follow as lygndi (l*ii*qn·d*i*) *became calm*, rigndi, rignt (r*ii*qn·d*i*, r*ii*qnt) *was rained on*. When *s* follows the *n* is lost, as gagns (gagks).

H before vowels is (h', h) and is never dropped. Before consonants it is used simply to make them voiceless. Thus we have the remarkable set of digraphs, HJ, HL, HN, HR, HV, existing as distinct (ɹh, lh, nh, rh, wh), as was conjectured for Anglosaxon,

p. 513. HJ = (jh) is precisely the same as the initial element in my pronunciation of *hue* (jhiu), and is not (kh, gh), but of course only slightly different. HL = (lh) is the true whispered (l), with the breath passing out at each side of the tongue, and hence different from the unilateral Welch *ll* (lhh), so that Welch: lladd (lhhaadh) *to kill*, and Icelandic: hlaðr (lhaadh) *a street, a mound*, are perfectly distinct in sound. This (lh) sound is also frequently developed from *ll* final, intended for *dl*, but called (dtlh) as áll (audtlh) *eel*, and even before *t*, as: alt (alht) *all*. It would therefore naturally replace our English final ('l) in *fiddle*, if *l* occurred final after a consonant, just as the modern French stable (stablh), p. 52.[1] This is really the case with HN = (nh), which not only occurs initially, as hnífur (nhii·vər) *knife*,[2] but in *nn* as: einn (*ei*dtnh) *one*, and: vatn (vatnh) *water*. In HR = (rh) the Icelandic possesses perfect whispered *r*, which on the analogy of (lh, nh) is the sound of the favourite nominative termination *-r* in old Norse, as: bleikr, deigr (bl*ee*ikrh, d*ei*grh) *pale, wet*, but the modern custom is to use *-ur* (*-ər*) in its place, and this pronunciation has probably arisen from the sound (rh) having been dropped, and (r) simply retained, as (bl*ee*ikr) with a distinct trilled (r) not forming a syllable, and different from (bl*ee*i'k'r), into which it probably sank, before the transition into (bl*ee*i·kər) took place, as the Icelander naturally conceives all indistinct sounds to be (ə) which is *his* "natural vowel." The close resemblance of (rh) to (s) however, and the correspondence of the Icelandic *-r* with the Gothic *-s*, renders the old sound (rh) extremely probable, and possibly the old Latin confusion of terminal *s*, *r* as *arbos arbor*, *honos honor*, may rest upon a similar antecedent whispered pronunciation of *r*. The use of HV = (wh) is the most singular, because (w) is not a recognized element in the language, and it will be best considered under V.

I is distinctly (*ii*, *i*) both long and short, the very sounds which we were led to attribute to *i* in the XIV th century (p. 297). It is interesting also to see that foreigners, unable to appreciate the true (*ii i*), confuse it with (*ee*, *e*),[3] which is a corroboration of the re-

[1] The sound of *hl* is more correctly (ljh).—H. S. See infrà, p. 546, n. 1.

[2] Compare Cooper, p. 32, "N Formatur ab extremitate linguae superiorum dentium radici appositâ (si spiritus utrinque per labia efflatur formatur *l*) huic correspondet *hn*, quam scribunt *Angli* per *kn*, *know hnow*, cognosco." —p. 37, "*hn* quam scribimus *kn*." —p. 38, "*zh*, *wh*, *sh*, *th*, *hn* in Alphabeto non numerantur."—p. 39, "*kn* ponitur pro *hn*."—p. 67. "*Kn* sonatur ut *hn*; *knave* nebulo, *knead* mala cisso, *knee* genu, *kneel* ingenicnlor, *knife* cultcr, *knight* eques, *knit* necto, *knock* tundo, *know* nosco, *knuckle* articulus; quasi *hnave*, etc."

[3] Rask says that the "sound especially when it is long seems to approach to that of the deep *e* (*e*)." Rapp says "folglich *i* = *é* gilt," *i.e.* consequently i = (*e*). Grimm says: "Während der unterschied zwischen i und î in solchen zweisilbigen formen beinahe unmerklich sein, z. b. qviða poema fast lauten musz wie qvîða metus, obschon kurzes i im munde des Isländers sich dem elaut nähert," i.e. he considers that the dissyllables qviða *poem*, qvîða *fear* ought to be nearly indistinguishable, "although in the mouth of an Icelander short *i* approaches to the sound of *e*." (Gr. I³, 486). Mr. Sweet says than in unaccented syllables *i* is rather (e) than (*i*).

mark, p. 271, and even in some terminations, *e* often stands in MSS. for *i*, as in: háskalegr, misseri, lande, for háskaligr, missiri, landi (haaus·kal*ii*gər, mis·s*ii*ri, land·*ii*) *dangerous, quarter year, to a land.* At the present day, however, the (*ii*) is very distinct, as is never confused with (ii), thus: vinum mínum (v*ii*·nəm mii·nəm) do not rhyme, and children in repeating the alphabet never confuse *i* with *í*, that is (*ii*) with (ii). Icelandic is the only language I have met with which distinctly recognizes this long (*ii*), though we have seen that it is occasionally generated in English (p. 106). The short *i* is the true usual English (*i*), and is perfectly distinct from (i). In older books *i* before a vowel was used, where *j* is now employed.

Í on the other hand is (ii, i), generally long, but short in unaccented syllables. It is not, however, found short in closed accented syllables as in Scotch and French.[1] Rask considers *í*, *ú* as diphthongs, as it were *ij ur* = (*i*i, əu), but there is no foundation for this in actual speech, and the conception seems due to the mode of writing.

J was used as the ancient capital of *i*, at the beginning of words, but as it was there pronounced as (ɹ) before vowels, it has in recent times been used in the middle of words before vowels, even though the sound was not always the pure consonant (ɹ), but much more frequently an (i) diphthongising with the following vowel. It changes a preceding *k*, *g* from (k, g) into (*k*, *g*), but the sound of (i) is still heard as much as in the Italian: chiaro, ghiaja (*k*iáa·ro, *g*iái·ia) *clear, gravel.* It does not seem to change a preceding *l*, *n* from (l, n) into (lj, nj), as ljá (liáau) *new cut grass*, ljóð (lióoudh) *poem*, liúfur (liúu·vər) *gentle*, ljæ (liáa*i*) *to lend*; niálgur (niáaul·gər) *hedgehog*. In some cases the sound of (ɹ) would be difficult as: fjárins (fiáau·rinzs) *of the fee*, fjarlægt (fiaar·laa*i*̯ kht) *far-lying*, bjóst (bioust) *busked*, brjósti (brioust·*i*) *breast*, hljóp (hlioup) *leaped*. Hence *j* must be merely looked upon as a dipthongizing (i), not (*i*). In all these cases, however, a simple (ɹ) would be considered correct, thus (ɹaau, ɹoudh, ɹuuv·ər, ɹaa*i*, nɹaaul·gər, fɹaau·rins, fɹaar·laa*i*̯ kht, bɹoust, brɹous·t*i*, hlɹoup).

K is (k) before *a*, *á*, *o*, *ó*, *u*, *ú*, *ö*, *au* and (*k*) before *æ*, *e*, *ei*, *i*, *í*, *y*, *ý*, *ey*, *j*, thus kirkja (*kir·k*ia) *church*, contains the true intermediate sound between the Scotch *kirk* (kerk) and Chaucer's *chirche* (tshirtsh·e), suprà pp. 203-6.[2] K does not assume the forms (kh, *k*h, k*u*ch), and hence differs materially from G.

L is usually and always intentionally (l), but the sound of (lh) is sometimes produced by a following *t*, as alt (alht) *all.* In the case of *ll*, the first *l* is pronounced as (d), and if the second is final, it becomes (*lh*), and thus generates a (t) in passing from (d), so that the combination becomes (-dtlh), and the first (d) is frequently scarcely audible, as (-˩dtlh), the whole combination being rapidly

[1] Short (i) in þíng (thiqg). I think Mr. Hjaltalín said that the pronunciation (th*i*qg) with open (*i*) sometimes occurs.—H. S.

[2] I thought *k* before *e*, *i*, etc., was really (kɹ) not (kj = *k*), but this was probably incorrect.—H. S.

pronounced,[1] and *rl* is treated in the same way, thus: kall karl (ka⌊dtlh) *calling, churl.* Between two vowels, *ll* is distinctly (dl) as kalla (kad·la) *to call.* See N. For *hl* see H.

M is always intentionally (m), but may be voiceless (mh) before *t.*

N is always intentionally (n), but after *t, k* final, (nh) is generated as: vatn (vatnh) *water*, regn (reg⌊knh) *rain*, vagn (vag⌊knh) *wain*, and *nn rn* are both (-⌊dtnh) final, see L. Thus klènn (klie⌊dtnh) *small*, fínn (fii⌊dtnh) *fine*, járn (jaau⌊dtnh) *iron.* "But should *nn* belong to the following syllable, or if it be a simple vowel that goes before, the sound is (n), as á-nni (aun·ni) *to the river*, dat. sing. with art., ey-nni (ein·ni) *to the island*;[2] so also: kanna (kan·na) *to survey*, hann (nan) *he*, brenna (bren·na) *to burn*, etc. Old writers often used *ll, nn*, in all cases before *d, t* without regard to the radical form, though the custom was never general. This *nnd* has been long since entirely laid aside, as also *ll, d* where the root has a simple *l, lj.*"—*Rask.*[3] In NG the *n* becomes (q), and the *g* has its full sound of (g), thus þíng (thiiqg)[4] *council, assembly*, and the preceding vowel is always one of the accented series *á, í, ó, ú, ý.* Konraƀ Gíslason, however, maintains that the vowel should always be unaccented in old Norse; but his opinion does not find much favour. NK is also pronounced (qk) as: þánki (thaauqk·*i*) *mind, thought*, hánki (naauqk·*i*) *handle of a basket, ear of a jar.*

O is the pure (oo,) long and short, suprà pp. 94-96, quite distinct from the English (ʌa, ɔ),[5] and is identified by Rask with the Swedish *å*, Russian and Finnish *o*, but as he also makes it the same as English *o* (ɔ), some doubt attaches to the other indications.

O' is the pure English diphthong (*oo*u) as heard in *know.* The final *u* here generates a (w) when another vowel follows, as sóaƀi (*soo*·wadhi) *wasted.* When a doubled *tt* follows, where there is an assimilated guttural, the first element is shortened, and the guttural is faintly heard, as dóttir (dou⌊*g*wht·t*i*r) *daughter.* When *ó* is final, the (u) is heard quite as distinctly as in English, thus skó (sk*oo*u) *shoes*, is a perfect rhyme to *know.*

Ö, Œ,[6] is (œœ, œ·) long and short, and is kept quite distinct from (ɔɔ, ɔ), as in dögum (dœœgh·ɔm) *to days.* The form œ is only used by theoretical writers.

P is always (p), except in the combination *pt* which is called (ft) as lopt (loft) *air*, but modern writers, and among them the learned Jón Þorkelsson, are beginning to employ *ft* by preference.

[1] *Ll, nn* = ('dlh, 'dnh) between vowels generally, as well as final, *falla, allra, einna* = (a·dlhrah), etc. *L* is generally rather (lj). One Icelander (Mr. G. Vigfússon) said he could not sound the English *l.* Thus *falla* is more correctly (fa·dljhah).—H.S.

[2] In both these cases *-nni* stands for *-inni* and is the dat. fem. of the suffixed definite article, so that it has no etymological connection with the preceding *á, ey*, and the division of the syllables being etymological, not phonetic, in Icelandic, *-nn* is said to belong entirely to the second syllable, but a distinct (n,n) is really pronounced.

[3] Before *t, n* is voiceless as *beint* (be*e*inht).—H.S.

[4] See p. 545, note 1.

[5] I took the *o* for (ɔ) not (o).—H.S.

[6] In old Icelandic there was a long œ distinct from æ, but it seems to have been absorbed by æ at an early period. —H.S.

QV is found in old MSS. but even there interchanges with *kv*. At present *q* has no value different from (k), and consequently (*k*) is now generally written.

R is a strongly trilled (.r) as in Scotland, and when doubled, as in fjarri (fia.r·*ri*) *remote*, the number of vibrations of the tip of the tongue is very great. Final *-ur* (-ər) is however more lightly pronounced. In the following transcription I shall simply use (r), but the reader must be careful never to say (ɹ). The combinations *rl*, *rn* are considered under L, N. The final *-r* after consonants, was probably (rh) see *hr* under H, but it is now generally replaced by *-ur* (-ər).[1]

S is always intentionally (s), and never (z), but (z) is sometimes generated, although it is not recognized. Thus (*s*) final after *l*, *n*, and perhaps in other cases, generates an intermediate (z). For example, if we compare: *eins*, *síns* (*ee*inzs, siinzs), with English *stains*, *scenes* (ste*e*inzs, siinzs), we shall see that the difference of the terminations, here written alike, arises from the (s) in Icelandic being intentional and predominant, but the (z) generated and therefore lightly touched, while in English the (z) is intentional and predominant, and though the (s) is often prolonged, and in the church singing of charity children, not unfrequently painfully hissed, it is yet merely generated by a careless relaxation of the voice, and its very existence is unknown to many speakers. We might therefore write the Icelandic (-n⌊zs) and the English (-nz⌊s), but (-ns, -nz) is sufficient for most purposes. I found also that there was an unacknowledged tendency to pronounce *s* final after long vowels, in the same way; thus: lás, bás, meis, vís, hrís, rós, hús, mús sounded to me (laauzs, baauzs, m*ee*izs, viizs, rhiizs, r*oo*uzs, ʜuuzs, muuzs) *halter*, *stable*, *manger*, *wise*, *vegetable*, *rose*, *house*, *mouse*, the two last words sounding quite different from the Scotch (ʜus, mus). Even in the name of Iceland itself, Ísland, I found the *s* varying from (z) to (s) at different times, as (iis·land, iiz·land). Between two vowels *s* may similarly have a tendency to become (z), but I have not had time to examine the numerous words of this class orally, and it would be necessary to examine natives who had not learned the sound of (z) from other languages. We may always pronounce (s) without offence, but (z) would be frequently very offensive. Initially before *j*, *s* seems to assume the form (sj) or (shj), the latter was the sound I heard in sjúkur (shjuu·kər) *sick*. Icelanders have a difficulty in acquiring the sound of English (sh), except in such a word as *sugar*, which they probably call (shjuug·ər).[2]

T is the usual (t), but in *tt*, where the first *t* stands for an assimilated guttural, while both letters are pronounced (t,t), the guttural still generally asserts itself, see Æ, Á, Ó.

Þ is (th), and that invariably, although it stands in places where

[1] In *rt*, the *r* is voiceless, as *hart* (ʜarht).—H.S.

[2] Most Icelanders seem unable to pronounce (sh, tsh). They sound our *church* as (sɪɛrhs). They also find our (z) very difficult.—H.S.

(dh) is now pronounced in English. Rask, however, excepts "pronouns and particles which in daily speech are attracted like enclitics to the foregoing word, as á æfi-þinni[1] *in thy days*, hafir þú *hast thou?* where it has the sound of ð. The word þú is often thus contracted with verbs, in which case *u* loses its accent, and þ is changed into ð, *d*, or *t*, as the foregoing letter may require; as haf-ðu (nav·dhə) Imper. of hafa *to have*, kom-du (kom·də) Imper. of koma, rís-tu (riis·tə) of rísa *to rise*." These are equivalent to Chaucer's saystow wiltow (sais·tu, wilt·u), *sayest thou, wilt thou*, (suprà p. 371, art. 98, *c*, Ex.) the vulgar German haschte (nash·tə) = *hast du, hast thou*, etc. They are generated, unintentional sounds.[2]

U seems to be pure (əə, ə) long and short, and the existence of the forms *á*, *ó* (aan, *oo*n) would seem to indicate the absence of any letter for (u) even in ancient times, and *au* for (œœ) and (œœə) appears to imply that this value of *u* was ancient, see AU.[3] This sound of (ə) is often confused with (y), on the one hand, and (œ) on the other. Thus to Mr. M. Bell the French *u* sounds (ə), and to me (y). In our own provinces (y, ə) seem to be heard indifferently, thus I heard both (tyy) and (təə) for *two* in Norwich. See also the Devonshire sounds in (p. 301 note). In Scotland (y) and (ə) are both used, though only (y) is generally recognized. I hear (ə) for the French *e* muet, but others hear (ɔ, əh). In some parts of Germany (œ) and in others (ə) are used for ö. Hence we must not be surprised at Rask's finding Icelandic *u* "almost like deep[4] Swedish ö in *hög rök*," probably (ə), or "German *ü*," which he may have heard as (ə), wishing to keep it distinct from (ɪ) into which his own Danish *y* had fallen. He adds that "the word guð *God* is pronounced nearly as gvöð or gvüð," but to me it sounds (gvəədh) or (g*w*əədh) where the inserted *v*, or a labialized *g* arising perhaps from an intense effort to avoid any palatisation of the *g* into (gj). The distinction between the sounds of *u*, ö (ə, œ) is, if I rightly appreciate it, precisely the same as that between *í*, *i* (i, *i*), or (*e*, e) that is, the position of the tongue and lips is the same for both elements in each pair, but the whole of the back part of the mouth etc., is wider for the second element in each pair than for the first.

U′ is (uu, u), long in accented, short in open unaccented syllables.[5] Rask says that it has two sounds, apparently (uu, *u*), but his explanation is quite unintelligible, owing to his confusing vowels so unlike, as (ɔ, ə, *o*, *u*). No such distinction was admitted by Mr. Magnússon. It seems impossible to an Icelander to pronounce final *ú* without some labio-guttural intonation after it, such as (wh, g*w*h), thus: bú (buu) or rather (buu⌊wh) *farm*.

[1] The change of þ to ð is rare in this case.

[2] See note on ð, suprà, p. 541, n. 2.

[3] See, however, a different opinion advanced by Mr. Sweet, infrà, p. 559.

[4] Rask calls (*e*) deep, and (e) high, which is contrary to the usual terminology, thus art. 15, he speaks of "ä or high e in the Swedish word *engel*, French *è* in *après*, English *e* in *fellow* or *ai* in *hair*," and "the lower sound of *e* in the Swedish *lefva*, *veta*, French é."

[5] Short (u) in þúngr, not (ə) as if spelled *u*.—H.S.

V is (v) with so slight a contact of the lower lips with the upper teeth as to vary in effect at different times as (bh, v), but I did not feel justified in noting it as (bh) without having an opportunity of hearing the sound from numerous speakers.[1] That it was not originally (v) is clear to me from the combination HV, which is called (wh) in the southern, and (k*w*h) in the northern districts of Iceland, corresponding to the English and Scotch sounds of *wh*, and the South and North Wales pronunciation of *chw*. These point to an original (w) and to the transitional sound (bh) before falling into (v). For the unvoiced (v) could only be (f), the Aberdeen expression of *wh*; and the unvoiced (bh) would be (ph), neither of which sounds seem to be used, although *f* now falls into *v*. It is very possible that in earlier times *f* had the true sounds of (f, v), and that *v*, then not distinguished in writing from *u*, was (w), whence *hv* would be (wh). At the present day, *v*, *hv* = (v, wh) is an anomaly, which could hardly have been original.

X is traditionally used for *ks*, *gs*, without any known reason, except custom, and shortens the preceding vowel like a doubled consonant.

Y has precisely the same value as *i* (*i*) and is only employed to point out certain grammatical or etymological relations. But in some valleys it is yet called (y), and this was possibly its original sound. The present sound is supposed to have taken its rise in the XII th century, and to have become prevalent in the XIV th.

Y´ is now the same as *í* (ii). "The name of the letter, however, is pronounced altogether as it is in Swedish and Danish," says Rask, that is, as (yy) or more commonly ýpsilon.

Z has always the sound of (s), its use is merely etymological or literary, shewing that some letter has been lost before *s*, and as it is not consistently employed, it would be better disused altogether.

The alphabet is read thus, in Icelandic orthography; a á bè cè dè eð e è eff gè hà i í joð ká ell emm enn o ó pè qú err ess tè u ú vaff ex ypsilon ýpsilon zeta þorn æ = (aa aau bjee sjee djee eedh ee jee ef *g*jee haau *ii* ii joodh kaau edtlh em en oo *oo*u pjee kuu er es tjee *əə* uu vaf eks *ip*s*i*lon iip·s*i*lon see·ta thodtnh aa*i*). Both æ and œ are written occasionally, but they are not distinguished in sound, and are both named (aa*i*).

The stress is on the first syllable of all words long or short, simple or compound, but in the case of compounds each component has an accent as if it were simple, and the chief stress lies on the first. A single final consonant, or a single consonant between two vowels, leaves the preceding vowel long, as: vel (veel) *well*, mansaugur (maan·sœœi·jər) *lovesong*, veð (veedh) *pledge*, þat (thaat) *that*, til (t*ii*l) *to*. A doubled consonant, or two consonants (of which final *r* is not one) shortens and "stops" the preceding vowel, and diminishes the length of the first element of diphthongs. Doubled consonants are fully pronounced, as in Italian, suprà p. 55.

[1] I thought at first that *v* was (bh), and I was only induced to consider it as a (v) by the distinct statement of Mr. Hjaltalín that it was a dental sound.—H. S.

Rask asserts that all vowels and diphthongs are nasalized when standing immediately before *m* and *n*, but if such nasalisation exists, it must be very slight, and I did not detect it. But see infrá p. 558, l. 25.

When three consonants come together one is usually omitted, as hálft (haaulht) *half*, volgt (volht) *lukewarm*, margt (maart) *much*. Similarly íslenzskt (iis·lenst) *Icelandic*, danskt (danst) *Danish*; gagns (gagks) *of use*, hrafns (rhafs) *a crow's*, vatns (vas) *water's*. Similarly *r* is little heard before *st* and *nd*, as verstur (vest·ər) *worst*, fyrstur (fis·tər) *first*. For *rl*, *rn*, see L,N; for *fnd*, *fnt*, see F, for *gnd*, *gnt*, see G.

These observations will give the reader a tolerably complete notion of Icelandic pronunciation, and enable him, with a little attention, to read intelligibly. There is no sound really difficult in the language, but the combinations are unusual, and will require care. It is therefore necessary to have an example, for which, as already mentioned (p. 534,) the parable of the Prodigal Son has been selected. The text is taken from that revised by Mr. Magnússon,[1] and the pronunciation was written down from his dictation, and afterwards carefully compared with his reading. The translation is constructed on the same principles as before (p. 534). The reader is recommended to read the words of one verse over with care and repeat them till he can form the sounds with ease and rapidity from memory before proceeding to a second verse. If he proceeds through the whole parable in this way, and commits the text to memory, he will be able to read any Icelandic book intelligibly to an Icelander.

Lúkasar Guðspjall 15, 11-32.

11. Enn fremur sagði hann: maður nokkur átti tvo sonu,

12. Sá yngri þeirra sagði við föður sinn: faðir! lát mig fá þann hluta fjárins, sem mèr ber; og hann skipti milli þeirra fènu.

Luuk·asar Gvəədh·spiatlh, 15, 11-32.

11. En·free·mər saa⌊gh·dhi han: maa·dhər nok·kər au⌊khtti tvoo soo·nə,

12. Saau iiq·gri the⌊ir·ra saa⌊ghdhi vidh fœœdhər sin: faa·dhir! laaut miigh faau than lhəə·ta fiaau·rinzs, seem míeer beer; oogh han skif·ti mid·li the⌊ir·ra fiee·nə.

Verbatim Translation.

Luke's Gospel, 15, 11-32.

11. Still-further said he: man certain had two sons,

12. The younger of-them said to father his: father! let me fang that lot of-the-fee which to-me are-borne; and he divided between them fee-the.

13. Some days since, took the

[1] Hið Nýa Testamenti Drottins vors Jesú Krists, ásamt með Davíðs Sálmum. Endurskoðuð útgáfa. Oxford: prentað í Prentsmiðju Háskólans í Oxford, á Kostnað hins Brezka og Erlenda Bifliufèlags. 1863. Literally: The New Testament of-Lord ours Jesus Christ, together with Davids Psalms. Revised Edition. Oxford; printed in Print-smithy of-High-school-the in Oxford, at cost of-the British and Foreign Bible-fellowship.

13. Nokkrum dögum síðar tók sá yngri alt fé sitt og ferðaðist í fjarlægt land; þar sóaði hann fé sínu í óhófsömum lifnaði.

14. Nú er hann hafði eytt öllum eigum sínum, kom þar mikið hallæri í landið, tók hann þá að líða nauð,

15. Fór hann þá og réðst til eins borgara í því landi, sem sendi hann út á bú sitt, að gæta þar svína sinna;

16. Varð hann þá feginn, að seðja sig af drafi því, er svínin átu; og enginn varð til að gefa honum nokku ð.

17. Nú er hann ránkaði við sèr, sagði hann: hversu marga daglaunamenn heldur faðir minn, sem hafa gnægð matar en eg ferst í húngri;

18. Eg vil taka mig upp og fara til föður míns, og segja við hann: Faðir! eg hefi syndgað móti himninum og fyrir þèr,

19. Og er ekki leingur verður að heita sonur þinn. Far þú með mig eins og einn af daglaunamönnum þínum.

13. Nok·krəm dœœgh·əm sii·dhar *too*uk saau iiq·gr*i* alht fjee *si*t oogh fer·dhadh*i*st ii fiaar·laa*i*⌊*k*ht land; thaar *soo*·wadh*i* han fjee sii·nə ii *oo*u·n*oo*uv·sœœməm l*i*b·nadh*i*.

14. Nuu er nan nav·dh*i* e⌊*i*t œt·ləm *ee*i⌊*gh*əm siin·əm, koom thaar m*ii*·k*i*dh nad·laa*i*ri ii land·*i*dh, t*oo*uk nan thaau aadh lii·dha nœœ*i*dh.

15. F*oo*ur nan thaau oogh ríeedhst t*ii*l *ee*inzs bor·gara ii thvii land·*i*, seem send·*i* nan uut aau buu⌊*gœ*h *si*t, aadh *gaai*t·a thar sviin·a *si*n·na.

16. Vardh nan thaau fee·j*i*n, aadh seedh·ja *sii*gh aav draav·*i* thvii, er sviin·*i*n aau·tə, oogh e⌊*i*q·g*i*n vardh t*ii*l aadh *g*ee·va noo·nəm nok·kədh.

17. Nuu er nan ranq·kadhi v*ii*dh síeer, saah⌊gh·dh*i* nan: wher·sə marg·a daa⌊gh·lœœ*i*·namen· neld·ər faa·dh*i*r m*i*n, seem naav·a gnaa*i*⌊*gh*dh maa·tar en j*ee*gh ferst ii nuuq·gr*i*

18. J*ee*gh v*i*l taa·ka m*iigh* əp, oogh faa·ra t*ii*l fœœdh·ər miinzs, oogh seei·ja v*i*dh nan: Faadh·*i*r! j*ee*gh neev·*i* s*i*n·gadh m*oo*u·t*i* n*i*m·n*i*nəm oogh f*ii*·r*i*r thíeer,

19. Oogh er ek·*ki* l*ee*⌊*i*q·gər verdh·ər aadh n*eei*·ta soo·nər th*i*n. Faar thuu meedh m*ii*⌊gh *ee*inzs oogh *ee*itnh av daa⌊gh·lœœ*i*·namœn·nəm thiin·əm.

Verbatim Translation.

younger all fee his and fared in far-lying land; there wasted he fee his in un-measure-some living.

14. Now as he had wasted all ownings his, came there much hard-earing (famine) in land-the, took he then to suffer need.

15. Fared he then and betook-him to one citizen in that land, who sent him out to bigging (farm) his, to keep there swine his:

16. Was he then fain to fill himself of husks those, which swine-the ate; and no-one worth to (became to, was at hand) to give him anything.

17. Now, as he came to himself, said he: how many day-loans-men holds father mine, who have enough meat and I perish in hunger;

18. I will take me up and fare til father mine, and say to him: Father! I have sinned against heaven-the and before thee,

19. And am not longer worthy to hight son thine. Fare thou with me like as one of day-loans-men thine.

20. Bjóst hann þá til ferðar til föður síns; en er hann var enn nú lángt í burtu, sá faðir hans hann og kendi í brjósti um hann, hljóp og fèll um háls honum og kysti hann.

21. En sonurinn sagði við hann: Faðir minn, eg hefi syndgað móti himninum og fyrir þèr, og er nú ekki framar verður að heita sonur þinn.

22. Þá sagði faðirinn við þjóna sína: færið híngað hina beztu skikkju og færið hann í; dragið hríng á hönd hans og skó á fætur honum;

23. Komið með alikálf og slátrið, svo vèr getum matazt og verið glaðir;

24. Því þessi sonur minn, sem var dauður, er lifnaður aptur, og hann, sem týndur var er fundinn; tóku menn nú að gleðjast.

25. En svo bar við, að eldri bróðir hans var á akri, og er hann kom og nálgaðist húsið, heyrði hann samsaung og dans;

26. Kallaði hann þá á einn af þjónustumönnunum, og frètti hann, hvað um væri;

20. Bí*oo*ust han thaau t*ii*l ferdh·ar t*ii*l fœœdh·ər siinzs; en er han vaar en nuu laauqt ii bərt·ə, saau faadh·*i*r hans han oogh *k*end·*i* ii brí*oo*ust·*i* əm han, lhí*oo*up oogh fíetlh əm haaulzs hoo·nəm oogh *ki*s·t*i* han.

21. En soo·nərin saah⌊gh dh*i* v*ii*dh han: Faadh·*i*r m*i*n, ɟee*g*h heev·*i* s*i*n·gadh m*oo*u·t*i* h*i*m·n*i*nəm oogh f*ii*·r*i*r thíeer, oogh er nuu ek·*k*i fraa·mar verdh·ər aadh h*eei*·ta soo·nər th*i*n.

22. Thaau saah⌊gh·dhi faadh·*i*r*i*n v*ii*dh thí*oo*·na sii·na; faai·r*i*dh hiiq·gadh h*ii*·na best·ə s*ki*k·*k*ə oogh faa*i*r·*i*dh han ii; draau·ɟ*i*dh rhiiqgaau nœnd hanzs oogh sk*oo*u aau faa*i*t·ər hoo·nəm.

23. Koom·*i*dh meedh aa·likaaulv, oogh slaau·tr*i*dh, svoo víeer *g*eet·əm maa·tast oogh vee·r*i*dh glaa·dh*i*r;

24. Thvii thes·si soo·nər m*i*n seem vaar dœœidh·ər, er lib·nadhər aft·ər, oogh han seem tiin·dər vaar, er fənd·*i*n; t*oo*uk·ə men nuu adh gleedh·ɟast.

25. En svoo baar v*ii*dh, aadh el·dr*i* br*oo*udh·*i*r hanzs vaar aau aa·kr*i*, oogh er han koom oogh naaul·gadh*i*st huus·*i*dh, h*eei*r·dh*i* han saam·sœœ*i*q oogh dans;

26. Kad·ladh*i* han thaau aau *ee*it⌊nh av thí*oo*u·nəstəmœn·nənəm, oogh fríet·t*i* han, whaadh əm vaa*i*·r*i*;

Verbatim Translation.

20. Busked (arose) he then to faring to father his; but as he was even now long on way (away), saw father his him and moved in breast for him, leaped and fell over neck to-him and kissed him.

21. But son-the said to him: Father mine, I have sinned against heaven-the and before thee, and am now not further worthy to hight son thine.

22. Then said father-the to thanes his: Fare hither the best robe and fare him in; drag ring on hand his and shoes on feet to-him.

23. Come with fatted-calf and slaughter, so we get to-eat and be glad;

24. For this son mine who was dead, is enlivened again, and he, who tined (lost) was, is found. Took men now to gladden-themselves.

25. But so bore to, that elder brother his was on acre, and as he came and neared house-the, heard he music and dance;

26. Called he then on one of thanesmen-the, and asked him, what about were;

27. Hann sagði: bróðir þinn er kominn, og faðir þinn hefir slátrað alikálfi, af því hann heimti son sinn heilan heim.

28. Reiddist hann þá og vildi ekki fara inn. Faðir hans fór því út og bauð honum inn að koma.

29. En hann svaraði og sagði við föður sinn: í svo mörg ár hefi eg nú þjónað þèr og aldrei brevtt út af boðum þínum, þó hefir þú aldrei gefið mèr kiðlíng, svo að eg gæti glatt mig með vinum mínum;

30. En þessi sonur þinn, sem sóað hefir eigum þínum með skækjum, er nú kominn, og hans vegna slátrar þu alikálfii.

31. En hann sagði við hann: sonur minn, þú ert alt af með mèr, og allar mínar eigur heyra þèr til;

32. Nú ættir þú að vera glaður og í góðu skapi, þar bróðir þinn, sem dauður var, er lifnaður aptur, og hann, sem týndur var, er fundinn.

27. Han saah|gh·dhi: broudh·ir thin er koom·in, oogh faadh·ir thin heev·ir slaaut·radh aa·likaaul·vi, av thvii han heeim·ti soon sin heei·lan heeim.

28. Reid·dist han thaau, oogh vil·di ekki faa·ra in. Faadh·ir hanzs foour thvii uut, oogh bœœidh hoo·nəm in aadh koom·a.

29. En han svaa·radhi oogh saah|gh·dhi viidh fœœdh·ər sin: ii svoo mœrg aaur heev·i jeegh nuu thíoou·nadh thíeer oogh al·dreei breit uut av boodh·əm thiin·əm, thoou heev·ir thuu al·dreei gee·vidh míeer· kidh·liq svoo adh jeegh gaai·ti glat miigh meedh viin·əm miin·əm;

30. En thes·si soo·nər thin, seem soo·wadh heev·ir eeigh·əm thii·nəm meedh skaai·kjəm, er nuu koom·in, oogh hanzs veg·na slaau·trar thuu aa·likaaul·vi.

31. En han saah|gh·dhi viidh han: soo·nər min, thuu ert alht av meedh míeer, oogh adt·lar miin·ar eeigh·ər heei·ra thíeer tiil;

32. Nuu ai|kht·tir thuu aadh veer·a glaadh·ər oogh ii gooudh·ə skaa·pi, thaar broudh·ir thin, seem dœœidh·ər vaar, er lib·nadhər aft·ər, oogh han, seem tiind·ər vaar, er fənd·in.

Verbatim Translation.

27. He said: Brother thine is come, and father thine has slaughtered fatted-ealf, for that he fetched son his whole home.

28. Grew-wroth he then and would not fare in. Father his fared then out and bade him in to come.

29. But he answered and said to father his: In so many years have I now thaned (served) thee and never deviated out of biddings thine, though hast thou never given me kid, so that I might gladden myself with friends mine.

30. But this son thine, who wasted has ownings thine with harlots, is now come, and his ways (for his sake) slaughtered thou fatted-calf.

31. But he said to him: Son mine, thou art all of (always) with me, and all my ownings belong thee to:

32. Now oughtest thou to be glad and in good shape, there (because) brother thine who dead was, is enlivened again, and he, who tined was, is found.

PRONUNCIATION OF OLD NORSE.

Rask considers that the modern pronunciation is practically the same as the ancient, except in a few instances, hence in the following table the modern forms as already explained, are given in Rask's column, and his supposed ancient values are bracketed. Rapp gives an opinion upon nearly every letter in the alphabet, and although he did not consider that he had arrived at a result sufficiently definite to give an example, he has transcribed a large number of words into his alphabet, a selection of which is subjoined. Grimm's pronunciation is not easy to be determined, and the sounds which I have given must be therefore considered to be in great part conjectural. The vowels are taken from the third, and the consonants from the second edition of his Grammar.

On these conjectures generally I make no observation, except to remark that I feel doubtful as to the value which Rask meant to ascribe to the old *u*. He says: "*u*, without accent, may perhaps have had the sound of the short English *u* in *nut*, *but*, the Danish *o* in *hos*, the Swedish *o* in *sporde*, *menniskor lärorik*, etc." These sounds are certainly not identical, and I have been accustomed to consider them as (ɔ, o, *u*) respectively. Grimm assumes the English *u* to be a sound between German o and ö, whatever that may mean.[1] Neither he nor Rask, therefore, had mastered the English (ɔ, ɜ) sounds. I have represented Rask's ancient *u* by (*o*, *u*) doubtfully, but believe that the latter is more probable.

Letters.	Modern & [Rask].	Grimm.	Rapp.	Letters.	Modern & [Rask.]	Grimm.	Rapp.
a	aa, a	a	a	k	k, *k*	k, kJ	k, kj
á	aau	aa	AA	l	l, lh	l	l
æ	aa*i*	ee	ee	m	m	m	m
au	œ*ui* [œu]	au	ɔu	n	n	n	n
b	b	b	b	ng	qg		q, qg
d	d, dh	d, dh	d, th	o	oo, o	o, *o*	*o*
ð	dh	dh	dh	ó	*oo*u	*oo*	*oo*
e	ee, e	e *e*	*e*	ö	œœ, œ	œ, *o*	*ɔ*
é, è	Jee, Je	*ee*, Jee	*ee*, e	œ	(not used)	œœ	œœ
ei	*ei*	ei	ɔi	p	p, f	p, f	p
ey	*ei* [œi]	ey	ɔy	qv	k		
f	f, v, b	f, v	f	r	r, rh	r	r
g	g, *g*, gh / *gh*,J,*gu*ch	g, gJ	g, gj	s	s	s	sj, s
h	ʜ	h	kh	t	t	t	t
hj	Jh		khJ	þ	th	th	th
hl	lh		khl	u	*oo*, *ɔ* [*o*, *u*]	u	œ, ʊ
hn	nh		khn	ú	nu	uu	uu
hr	rh		khr	v	v	bh	bh
hv	wh		khbh	x	ks		ks
i	*ii*, *i*	i	i	y	*ii*, *i* [*ɔ*]	y	y
í	ii	ii	ii	ý	ii [ɪɪ]	yy	yy
j	J	i	J	z	s	s	

[1] Gr. I[3], 391, "vor einfachen consonanten hat u einen laut zwischen nhd. o und ö; das nnl. u neigt sich mehr zu ü."

Old Norse words as pronounced by Rapp: á (AA) *in, water*, æ (ee) *always*, átta (AAt·ta) *eight*, auk (ɔuk) *also*, auga (ɔug·a) *eye*, bleikr (bleik·r) *pale*, bleydi (bleydh·i) *fear*, blés (blees) *bleu*, blód (blood) *blood*, bökr (bœœk·r) *books*, bók (book) *book*, brúda (bruudh·a) *of brides*, býd (byydh) *invite*, byggia (byg·ja) *build*, dagr degi dögum (dag·r, deg·i, dœg·um) *day, to a day, to days*, dóttir (doot·tir) *daughter*, dýpi (dyyp·i) *depth*, ey (ɔy) *island*, eyk (ɔik) *oak*, fel (fjel) *fell*, fliúga (fliu·ga) *fly*, fötr (fœœt·r) *feet*, frí (frii) *free*, fullr (fœl·r) *full*, fylli (fyl·i) *fullness*, gæs (gees) *geese*, gás (gAAs) *goose*, göra gjórt (gœ·ra gjoort) *to do, did*, hálmr (khAAlm·r) *halm*, hlaup (khlɔup) *leap*, hniósa (khnioo·sa) *sneeze*, hreinn (khrein·n) *pure*, hvítr (khbhiit·r) *white*, kaupa (kɔup·a) *to buy*, knć (knee) *knee*, kránkr (krAAqk·r) *sick*, liúga (liuga) *to tell a falsehood*, opt (ɔpt) *often*, skapt (skapt) *handle*, úngr (uuq·g'r) *youth*, verd (bherd) *price*, vís (bhiis) *wise*.[1]

The following observations on the Old Norse pronunciation, based upon a phonetic examination of the structure of the language, its connection with the Teutonic branches and the usages of Old MSS., are drawn up from notes kindly furnished me by Mr. Henry Sweet, of the Philological Society (suprà p. 539, l. 9).

[1] The following is a translation of Dr. Rapp's latest views on the subject (Vergl. Gramm. iii. 40). "Of the seven long vowels, the two strongest (ii) and (uu) have remained intact. The (aa) subsequently, as everywhere else, degenerated in the direction of (o). The mutates of (aa, uu) must here be (EE, yy). There must be an (ou) corresponding to the old German diphthong *ei*, but it is here written *au*, since the mutate, if written *ey*, could only mean (oy); the Norwegian dialects retain (ou). Long (oo) afterwards became diphthongal, and its mutate coincides with æ (EE). The third long vowel wavers between gothic (iu), becoming, when softened (*geschwächt*) (io), and confluent (yy). Isolated remains of (ee) subsequently passed into (ie) as in Sclavonic; but the *e* which arises from reduplication need not necessarily be long. As regards the mutation of the short vowels, the change of (a) into (e), and of (o, u), into (y) is clear, but the mutation of (a) into (o) through the action of a following (u) or (o) is more obscure. We can theoretically assume an earliest period in which (a) remained pure, but it does not agree with the period of existing monuments. Hence we allow (a) to pass into (o) but entirely reject the usual assumption of the generation of of an—impossible—(œ) from (o). The division (*Brechung*) of short (e) into (ia) and by mutation (io), must also be observed. As regards the consonants we assume *h* and *s*, here as elsewhere, to have been (kh, sj), though we write (s). The *z* was an abbreviation, generally for (ts), occasionally for (st), and by mistake for other combinations; the first alone must be retained. The þ is initial as in Gothic, but medially and finally it is softened to ð; as this also happens in most cases to the modern Danish *d*, both classes must be distinguished from out of the corruption of writing. This is the weakest point in northern philology. The old runic alphabet has only the aspirate þ (th) and this is used medially even in the oldest manuscripts. The modern Icelandic and Danish ð (dh) is on the contrary not an aspirate but a spirant, which is more naturally developed from (d) than from (th). But since Scandinavian orthography is here irremediably confused, nothing remains but to restore the old essential organic þ in all places where it is required by Gothic, Anglosaxon, and Friesic, and in other, partially doubtful cases, to leave *d*, so that the modern ð is altogether eliminated. The *tt*, which arose from an older (kht), must certainly be sharpened, [that is, make the preceding vowel short], since reduplication can mean nothing but confluence; the prolongation of the vowel in this case is a modern corruption, which even Grimm has overlooked, and similarly before *ng*, *nk*, and *l* followed by a consonant, etc."

When Icelanders first employed the Latin alphabet they had no written literature at all, and consequently no traditional orthography to transliterate, that is, no theoretical guide to mislead them. They had therefore, no means of writing except by ear, using the Latin letters in their accepted values, and modifying them for new sounds. Under such circumstances, it is scarcely possible that they should have—

1) expressed one sound in two ways, as in the modern identities *í ý*, *i y*, *ei ey*.
2) made *á* represent (au) to the exclusion of *au*,
3) have used *au* to express a sound (œ*i*) for which they had a form to hand, namely *öi*, unless indeed they had read in Grimm's Deutsche Grammatik (I³, 474), that old Norse *au* corresponds to Gothic *au*, and had foreseen that the sound (au) would have been preserved in the German of the XIX th century.

A comparison of the old cognates shews that the difference between *a á*, *e é*, etc., was originally purely quantitative. In modern Icelandic, as in Modern German, all short vowels before single consonants have become long, but in old German the length or shortness of a vowel was quite independent of the following consonant, as is proved by the metrical laws. In the same way the non-accentuation of *fa͡ðir*, father, in Icelandic originally meant that the vowel was short, and the accentuation of *mó͡ðir*, mother, that the vowel was long, as in Latin *păter*, *māter*.[1] If this view be well founded, the vowels in each pair, as *a*, *á*, *e*, *é*, etc., must have had the same quality, but different quantities, *a*, *e*, etc., being always short, and *á*, *é*, etc., always long; and diphthongs must have had the sounds of their elements connected by the glide. The following sounds appear then to be the only possible.

a	(a, *a*)	*au*	(au, *au*)
e	(e, *e*, E)	*ei*	(ei, *ei*, Ei)
i	(i, *i*)	*ey*	(ey, eɪ, ɛ*ɔ*)
o	(o, *o*, A, ɔ)	*æ*	(ai, *ai*)
u	(u, *u*)		or (ee, *ee*, EE)
y	(y, ɪ, *ə*)	*œ*	(oi, *oi*, oe, o*e*, oE)
ö	some modification of (o)		or lengthened *ö*

The two principal criteria for selecting the correct vowel are— 1) The palatisation of *k*, *g*, and 2) the action of vowel-mutation or *Umlaut*, (um·laut).

[1] As Icelandic still possesses really doubled consonants, the device of doubling the consonant to indicate the brevity of a preceding vowel was not likely to occur to the writer. That the length of a vowel depends in any way upon the number of following consonants is a delusion, to be classed with the notion that all vowels under the stress must be long, and deducible probably from the false statement in Latin prosodies, that a short vowel might become long "by position" before two consonants, the length of the vowel being confounded with the length of the syllable; but the Latins no doubt distinguish *est*, is, from *est*, eats, as (est, eest), and the old school joke: *Mea mater est mala sus*, could not have been ambiguous to a Latin, who would have probably distinguished the two meanings as (me·a maa·ter est mal·a suus; me·aa maa·ter, eest maa·la suus.)— A.J.E.

1) The palatisation of *k*, *g*, from (k, g) into (kj, gj) naturally takes place before front vowels (p. 13), while these consonants remain unchanged before back vowels (p. 13). Existing habits as to palatisation would hence determine

e, *i* *í*, *y* *ý*, *æ**, *ei*, *ey* to be *front* vowels, and
a *á*, *o* *ó*, *u** *ú*, *ö** *au** to be *back* vowels,

whereas those marked * transgress this rule, *æ* = (aa*i*) commencing with a *back* vowel, and *u*, *ö*, *au* = (ə, œ, œœ*i*) with a front vowel.[1]

2) Vowel mutation is the result of the partial assimilation of two vowels, not in juxtaposition, but in consecutive syllables, whereby the first or accented vowel becomes modified in the direction of the second. This may be expressed by such a formula as (a .. i = e), meaning that (a) in the first syllable acted on by (i) in the second is converted into (*e*). The original sounds of these mutated vowels or mutates, have been so changed in Icelandic, that it is necessary to examine the other Teutonic languages where they are better preserved.

(*a* .. i = E, *e*), giving (E) ; old Ger. *hari* (HAR·i), modern G. *heer* (HEER) army.
(*i* .. *a* = *e*, E), giving (*e*) ; Gothic *niman* (nim·an) modern G. *nehmen* (nee·men) to take ; the (I, *e*) forms are confused in modern German.
(*o* .. i = ə*h*, ə, I), giving (ə*h*) ; old Ger. *scóni* (skoo·ni), mod. G. *schön* (shœn) beautiful.
(u .. *a* = *o*, A), giving (*o*) ; Gothic *stulan* (stul·an), mod. G. *ge-stohlen* (ge-shtoo·len), stolen.
(u .. i = I), giving (I)) ; old G. *sundia* (sund·JA), mod. G. *sünde* (zynd·e) sin.

In Icelandic we find, *her*, *nema*, *stolinn*, *synd* (HEER, nee·ma, stool·in, sind) all with mutates. The equation of the last word with modern pronunciation is (u .. i = *i*) which is not a mutation at all. The old sound must have been (I) or (Y), as these are the only possible intermediates. The vowel mutation also proves that the modern sound of *æ* is inorganic.

(*aa* .. i = EE), old Ger. *wâri* (bhaa·ri), Icel. *væri*.
(*oo* .. i = ə*h*), Gothic ? *fôrjan* (*foor*·JAN), Icel. *færa*, old *føra*.

The genuineness of the sound (œ) is made doubtful by the non-palatalisation of *k*, and this doubt is confirmed by the equation (a .. u = o), as in *dögum* for *dagum*. As both vowels are back, the result cannot be front. And the back sound of *u* is shewn 1) by the preservation of that sound in long *ú*, 2) the nonpalatisation of *k* before it, 3) the vowel mutation. The *a* .. *u* = *ö*, is merely a reversal of (u .. a = o) in *stolinn*, *ge-stohlen*, and both are quite parallel with (a .. i = e, i .. a = e).

The above conclusions result from the structure of the language,

[1] The remarks on p. 206 shew that this criterion cannot be relied on so far as æ is concerned, and, indeed, the palatal action of æ on *k*, *g*, while *a*, *á*, produced no such action, may have arisen from the anticipatory action of the second element (*i*). Nor is there any organic necessity for the palatalisation of *k*, *g*, before such obscure vowels, as (ə, œ), as we see from the fact that although both sounds are used in different parts of Germany for ö, which is also frequently called (ee) or (*ee*), yet the *k*, *g*, of *könig*, *Goethe*, are never palatalised. This criterion can therefore only furnish an à priori probability.—A. J. E.

the following is almost positive evidence of the usages of the XIIth century. Þóroddr, the grammarian, circà 1160, remarks on the necessity of an A, B, C, and after stating that the English have made an alphabet for themselves by adopting or modifying the Latin letters, he proposes to perform the same service for his countrymen—*oss Íslendingum*, saying:

"To the five original Latin vowels *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*, I have added four: *o̧* [now *ö*], *ȩ* [now *e*, *æ*], *ϕ* [now œ, æ], *ɥ* [now *y*]. Of these *o̧* has the curve of *a* and the ring of *o*, because it is blended of their two sounds, being pronounced with a less open mouth than *a*, but a more open mouth than *o*; *ȩ* has the curve of *a* and the whole figure of *e*, for it is composed of these two, being pronounced with a less open mouth than *a*, and with a more open mouth than *e*; *ϕ* is composed of *e* and *o*, being pronounced with less open mouth than *e*, and with more open mouth than *o*; and *ɥ* is composed of *i* and *u*, being pronounced with less open mouth than *i* and with more open mouth than *u*."

He proceeds to give examples, shewing that *e* and *ȩ* short correspond to modern *e*, *e* long to modern *é*, *ȩ* long to modern *æ*, *o* to modern *o*, *o̧* to modern ö, and *ϕ* to *œ* now *æ*. And then he remarks that each of these vowels begets another by being sounded in the nose, which he marks by a point above the letter. This probably corresponds to the palæotypic (˛), not to (ʌ). It is now quite lost. Hence Rask's imaginary nasality, suprà p. 550, l. 3.

Þóroddr further states that each of these 18 vowels can be long or short, and proposes to mark the long vowels with an accent. His examples shew that he places this accent in those places where an accent (indicating a diphthong in the case of *á*, *ó*) now exists in Icelandic. Then he concludes by enumerating the diphthongs, describing accurately the nature of diphthongs in general. Among these diphthongs appear *au*, *ei*, *ey*, but not *á*, *ó*.

The older MSS. follow Þóroddr with some variations. Thus the diacritic is often written as a full letter, as *ao* for *o̧*, *ae* for *ȩ* whence modern *æ*, and the diacritic is not unfrequently entirely omitted, so that *e*, *o*, are confounded with *ȩ*, *o̧*.

The following examples shew Þóroddr's spelling compared with that now used, and the probable corresponding pronunciation. *Abbreviations*—Þ. Þóroddr's spelling, M. modern spelling, OP. old pronunciation, MP. modern pronunciation.

Þ.	M.	O.P.	M.P.	Þ.	M.	Þ.	M.	O.P.	M.P.	Þ.	M.
a	a	*a*, a	a aa	far	far	o̧	ö	o	œ œœ	o̧l	öl
á	á	*aa*, aa	au aau	sár	sár	ó	o	oo	o oo	vo̧n	von
e	e	*e*	e, ee	Þel	Þel	u	u	u(˛)	ə əə	runar	runar
ȩ	e	ɛ(˛)	e. ee	vȩnia	venja	ú	ú	uu(˛)	u uu	rúnar	rúnar
é	é	*ee*	ɛɛ	mér	mér	y	y	ɪ	*i ii*	flytr	flytr
é	æ	ɛɛ	ai aai	vér	vær	ý	ý	ɪɪ	i ii	flýtr	flýtr
i	i	i	*i ii*	vil	vil	au	au	au	œi œœi		
í	í	ii	i ii	víl	víl	ei	ei	*ei*	*ei ee*i		
o	o	*o*	o oo	goÞ	goð	ey	ey	*ey*	*ei ee*i		
ó	ó	*oo*	*ou oo*u	góÞ	góð						

The sound of the various *e*'s is evident from the remark that *ę* is pronounced more openly than *e*, and more like *a*. The higher sound was given to the *i* as *mér*, German *mir*. The other *e* was an *a*, *vęnia*, old German *wanian*. In *ǫl*, the anglosaxon *ealu* explains the vowel mutation. In *rǫn* the *ǫ* is a mutate of *a*, produced by the preceding *r*, and the pronunciation has been preserved unchanged. The *ey* is a mutate of *au*, *heyra*=Gothic *hausjan*, thus (*au* .. i=EI) the (i) soon drawing up the (E) to (*e*).

Modern Changes.—The change of (EE) to (ai) is merely the converse of the Latin *æ* to *ê*.[1]

The *á* (*aa*) was first rounded (ɔɔ) and then broken up into (aau), as is shewn by the occasional MS. spelling *ǫ* for *á*.

The change from back (o) to front (œ) is paralleled by the English and most modern Danish pronunciation of (æ) for (*a*).

The *au* changes are very complicated. First, the *a* was rounded by the *u* into (o), as appears by the MSS. shewing *ǫu*, *aou*, *ou* for *au*. Next the resulting first element, being now identical with *ǫ* (o) was, with it, changed from back to front, into *ö* (œ). Lastly the second element *u* (u) was changed by the action of the new front element (œ) into some front element as (ɪ) which finally became (i). Thus we have the stages (au .. ou .. œu .. œɯ .. œi), where (œu, œɯ), represents Rask's conjectural forms.

Þóroddr counts *ll*, *nn*, among the doubled consonants. He allows a double final consonant, which of course must have been a lengthened or 'held' consonant (suprà p. 52), as in *hann*=(HANN), not (HAN). He writes þ everywhere, to the exclusion of ð, but whether this establishes a uniformity of pronunciation is very questionable.

The following few lines will give a notion of this conjectured ancient pronunciation, which is placed under the present orthography, a verbatim translation being also interlined.

Haustlöng. (Haustlo˛ng.) *Autumn-long* (*night*).

Eðr of-sér, er iötna ótti lét ofsóttan
(Edh·r *ov*-*seer*, *er* iot·na *oot*·*te* *leet* *ov*·*soot*·ta˛n)
Again *thou-seest* *how* *of-the-giants* *the-terror* *let-sought*

Hellisbrör á hyrjar haug Grjótúna bauge;
(Hel·lesbror aa˛ hyr·iar haug Grio*o*·tuu˛na bau·ge;)
Of-the-cave-the-dweller *in* *of-fire* *the-hill* *of-Grjótún* *with-ring*

'Ok at isarnleiki Jarðar sunr, en dundi
(*Oo*k at ii·sarnleike Iardh·ar su˛nr *e˛*n du˛n·de)
Drove *to* *the-iron-play* *Earth's* *sun*, *and* *resounded*

Móðr svall Meila bróður mánavegr und hanum.
(Mo*o*·dhr swall Meil·la˛ bro*o*·dhur maa˛n·a˛wegr u˛nd ha˛n·u˛m.)
Rage *swelled* *Meili's* *of-the-brother* *moon-way* *under* *him.*

[1] This converse action is rare, but we have a living English example, suprà p. 294, bottom, and note 2, and p. 454, note 1.

Knáttu öll en Ullar endiláng fyrir mági
(Knaat·tu¸ oll e¸n ul·lar e¸n·delaag fyr·er maa·ge)
Could all and Ullr's under-lying before the-kinsman

Grund vas grapi hrundin ginnúngavé brinna;
(Gru¸nd was grap·e rhu¸nd·e¸n gi¸n·nuu¸qga-wee bri¸n·na¸;)
The-ground was with-storm shaken the-wide-dwellings burn;

Þá-es hofreginn hafrir hógreiðar fram drógu
(Dhaa-es hov·rege¸nn nav·rer *hoog*·reidhar fra¸m dr*oo*·gu¸)
When the-temple-god the-goats of-the-elegant-chariot forwards drew

Seðr gékk Svölnis ekkja sundr at Hrúngnis fundi.
(Sedh·r *ge*·kk Swœl·nes ekkia su¸ndr at Rhuu¸qg·nes fu¸n·de.)
Nearly went Svölnir's wife asunder to Hrúngnir's meeting (find).[1]

3. Gothic.

In order properly to crown the edifice of the low German and Scandinavian dialects, it is necessary to consider the pronunciation of Ulfilas as collected from his Gothic translation of the Testament, etc. Grimm, Rapp, Gabelentz and Loebe, and Weingaertner,[2] are the principal authorities. From a study of these works and the grounds on which they rely, I have arrived at certain conclusions of my own, which must be understood as referring to the pronunciation of Gothic at the time of Ulfilas, considered as a comparatively modern stage of the language. There are good etymological grounds for believing that many Gothic words containing *ai*, *au*, *iu* had at some previous time, a different sound from that which I have assigned, as for instance (ái, áu, íu), suprà, p. 236, note 1. But details are here purposely omitted. The following table contains the opinions of the writers cited, as nearly as I could appre-

[1] The title means Autumn-long, löng being the fem. of the adj. lóngr; nótt = night, seems to be understood; compare the similar old German phrase "den sumerlangen tac," the summer-long day. None of the editors translate the word, and they seem not to understand it. The subject of the poem is a fight between the god Þórr and the giant Hrúngir. The poet describes the fight as depicted on a shield. The meaning of the passage, which is very obscure in the above verbatim translation following the inverted order of the poet, seems to be as follows: Again thou seest [on the shield] how the terror of the giants [meaning Þórr], let sought [*let* periphrastic = *visited*] the cave-dweller in the Griótún-hill with a ring of fire, [Þórr's chariot was accompanied with thunder and lightning]; Earth's sun [that is, Þórr] drove to the iron-play [fight], anger inspired Meili's brother [another name for Þórr], and the moon-way [= earth] resounded under him. All the wide dwellings [= the air] could burn [burned], and the ground lying beneath was shaken with the storm before the kinsman of Ullr [Þórr again]: Svölnis wife [*ekkja* literally *widow* = earth] nearly went to pieces, when the goats drew forward the temple-god of the elegant chariot to meet Hrúngnir.

[2] *J. Grimm*, Deutsche Grammatik, I², 33–74; I³, 39–71; *M. Rapp*, Phys. d. Spr., i 371–401; *Dr. H.C. von Gabelentz und Dr. J. Loebe*, Grammatik der Gothischen Sprache, 1846, pp–22–52. *Wilhelm Weingaertner*, Die Aussprache des Gothischen zur Zeit Ulfilas, Leipzig, 1858, pp. 68. This last work contains complete references to all the former essays and books on this subject.

ciate their meaning, a (?) indicate the chief points of doubt. The transcription used is that employed in Gabelentz and Loebe's well-known edition but the letters are arranged in the order of the Roman Alphabet, reckoning þ as *th*. Leo Meyer's work (Die Gothische Sprache, ihre Lautgestaltung u.s.w.) came to hand too late to be consulted in the construction of this table.

The Gothic Alphabet of Ulfilas.

Abbreviations.—G Grimm, G L Von Gabelentz and Loebe, E Ellis, L letters, R Rapp, W Weingaertner.

L	G	R	GL	W	E	L	G	R	G L	W	E
a	a	a	a	a	a	j	j	j	*gh*	j	j
ai		e. ee	e, ee	e. ee	e, ee	k	k	k	k	k	k
(aí)	e?					l	l	l	l	l	l
(ái)	ai					m	m	m	m	m	m
au		ɔ, ɔɔ	o, oo	o, oo	A, AA	n	n	n	n	n	n
(aú)	o?					o	*oo*	*oo*		*oo*	*oo*
(áu)	au					p	p	p	p	p	p
b	b	b	b, bh?	b	b	q	kbh	kbh		kbh	k*w*
d	d	d	d	dh	d, dh?	r	r	r	'r	r, *r*	r
e	*ee*	*ee*	*ee*	*ee*	*ee*	s	s	sj	s	s	s
ei	éi	ii	ei	ii	ii	t	t	t	t	t	t
f	f		bh	f	f	þ	th	th	dh	th	th
g	g	g	g, gh	g	g	u	u	*o*, uu	u, uu	u	u, uu
gg	q?	qg	q, qg,	q, qg	q, qg	v	bh	bh	bh,	bh, v	w
gk		qk	qk	qk	qk	w	khbh	khbh		ph, uv?	k*w*h
h	kh	kh	H, kh	H'	H', kh	x		k	k	k	k
i, ï	i	*e*	i	i	i	y				i, ii	i, ii
iu	íu	íu	íu	II	yy	z	ds	sj	z	z	z

In order to compare this dialect with the related Anglosaxon and Icelandic, I annex the conjectured pronunciation of the same parable that was selected for examples in those languages. This is also the same example or Gothic as Dr. Rapp has given. The verbatim translation is, as before, intended merely to shew the grammatical signification of each word.

Gothic, Lucas 15, 11-32.

11. manne sums aihta tvans sununs.

12. jah qaþ sa juhiza ïze du attin. atta. gif mis. sei undrinnai mik. dail aiginis. jah disdailida ïm sves sein.

Conjectured Pronunciation.

11. Man'*nee* sums ekht'a twans sun'uns.

12. Jakh k*w*ath sa jukh'iza iz'*ee* du at'tin: At'ta, gif mis, sii und'rin'nee mik deel eeg'inis. Jakh disdeel'ida im sw*ee*s siin.

Verbatim Translation.

11. Of-men certain owned two sons.

12. Eke quoth the younger of-them to dad: Dad, give to-me, which unto-runs me, deal (part) of-ownings. Eke asunder-dealed to-them property his.

13. jah afar ni managans dagans brahta samana allata sa juhiza sunus jah atlaiþ in land fairra visando jah jainar distahida þata sves seinata libands usstiuriba.

14. biþe þan fravas allamma. varþ huhrus abrs and gavi jainata. jah is dugann alaþarba vairþan

15. jah gaggands gahaftida sik sumamma baurgjane jainis ganjis. jah insandida ina haiþjos seinaizos haldan sveina.

16. jah gairnida sad itan haurne. þoei matidedun sveina. jah manna ni gaf.

17. qimands þan in sis qaþ. wan filu asnje attins meinis ufarassau haband hlaibe. ip ik huhrau fraqistna.

18. usstandands gagga du attin meinamma jah qiþa du imma. atta. fravaurhta mis in himin jah in andvairþja þeinamma.

19. ju þanaseiþs ni im vairþs ei haitaidau sunus þeins. gatavei mik sve ainana asnje þeinaize.

13. Jakh af'ar ni man'agans dag'ans brakht'a sam'ana al'lata sa jukh'iza sun'us, jakh atleeth' in land fer'ra wis'and*oo*, jakh jeen'ar distakh'ida that'a swe*es* siin'ata lib'ands usstyyr'iba.

14. Bithee' than frawas' al'lam'ma, warth h'unkh'rus ab''rs and ga'wi jeen'ata. Jakh is dugan' al'atharb'a werth'an.

15. Jakh gaq'gands gan'aft'ida sik sum'am'ma barg'janee jeen'is gaa'jis. Jakh insand'ida in'a h'eeth'j*oos* siin'eez*oos* h'ald'an swiin'a

16. Jakh gern'ida sad it'an har'n*ee*, th*oo*'ii mat'id*eed*'un swiin'a. Jakh man'na im'ma ni gaf.

17. k*w*im'ands than in sis, k*w*ath: K*w*han fil'u as'n*jee* at'tins miin'is uf'aras'saa hab'and khleeb'*ee*, ith ik h'uukh'raa frak*w*ist'na.

18. Us'stand'ands gaq'ga du at'tin miin'am'ma, jakh k*w*ith'a du im'ma: At'ta, frawarkh'ta mis in h'im'in, jakh in and'werth'ja thiin'am'ma,

19. ju than'asiiths ni im werths ii h'eet'eedaa sun'us thiins; gata'wii mik sw*ee* een'ana as'n*jee* thiin'eez*ee*.

Verbatim Translation.

13. Eke after not many days brought together all the younger son, and off-led (departed) in land far being, eke yon asunder-tugged (dissipated) the possession his, living out-steeringly.

14. By-that then from-was of-all, worth (became) hunger strong against region yon, eke he began quite-needy to-worth (to-become).

15. Eke ganging joined himself to-certain of-burghers of-yon region; eke in-sent him of-heath his to-hold swine.

16. Eke yearned full to-eat of-horns (husks), which meated (ate as meat or food) swine; eke man to-him not gave.

17. Coming then in himself, quoth: How many hirelings of-dad mine in-overmuch (abundantly) have of-loaves, but I by-hunger perish.

18. Out-standing I-go to dad mine, eke say to him, Dad, I-from-wrought (I-sinned) for-me in (against) heaven eke in face thine.

19. Now the-since (longer) not am worthy that I-may-hight son thine; y-do (make) me as one of-hirelings thine.

20. jah usstandands qam at attin seinamma. nauhþannuh þan fairra visandan gasaw ïna atta ïs jah ïnfeinoda jah þragjands draus ana hals ïs jah kukida ïmma.

21. jah qaþ ïmma sa sunus. atta. fravaurhta ïn himin jah in andvairþja þeinamma. ju þanaseiþs ni ïm vairþs ei haitaidau sunus þeins.

22. qaþ þan sa atta du skalkam seinaim. sprauto briggiþ vastja þo frumiston jah gavasjiþ ïna jah gibiþ figgragulþ ïn handu ïs jah gaskoh ana fotums ïs.

23. jah briggandans stiur þana alidan ufsneiþiþ. jah matjandans visam vaila.

24. unte sa sunus meins dauþs vas jah gaqiunoda jah fralusans vas jah bigitans varþ. jah dugunnun visan.

25. vasuþþan sunus ïs sa alþiza ana akra jah qimands atïddja new razn jah gahausida saggvins jah laikans.

26. jah athaitands sumana magive frahuh. wa vesi þata.

20. Jakh us·stand·ands *kw*am at at·tin siin·am·ma. Nakh·than·ukh than fer·ra wis·andan gasak*w*h· in·a at·ta is, jakh infiin·*oo*da jakh thrag·jands draas an·a h‘als is jakh kuk·ida im·ma.

21. Jakh k*w*ath im·ma sa sun·us: At·ta, frawarkht·a in niin·in jakh in and·werth·ja thiin·am·ma, ju than·asiiths ni im werths ii h‘eet·eedaa sun·us thiins.

22. K*w*ath than sa at·ta du skalk·am siin·eem: Spraat·*oo* briq·gith wast·ja th*oo* frum·ist*oo*n jakh gawas·jith in·a jakh gib·ith fiq·gragulth in h‘and·u is, jakh gask*oo*kh· an·a f*oo*t·uns is.

23. Jakh briq·gandans styyr than·a al·idan uf·sniith ith, jakh mat·jandans wis·am weel·a.

24. Un·t*ee*, sa sun·us miins daaths was jakh gak*w*yyn·*oo*da, jakh fralus·ans was jakh bigit·ans warth. Jakh dugun·nun wis·an.

25. Was·uth·than sun·us is sa al·thiza an·a ak·ra, jakh k*w*im·ands at·id·dja nek*w*h raz·n, jakh gah‘aas·ida saq·gwins jakh leek·ans.

26. Jakh at·h‘eet·ands sum·ana mag·iw*ee* frakh·ukh, k*w*ha w*ee*s·i that·a.

Verbatim Translation.

20. Eke out-standing came to dad his; still then far being saw him dad of-him, eke pitied, eke running fell on neck of-him, eke kissed him.

21. Eke quoth to-him the son, Dad, I-from-wrought (I-sinned) in (against) heaven eke in face thine. Now thesince (longer) not am worthy that I-may-hight son thine.

22. Quoth then the dad to servants his, Quickly bring vest the from-est (first, best), eke in-vest him, eke give finger-gold in hand of-him, eke shoes on feet of-him,

23. And bringing steer the fatted up-cut, eke meating (eating food) let-us-be well.

24. Unto-that (because) the son mine dead was, eke y-quickened, eke lost was, eke be-gotten worth (became). Eke they-began to-be (to feast).

25. Was-then son of-him the elder on acre, eke coming to-went (approached) near house, eke heard song eke games.

26. Eke to-calling certain of-boys, asked, what were that.

27. þaruh ïs qaþ du ïmma. þatei broþar þeins qam. jah ufsnaiþ atta þeins stiur þana alidan. unte hailana ïna andnam.

28. þanuh modags varþ jah ni vilda ïngaggan. ïþ atta ïs usgaggands ut bad ïna.

29. þaruh ïs andhafjands qaþ du attin. sai. sva filu jere skalkinoda þus jah ni wanhun anabusn þeina ufarïddja. jah mis ni aiv atgaft gaitein ei miþ frijondam meinaim bivesjau.

30. ïþ þan sa sunus þeins. saei fret þein sves miþ kalkjom. qam. ufsnaist ïmma stiur þana alidan.

31. þaruh qaþ du ïmma. barnilo. þu sinteino miþ mis vast jah ïs. jah all þata mein þein ïst.

32. vaila visan jah faginon skuld vas. unte broþar þeins dauþs vas jah gaqiunoda. jah fralusans jah bigitans varþ.

27. Thar·ukh is *kw*ath du im·ma: That·ii br*oo*th·ar thiins *kw*am, jakh uf·sneeth· at·ta thiins styyr than·a al·idan, un·t*ee* n·eel·ana in·a andnam·.

28. Than·ukh m*oo*d·ags warth, jakh ni wil·da in·gaq·gan. Ith at·ta is us·gaq·gands ut bad in·a.

29. Thar·ukh is andu·af·jands *kw*ath du at·tin: See, swa fil·u *jeer·ee* skalk·in*oo*d·a thus, jakh ni *kw*han·u·un an·abus·n thiin·a uf·ar,id·dja. Jakh mis ni eew at·gaft. geet·iin ii mith fri·-j*oo*nd·am miin·eem biw*ees*·JAA.

30. Ith than sa sun·us thiins, sa,ii· fr*ee*t thiin sw*ee*s mith kalk·J*oo*m, *kw*am, uf·sneest· im·-ma styyr than·a al·idan.

31. Thar·ukh *kw*ath du im·-ma: Barn·il*oo*! thu sint·iin*oo* mith mis wast jakh is; jakh al that·a miin thiin ist.

32. Weel·a wis·an jakh fag·-in*oo*n skuld was un·t*ee* br*oo*th·ar thiins DAATHS was jakh ga-*kw*yyn·*oo*da, jakh fralus·anz jakh bigit·aus warth.

Verbatim Translation.

27. Then he quoth to him, that brother thine came, eke up-cut dad thine steer the fatted, unto-that (because) whole him received.

28. Then moody worth (became), eke not would in-go. But dad of-him out-going out bad him.

29. Then he to-heaving (answering) quoth to dad, Lo, so many years served to-thee, eke not whenever command thine over-went (transgressed), eke to-me not ever at-gave goat, that with friends mine might-feast.

30. But then (when) the son thine, who devoured thine possession with harlots, came, thou-up-cuttest for him steer the fatted.

31. Then quoth to him, Little-son, thou always with me wast, eke art, eke all the mine thine is.

32. Well to-be eke to rejoice due was, unto-that (because) brother thine dead was, eke y-quickened; eke lost, eke be-gotten worth (became).

CHAPTER VI.

ON THE CORRESPONDENCE OF ORTHOGRAPHY WITH PRONUNCIATION FROM THE ANGLOSAXON TIMES TO THE PRESENT DAY.

§ 1. *The Value of the Letters.*

The several conclusions arrived at respecting the sounds of the letters in English orthography are necessarily very irregularly scattered through the preceding pages. The nature of the investigation which obliged us to commence with the XVI th century, then descend through the XVII th to the XVIII th, and immediately jump to the XIV th, and then after a glance at the XV th, commence the consideration of the XIII th century, has not produced an order which is convenient or satisfactory to the reader. In the present section then the results will be arranged in a tabular form, in alphabetical order. A reference to the pages in which the several statements are established, is occasionally given, but as it was found impracticable to introduce it concisely into the text in all cases, the indices at the end of the book must be consulted. The outline index annexed will enable the reader to refer immediately to the principal combinations.

The construction of the Table is as follows. All the single letters or combinations of letters which have been used as parts of words in English orthography, from the Anglosaxon period to the present day, such as *a*, *aa*, *æ*, *ae*, *a-e* (meaning *a* followed by some consonant and then by *e* final), *af*, *-age* (meaning *age* final) *ah*, *ai*, *al*, *all*, *an*, *-ange*, *ao*, *aou*, *ar*, *as*, *-aste*, *ath*, *au*, *augh*, *aun*, *aw*, *aww*, *ay*, *ayo*, *b*, etc., are placed in alphabetical order at the head of separate paragraphs, as in a dictionary, and then the history of the different sounds that each has represented is sketched in accordance with previous results, using

ags., for the Anglosaxon period,
13., for the XIII th century and earlier.
14., 15., 16., 17., 18., 19., for the XIV th, XV th, XVI th, XVII th, XVIII th, and XIX th centuries respectively.

The passages inserted in brackets at the end of some articles, signed P., are due to Mr. Payne, see infrà, pp. 579–80.

OUTLINE INDEX TO THE PRINCIPAL COMBINATIONS.

Anglosaxon period: p. 510.

Thirteenth Century and Earlier: pp. 423, 431, 439, 467, 471, 476, 480, 484, 487, 496, 498, 506.

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17. 147,
18. 149.

B
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C
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CH
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EA
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17. 81,
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EE
14. 260,
16. 77,
17. 81,
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16. 17. 18. 219.

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GH
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GN
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I, Y
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IE
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17. 116,
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J
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16. 17. 18. 203.

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17. 99,
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OA
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16. 93,
17. 99,
18. 103.

OE
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OI, OY
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16. 130,
17. 133,
18. 135.

OO
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16. 93,
17. 99,
18. 103.

OU, OW
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16. 136, 149,
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P
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PH
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Q
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16. 17. 18. 196.

S
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SH
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16. 17. 18. 214.

T
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16. 17. 18. 203.

TH
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W.
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WH
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Y vowel, see I

Y consonant.
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16. 17. 18. 184.

Z
14. 310, 317,
16. 17. 18. 214.

CHRONOLOGICAL ACCOUNT OF THE VALUES OF LETTERS.

A ags. was both a short and a long sound (*a*, *aa*), but the long sound was sometimes written *á*. Short *a* in an open unaccented syllable was probably (a). After ags., *a* in an open accented syllable was considered as long, and in a closed syllable generally short. In 13. 14. 15. 16. *a* seems to have been (a, aa), although in the earlier part of this time it may have been (*a*, *aa*). Probably towards the end of 16. it passed into (ah, aah), a sound frequent in 19. In 17. it became (æ, ææ), and at the latter end of 17. and beginning of 18., it seems to have fallen into (æ, ee). These changes seem to have occurred towards the close of 15. or even earlier in Scotland, p. 410, n. 3, and perhaps in the Northern and West Midland Counties, p. 450, n. 2. See references under *ey*. Perhaps during the latter part of 18. there came into use a distinction, thoroughly established in 19., that long *a* should be (*ee*) unless followed by *r*, and that then it should be (ee); compare n*a*ming, M*a*ry (n*ee*m·*i*q, Meeɹ·r*i*). In 19. long *a* is frequently pronounced (*ee*i) in place of (*ee*), as (n*ee*im) for (n*ee*m), pp. 234, 272, n. 3; 294, n. 2. Short *a* has remained (æ) from 17. to 19. These general usages have been crossed by the action of a following *f*, *n*, *r*, *s*, *th*, see *af*, *an*, *ar*, *as*, *ath*, and the other combinations which follow. An initial (w) acted in the latter part of 17. and subsequently, in many, but by no means all words, to convert (æ) into (A) or (ɔ), as in *was*, *what*, etc. In 19. *a* has been variously degraded as in: h*a*ting, f*a*ther, w*a*ter, m*a*ny, h*a*t, w*a*nt. rib*a*nd =(HEET·*i*q, f*aa*dh·ɹ, WAAT·ɹ, men·*i*, HÆT, WANT, r*i*b·ɐn).

AA was in 14. occasionally used for (aa) in closed syllables. Otherwise it was only employed in biblical names, as Aaron, Isaac, and then it followed the sound of long or short *a*. It was occasionally for German *aa*, and then from 17. it was (AA).

Æ ags. (æ, ææ), p. 510, in 13. sank to (E, EE) or (e, ee), pp. 487, 496, 498. It was rarely used in 13., and not at all afterwards, except in words borrowed from the Latin or Greek, and then it was (ee) till 18., towards the close of which it became (ii) in such cases. But scholars still occasionally say (e) as in: Pæstum = (Pest·ɐm) rather than (Piis·tɐm), which is also heard. [In 13. *æ* = (ee) in Norman and English.—P.]

AE was never an English combination, but, resulting from biblical names or Latin adaptations, it seems to have been treated as a+e, or æ. In 19. we have *ae*rie, Mich*ae*l, *ae*rial, Isr*ae*l = (eeɹ·r*i* iiɹ·r*i*, Məi·kɐl, *e*,er·*i*ɐl eeɹ·riɐl iiɹ·riɐl, *Iz*·r*ee*l *Iz*·rel *Iz*·rɐl). [In 13. *ae* = æ = (ee) in Norman and English. —P.]

A—E, that is *a* followed by some consonant and a final *e*, which, when pronounced, had the effect of putting *a* into an open syllable, and therefore making it long, so that when the final *e* ceased to be pronounced, it was presumed to have the same effect of lengthening the preceding vowel. Hence *a*—*e* was assumed to be long *a*, with the sound of the time, from 16. to 19. Perhaps this feeling came in towards the close of 15. The rule is not consistently carried out in 19,; compare: h*a*te, *a*re, landsc*a*pe, furn*a*ce, h*a*ve = (HEET, aaɹ, lænd·sk*i*p, fɹ·n*y*s, HÆV). Even in 16. the vowel was not long in unaccented syllables.

AF, this combination presents nothing peculiar till 18. or 19. and then only in certain words: graff, staff, distaff, quaff, aft, after, abaft, haft, shaft, raft, craft, draft, graft, waft, and laugh, calf, half, which must be considered to have the same combination. Here usage differs. The common southern pronunciation is (aaf), and even (*aa*f) may be heard; the fine educated northern pronunciation is (æf). Ladies in the South and many educated gentlemen say (ahf) or at most (aahf). But (af) is also heard. Those who use the finer sounds, ridicule the others as vulgar, and write them *larf*, etc., declaring that an *r* is introduced, but this arises from their own omission of (r) and preservation of (aa), in: barm, starve, etc. See *ar*, *or*, and the citation under *o*, p. 575, col. 1.

AG in late ags. and 12. or 13. was probably equivalent to (ai).

Aʒʒ, Orrmin's form of (ai), p. 488.

-AGE. In 16. the *ge* = (dzh) seems to have influenced the preceding *a* by introducing an (i) sound, as (aidzh), p. 120; and in 17. to 19. this *a* has followed the fortunes of *ai*, which see.

AH, as an exclamation, has probably always represented (aa), although the corresponding exclamation was not always represented by *ah*. In *dahlia* it is now pronounced (*ee*).

AI in 14. = (ai, aai), which sounds apparently remained to the end of 16., though the pronunciation (ee) was in use by a large number of speakers. In 17. after a passage through (ahi, æi), the sound rapidly sank to (ee), but whether the sound (eei) was not occasionally heard cannot be ascertained with certainty. In 19., (*ee*, *eei*) are both usual forms. Various degradations are heard in 19., as: dem*ai*n, s*ai*l, S*ai*nt John, s*ai*d, pl*ai*d. Brit*ai*n (dimiin·, s*ee*l, S*i*n·dzhæn, sed, pled, Brít·'n), and *dais*, which was a monosyllable in Chaucer, 372 = (dais), but has become dissyllabic = (de·is). For 13. see pp. 431, 440, 467, 473, 506; 14. 459, 462; 15. 417. See especially p. 459, n. 1, and the passages there referred to, and also Chap. VII. § 1. The use of (ai) for (ee) seems fixed in Scotland at the beginning of 16., p. 410, n. 3. [In 13. and 14. *ai* = *ay* = (ee) in Norman and English; in 16. often, if not generally = (ai) in English, infrà p. 582. —I.]

AL, ALL in 16. and hence probably for some time previously the *l* had begun seriously to influence the preceding vowel, by being pronounced ('l) with a very appreciable length of murmur or being labialised into (l*e*); the result in either case, accepted as (ul), produced the diphthong (aul), which was firmly established in 16. See *l*, p. 193. This was occasionally followed by the total disappearance of the *l*, as in: talk, calm = (tauk, kaum). Then this *al* was considered as tantamount to *au*, and followed its changes, becoming (aa) in 17. and in most words so remaining to 19.; but in some words, as (p*a*lm, c*a*lm), although occasionally called (paam, kaam) in 17., and in Irish-English, p. 76, the combination seems to have generally resisted the change to (aa), and rather to have passed from (aam, aa') to simple (aa), as we still hear (paam, kaam), refined by some to (paalm kaalm, pæem kæem, paem kaem); while others, inorganically and purely orthographically, attempt to say (pælm, kælm). See *au*, *aun*.

AN. In 16. French words now having the nasal vowel (aa) were heard as having (aun), p. 143, and hence the writing *aun* much prevailed then; and as we also find this orthography in 14., probably the same effect was produced on English ears by that French sound. In 16. *aun* was occasionally replaced by *an*, as *commaund*, *command*, but probably the sound (aun) remained. In 17. the sound became (aan), and during 18. and even into 19. this sound remains, although there is, and perhaps always was, a tendency to fall, on the one hand into (aan), on the other into (an), with their various refinements; see *af*. Thus *romance romantic* have now generally (æn), but (aan) is occasionally heard, and forty years ago I was familiar with (romaans·, romaans·). In comm*a*nd, dem*a*nd, etc., the contest is among (an aan, *an aa*n, æn ææn, ahn aahn). In *daunt*, *gaunt*, *haunt*, *gauntlet*, *jaunt*, *taunt*, *vaunt*, all the last named sounds may be heard, and also (aan), but never (an). It would be convenient to use (aan) for (*an*) in all words where it corresponds to the modern French (aa). See *au*.

-ANGE. In 16. the sound (i) was inserted as (aindzh), p. 120, and the combination was treated in 17. as if written *-ainge*, the *a* becoming (ee) and then (*ee*) or (*eei*) in 19. In unaccented syllables it drops into (-*e*ndzh, or -*i*ndzh) properly (-*y*ndzh), as oranges = (or·*y*ndzhyz).

AO. This is never recognized as a true English combination, though it occurs in g*ao*l now (dzheel), and by accidental attraction in extr*ao*rdinary, now (ekstraar·dineri), and foreign words, as: Phar*ao*h, *ao*rta, Ch*ao*s, now (Feer·o, e,ar·te, Kee·os). The old pronunciation of *gaol* is doubtful. *Extraordinary* was probably always treated as a compound, compare "afford no extraordinary gaze," Henry IV. part 1, act 3, sc. 2, v. 78.

AOU. This French mode of writing (au) is only met with in c*aou*tchouc, generally called (koutsh·uk), but occasionally (kuut·tshuk) in 19.

AR. The vocal character of *r* as ('r) seems to have acted upon the preceding vowels in all cases after 16. Probably *ar*, when not followed by a vowel, remained (ar) or (aa), though unacknowledged, during 17. 18. 19., with the variation (aaa), which is in 19.

frequently reduced to simple (aa). But *ar* was frequently called (ær) or (æɹ) in 17. and 18., and the sound is still heard in American English. In the present usage of the South of England the (ɹ) is practically dropped, pp. 196, 245. See *o*, *or*, *r*.

AS. In a few words of 19. the *s* seems to react on the *a*, as: pass, class, mast, fast, in which *a* receives all the variety of sound noticed in *af*, *an*, as (pæs pææs, pas pass, p*as* p*aas*, pahs paahs). In other words, as: passage classify, (*classics* sometimes follows the rule of *class*), gas, (*mastiff* is doubtful), no such action takes place. It is not noticed by older writers, and is therefore probably modern, but it may be merely a remnant of the 16. and earlier (as).

-ASTE, in 16. and earlier (ast), but in 19. we have: haste, paste, taste, waste (now distinguished from *waist*, which was not the case in 16., see p. 73, note 1) = (HEEst, pEEst, tEEst, wEEst). Here the action of *s* is precisely contrary to that in *as*. No clue to this change has been discovered, but we may conjecture an intermediate (HEEæst, pææst) during 17. Could there have been an inserted *i*, as indicated by the spelling *waist* in one sense of 16. *waste*, analogous to that in *-ange*, *ash*, *lash*, pp. 120, 264?

ATH. In: path, bath, lath, wrath, *th* seems to have acted as *f*, *s* (see *af*, *as*) in preserving the (a) sound, or its modern variants (*a* æ ah), short and long, in 19.

AU. See *aww*. At a very early period in 13. and 14. *au*, *aw* were (au), which sound remained to 16. Either at the close of 16. or beginning of 17. it seems to have passed through (*a*u, *aa*u, *aa*') into (AA), in which form it was firmly established in 17. and has remained with little or no change, but is occasionally (aa). See *aun*, *an*. In 19. we have isolated degradations, compare: g*au*ging, *au*nt, h*au*l, h*au*teur, Jerv*au*lx, l*au*rel, meersch*au*m, Menel*au*s = (geedzh·iq, aant, HAAl, HOOtɹ·, Dzhaaɹ·vis, lɹ·el, miiɹ·shɐm, Menilee·əs), where the foreign words have received an English pronunciation. [In 13. and 14. *au* generally (au), but before *n*, especially in 14. = (aaə) in Norman and English, infrà p. 583.—P.]

AUGH. This must be considered as a double combination *au*+*gh*, the first part follows *au*, the second *gh*, hence in 14. laugh = (laukh, lauk*w*h, lauwh), in 16. = (laukh, laun·), in 17. (lææf) or (læf), perhaps also (laaf) as in 19. See *af*. The *gh* becoming occasionally mute, *augh* was treated altogether like *au*, as in: taught, caught = (tAAt, kAAt).

AUN. See *an*.

AW. This was precisely equivalent to *au*. In 14. it was used in the middle as well as at the end of a word. In 16. and afterwards it was seldom used except when final, though we still write: awl, awning, brawl, crawl, prawn, sprawl, etc.

AWW. Orrmin's form of (au), p. 488.

AY. Precisely equivalent to *ai*. In 14. used in the middle as well as end of words; in 16. and afterwards generally final. See references under *ai*, *ei*.

AYO. In the word m*ayo*r = (meeɹ) in 19., *ayo* may be considered as a single combination, but it is properly *ay*+*o*; M*ayo* is generally called (Mee·o).

B. Ags. to 19. = (*b*), but in 19. not unfrequently written when not pronounced as in de*b*t, dou*b*t, lam*b*, *b*del. lium, su*b*tile; in de*b*t, dou*b*t it was not pronounced and generally not written in 16., p. 211, n. 2. It was mute in 17. in all the cases in which it remains so in 19.

BB. Like other doubled letters, had the sound of the single letter (b), being only used to indicate a preceding accented short vowel.

C. In ags. always (k) or (*k*), but at a later period of ags. the (*k*) seems to have become (tsh), p. 511. See *ch*. In 13. it is apparently not used before (e, i), except in the combination *-sce* = *-sse*, and then it was (s); but in 14. when French words were freely introduced it was (s) before *e*, *i* and (k) otherwise, and so it has remained; but see *ce-*, *ci*.

CC. In ags. the same as *c*, but indicating that the preceding vowel was short and generally accented; in later times either (k) or (ks) as in: account, accident = (ækəunt·, æk·sidɐnt) in 19.

CCH in 14. used for *tch* = (t+tsh), and pronounced (tsh), shortening the preceding vowel.

CE. Till 18. this seems to have been simply *c+e*. At the end of 17. it changed to (sh) in in ocean. See *ci*, *si*, *ti*.

CH. Not used in ags., but in 13. found in the signification of (tsh), the sound into which (*k*) had fallen, and as such it has remained. In words from the Greek as ar*ch*itect it is (k) in 19., and probably was so in 14.; in words from the modern French as *ch*aise it is (sh) in 19., but for French words introduced before 18. as *ch*ain, the sound (tsh) seems to have prevailed. In a few final syllables as: Greenwich, Woolwich, Norwich, it has become (dzh) in 19., but in others it remains (tsh), as Ipswich, locally (*I*ps·*i*dzh), p. 512, n. 2. In fu*ch*sia = (fiu·shia) it is mute. See *si-*. In 13. it was rarely used as *gh* = (kh), p. 441. In modern Scotch it has the three sounds (*k*h, kh, k*w*h) determined generally by the preceding vowel.

CI-. Till 18. this appears to have been simply *s+i*, but then it fell into (sh), as spe*ci*al, spe*ci*ous, offi*ci*al = (spesh·ɐl, spii·shɐs, ɔfish·ɐl). See *si-*, *ti-*.

CK. This means *kk* or (*k*) from 14. to 19., but in 14. *kk* is frequently used.

CW in ags., p. 514, probably = (k*w*) that is nearly (kw); replaced by *qu* after ags.

CZ. This is a modern combination used chiefly in Sclavonic words, as *Czech*, Bohemian (tshekh), but English (tshek): *Czar* is called (zaaɹ) in 19., but its Russian initial is (ts).

D ags. to 19. = (d). When, however, the past participle *ed* dropped its *e*, the *d* changed to (t) after mutes or hisses, as: capped, sacked, quaffed, kissed, at least in 17. and probably even in 13. as *bliscedd* = (blist), p. 444, note 2. In 19. *d* is palatised into (dj, dɹ), and ultimately (dzh), in many cases, acknowledged or repudiated, as: soldier = (s*oo*l·dzhɹ), verdure = (vɹ·diuɹ, vɹ·dɹur, vɹ·djur, vɹdzh·ɹ), the last having the same sound as *verger*. It is generally mute in: riban*d*, We*d*nesday.

DD. Whenever used = (d), except in compounds.

DG = (dzh) from 14. to 19., before a palatal vowel, as *e*, *i* as: ju*dg*e, bri*dg*ing and sometimes this sound is retained, even when an *e* has been orthographically omitted, as ju*dg*ment.

Ð In ags. ð was either (th) or (dh) perhaps used indifferently in the MSS. which we have, p. 515. In some more recent ags. and in 13. ð was used as the only sign for both (th, dh), in others þ was the only sign. After 13. ð seems to have been discontinued, and only þ used in 14. and part of 15. Even in 13. *th* was occasionally used for either ð or þ. Judging by modern Icelandic habits ð was (dh) when medial or final in ags. See also p. 541, n. 2, p. 555, n. 1.

E = ags. (e, ee), and this sound it seems to have retained to the middle of 15. Then some of the words with *e* long had the sound of (ii), but *e* short has remained (e) to 19. The use of long *e* as (ee, ii) fluctuated much during 16. and 17., but in 18. the sound (ii) established itself and has remained. See *ea*, *ee*. In 19. it has a few anomalies, compare: b*e*, cl*e*rk, pr*e*tty, l*e*t, r*e*sin, hid*e*ous, op*e*n = (bii, klaaɹk, pr*i*ti, let, rɔz·in, n*i*d·ɹɔs, *oo*p·'n). Final *e* seems to have been pronounced, at least in the Southern parts of England, till the beginning of the 15. with certain exceptions, pp. 318, 364. During 15. most final *e*'s lost their sounds, and in 16. *e* final was considered to indicate that the preceding vowel had its long sound. The final *e* seems to have become silent even in 14. or 13. in the northern parts of the country, p. 410. Usages differ in existing MSS.

EA. In ags. this seems to have been a true diphthong (ea) with the stress generally on the first but occasionally on the second syllable, indicated by (éa, eá), p. 511. Although found in 13. pp. 467, 498, we may consider that with ags. it passed out of use. It is occasionally found in 14. as (ee). It was not till the middle of 16. that it was extensively used to mark those long *e*'s which retained the sound of (ee) in contradistinction to those which had fallen into (ii), the latter being written *ee*. This distinction was however not consistently carried out even at first, some words having the (ii) sound being spelled with *ea*, and all sounds having the (ee) sound not being spelled with *ea*. In 17. still more of the words with *ea* became sounded as (ii) without any change of spelling, and by the middle of 18. the use of *ea* generally as (ii), and rarely as (ee, *ee*) as in: b*ea*r, gr*ea*t, was established and

has remained to 19. Many words in *ea* which had long (ee) in 14. were pronounced with short (e) at an early period, as: h*ea*d, l*ea*d s. In the earlier part of 18. the sound of (ii) was applied to words such as gr*ea*t, br*ea*k, which are now generally pronounced with (*e*). The 19. varieties are seen in: h*ea*l, gr*ea*t, h*ea*rt, guin*ea*, h*ea*d, r*ea*ct, ar*ea*, =(iiil, gr*e*·t, naa.t, gɑ̀n·i, ned, riekt·, eer·ri,ɐ). [In 13. and 14. *ea*=*ae*=*ai*=(ee) in Norman and English, infrà p. 582.—P.]

EAU. This form was not employed in 14., but *eu* was used in place of it; even Levins, 1570, has *beutye*. In the earlier part of 17. *eau* was (eu), in the later part and since, (iu). As usual, 19. furnishes varieties, as in: B*eau*champ, b*eau*, b*eau*tin, b*eau*ty=(Biitsh·ɐm, b*oo*, bif·in, biu·ti). [In 14. *eau* =*eal*, *iau* in Norman of 13.=*eu*, *ew*, =(uu) in Norman and English, infrà p. 586.—P.]

EE. Invariably represented (ee) in 14. and was generally used in closed syllables. At beginning of 16. it was sometimes (ii) and sometimes (ee). During the latter half of 16. it was fixed as (ii), the (ee) sound being generally written *ea* (which see). So it has remained. In 19. br*ee*ches is (br*i*tsh·*yz*).

E'E. A 17. and later contraction for *eve* in *e'er ne'er* and pronounced (ee) up to 19.

E-E. The affixed mute *e* rendered the preceding *e* long, and hence in 16. the sound was generally (ee), but in some cases (ii). The spelling was then discontinued, *ea*, *ee* taking its place, thus Salesbury's *chepe*, *cheese* became *eheap*, *cheese*. At the beginning of 18. the sound of (ii) prevailed and has continued; but 19. shews: th*ese*, th*ere*, all*ege*=(dhiiz, dheeɹ, aledzh·).

EG in later ags. and in 12. (ei, ai).

Eȝȝ. Orrmin's form for (ei), p. 489.

EH, the exclamation (*e*, ee).

EI. In 13. seems to have been (ei, ai). In 14. when used, which was rarely, *ey* being the common form, it was (ai) sometimes (aa.i) pp. 264, 476. See the references given under *ai*. In 16. it varied as (ei, ai), and in 17. became (ɔi) or more usually (eei, ee). During the latter part of 18. it changed to (ii), where it generally remains, with varieties of (ɔi, ee) as in: conc*ei*t, v*ei*l, fort*ei*t, h*ei*fer, d*ei*pnosophist=(kɔnsiit·, v*ee*l, fɔ.fit, nef·ɹ, dɔipnos·*o*fist). In the words *either*, *neither*, *ei* was generally (ee) in 18., in 19. usage fluctuates between (ii, ɔi), some still use (ee), p. 129, n. 1. [Precisely the same as *ai*, *ay*, infrà p. 582.—P.]

EO. In ags. this seems to have been generally (éo) but occasionally (eó). In 13. *eo* interchanged with *e* and the sound was (ee), p. 487. The combination then went out of use, although both *eo* and *oe* are found in 14. in the sense of (ee). In 17. therefore it became (ii) in p*eo*ple, and even in y*eo*man, though this has now (*oo*). As *eo* is rare and has come from many sources it is very variously pronounced in 19., as: p*eo*ple, G*eo*rgies, y*eo*man, gall*eo*n, Th*eo*bald, l*eo*pard, dungɛ*on*, Mackl*eo*d, f*eo*d, th*eo*logian, th*eo*logy=(pii·p'l, Dzhɔ.·dzhiks, joo·mɐn, gælhun·, T*i*b·ɐld, lep·ɹd, dɔn·dzhɐn, mækloud·, find, thii,*o*loo·dzhiɐn, thiɔl·*o*dzhi). [In 13. and 14. *eo*, *oe*=(ee) generally, but often =(uu) in Norman, and sometimes in English, infrà p. 586.—P.]

EOU, EOW, perhaps (eou) or (éu), p. 498. [In 13. and 14. *eow* in English=(uu), infrá p. 586.—P.]

ER in ags. was probably always (er, eer) or (e.r, ee.r) with a strongly trilled (r). It is still so in Scotland and Ireland. There is no notice of its having varied in sound till 18., when (ɹ) was recognized as a second sound of *r* and then *er* was taken to be (eɹ). In 19. Mr. M. Bell takes it to be (ɔɹ). I conceive it to be properly ('ɹ), but to be generally ('ɹ), see p. 196. Although there is no notice of this sound in older writers, yet there is reason to believe that something approaching to it was known in 16. and that it was well marked in the latter part of 17. In 17. the practice of reading *er* as *ar* in: cl*er*k, D*er*by, s*er*vant, s*er*vice, H*er*tford, still more or less heard in 19. came into use. Confusions of *er*, *ar*, are common in 13.

EU. The oldest sound of *eu* seems to have been (eu). In 14. it was generally (eu), but in words of French origin (yy), p. 302. The division became confused in 15., and in 16., though both sounds were heard, the line of distinction seems arbitrary, see lists, p. 301. In the course of 17. most *eu* became

(iu) though some remained (eu). In 18. this distinction was swept away and all became and have remained (iu), except after *r* when they are generally (uu) as R*eu*ben, r*ew*, rh*eu*m. In modern French words in *eur* as: amat*eur*, grand*eur*, haut*eur*, usage varies, (iur, eeɹ, uuɹ, 'ɹ) being all heard occasionally, the last being meant for the French (ər). [In 13. and 14. *eu*, *ue*, *ew*, *w*, each = (uu) in Norman and English, infrà p. 586.—P.]

EW was identical with (*eu*), but was more often used, especially in 13., and afterwards became the common final form, see *eu*. Some of the words in *ew* passed into (*oo*, *oo*u), at least as early as 17., but *shew*, *sew* are in 19. usually spelled *show*, *sow*, and *chew*, *eschew*, *shrew*, *shrewd* have (iu) or (uu). In *Shrewsbury*, present usage varies between (uu) and (*oo*). *Shrow* was used in Shakspere's time. [See *eu*.—P.]

EWE only occurs in the word (ewe), in 19. (ɹiuu) and (ɹoo), which is found written *awe* in 13, p. 428 In the middle of a word *ewe* occurs as *ew* + *e*, and the *e* may be or may not be silent, as in: s*ewe*d, br*ewe*d, j*ewe*l = (s*oo*d, bruud, dzhiu·el). The word *sewer*, a drain, was (sh*oo*ɹ) in 18., but in the middle of 19. the pronunciation (siuɹ) prevails. *Sewer* a waiter is (siu·'ɹ), one who sews is (s*oo*·'ɹ).

EWW. Orrmin's form of (eu), p. 488.

EY. The same as *ei*, see p. 459, n. 1, and the passages there cited. See also Chap. VII. § 1, near the beginning. It was common in 14. as (ai), in 16. as (ei, ai), in 17. as (eei, ee), in 18. and 19. generally (*ee*) sometimes (*ii*). as in k*ey*, th*ey*, turk*ey*, *ey*ing = (kii, dh*ee*, tɹ·k*i*, əi·*i*q). [See *ei*.—P.]

EYE seems to occur only in *eye* = (əi), which was (ai*gh*·e, ai*kh*·e, *ii*·e) in 14., (ei, ai) in 16., and generally (əi) in 17. to 19. [In 14. *eye* = (ee·e), in Norman and English, infrà p. 582.—P.]

F. In ags. (f) and between vowels often (v). In 13. to 19. generally (f), in the middle of 17. *of* became (əv) but it was not generally recognized till 18. The use of (v) for (f) was common in the dialects of 14., p. 409.

FF. Formerly in MS. of 13. and later *ff* was written for *F*. Throughout, in the middle of a word *ff* was = (f).

G. In ags. (g, gh; *g*, *g*h, ɹh, ɹ). In 13. a distinction was made between *g* ʒ, *g* being pure (*g*, g), and ʒ guttural or palatal. When French words were introduced more freely in 14. *g* became (dzh), and was then (dzh) or perhaps (zh) in French. The sound (zh) is comparatively modern in France, though it was certainly known in 16., p. 207, and it is used in Modern English words taken from the French as: rou*g*ing (ruuzh·*i*q).

GG. Identical with *g*, but always (g), never (dzh), as in rugged = (rəg·ed).

GH. Even in 13. occasionally used for ʒ when sounded (gh, kh), the sounds (*g*h, ɹ) being occasionally written (yh, y) p. 431. In 14. the sound was (gh, *g*h, kh, *k*h), and after labial vowels (g*w*h, wh). In 16. it was generally called (kh) but said to be lightly pronounced, and some call it (ɪɪ'), others (wh), and in a few words this (wh) had passed into (f). In other words it gradually became mute, in which case the preceding vowel had generally been previously altered. In 17. *sigh* *drought*, *height*, were sometimes called (səith, drʌʌth, ɪɪəith, and the town of *Keighley* is (Kiith·l*i*) in 19. An unhistorical *h* has been inserted in: ghost, ghastly, in which *gh* = (g). The (kh) sound is retained in: *lough*, (ləkh), though it has generally become (k) as (lɔk), and as: shough, hough = (shək, ɪɪək) but sometimes (ɪɪəf) in groom's language. The change of *gh* into (f) prevailed more extensively in 17. than in 19., and is still heard more in the provinces. Varieties in 19.: Calla*gh*an, hiccou*gh*, Bellin*gh*am, hou*gh*, *gh*ost, lau*gh*, Kei*gh*ley = (Kæl·aɪɪæn, ɪɪik·kəp, Bel·*i*ndzhɪm, ɪɪək, g*oo*st, laaf), besides being mute. *Augh*, *ough*, must be taken as *au*+*gh*, *ou* + *gh*.

GL. Generally *g*+*l*, but in the Italian word *seraglio*, either (lɹ) or (l) from 17. at least.

GN. Initial, up to 16. (gn), but in 17. and afterwards, the *g* was dropped. Medial, in 14. it seems to have been simple (n), p. 309, and this sound has generally remained to 19., although *gn* is incorrectly considered to lengthen the preceding vowel, merely because an *e* has been omitted, as in: sign, benign, impregn, impugn, in 14. (s*ii*n·e, be*nii*·ne, *i*mpree·ne, *i*mpyy·ne), and hence in 16. (səin, benəin·, impreen·, *i*mpyyn·), and in 19. (səin, binəin·, impriin·, *i*m-

piun·). In such combination as: dignity, signify, impregnate, repugnant, it was probably always (gn). Gill, 1621, acknowledges (qn) as (beniq·n), and some MSS. of 15. spell *beningne*. [In 13. and 14. *gn* medial = (n) in Norman and English.—P.]

ȝ ʒ Used extensively in 13. and 14. for the sounds of (gh, *g*h, kh, *k*h, ɹ). The figure of *y* in the sense (ɹ) seems derived from ȝ. The form ʒ being identical with the written form of *z*, then in use, z was also used for ȝ even in print, see *nz*, *z*. After printing came into use ʒ was soon discontinued, and *gh*, *y* became the usual forms. Sometimes confused in writing with *s*, p. 464.

ȝh used for (gh) in Orrmin, p. 488.

H. In ags. initially, before a vowel (ıı) or (ı·). Before *l*, *r*, *n*, *w* it may have been originally (kh), but *hl*, *hr*, *hn*, *hw* seem to have become (lh, rh, nh, wh) in ags. times, p. 512, as they are in Icelandic, p. 544, and in 13. only (lh, wh) remained, which were frequently interchanged with (l, w). (Wh) remains in 19., but is uncertain in the South. In ags, *h* final = (kh, *k*h). In 13. the sound of *h* seems to have been very uncertain, and in 14. it was lost in those words before which a vowel was elided. In 16. it was pronounced or not, differently from the present custom. In 19. it is much more pronounced than formerly, but in the provinces and among the uneducated, it is almost always lost.

I *vowel*, for *i* consonant see *j*. In ags. (i, ii) or (*i*, *ii*). This sound seems to have been prevalent in 14., and the short value (*i*) lasts in 19. During 15. many of the words having long (*ii*) received short (*i*) owing to throwing back the accent, but those long (*ii*) which retained the accent became (ei), and retained that sound in 16., changing to (əi) in 17., where they remain. Only a few modern French words have (ii), as *invalid* (invəliid·) also called (*in*væl·*id*), in another sense.

IA. [In 13. and 14. *ia*, *ya*, (in one syllable) = *ai*, *ay* = (ee) in Norman and English, p. 582.—P.]

IE, medial. Occurs occasionally in 14. as simple (ee). In 16. it was not much used, though it seems then to have been (ii) even in *friend*, and in 17. it was firmly established in a few words, without any historical or etymological reason, as (ii), and has so generally remained. In final syllables it was much used in 14. as (-*ii*·e) and in 16. as representing the 14. final -*ie*, -*e*, and sometimes -*y*. This termination was generally called (-*i*) but sometimes (ei, ai). In 17. it was gradually replaced by *y*. In a few words as *die*, *lie*, etc., it remains with the sound (əi). [In 13. and 14. *ie* (in one syllable) = *ei* = (ee) in Norman and English, infrà p. 582.—P.]

I–E is properly identical with long *i*, which see; but owing to a prejudice against ending words in *v*, and to the necessity of putting an *e* after *g* final to indicate the sound of (dzh), it sometimes represented short *i* (*i*), as in 19. *give*, *live*, *bridge*. In modern words from the French it is (ii). as: antique, oblique, routine, machine, pique.

IEU is a purely French combination, and in 16. interchanged with *eu* being probably pronounced (eu); in 17. it was (iu), and so it has generally remained, thus *lieu* is (liu) or (luu), but *lieu*tenant is usually called (leften·ənt, or (luuten·ənt), and Beau*lieu* is (Biu·li). [*Ieu*, *iew* in English, hypothetically = *eue*, *euve* Norman of 13., would, if found = (uu), infrà p. 586.—P.]

IEW. In the word *view* written both *vewe* and *view* in 16., it is a final form of *ieu*. [See *ieu*.—P.]

IO. [In 13 and 14. *io* (in one syllable) = *oi* = (uu) generally, in Norman and English, infrà p. 587.—P.]

IR not before a vowel, was probably not distinctly separated from *er* even in 14. as we have both *first* and *ferst*. In 16. and later it seems to have been the same as *er*, and in 19. it is either ('ɹ) or ('ɹ), as in: s*ir*, d*irt*, f*ir*.

IU. [In 13. *iu* (in one syllable) = *iw* = (uu) in Norman and English, infrà p. 586. On p. 506, n. 2, for (riú·le) read (ruu·le).—P.]

J or *i* consonant of the 16. and 17. centuries in which the distinction *i*, *j* was not observed in writing. In 14. introduced for French words, and with the French sound (dzh) which it retains, though in France *j* has become (zh). In the Hebrew hallelujah it was and is read (ɹ), but not so in other Hebrew words. (Maaɹtsh·bæqks) for

Marjoribanks, is an obviously recent corruption.

K from its earliest introduction in the latest ags. to the present day has retained the same sound (k), with perhaps occasional unacknowledged palatisation into (*k*).

KK, often used in 14. where *ck* was afterwards employed, as (k) after a preceding short accented vowel in a closed syllable.

KN *initial*, in 14. to 16. and perhaps for some time in 17. was = (kn), but in 18. and 19. the (k) was dropped. It is, however, still pronounced in Lowland Scotch. In 17. Cooper considered *kn* = (nh), p. 544, n. 2.

L from ags. to 19. = (l). The 19. colonel = (kɹ·nɐl) is remarkable. L is occasionally not pronounced, but in disappearing leaves an effect on the preceding vowel as in: *talk*, *half*, *alms*, now (tʌʌk, ʜaaf, aamz), where *l* seems to have been lost generally in 16. See *al*.

LD. The *l* was omitted in 17. in *could*, *would*, *should*, having been erroneously introduced into the first, though heard in 16. In Gui*ld*ford, the *d* is usually silent.

LE final, after a consonant, from 16. to 19. = ('l), as: fiddle, beadle = (fid·'l, bii·d'l).

LF. In *alf*, the *l* was omitted in 16. and *a* became (au), which was (ʌʌ) in 17. and has in 19. returned to (aa). See *al*.

LH. Occasionally used in 13., probably for (lh), a remnant of ags. *hl*, see *h*, but as it interchanges with *l*, this pronunciation is doubtful.

LL. Much used as a final, and after a short accented vowel in a closed syllable, as (l). In compounds sometimes *l* + *l*, as in *soulless*. In Welsh words initially, the Englishman says (l) in *Ll*oyd (Lɔid), Welsh (lhhuid), but in *Ll*angol*l*en he generally uses (thl) as (Thlæn·gɔth·len), Welsh (Lhhan·golhh·en).

LM, *alm* final, omitted the *l* in 16. changing (a) into (au) which became (ʌʌ) in 17. and in 19. has become (aa) with its variants, as in *balm*, see *al*.

LN final presenting some difficulty in speech, one or the other letter was often dropped: *l* was omitted in *Lincoln*, and probably in *Colne* in 17., *n* was omitted in *kiln* in 17., changes which remain.

LZ. Old form of lʒ = (lɹ). Da*lz*iel in Scotland (Di·ɛl) in England (Dæl·zel). See p. 310, note 1.

M, from ags. to 19. = (m). In 16. probably, and later, when following any consonant but *l*, *r*, *m* was ('m) as in *chasm* = (kæz·'m) although the ('m) was not allowed to constitute a syllable in verse. Some in 19 call *-lm*, *-rm* (-l'm, -r'm) and this was recognized by Bullokar in 16.

MB final, probably omitted *b* in 16. and certainly in 17. to 19. as *limb*.

MM medial only, after an accented short vowel = (m), from 14. at least.

MN final = (m) probably always in *column*; and initial = (n) probably always in *mnemonics*.

MP. *Omp*, which was a French combination, now called (oʌ), was in accented syllables in 14. = (uun), in 16. (oun) and 17. 19. = (ɔun) as in *Compter*; unaccented it was (kon) as Comptroller. In 19. Campbell is often (kæm·el). Otherwise (mp) is fully sounded as: camp, limp, thump.

N. From ags. to 19. = (n). Probably before *f* it fell into m, as in *Banff*. See also *nc*, *nk*, *ng*.

NC. Chiefly in compounds as *in-come*, or in the termination -nce, and then = (nk, ns); but some in 19. and probably early, changed *n* into (q) before *c* = (k).

ND. Generally (nd), but the *d* is sometimes mute, as in *riband*, ha*nd*kerchief, and in the latter case the *n* becomes (q) notwithstanding the composite nature of the word = (ʜæq·kertsher) in 17. and (ʜæq·kɹtshif) in 19.

NG. The difficulty of pronouncing pure (n) before the gutturals (g, k), caused *n* in such cases to pass into (q) in the earliest times. It is difficult to determine before 19. whether *ng* was simply (q), or (qg) when final or medial. In 16. and later the 19. customs obtained, namely *ng* is (q) when final, and preserves that sound generally when the word is lengthened by inflection, and in a few cases *ng* = (qg). Thus: I lo*ng*, thou lo*ng*est, lo*ng*er *s.* a lo*ng* way, have all (q), but lo*ng*er *a.*, lo*ng*est *a.*, stro*ng*er, stro*ng*est have (qg), Compare li*ng*er, fi*ng*er, si*ng*er. When *ng* occurs before *th*, it is usually called (qk) as *length*, *strength* (leqkth,

streqkth) or (qqh), but many persons say (lenth, strenth) which Walker notices as an Irishism. In French words *ng* = (ndzh) from 16., some in 19. say (nzh) but it is against analogy, as cha*ng*e, si*ng*e, (tsh*e*nzh, s*i*nzh) for (tsh*e*ndzh, s*i*ndzh). Though cha*ng*ing is used, si*ng*eing is employed to keep the word distinct from s*ing*ing. *Ng* initial = (q), is only found in foreign words.

NH. A Portuguese combination for (nj), used in 19. in ipecacua*nh*a as (n).

NK. In one syllable = (qk), or as some believe (qhk) from ags. to present day, see *ng*.

NN. After short accented vowels = (n) from ags.

NZ. In a few names, the old form of Saxon *nz*, with the sound (q) as Me*nz*ies = (M*iq*·*iz*), or with the sound (nʒ) as in Den*z*il = (Den·ʒil), see *lz*, and p. 310, note 1.

O. From ags. to 16. apparently (o, oo), but during 15. many long *o* fell into (uu) and for some the orthography was changed in 16. to *oo*, while for others the *o* was retained, as in *do*, *who*, *move* (duu, whuu, muuv), and in 17. *go* was occasionally pronounced (guu). The short *o* also frequently represented (*u*) both in 14. and 16. In 17. the long sound of *o* in those words in which it had not fallen into (uu) became (*oo*) and the short either generally (ʌ, ɔ) or even (ə) in case of those words where *o* was (u) in 16. In 19. the long sound is (*oo*) or as some pronounce (*oo*u) and even (*o*u), while the short sound is (ɔ). Before r = (ɹ), the long sound remains (oo), as *ore* = (ooɹ) although some say (*ooɹ*, *oo*'ɹ) and even (*oo*·,'ɹ) dissyllabically, the same as *ower*. The short *o* before r = (ɹ) is supposed to remain (ɔ), as fork (fɔɹk), but it frequently becomes (ʌʌ) and the (ɹ) is then often dropped, so that *Lord laud* theoretically (lɔɹd, lʌʌd) are confused as (lʌʌd). See pp. 196, 245. In comic verse *or*, *aw*, are allowed to rhyme as in Hood's Epicurean Reminiscences of a Sentimentalist.

We went to——, it certainly was the sea-side,
For the next, the most blessed of *morns*,
I remember how fondly I gazed at my bride,
Sitting down to a plateful of *prawns*.
O never may mem'ry lose sight of that year,
But still hallow the time as it *ought*,
That season the "grass" was remarkably dear,
And the peas at a guinea a *quart*.
—*Comic Annual*, 1831, p. 171.

See the remarks under (ɹ), infrà § 2. The properly short *o* is in 19. sometimes prolonged before *s*, *f* as *cross off* = (krɔs ɔf, krɔɔs ɔɔf) or (kroos oot), and occasionally quite (krʌʌs ʌʌf). Possibly in 17., whole, stone were (uol, ston) as these pronunciations exist in America, which is tinged with 17., and are still heard occasionally here, being common in Norfolk; from (ston) apparently, or else from (stun), comes the familiar (ston) as a weight. The 19. varieties: are *go*, *do*, wom*e*n, b*e*tt*o*r, *o*n, s*o*n, wom*a*n, compter, ch*oi*r, reas*o*n = (*goo*, dun, w*i*m·*e*n, bet·ɹ, ɔn, sʌn, wum·*e*n, kʌm·tɹ, kwʌiɹ, riiz·n).

OA. This is found in 13. when it seems to have been (*aa*) or (*aah*), or simply (aa), pp. 467, 498, 506. It was hardly used afterwards, till in the latter part of 16., when it was introduced as a new sign for (oo), the form (*oo*) being appropriated to (uu). In 17. the sound changed to (*oo*) at which it has remained, with a tendency in 19. towards (*oo*u, *o*u). In the three words: br*oa*d, abr*oa*d, gr*oa*t, it was = (ʌʌ) in 17., and still so remains, though gr*oa*t is often called (grɔt), and in *groats*, a farinaceous food for children, it is (grɔts). It was occasionally *o*+*a* as in *oa*sis, *coa*rt, *coa*gulate. [Infrà p. 586.—P.]

Œ. Used in 19. in some Latin words as fœtus, fœtid = (fii·tʌs, fet·id).

OE was uncertainly used as a final in 16., with the sounds of (oo) generally, and (uu) occasionally, Levins 1570 has: doe, foe, roe, toe, sloe, goe, forgoe, moe, hoe, loe (our lo!) with (oo), and: shooe, fordoe, vndoe (but doo), with (uu), but considers these and: blo, twoo, no, so, tho, to, vnto, as words "in *o* desinentia." In 17. *oe* was generally (*oo*), but was (uu) in *shoe*. In 19. we find d*oe*, sh*oe*, fell*oe*, d*oe*s = (d*oo*, shuu, fel·*i*, dəz), and *oe* = *o*+*e* in: *coe*val, p*oe*t (ko,ii·vəl, poo·et). [See *oe*, p. 586.—P.]

O-E. From 16., marks *o* long, but in some words, when *v* is the interposed consonant, as: m*ove*, pr*ove*, the *o* was sounded (uu) from 16. to 19.; l*ove*,

formerly (luuv), passing through (luv), became lɔv). In a few words as: hove, rove (*oo*) remains. Otherwise the sound was that of the long *o* of the time. The anomaly *one* (wɔn) is recent; the time of its introduction is unknown, but it was not before 18. Jones 1701 gives (wæn, wæns, wænst) as curiosities, but does not name (wɔn); Buchanan 1766 has (wæn, wæns) also, as the correct sounds, but Franklin, 1768, has (wɔn, wɔns). The Scotch (ɹin, ɹen) for *ane*, seem to have been introduced about the same time. The old sounds were, English (oon), Scotch (aan). The 19. varieties are: h*o*rs*e*, c*o*v*e*, m*o*v*e*, T*o*ll*e*mache, f*o*r*e*head, l*o*v*e*, Bolingbr*o*k*e*, *one* = (ɪɪɔrs, k*oo*v, muuv, Tæl·mæsh, fɔr·ed, lɔv, B*u*l·*i*qbr*u*k, wɔn).

OEU. A French combination, naturalized as (uu) in man*oeu*vre, in 19? [A combination not known in France until 15., represented in 13. and 14. by *ue*, *eu*, *eo*, *oe* = (uu).—P.]

OH has perhaps always represented the exclamation (*oo*), although the exclamation was not always represented by it.

OI is not found often enough in 13. to determine its sound, it was apparently (ui) in 14. in French words, but occasionally (ué?), and sometimes (oi?); in 16. (uui, ui) and also (oi), in 17. the (ui) class became (ɔi) and this remains as an unrecognized vulgarism in b*oi*l, p*oi*nt, etc.; in other words it was (ʌi) or (ɔi) or (oi), and occasionally (*oi*) is heard, often (ʌʌi). Dialectically *oi* was occasionally pronounced (*ii*, *ee*) in 14., p. 450, note 2. The 19. varieties are: cham*oi*s, conn*oi*sseur, av*oi*rdupoise = (shæm·*i*, shæm·wʌ, kɔnesɹɹ·, ævɹdiupoiz·). Ch*oi*r was also writen *quire* in 17., and since then pronounced (kwɔir), but *chorister* was (k*wi*r·*i*ster). Mem*oi*r is called (mem·wɔɹ) in imitation of the French. And sometimes *oi* = *o*+*i*. [In 13. and 14. *oi*, *oy* = *io* = (uu) generally, in Norman and English, but very often also = (ee), infrà p. 587.—P.]

OL, OLL. In 16. the *l* being sounded strongly as ('l) or (l*w*) developed a (u), so that *ol* became (ooul) in r*o*ll, t*o*ll, etc., p. 193. In 17. this remained or became (*o*ul), and as such passed to Ireland. Even in 18., (*o*ul) as well as (*oo*ul) was heard. In 19. (*oo*ul) is considered inelegant, but is common, and (*o*ul) unbearable, and (*oo*l) is the only recognized sound.

OO. In 13. and 14. = (oo), rare in 13., frequent in 14. During 15. this sound split into (oo) and (uu) and in the latter part of 16., *oo* was appropriated to (uu), where it has since remained, with a few exceptions. In some words the (uu) became (u) and some of these naturally fell into (ə) in 17., as: fl*oo*d, bl*oo*d; others, however, resisted this tendency, but became (*u*) as: g*oo*d, w*oo*d, st*oo*d. These changes remain in 19. Before *k* it is the custom in Scotland to use (u) and in the North of England to preserve (uu), as: book (buk, buuk), while in the South the sound is fully (*u*) as (b*u*k). In some words *oo* = *o*+*o*, as z*oo*logy, z*oo*phyte, Laoc*oo*n = (zoɔl·odzh*i*, zoo·ofəit, Leɔk·oɔn).

OR. There is no reason to suppose that this was different from (oor, or) in accented syllables; finals were generally written *our* up to 17. and even later, some still remaining, originally to indicate the sound (uur, ur) p. 304. In 17. these final unaccented *or*, *our* became (ər) or probably (əɹ, ɹ), and are (ɹ) in 19. In accented syllables, in 17. it was sometimes (*oo*r) and sometimes (ʌr) or (ʌʌr), (f*oo*rm) a bench, (fʌʌrm) a shape, and this distinction remained through 18. It has nearly disappeared in 19. The present theoretical sound of *or* not followed by a vowel is (ɔɹ), which passes into (ʌʌɹ) and (ʌʌ) simply, see the citation in *o*, p. 575. Before a vowel *or* = (ɔr).

OU was introduced at the close of 13. and beginning of 14. for (uu) and so remained to 16., being occasionally used for (u), and occasionally for (oou), which was generally written *ow*. Some writers pronounced it (uu) till past the middle of 16., but about that time the general pronunciation had become (ou), some words only remaining (uu) or (u). Most of the latter became (ə) in 17., but some (uu, u) remain to 19. The ags. words in *aw*, *ow*, which came to be written *ou*, *ow*, were till 17. called (oou). In 17., (*oo*) without an aftersound of (u), was and still is the recognized pronunciation, but as the aftersound exists still as (*oo*⌊u, *oo*'*w*), it probably existed in 17., and its repudiation by orthoepists then arose very possibly from the same cause that it still arises,

namely, the tendency to give this after-sound (u) even in words where there is no historical authority for its use, see *ow*. Before *gh* the sound was apparently (ou) or (oou) in 14. In 17. this changed to (ɑɑ), *gh* being dropped, and has so remained. The 19. varieties are: *ou*ght, *so*ul, *sou*p, h*ou*gh, d*ou*ble, w*ou*ld, n*ou*n = (ɑɑt, *so*ol, suup, nɔk, dəb'l, w*u*d, nəun), and it is sometimes *o+u*. [In 13. and 14. *ou* = (uu) in Norman and English.—P.]

OUGH, properly = *ou* + *gh*, and its noted varieties arise from the combination of the varieties of these two symbols, which they do not exhaust. In 19. they are: th*ough*, t*ough*, hicc*ough*, pl*ough*, thr*ough*, l*ough*, h*ough*, *ought* = (dhoo, tɔf, nik'kəp, plɔu, thruu, lɔkh, nɔk, ɑɑt). These are only eight; as there are at least seven varieties of *ou* and of *gh*, *ough* might have had 49 sounds. It is not the combination of the most varied pronunciation, as is generally supposed, for simple *o* has at least 10, and *eo* 11 uses, see *o*, *eo*.

OW in 14. was generally used for (oou), but sometimes was written for *ou* and pronounced (uu, u). In 16. those words which had (oou) retained the sound. In 17. they changed (oou) into (*oo*) which remains. There is a strong tendency to say (*oo*u) in 19., and as this tendency is as strong for *no* as for *know*, orthoepists disapprove of it in both cases, p. 234. Those words in which *ow* was called (uu) in 14., were pronounced with (ou) in 16, and (ɔu) in 17., which remains as *how*, *now*. The 19 varieties are: kn*ow*, C*ow*per, kn*ow*ledge, bell*ows*, n*ow* = (noo, Kuu'pɹ, nɔl'ydzh, bel ɔs, nɔu). *Cowper* is sometimes called (Kəup'ɹ). [In 13. and 14. *ow* generally = (uu) in Norman and English, and sometimes (oou) in English.—P.]

OY can only be regarded as another form of *oi* from 14. to 19. It is now generally final. [In 13. and 14 *oy* = (uu) generally, but often = (ee) in Norman and English, infrà p. 587.—P.]

P. From ags. to 19. = (p). In cupboard it is in 19. assimilated to the following *b*, or rather lost = (kəb'ɹd).

PH was introduced at the earliest periods for Greek *φ*, and probably always = (f). In n*ph*ew the *ph* was a mistake, and it is called (nev'iu) in 19. In Cla*ph*am, etc., *ph* = *p*+*h* and the *h* is dropped (Klæp'ɐm). See *phth*.

PHTH, properly *ph*+*th*, is only used in Greek combinations. From the difficulty of saying (fth), the following changes arise: *phth*isis, *phth*isical, apo*phth*egm, di*phth*ong = (təi'sis, tiz'ikɐl, æp'othem, dip'thoq). The last at any rate was in use in 17. We find even in ags. (pth, kth) used for *φθ*, *χθ* in transliterating Greek, p. 523. Some say (dif'thoq) in 19.

PN initial loses *p*, as in *pn*eumatics = (niumæt'iks).

PP after short accented vowels = (p).

PPH after short accented vowels = (f).

QU from 14. to 19. had the sound (k*w*) or (kw) In a few words from the French it is (k). These were formerly spelled without *qu*, compare 14. licour, 19. liquor = (likuur', lik'ɹ).

QUH. An old Scotch orthography, probably representing (k*w*h), the Scotch substitute for English (wh).

R. From ags. to 19. before a vowel = (r), and perhaps once (.r). In Scotland always (r) or (.r) wherever occurring. There is no mention of any such sound as (ɹ, .ɹ) till 19., but there is reason to think (ɹ) may have existed in 16. and still more that it existed in 17. For its use in 19. see table on p. 197. There are many varieties of defective utterance. The Northumberland burr is (*r*) or (grh) and sometimes (gh, g) simply, the French r grasseyé ou provençal is (*r*), and the Dutch *g ch* have often the same sound, thus *schip* = (s*r*ep).

RE final, seems to have been occasionally (er) in 14., but when the *e* was inflectional (re) remained. In 16. and later it was always (er, ur) or (ɹ) in French words.

RH initial in Greek words and in Rhine, Rhone = (r).

RR Generally after a short vowe = (r), and possibly always so before 17. In 19. it is generally (r) after a short vowel, except there is acknowledged inflection, and then it is (.ɹr), but after a long vowel it is always (ɹr). Thus: ma*rr*y, me*rr*y, spi*rr*it, ho*rr*id, hu*rr*y = (mær'i, mer'i, spi*r*it, nɔr'id, nur'i). But occu*rr*, occu*rr*ence, occu*rr*ing, infe*rr*ing = (ɔkɹ', ɔkər'ens, ɔkɹ'riq, infɹ', infɹ'riq). After a long vowel *rr* is seldom written, the single *r* being then pronounced as (ɹr), compare: ea*r*ing, hea*r*ing = (iɹ'riq, niɹ'riq). But we have: ta*r*, ta*rr*y = covered with tar,

star, *starry* = full of stars, = (taaɹ, taaɹ·ri staaɹ, staaɹ·ri), and in Ireland *arr* always = (aaɹr) or (æer) as in *barrel* in England (bæ·rel), in Ireland (baaɹ·rel) or (bææ·rel), which seems to imply a similar English pronunciation in 17.

RRH, in words from the Greek only, in 19. used precisely as *r*, *rr*, as in cata*rrh*, dia*rrh*œa = (kɐtaaɹ·, dəiɐrii·ɐ).

S. One sense of this letter from ags. to 19. has always been (s). Whether in ags. it was ever (z) is difficult to determine. Judging from the Icelandic, as the representative of medieval languages, *s* was always intentionally (s) in ags; but the sound of (z) was occasionally generated. Rapp takes it to have been always (sj). This is not necessary. There is no (z) in Spanish, nor in the Dyak languages, and probably many others. In 14. there seems no doubt that *s* was occasionally (z). There are some traces of its being changed into (sh) by a following palatal vowel at the end of 16. and beginning of 17. (p. 215), and later on in 17. Miège, a Frenchman, notes: sure, leisure, usual, as being (shyyr, lee·zhər, yyzh·yæl). See *sci- si*. These sounds remain. In 19. we have: *s*ee, a*s*, *s*ugar, le*is*ure = (sii, æz, shug·ɹ, lezh·ɹ). In some MS. of 13., *st* is used for ʒt = (*k*ht), probably a mistake arising from the confusion of ʒ, ȝ, *z*, see p. 464. [In 13. and 14. *s* = (s) in Norman and English.—P.]

SC. The initial *sc* before palatals was (s) in 16., and probably always. *Sc*eptic was often spelled *skeptic*. In 19. we have: vis*c*ount, *sc*ene, dis*c*ern, *sc*eptic = (vəi·kəunt, siin, dizɹn·, skep·tik).

SCH, in Greek words, seems to have been considered as *sk* (sk). The words: *sch*ism, *sch*edule, have always presented difficulties. They are now generally (siz·'m, shed·iul). In 13. and 14., and even later, *sch* was used for the modern *sh*, which see. In 13. it is sometimes *shc*. The celebrated German name of *Rothschild*, properly (Root·-shild) = *red-shield*, is generally mispronounced in English as (rəths·tshəild), quasi *Wroth's child!* where the familiar word *child* has evidently misled the reader to separate the combination *sch*.

SCI-. Treated as *si-* = (*si*) till 17., and then often (sh), as in 19., con*sci*ous = (kən·shɐs).

SH. Orrmin uses this compendious form of *sch*, but it did not come into general use till end of 15., or beginning of 16. It represented the effect of palatizing (sk), and hence converting it into (sh). The sound (sh) has remained. *Sh* is occasionally *s* + *h*, and the *h* is occasionally dropped, as 19., compare mi*sh*ap, di*sh*onest, di*sh*onour, Ma*sh*am = (mi*s*næp·, di*s*ən·est, di*z*ən·ɹ, Mæs·ɐm); but many persons ignore the composition, and call: Hor*sh*am, Windles*h*am (Hɔɹsh·ɐm, Win·d'lshɐm). The pronunciation (thresh·noold) for thre*sh*old, ags. þrese-wald, Chaucer threisshfold, 3482, Promptorium threschwolde, is a modern etymological error for (thresh *oo*ld).

SI-. Treated as (*si*) till 17, and then often (sh), and sometimes (zh), as 19., man*si*on, deci*si*on = (mæn·shɐn, dis*i*zh·ɐn). After a short accented vowel it is more usually (zh), and (sh) is then kept rather for *ci-*, or *ssi*.

SS was occasionally used for (sh) in 13. and 14. (pp. 409, 448).

SSI-. See *si*.

T from ags. to 19. = (t); but see *ti-*.

TCH intended as double *ch*, and used after a short accented vowel; the spelling is modern, the 14. form is *cch*. In both cases the sound was probably (tsh) simply.

TH, even in ags. used as a transliteration of θ, p. 523, and sometimes used for þ, ð, in 13., having both the sounds (th, dh), which were probably distinguished as at present in 16., with some doubtful cases, as wi*th* (wi*t*h, wi*d*h). Sometimes = *t* + *h*, sometimes *t* + *th*, or *th* + *h*, being obviously contractions. In a few words *th* = (t, d) in 16. In 19. we find: *th*yme, bur*th*en (generally written bur*d*en), *th*igh, *th*y, po*th*ouse, eigh*th*, Sou*th*ampton = (təim, bɹd·n, thəi, dhəi, pət·nəus, *ee*tth, Səuthnæm·tɐn). In Havelock *th* is found for ʒt, as *knith*, but the sound is unknown; it may have even been really (th), compare *sigh*, *Keighley*, under *Gh*, or else simply (t), p. 477.

TI. In the termination *-tion*, probably (*si*) from 14. to 17., and then generally (sh), following *si-*, *ci-*, *sci-*. It may, however, have been exceptionally (sh) even at the beginning of 17.

TTH, the Greek τθ, probably always (th) in Ma*tth*ew.

Þ ags. (th) or (dh). It is impossible to distinguish between þ ð in ags. and Early English. In 13. and 14. used for both (th, dh). In ags. it is safest

to use (th) initial, and (dh) medial and final, p. 515 and p. 541, n. 2.

U vowel, for *u* consonant, see *v*. In ags. (uu, u). In 13. the long *u* was (uu), but may have been occasionally pronounced (yy) likewise, while short *u*, though generally (u), was occasionally either (y), or (i, e). This usage of short *u* is too general to be considered as dialectic. In 14. long *u* was always (yy), the (uu) sound being represented by *ou*, *ow*, which see. Short *u* was more uniformly (u), though this sound was occasionally written *ou*, as the use of short *u* for (i, e) had not died out. In 19. this use of short *u* is only retained in: b*u*rial, b*u*ry; b*u*sy, b*u*siness. In 16. long *u* was (yy), and short *u* (u) almost uniformly. In the beginning of 17., and perhaps earlier (p. 227, n. 1), long *u* was called (yy) by some, and (iu) by others, the latter sound prevailed, and has remained to 19., except after *r*, as in tr*u*th, r*u*le, and after an *s* palatalized into (sh, zh), as: *s*ure, lei*s*ure, when it becomes (uu), or is lost in 19. as: (truuth, ruul, shuuɹ, lezh·ɹ). There is, however, great diversity of practice, and an (i) is more or less distinctly introduced before the (u), as (iú, íu), or fused with it in (yy, uu). Again, in the middle of 17. short *u* became generally (ə), which was a new sound in our language, not mentioned by any writer before Wallis, 1653, and the extent to which it was used is very undefined; but it prevailed generally, and only a few (u) remain in 19. which are now properly (*u*), as: p*u*t, f*u*ll = (p*u*t, f*u*l). This uncertainty is well illustrated by the dialects of the peak of Derbyshire, chap. XI., § 4. In 16. short *u* was occasionally called (*i*), but this was reckoned an affected pronunciation. The use of *u* for *w* in pers*u*ade, etc., is modern, imitated from its use in *qu*. In 16. or 17. arose the practice of using *gu* to represent a hard *g* (g) before an *e*, as in *gu*ess, a French practice, borrowed also from *qu*; and to this, and the wish to indicate a long vowel by final *e*, must be attributed *plague*, *vague*, *fatigue*, *rogue*, etc. With usual inconsistency a long vowel is not always indicated by a final *-gue*, as *epilogue*, *synagogue*, or *tongue*. These spellings are not found before 16., and they greatly vary in 16. [In 13. and 14. *u* accented and long = (uu) in Norman and English; *u* unaccented and short = (ɐ, e, *i*), and *u* with the secondary accent = (ə, e, *i*), infrà p. 583.—P.]

UE used in later spelling as a final *u*, owing to a rule made by no one knows whom, no one knows why, and no one knows when, that no English word can end in *u*. [In 13. and 14. *ue* = *eu* = *w* = (uu) in Norman and English, p. 586.—P.]

U—E from 16. indicated long *u*, and was so pronounced, see *u*.

UI. This is not properly an English form, but it is found rarely in 14. in place of *oi*, with, probably, the sound (ui). In some words it may have been (yy), as in them it often interchanges with simple *u*, p. 135 and 170. See also p. 424, note 3. Sometimes it replaced *i*, see p. 452, note, col. 2, l. 8. To this custom is perhaps due its present existence in b*ui*ld, which Gill 1621 calls (byyld, bəild, biild, bild), and which is spelled *beeld*, *bild* in Promptorium. After *g* the *u* was only the French method of hardening *g* to (g) and the combination *gui* must be considered as *g* hard + *i*, as: guilt, guide, guile. In more recent 17. French words, *ui* was treated as long *u*, and this treatment remains with the sound (uu) after *r* as usual, and sometimes after *s*, as s*ui*t, 17. (suut), 18. (shuut), 19. (siut). Occasionally *ui* = *w* + *i*, or = *u* + *i*. Hence we get the 19. varieties: mosq*ui*to, fr*ui*t, b*ui*ld, g*ui*ding, s*ui*t, langu*i*d, q*ui*rk, fr*ui*tion, angu*i*sh = (məskii·to, fruut, bild, gəid·iq, siut, keq·gwid, kwerk, fruish·ən, ee·giu,ish.) It is continually used in Scotch for (yy) or (ə) as: *puir*, *guid*. [In 13. and 14. *ui* = *uy* = *iu* = (uu) in Norman and English, infrà p. 586.—P.]

UO. [In 13. and 14. *uo* = *ou* = (uu), when *u* is not a consonant, in Norman and English.—P.]

UOY is confined to the word buoy, called by Hart 1569, (buee) = (bwee), in 17. (boi), frequently (bwoi) and by sailors (buui) in 19.

UR, from the time that *u* short represented (ə), *ur* = (ər, əɹ, 'r, ɹ), see p. 200, *er* and *r*.

UW, an unusual and hence doubtful combination, probably (yy). [In 13. and 14. *uw* = (uu) in Norman and English, infrà p. 586.—P.]

UY, a modern spelling, found in: b*uy*, plag*uy* = (bəi, plee·gi). The sound of buy, spelled: bye, beye, 14. was (bii·e, bai·e), p. 285. [In 13. and 14.

uy = *ui* = *iu* = (nu) in Norman and English, infra, p. 586.—P.]

V consonant, for *v* vowel see *u*. This seems to have been invariably (v).

W vowel, is only used as part of a diphthong, see *aw*, *ew*, *ow*. Several writers, however, consider *w* to be always a vowel. In 13. occasionally used as long *u* = (nu), especially where (nu) dialectically replaces (wuu, wu); in 14. occasionally used as *ou* also = (uu); probably double *v* was dialectically used as the simple *v* vowel, that is *u*, with its local sound (nu) or (yy). [In 13. and 14. *w* = *ew* = *u* = (nu) in Norman and English, infrà p. 586.—P.]

W consonant, corresponds to ags. ƿ, which was (w) p. 513. This sound has remain to 19.; and is often considered to be a vowel, but it is not so, compare *w*oo, *w*ood, *w*oman = (wuu, wud, wum·ɐn), in which those who consider *w* as a vowel have to write (uu, ud, um·ɐn), as is and probably was frequently said in various parts. Mute in 19. in: gun*w*ale, boats*w*ain, ans*w*er, Chis*w*ick, *sw*ord, t*w*o, *tw*opence; the last word was (tɔp·ins) in 17. In ags. p. 514, and down to 16. at least *wr*- initial was probably a labial *r* or (r*w*) as *write*, (ureit) in Hart, (wrɔit) in Gill, but simple (rɔit) in 19. Ags. *wl*-, p. 514, was probably a labial *l* or (l*w*), which changed to (l) or (fl), compare ags. wl*æ*nco, Scotch wlonk, modern flunkey; Is l*u*kewarm a transposition of ags. *w*l*æ*c? Orrmin has *wlite*.

WH, in ags. hw, was perhaps very early = (k*w*h), but is not likely to have been (khw). In Scotland it is assumed as (k*w*h,) see *quh*. Probably in later ags. times it was (wh) and it has since so remained, though there was a tendency even in 13. to call it (w) when initial, and that tendency is strong in the South in 19. In 16. *who* was called (whuu), which in 17. had become (nun) where it remains, (wh*oo*, whuu) being heard from elderly provincials. The final *wh* in 14. formed the transition from (k*w*h) to (f), and in Aberdeen (*f*at) is still said for (k*w*hat) *quhat*, *what*, the same transformation occurring initially.

WL. See *w*.

WR. See *w*.

X was in early writings used for Greek χ in Χριστός, whence the contractions Xp' = Χρ. Xmas, etc., for Christ, Christmas, etc.; and was then = (k). Its general early use was for Latin *x*, and it seems to have been always (ks) and never (gz). In 19. it is sometimes (gz), and being treated as *k* + *s*, or *g* + *z*, the latter letter may be palatalized to *sh*, *zh*. In French words it follows the French pronunciation (s, z), and as an initial in Greek words as pronounced in English it was (s) in 17. and is (z) in 19., as Xantippe, Xenophon, Xerxes, now = (Zæntip·i, Zen·ɐfɐn, Zerk·ziiz). Hence the 19. varieties: except, beau*x*, ve*x*, a*x*iom, e*x*ample = (eksept·, b*oo*z, veks, ak·shiɐm, egzaam p'l). [In 13. and 14. *x* = (s) in Norman, and often perhaps in English.—P.].

Y vowel, was in earlier ags. (y, yy), but in later ags. times it was confused with (i, ii). In 13. to 16. it was used indiscriminately with *i*, as of precisely the same meaning. In 17. and subsequently the use of *y* was more limited to the end of words, where it arose from the termination -iȝ, the *y* being in 14. the substitute for ȝ, in this sense, and the *i* omitted. Throughout, the Latin practice of transliterating Greek *υ* by *y* was followed. The pronunciation of *y* vowel was the same as *i* vowel throughout, see *i*. In 19. compare mar*r*y, m*y*rrh, fl*y*ing = (mær·*i*, mɪ, flɔi·iq.)

Y consonant. This was a substitute for ags. ȝ, and its use probably arose from the sound of ȝ as (ɹ). It has been used for (ɹ) from 14. at least. It was also used in contractions for ƿ, as y^{e} y^{t} = ƿe ƿæt.

YA. [In 13. and 14. *ya* (in one syllable) = *ay* = *ai* = (ee), in English and Norman, infrà p. 582.—P.]

YE. [In 13. and 14. *ye* (in one syllable) = *ey* in medial, and sometimes probably in final syllables = (ee), in Norman and English infrà p. 582.—P.]

YH. This is found in 13. in place of ȝ when it had the sound of (ɹ), p. 431.

Z is not an ags. letter. In 14. it was freely used for (ȝ) even in plurals, see *Alliterative Poems*, edited by R. Morris, and also for ȝ, and had therefore both sounds. The use of *z* for ȝ remained into Roman type, see ȝ and *s*. In 16. its use was confined to (*z*), and it was abandoned in plurals. In 19 it is palatalized and a few Italian *z*'s are found, hence: mezzotint, zeal, azure = (met·sotint, ziil, *e*·zhɪ). [In 13. and 14. *z*, *zs* = (s), in Nor. and Eng., and sometimes perhaps (ts) in Norman.–P.]

Having learned that Mr. Payne in the course of his Norman investigations (suprà p. 438, n. 1) had arrived at several results which were inconsistent with the preceding investigations, I requested him to give me that brief statement of his opinions which has been added in brackets to several of the above articles, and also to furnish an abstract of the grounds on which he relied. This he has been so kind as to do, and it seemed to me so important that the reader should be in possession of his arguments, that I have here appended them *in extenso*. In his Memoir, above referred to, the several points here shortly touched upon will be fully illustrated by citations and references. It would be impossible fully and satisfactorily to criticise his investigations without studying those additions. At present I can only add brief notes, pointing out the radical difference between our views, which, as respects *ay*, *ey* and long *u*, will be further illustrated at the beginning of Chap. VII. § 1, and state my opinion that, as far as English is concerned, sufficient weight has not been given by Mr. Payne to the dialectic peculiarities of the scribes of MSS. Thus it appears to me that the Alliterative Poems in the West Midland dialect of the XIV th century, afford no proper evidence for Chaucer's pronunciation in the South, and the late XV th century MSS. of Alisaunder used by Weber (suprà p. 451, note, col. 2) is no authority at all for the pronunciation of the XIII th century to which the original poem belonged. The assumption that so many forms were used to express the same sound, so that the vowels (uu, ee) must on this theory have been predominant in the English and Norman of the XIII th and XIV th centuries, seems also incompatible with the known tendency of all illiterate speech to diversity of pronunciation. Thus *stone* was ags. (staan), and is in ordinary Scotch (steen), but in Aberdeen (stiin), in Cumberland and Westmoreland is dubiously (stjaan, stii·aan, stii·ɐn), in the XVI TH century probably (stoon) as it now is frequently in the provinces, in the XVII th century and still theoretically (stoon), but probably often in XVII th century, as it still is in Norfolk and the United States (stɒn), whence the common form (stən) for the weight, and perhaps the most usual emphatic southern pronunciation is (stoun). Such diversities in olden times must have produced diversities of spelling. See also suprà p. 473, note, col. 2, for (*ee*, ɔi). I take this opportunity of pointing out the necessary deficiencies of my own investigations upon English pronunciation during the XIII th century, which ought to have been based upon an extensive examination of existent English dialects, and a thorough comparison of the various MSS. of the same works written by scribes in different parts of the country, as checked by the knowledge thus gained of their local peculiarities. Had I waited until this was possible my book would probably never have been written, and the circumstances under which this part of it was unavoidably composed did not even leave time to undertake so thorough an examination as I could have wished of all existing documents and sources of information. The reader is therefore requested to consider Chap. V. rather as the commencement than

the completion of a research, which the labours of such competent investigators as Mr. Murray for the Scotch dialects, Mr. Sweet for the Northern languages, and Mr. Payne for the Norman element, will contribute to advance, but which may require many years of patient study both of existent and extinct dialectic usages, not only in England, but low Germany and Normandy, to bring to a thoroughly satisfactory conclusion.

The remainder of the text of this § is written by Mr. Payne; the footnotes are by myself, but have been signed for greater distinctness.

BRIEF ABSTRACT OF SOME OF MR. PAYNE'S RESEARCHES ON THE VALUE OF THE LETTERS IN NORMAN AND ENGLISH, DURING THE THIRTEENTH AND FOURTEENTH CENTURIES.

AE, EA, AI, IA (IN ONE SYLLABLE), EI, IE (IN ONE SYLLABLE), WITH THE VARIANTS AY, YA, EY, YE = (ee).

Assuming the Norman long or tonic *e* to have been = (ee), and finding it in Norman poems of 13. frequently rhyming with *ei*, *ai*, as: feel conseil, defens mains, estre maistre, nestre maistre, fere plaire, retraire manere, brait set, plein foren, reis Engles, reis pes = *paix*, consail vessel, reis lees = *lois*, jammes curteis, feiz turnez *past participle*, refait Dé, etc., etc., and finding also: faire fere, maistre mestre, aveir aver, conrai conrei conre, trait treit tret, etc., etc., continually interchangeable with each other, we can scarcely help concluding that Norman *ai*, *ei* = (ee).[1] We infer then that *pais* of the Saxon Chronicle and Layamon, *pays* of Robert of Glouecster, *payse* of Dan Michel, were (pees), and this inference is confirmed by finding the *ai*, *ay*, translated into *e*, *ee* in *pes* of Owl and Nightingale, *pees* of Piers Plowman and Chaucer,[2] whether these be considered as literal adaptations of the Norman form (see above), or phonetic representations of the English *ai*. On the one hypothesis the Norman *ai* seems to be established as (ee), and the Norman *faile*, *fai*, *erei*, which are found rhyming respectively with English *taile*, *dai*, *awey*, must have been (feel·e, fee, eree); and if so it is difficult to see how the English words could have been other than (teel·e, dee, *a*wee·).[3] On the other hypothesis *ee* represents, at the will of the writer, English *ai*, and, therefore, the Norman and English phonetic systems being by hypothesis the same,[4] English *ay*, *ey*, would, correspondingly, represent Norman *e*, *ee*. And this we find to have been the case. The Norman word *jornee* or *jurnee*, became in Genesis and Exodus *iurne*, which in the Alliterative Poems is *journay*,[5] and in Mandevile *journei*,[6] probably pronounced (dzhurnee·). The English *ay* is here obviously employed to represent the Norman *ee*. The word *contrey* in Alisaunder,[7] *contraye* in Dan Michel,[8] similarly represents Norman *cuntre* or *contree*, and in regard to both words it is difficult to see how the fact that the English *ay*, *ey* = (ee), could have been more clearly expressed.[9] The *ay*, *ey*, being no part of the Norman word, would appear to have been chosen as suitable phonetic equivalents to the Norman *ee*. These words *contrey*, *contray*, *jornay*, rhyme in their turn with Norman *fey*, *fay*, and thus shew that the Norman *ai*, *ei*, were also = (ee). The general argument is con-

[1] See cause for doubting the generality of this conclusion, suprà pp. 454-459.—A.J.E.

[2] This point is considered in Chap. VII. § 1, near the beginning.—A.J.E.

[3] For evidence that *day*, *way* were not so pronounced, see the table p. 489.—A.J.E.

[4] This is also Rapp's hypothesis, but to me the origin and progress of the orthography appears to have been entirely different. Suprà p. 425, and infrà p. 588, n. 4.—A.J.E.

[5] West Midland, and hence of no authority here. See suprà p. 451, n. c. 1.—A.J.E.

[6] There is no contemporary MS. authority for Mandevile.—A.J.E.

[7] A discredited MS. for this purpose, suprà p. 451, note, col. 2.—A.J.E.

[8] Dan Michel's use of *ay* is considered in Chap. VII. § 1, near the beginning. There is no reason to suppose that such an independent orthographer was guilty of such a soleecism as to use *ay* and *e* indifferently.—A.J.E.

[9] There is a great accumulation of evidence on the other side, already given in this work.—A.J.E.

firmed by the rhymes: maide misrede, maide grede, in Owl and Nightingale, and: maide muchelhede in Floris and Blanchefflur (E.E.T.S. ed. p. 52),[1] which form a parallel to: retraire fere, maistre nestre, etc. in Norman. We conclude then that *ai*, *ay*, *ei*, *ey*, whether Norman or English was in 13. and 14. = (ee).[2] This sound may have persisted generally, therefore, to 15. also, but in 16. Mr. Ellis's authorities and arguments (suprà pp. 118-124) seem to prove that it was for the most part superseded by (ai), though the old pronunciation was probably still extensively used.[3] But the sound (ee) had other graphic representations. On the hypothesis, which there seems much reason for adopting, that both in Norman and Early English the transposition of the vowels of the digraph, made no difference in the sound, *ae*, *ea*, *ai*, *ia* (in one syllable), *ei*, *ie* (in one syllable), with their variants *ay*, *ya*, etc. would all = (ee). There is, however, no adequate space here to illustrate this position.

AU = (au) AND (áaə) OR (aaʊ).

As *au* in Latin was most probably pronounced (au), there seems every reason to believe that the initial and medial *au* was the same in Norman. This is confirmed by a remark of Beza's (suprà p. 143, note), who especially distinguishes the Norman pronunciation of *au* from the ordinary French, telling us that in Normandy in 16., *autant* was pronounced nearly—perinde pene aesi scriptum esset — *a-o-tant*.[4] This pronunciation is also, I believe, still heard in some parts of Normandy. The old spellings *Awustin* for Austin (suprà p. 489) *fawte* faute, *maugre* maugre, *hawte* haute, *hawnteyne*, corruption of *haultain* ?, *pawtenere* pautoniere, etc. seem to confirm this notion. In the case, however, of the termination—*-aunce*, found not earlier than 14., and then taking the place of a previous *-ance*, there is much reason to doubt whether the rule applies.[5] The *u* is evidently not organic It seems to be merely intended to lengthen out the sound of the *a*, and thus emphasise more strongly the accented syllable. It is most unlikely that a sound which had been established for ages as (aa), should suddenly change to one so different as (au).[6] This view is confirmed by the fact that in Anglo-Norman texts—it is found in no other—*ance* very frequently rhymes with *aunce*. The same remarks apply, *mutatis mutandis*, to such words as *graunt* granter, *haunt* hanter, *commaund* commander, etc., which were most probably pronounced (graaənt, naaənt, komaaənd·),[7] if indeed the *u* was really sounded at all.

U LONG, TONIC = (uu). U SHORT, ATONIC = (ʊ, ə, e, *i*).

If the medieval Latin long *u* was (uu), which is generally acknowledged,[8] it is difficult to see how the Norman long *u*, which often rhymed with it, as: là sus equinoctius, juggium conjugium, etc., could have been anything else. If, however, it is objected that these Latin terminations are not long,

[1] These are considered in Chap. VII, § I, near the beginning.—A.J.E.

[2] The evidence here, necessarily imperfectly, adduced, does not incline me to change the opinions heretofore expressed, of which corroboration is afforded by an examination of the usages in seven MSS. of Chaucer's Prologue and Knightes Tale, in Chap. VII. § 1. See also p. 459, n. 1.—A.J.E.

[3] This hypothesis seems to me inconsistent with the general custom of the change of pronunciation. The change of (ai) into (ee) is common, p. 238, and could not but have proceeded with different velocities in different countries and parts of the same country.—A.J.E.

[4] Beza, as quoted by Diez, also says p. 41, "majores nostri—sic efferebant ut *a* et *i*, raptim tamen et uno vocis tractu prolatam, quomodo efferimus interjectionem incitantis *hai*, *hai*, non dissyllabam, ut in participio *haï* (exosus), sed ut monosyllabam, sicut Picardi interiores hodie quoque hanc vocem *aimer* pronuntiant." The histories of *ay*, *aw* are parallel.—A.J.E.

[5] See the quotations from Palsgrave and Salesbury, suprà pp. 143 and 190, for the reality of (au).—A.J.E.

[6] There is no change of the vowel, merely the insertion of a new vowel, which did not produce a labialisation of the first element for more than 200 years.—A.J.E.

[7] This almost agrees with Bullokar's views.—A.J.E.

[8] It is no more likely that different countries should have pronounced the Latin *u* alike in the middle ages, than at present. The French may then, as now, have called it (yy), suprà p. 246, l. 27. It was (yy) in England in 16. See infrà p. 586, n. 5, for remarks on the provincial character of the *Alliterative Poems* and *Sir Gawayne*.—A.J.E.

the answer is, that they are long as being under the accent, so that *-us*, *-um*, would be (-uus, -uum·).[1] Applying this test to English we should treat the *us* in English *thus* (C. T. v. 13384) and the *-us* in *ignotius*, which rhymes with it, as both long, and = uus·. If then the Norman *u* was = uu·, as most of the authorities allow, though some of them speak of exceptions which they do not cite,[2] *adventure*, quoted on p. 298, would have been (adventuur·e) and *lure*, with which it rhymes, (luur·e), and *nature* (natuur·e). (See *nature* written *nature* in *Alliterative Poems*, p. 59, and *salue* rhyming to *remue* in *Sir Gawayne*, p. 47). There appears indeed no proof whatever that the French (yy) was known in 13. and 14., but there are many proofs that *u* was consistently (uu).[3] But as it is generally allowed that the English or Anglosaxon long *u* of those times, with which the Norman is continually found rhyming, was (uu), proofs are scarcely necessary.[4] The greater difficulty lies in proving that the short *u*, or unaccented *u*, was not (u, *u*), but a different sound, approaching, if not identical with the obscure sound heard in the atonic *a* in *a man*, *e* in *the man*, *o* in *to-day*, and represented generally in palaeotype by (ɐ) or (ɔ, ɛ, *e*, *i*). It is highly probable that this sound scarcely, if at all, differed from the atonic *e* of the French *le* in *le livre*, and that, in time, it generated the proper French *eu*. The development of this doctrine is essentially connected with a true conception of French, or, as far as we are concerned, the Norman system of accentuation. The Norman dialect, —and the remark applies equally to the actual Norman patois,—seems to have been characterised by an extremely strong and emphatic delivery of the accented syllable. The general principle of the accentuation consisted in singling out for the tonic accent the syllable which was accented in the Latin original, so that, for instance, Norman *raisun* from *ratiōn-em* was accented *raisún*, *honor* or *honur* from *honór-em honúr*, etc., with a very forcible impact of the voice upon the last syllable.[5] The effect of this predominant influence of the accented syllable would necessarily be, the transformation of the atonic syllables.[6] We see evidence of this result in the not unfrequent appearance of *henór*, *enór*, and *annór* in the place of *honór honúr*. An instance, however, perhaps bearing more directly on our present purpose, is afforded by the derivatives of the old French or Norman *coer* or *cuer* (cœur). There is little doubt that this was originally pronounced (kuur).[7] When, however, by the addition of *-age*, there resulted *corúge*, *curúge*, and *courúge*, all 13. forms, both the quantity and quality of the original (uu) was affected, and almost of necessity the atonic *cor*, *cur*, *cour*, would become (kʉr), and the entire word (kʉraadzhɐ). In the process of development *corúge* next receives the syllable *-os* or *-us*, and becomes *coragós*, *coragús curagós*, or *curagús*, all of which are admissible Norman forms. The lately long vowel *a* is now changed both in quantity and quality, and has become (ɛ, i, ɔ) or (ɔ, ɐ), it is not easy to say which, and the result may be probably considered as (kəreguus·).[8] Similarly it might be shewn that *curt* cour = (kuurt), becomes

[1] That the accent lengthens the vowel on which it falls, is a phonetic theory which has been long since abandoned. See suprà p. 556, n. 1.—A.J.E.

[2] But see suprà p. 424, and especially the latter part of note 3.—A.J.E.

[3] That English *u* in 14. was (uu) and not (yy) seems inconsistent with the double orthography *u*, *ou*. See suprà pp. 298, 303, and infrà Chap. VII. § 1, near the beginning. See also p. 583. n. 8.—A.J.E.

[4] It seems to result from my investigations in Chap. V. that *u* ceased to represent (uu) in English during the period 1280 to 1310, when *ou* was gradually introduced as the representative of that sound. See especially p. 471, n. 2.—I don't know to what other writers Mr. Payne alludes.—A.J.E.

[5] Direct proof would be necessary to establish this remarkable difference between the old Norman system of accentuation, and that evidently adopted by Chaucer, which agrees with classical French, suprà p. 331. A.J.E.

[6] Admitting that this obscuration of unaccented vowels often occurs, and has been especially active in many languages, I must deny it to be a necessity of pronunciation, any more than the prolongation of a vowel by the accent, witness the clear unaccented but extremely short *a*, and the decidedly short but accented *o* in the Italian *amò* (amo·). See infrà p. 585, n. 4.—A.J.E.

[7] Not having sufficiently studied Norman orthography and pronunciation I am unable to speak on this point.—A.J.E.

[8] It seems to me extremely doubtful that such a sound as (ɔ) was known to the Normans, when regard is had to its very late introduction into England, suprà p. 172.

curtéis (kʉrtees·), and this again *curteisie* (kʉrtesii·ɐ), or perhaps, at least occasionally, (kʉrtesee·).[1] The last word became, as is well known, in English *curtesie*, *cortaysie*, *courtaysie*, all of them, by the above theory, being pronounced (kʉrtesii·ɐ) or (kʉrtesee·ɐ), or very nearly, *accentu mutato*, as the modern *cóurtesy*, that is (kʉrtesi).[2] The spelling could not on this theory have affected the pronunciation,[3] which was determined by the power of the tonic accent obscuring and transforming the independent value of the atonic syllables. It may further be observed, that the *u* in the former *cur*, being so close to the predominant accent, became positively eclipsed by it, and would therefore be exceedingly short and obscure, as (ɐ) in English, while the *u* in the second *cur*, receiving a secondary accent, would probably have a clear and definite sound, equal to (kʉr). It is this sound which the English derivatives would receive when no longer under the influence of the Norman accentuation, but subjected to the entirely different system of the English. Hence the Norman: jurnée, trublér, colúr, cumfórt, suveráin, dozáine, covért, custúme, doblér, curtíne, hurtér, cumpainée, turnoiément, sujurnér, sucúr, etc., when they became respectively: jóurney, tróuble, cólour, cómfort, sóvereign, dózen, cóvert, cústom, dóuble, cúrtain, hurt, cómpany, tóurnament, sójourn, súccour, etc. would naturally be pronounced very nearly as they now are, or very recently were.[4] In the present sound then of these words, we see the Norman influence still persisting.[5] Exceptions may no doubt be taken to this general assertion, but the main principle can hardly be affected by them. It may be further remarked, that the continual interchange in early English, of *u*, *e*, *i*, in such instances as: werk wirk, chirche cherche churche, kirtel kertel kurtle, erth urthe, sunne sinne, sturn stern, cherl churl, segge sigge sugge = *say*, in *báthud*, etc., compared with *báthed*, etc., in *tellus* for *telles*, *lédus* and *lédys* for *léds*, and in such plurals as *femálus*, *sýdus*, *cóupus*, (see *Autors of Arther passim*,) tends to shew that the short *u* had the same sound both in Norman and English.[6] It is impossible to conceive that the unaccented *us*, which merely stands in these instances for *-es*, was pronounced (us). It must have had the same obscure sound as the *u* in *curteis*. When, however, this obscure unemphatic sound is required to take the accent, then it assumes the clear utterance of the *u* in *curtesie*. Hence the *u* in *churche*, *urthe*, *sunne*, *sugge*, was not unfrequently found interchanging with *e* and *i* short. The sound then of short *u* seems, in words of more than one syllable, to depend on the principal accent, and when atonic to be (ə), and this was also the sound in monosyllables naturally short, as *church*, *churl*, etc. The merits of the general theory, which I have here attempted to expound, can, however, hardly be fairly judged of by this brief and imperfect representation of it.

I do not feel satisfied that the above account of the successive formations of *cœur*, *courage*, *courageux*, is historically correct. —A.J.E.

[1] If this termination were ever (-ee), it was only through the West Midland confusion of *i*, *e*, and rejection of final *e*, certainly not from reading *ie* as *ei*, and calling that (ee). It was dialectic, not literary.—A.J.E.

[2] The absolute ignorance of the sound (ə) shown by all the authorities of 16., makes me inclined to reject at once the hypothesis that *courtesy* could have been called (kʉrtesi) in 14. With regard to the second syllable of the word, more is said in Chap. VII. § 1, near the beginning.—A.J.E.

[3] Although after the invention of printing, spelling may have affected pronunciation, in 12. 13. and 14. we have no reason to assume anything but the converse, namely, that pronunciation affected spelling.—A.J.E.

[4] But they were not so pronounced in 16., as we know by direct evidence, and they are not now so pronounced by the illiterate in our provinces. It was only the other day that I heard a porter at Clapham Junction shouting out many times in succession (Klap·am Dzhuq·shun), with pure (u) and not (ə), and without any obscuration of the unaccented vowels.—A.J.E.

[5] The history of the introduction of (ə) being now on record, and the battle between (ə, u) being still undecided, I do not see how this conclusion can be admitted. —A.J.E.

[6] See suprà p. 299, and 300, n. 2, also p. 425, p. 507 and numerous instances in Chap. V. § 1, No. 3. But there seems no reason for supposing this *u* to have been anything but (y, e, i).—A.J.E.

OE, EO (IN ONE SYLLABLE), OI, IO (IN ONE SYLLABLE), UE, EU, UI, IU (IN ONE SYLLABLE), AND THE VARIANTS EOU, EOW, EOUW, EW, IEU, IW, IEW, W, UW, EACH = (uu).

The illustrations and arguments by which the above proposition is supported, are given at some length in my paper. A brief summary, which understates the proof, is all that can be given here. Assuming that Norman long or tonic *u* = (uu), it was ascertained [1] that Norman *ui*, and inferred [2] that the inverted *iu*, had the same sound as *u* alone, that is, that *nuit* = (nuut), fruit = (fruut),[3] *riule* = (ruul·e). These conclusions depend on the light shed by Norman and English on each other.[4] Thus in English texts *frute* rhymes with *dedute*, i.e. Norman *deduit*, and again *frut* with *deduet*, whence *ui* = *u* = *w* = (uu). Again Norman *suir*, *siur* to follow, becomes *sive* in Layamon, *suwe* in Ancren Riwle, *swe* in the Alliterative Poems, and *seue* in Chaucer, shewing *ew*, *ui*, *iu*, *iw*, *uw* = (uu), and therefore *seue* of Chaucer = (suu·e).[5] The argument thus gained, applied to *triw-e* (Robert of Gloucester), *treue* (Chaucer), *truwe* (Oecleve), and *true* (Audley), gives theoretic (truu·e), which is shewn to be correct by *truwe* in Alliterative Poems, p. 27, where *due* also rhymes with it, supported by Promptorium Parvulorum *truwe*.[6] Thus, in addition to the digraph above given, *ue* and *eu* also appear to = (uu). If then the ags. *treowe*, which appears as *treowe* and *treouwe* in Layamon's earliest text, and as *treue* in the later, had a sound different from *treue*, *triwe*, or *truwe*, it could only have been for a short time, and it may probably be assumed to have been the same.[7] The supposition, then, that *ew* had one sound in words of Norman origin, and another in those of native growth (p. 302) is unnecessary, and indeed inconsistent with the fact that, though it may be true that Chaucer does not rhyme together words in *ew* of different origin, other writers do. As a case in point we find in Alliterative Poems, p. 13, *trwe* English, *blwe* probably Norman, *grewe* preterit. *remwe* Norman, and again *knewe* English, (which is also found written *knuwe*) *swe* Norman *due* Norman, *lwe* English, *untrwe* English and *remwe* Norman, all rhyming together.[8] We note also in this text Chaucer's *newe* always spelled *nw* or *nwe*. We should, therefore, perhaps read such rhymes as those found in Lyrical Poetry, p. 37, viz: reowe, newe, heowe, kneowe; as (ruu·e, nuu·e, huu·e, knuu·e). Many confirmatory instances might be cited from various texts, but the above may suffice to shew the great probability that Norman and English *ue eu*, *ui iu*, *eou*, etc. were in 13. and 14. = (uu), and hence that the modern pronunciations of: rue, true, sue, suit, rule, pursuit, bruit, fruit, and the vulgar sound of: nuisance (nuu), duty (duu), new (nuu), beautiful (buu), are but echoes of that of 13. and 14.[9]

[1] The proof must be sought in the paper referred to, and having not seen it, I can only express my own doubts of its correctness founded upon my own small amount of observation, see p. 458.—A.J.E

[2] Apparently from the theory that an inversion of the order of the letters in a digraph does not affect its value, which is to me extremely doubtful.—A.J.E.

[3] In *nuit*, *fruit*, the *i*, still pronounced, is as much a representative of the lost guttural, as the *y* in *day*, *may*.—A.J.E.

[4] Which I doubt.—A.J.E.

[5] An examination of the age and locality of MSS. is necessary before judging of the value of their orthography in determining sounds. The Alliterative Poems, Sir Gawayne, and Anturs of Arther are West Midland, in which part of the country a very peculiar pronunciation still prevails, so different from the South Eastern, that the ancient orthography of that district requires especial study. It is very probable that (uu) was unknown in those districts as a sound of *u*, *w*, but that it was always replaced by (yy, y) or some cognate sound. On Layamon see p. 496, and on the Ancren Riwle, see p. 506. The orthography of these works offers so many points of difficulty that it cannot be safely appealed to for any proofs. The whole of our Western provincial pronunciation has first to be studied.—A.J.E.

[6] In the last note it was conjectured that the *w* of the Alliterative Poems may have been (yy). As regards the Promptorium the author only knew the East Anglian pronunciation (suprà p. 23, note 2), and to this day the East Anglians use (yy) for (uu). The above inference is therefore in the highest degree hazardous.—A.J.E.

[7] On *treowe* see p. 498, l. 14. No Anglo-saxon scholar would be likely to admit *eo* to have had the same value as *u*. See p. 511.—A.J.E.

[8] Probably all these rhymed as (yy), as they still would in Devonshire. See suprà n. 5.—A.J.E.

[9] This conclusion is directly opposed to all I have been able to learn on the subject. —A.J.E.

OI, IO (IN ONE SYLLABLE), OE, EO = (uu) OR (ee).

It is remarkable that two sounds so remotely allied as (uu) and (ee) should frequently, both in Norman and English, be used one for the other. Nothing, however, is more probable than that *oi* in early French generally, must have represented the sound (uu). Nothing at the same time is clearer than that in the Norman texts the *oi* of Central France is very generally to be read (ee). Thus the forms *moi*, *toi*, etc., which in proper Norman would be *mei*, *tei*, etc., are by no means excluded from Norman texts, but are constantly found rhyming with the Norman *ei* or *ee*. Thus *tei* rhymes with *moi*, *moi* with *foi*, *voir* with *veer*, *roi* with *lei*, etc., and are therefore to be pronounced (mee, veer, lee), etc. The concurrence, however, of such forms as: *genoil* genou, *genoul*, *genue*; *acoiller*, *acuiller*, where *ui* = (uu); *agoille aguille*; *angoisse*, *anguisse*, *anguisse*; *noit*, *nuit*; *poi*, *pou* peu; *fusoyn* (rhyming with *corbiloun* in De Biblesworth, Wright p. 158), seems to shew that *oi*, *ui* = (uu). This conjecture may be further confirmed by assuming *oi* = *oe*, and observing that *oile* oil of 12. becomes *oele* and *uille* in 13., and *huile* in 15., while *buef*, *boef* are *bouf* = (buuf) in De Biblesworth. This word he rhymes with *ouf* œuf, of which the variants were *oef*, *uef*. Again *boe*, *moe*, *roe* of 13., become later *boue*, *moue*, *roue*. But *eo* also = (uu), as is seen in the numerous words of the form *empereor*, etc., which became *emperour*, etc. The most difficult case is that of *io* = *oi* = (uu). It is proved, however, by the formation of such words as *mansion*, which became by the loss of the *n* and fusion of *io* into *u*, *maisun*. *Raisun* may be explained in the same way, as may also *maçun* mason, from low Latin *macio*. The word in its Normanised form *machun* occurs in Layamon, and is erroneously translated *machine* by Sir F. Madden. These views respecting Norman *oi io*, *oe eo* = (uu), are singularly confirmed by English examples of adopted Norman words. Mr. Ellis's inferences (p. 269) I should generally endorse, except that, as before stated, I should pronounce *boiste*, for which *buiste* is also found (buust·e) not (buist·e), and perhaps *Loi*, *coy*, and *boy* (Luu, kuu, buu). *Merour* mirror of Chaucer, is directly taken from Norman *mireor*. It occurs as *myroure* in Political Songs, Wright, p. 213. Norman *poeste* also appears constantly in English as *pouste*. The case of *io* = (uu) is not considered by Mr. Ellis. It is, however, rendered more than probable by our word *warrior* written *werroure* by Capgrave, and referable to Norman *guerreur*, which by analogy = *guerrour*. Analysing the *ou* = (uu) into *oi* = *io*, we obtain the modern English *warrior*. Similarly we may trace *carrion* to Norman *caroine*. So the word *riot*, conjecturally referred by the editor of Ancren Riwle to *route*, may be really a variant of that word. It must be remembered, however, that the English *riot* came directly from Norman *riote*, and the variation, if variation it be, must have belonged to the original source. Diez, Ménage, Scheler and Burguy virtually give up the etymology altogether. It is only probable then, but not proved, that Norman *caroine* and English *carrion*, might have been (karuune), and that *riot* might have been sometimes (ruut). The subject requires further investigation.[1] The fluctuations of Norman orthography suggested the enquiry that has been sketched, but the results lead us on still further, and render it probable that *eo*, *oe*, etc., when found in pure English words, had also the sound (uu). *Heo* she, therefore, with the variants *hu* and *hue*, was probably (huu), as it still is in Lancashire. *Heore* their, too, and *huere*, interpret each other, and so do, *duere* and *deor*, *beoth* and *bueth*, *beon* and *buen*, *preost* and *pruest*, *glew* and *gleo*. We infer, then, that in Layamon's *beorn* warrior, *cheose*, *leode*, *leof*, *leose* the *eo* = (uu). The subsequent forms *burn* (Piers Plowman), *choose*, *luve*, *loose*, etc., and the contemporary form *lued* for *leod*, (Pol. Songs, p. 155), render this hypothesis very strong, while such forms as *goed* good, compared with *goud* (Layamon,)

[1] In this further investigation respect would have to be paid to the principle of palatalization produced by an inserted *i*, familiar to those who have studied phonetic laws, and well illustrated by Prof. Haldeman, in his article on Glottosis *Analytic Orthography*, pp. 67-71. So far as I can understand them, I entirely dissent from the views expressed in the text.—A.J.E.

toen town, *proeve* Norman *preove* English, *doel* and *deol* sorrow, shew that *oe* as well as *eo* = (uu). The great difficulty in assigning the phonetic values of *oi*, *eo*, *oe* arises from the undoubted fact that they were represented both by (uu) and by (ee).[1] Thus we find that nearly all the Norman and English words cited above appear to have both sounds. Thus *heo* appears as *he*, *hëore huere* as *here*, *deor dure* as *dere*, *beoth bueth* as *beth*, *beon buen* as *ben*, *preost pruest* as *prest*, *cheose* as *chese*, *leose* as *lese*, etc.,[2] also *proeve preove* as *preve*.[3] *caroine* as *careyne carayne*, *puple*, *pueple*, *people* as *peple*, etc. This divarication in the case of Norman words, was more apparent than real, since the usual Norman sound of *oi* was (ee). Yet the numerous examples of *oi* also = (uu), as for instance in the normal termination of the third person singular of the imperfect tense of the first conjugation, which was *-out* = (uut), while in the other conjugations it was *-eit* = (-eet), render the determination of the law of divergence very difficult. This law, however, must apparently have equally dictated the interchange of the sounds as well in English as in Norman, and this fact is only one proof more of the remarkable correspondence (in spite of all orthographic variations) between the phonetic systems of the two languages, and illustrates the general position that the Norman and English pronunciations respectively help to determine each other.[4]

§ 2. *The Expression of the Sounds.*

The list in the last section suggests its counterpart, how have the sounds of the English language been expressed by letters at different times? Up till the invention of printing at least, the object of writers seems to have been to represent their pronunciation, and the possibility of using the same symbols with altered values does not appear to have occurred to them, although each sound was not uniformly represented by the same sign, and some signs had more than one value.[5] It is also not at all improbable that very provincial writers may have been accustomed to attach values to the letters corresponding to their local pronunciations, and have then used them consistently according to their lights. From these causes arose the occasional picturesqueness of scribal orthography, which was unchecked by any acknowledged

[1] My own indicated explanation of the phenomena to which Mr. Payne refers are to be found on p. 269, and 131, note, col. 1, p. 138, note col. 1. The question seems to be one affecting the treatment of Latin *e*, *o*, in the Romance languages.—A.J-E.

[2] These anomalies, occurring in MSS. not expressly named, seem readily explicable by the known interchanges of *eo*, *e*, p. 488, and of *u*, *e*, suprà p. 585, n. 6.—A.J.E.

[3] *Oe*, *eo* are so rare in Chaucer, see p. 262, l. 33, that I have not been able to judge of their origin or intentional use as distinct from (ee). But we must not forget the two modern forms *reprove*, *reprieve*.—A.J.E.

[4] The Norman was an old Norse phonetic system modifying the langue d'oil, so that the latter had the main share in the result. The English was a pure Anglosaxon system, slightly modified by an old Norse element. There seems to be no connection between the two systems of sound. The orthographies were both derived from the Latin, but the Norman spelling came direct from Roman sources, and the Anglosaxon was only a priestly transcription of the pre-existent runic. The whole application of the orthographies was therefore diverse. The Norman accidentally came into collision with the English, but the developments seem to have proceeded independently, and the share of Norman in 13. English was scarcely more than that of English in 13. Norman. Ultimately the whole character of our language, both in idiom and sound, became English, and Norman words were ruthlessly anglicised. Hence, I am not inclined to admit Mr. Payne's conclusion.—A.J.E.

[5] See the table on p. 407, where in col. 2, "(ou) *o oo oa*" is a misprint for "(oo) *o oo oa*."

authority. At the present day we have nothing to guide us but the usage of printing offices, on which (and not on the manuscripts of authors) our orthographical laws and the pages of our dictionaries are founded. The most ingeniously contradictory reasons are given for preferring one spelling to another. Sometimes a man with a name, as Johnson in England and Webster in America, proclaims his own views and is considerably followed, but Johnson's favourite *-ick* as in *musick* has disappeared, and no Englishman likes to see the American orthography.[1] During the last fifty years a habit of eye has been generated, and spelling has been dissociated in our minds from the expression of sound. But even in the XVth century this was not the case in England, although the disappearance of final *e* from pronunciation introduced more and more confusion as the century advanced, and the original value of the *e* was less understood. When printing commenced, there was a necessity for printers to introduce some degree of uniformity, and, as I have had personal experience of the difficulties thus created,[2] I can well understand the slowness with which even tolerable uniformity was attained. It took fully two, if not three, centuries to reach the present system. During this time several experiments were made, among which I do not reckon schemes for an entire renovation of our orthography, as proposed by Smith, Hart, Bullokar, Gill, and Butler, in the first century and a half after Caxton set up his press. The last great change was made in the XVIth century, when the orthographies *ee ea*, *oo oa*, were settled (pp. 77, 96), how, and by whom, I have not yet discovered. The introduction of *ie*, in place of *ee*, was not of the same nature, and did not take root till the XVIIth century (p. 104). In the course of that century many little changes were tried, but the gradual loss of the feeling for the meaning of *ea*, and its perversion in the early part of the XVIIIth century (p. 88), undid most of the good effected in the XVIth century. No

[1] Since the publication of the Dictionary of the French Academy, it has become the sole rule in France, or rather each of its six editions of 1694, 1718, 1740, 1762, 1795, 1835, has become the rule till certain points were reconsidered and changed in subsequent editions. "Le Dictionnaire de l'Académie est donc la seule loi," says the most competent authority in France, M. Ambroise Firmin Didot, in his extremely interesting Observations sur l'Orthographe ou Ortografie française, suivies d'une histoire de la réforme orthographique depuis le XVe siècle jusqu'à nos jours, 2nd ed. Paris, 1868, 8vo. pp. 485.

[2] In 1848–9 I conducted a phonetic printing office with a view of trying the experiment of a phonetic orthography, and I had to drill compositors of all kinds of pronunciation to a uniform system of spelling, in order that all my books, and all parts of my books, should be consistent.

great change was effected by Johnson over Dyche and Buchanan, but he became a name, and a refuge for the printer's reader. We have not yet settled how to write between two and three thousand of the words in our language,[1] although it must be confessed that we do not find

[1] *E. Jones*, The common sense of English Orthography, a guide to the Spelling of doubtful and difficult words, for the use of printers, authors, examiners, teachers, and students generally, 1867. It may be observed that he puts *printers* first. He lays down as "the principles of English orthography," first, "the law of abbreviation or contraction," illustrated by *music*, *blest*, *things*, *inferior*, *baking*, *entrance*, *wilful*, *fetter*, for *musick*, *blessed*, *thynges*, *inferiour*, *bakeing*, *enterance* (?), *willfull*, *feetter* (?), second "preference for, or aversion to, certain letters illustrated by the disuse of *y* in middle, and use of it at the end of words." The statement that "the desire to produce an agreeable succession of sounds, or euphony, is also an important principle in the spelling of words," is unintelligible in an orthography which does not regulate the sound. He classifies the doubtful words thus: 1. honor, honour (30 words); 2. movable, moveable (Johnson inconsistent); 3. civilise, civilize; 4. traveler, traveling, traveled, traveller, travelling, travelled; 5. enrol, enroll; 6. pressed, dressed, prest, drest; 7. mediæval, medieval; 8. monies, moneys; 9. hinderance, hindrance; 10. alcali, alkali; 11. Frederic, Frederick; 12. connection, connexion; a license, to license, advice, advise; 14. centre, center; 15. bark, barque; 16. tong in XVIth century, tongue; 17. controul, control. And he then proceeds to give rules for spelling in these doubtful cases. His arguments do not merely affect the words he cites, but large numbers of others which he does not presume to alter, because they are not considered doubtful. This is the most recent attempt at giving "principles" to regulate our orthography. The reader will find a *Report* on this work by Mr. Russell Martineau, in the Transactions of the Philological Society for 1867, Part II., pp. 315-325. M. Didot, in the work cited on p. 589, n. 2, in anticipation of a revision of French orthography in a contemplated new edition of the dictionary of the Academy, says: "L'usage si fréquent que j'ai dû faire, et que j'ai vu faire sous mes yeux, dans ma longue carrière typographique, du Dictionnaire de l'Académie, m'a permis d'apprécier quels sont les points qui peuvent offrir le plus de difficultés. J'ai cru de mon devoir de les signaler. L'Académie rendrait donc un grand service, aussi bien au public lettré qu'à la multitude et aux étrangers, en continuant en 1868 l'œuvre si hardiment commencée par elle en 1740, et qu'elle a poursuivie en 1762 et en 1835. Il suffirait, d'après le même système et dans les proportions que l'Académie jugera convenables: 1° De régulariser l'orthographe étymologique de la lettre χ, *ch*; et de substituer aux θ, *th*, et φ, *ph*, nos lettres françaises dans les mots les plus usuels; d'ôter l'*h* à quelques mots où il est resté pour figurer l'esprit rude (῾); 2° De supprimer, conformément à ses précédents, quelques lettres doubles qui ne se prononcent pas; 3° De simplifier l'orthographe des noms composés, en les réunissant le plus possible en un seul mot; 4° De régulariser la désinence orthographique des mots terminés en *ant* et *ent*; 5° De distinguer, par une légère modification (la cédille placée sous le *t*), des mots terminés en *tie* et *tion*, qui se prononcent tantôt avec le son du *t* et tantôt avec le son de l'*s*; 6° De remplacer, dans certains mots, l'*y* par l'*i*; 7° De donner une application spéciale aux deux formes *g* et *g* au cas où le *j*, dont le son est celui du *g* doux, ne serait pas préférable; 8° De substituer l'*s* à l'*x*, comme marque du pluriel à certains mots, comme elle l'a fait pour *lois*, au lieu de *loix* (*lex*, la loi, *leges*, les lois). Parmi ces principales modifications généralement réclamées, l'Académie adoptera celles qu'elle jugera le plus importantes et le plus opportunes. Quant à celles qu'elle croira devoir ajourner, il suffirait, ainsi qu'elle l'a fait quelquefois dans la sixième édition, et conformément à l'avis de ses *Cahiers* de 1694, d'ouvrir la voie à leur adoption future

much inconvenience from the uncertainty, and most writers select the spelling which their hand takes from habit without consideration, and do not call the compositor to order if he alters it in print. And compositors, with their authorized superiors, the printers' readers, have habits of their own as to spelling and punctuation, regarding their author's MS. as an orthographical exercise which it is their business to correct; so that, except in extremely rare cases where the author is opinionated and insists on the compositor "following copy,"[1] no printed book represents the orthography and punctuation of the man of education who writes, but only of the man of routine who prints.[2]

au moyen de la formule: *Quelques-uns écrivent* . . . : ou en se servant de cette autre locution: *On pourrait écrire* . . . . Par cette simple indication, chacun ne se croirait pas irrévocablement enchaîné, et pourrait tenter quelques modifications dans l'écriture et dans l'impression des livres," p. 23. This is the latest French view of the question.

[1] And then the compositor can easily take his revenge, and disgust his author, by copying all the careless blunders which haste and the habit of leaving such matters to the printer have engendered in our writers. The literal exhibition of the greater part of "the copy for press," and still more of the correspondence, of even esteemed men of letters, would show that our present orthography, including the use of capitals and punctuation, is by no means so settled as printed books, and the stress laid upon "correct" spelling in Civil Service Examinations, would lead us to suppose.

[2] Some months after this paragraph was written, I received a letter from Prof. F. J. Child, of Harvard, in which he says: "I wish you may make the Philological Society take some tenable ground as to orthography in their dictionary. Nothing can be more absurd than the veneration felt and paid to the actual spelling of English, as if it had been shaped by the national mind, and were not really imposed upon us by the foremen of some printing offices. In America all books printed in New York exhibit Webster's spelling, and most books printed at Cambridge (a great place for printers), Worcester's. Although we cannot trace the English spelling-book, so far as I know, I am fully convinced that it is largely of printing office origin." As this sheet was passing through the press my attention was directed to the following letter from the Mr. Jones, mentioned p. 590, n. 1, in the *Athenæum*, 10 July 1869, in which he seems to be endeavouring to give effect to his views by means of an association. The "Fonetic Nuz" Spelling alluded to, is that employed by the present writer in the *Phonetic News* in 1849: "*Spelling Reform.*—Perhaps you will allow me a short space to lay before your readers a brief statement of the objects of the Spelling Reform Association. The very mention of 'Spelling Reform' suggests to most people something like the 'Fonetic Nuz' system, which has been the subject of so much ridicule. Permit me then to say, without expressing any opinion upon the phonetic method, that the Spelling Reform Association does not propose to introduce that mode of Spelling the English language, but that our recommendations are based upon the following assumptions, which most persons will readily admit:—1. No one would desire to stereotype and hand down to posterity our orthography in its present state; but there is a vague notion that at *some* time and by *some* means the thing will be rectified. 2. England is about the only country in Europe in which the orthography has not been, in some way or other, adjusted; and orthography is one of the very few subjects in England which have not been adapted to modern requirements. 3. The anomalies of the orthography cause serious obstruction to the education of the people, most of the time in Government schools

Still there is a latent spark of that fire which warmed the original writers of our own manuscripts, and there is a notion that certain combinations have an inherent tendency to represent certain sounds, and conversely that certain sounds are naturally represented by certain combinations. The last section will have shown with what allowances the first statement must be received in the XIX th century; the following table will show how varied are the combinations which have been and are employed to represent the sounds.

In drawing up the list of sounds represented, it was necessary to include all the sounds which, so far as the preceding investigation shews, previously existed in our language, and those which recent and minute examination establishes to exist at present, including those newly introduced French words which are spoken in a semi-French pronunciation. The following list is an extract from the completer list of spoken sounds in the introduction, and for convenience is arranged in the same order. The same abbreviations are used as in the last section.

being occupied in teaching reading and spelling—with arithmetic—with miserable results, as to the proportion of children turned out of these schools having the ability to read with intelligence and to spell correctly. 4. The various examinations conducted by the Government, the Universities, and other examining bodies, give a fictitious value, and virtually give the sanction of their approval, to a system which has no claim whatever to be regarded as 'the best method of spelling words,' a system which has been described by high authority as 'an accidental custom, a mass of anomalies, the growth of ignorance and chance, equally repugnant to good taste and to common sense.' 5. A simplification of the orthography would do more to give the people the ability to read with intelligence and to spell correctly than any amount of Government grants or any legislation whatever. 6. No individual or society under present circumstances would have sufficient influence to introduce an improved system of orthography; if done at all, it must be by the co-operation of literary men, teachers, examiners, printers, and the public generally. 7. It is possible, by observing analogy and following precedent, without introducing any new letters or applying any new principle, to simplify the orthography so as to reduce the difficulties to a minimun, and to replace confusion and capriee by order and symmetry. The Spelling Reform Association invite the co-operation of all literary men and friends of education in this desirable object. E. JONES, Hon. Sec." The opinions entertained by the present writer on the subject thus broached by Prof. Child, and Mr. Jones, will be developed in the subsequent sections of this chapter, and the same remarks apply *mutatis mutandis* to M. Didot's French proposals. It will there appear that I do not see how any "tenable ground" can be taken by the Philological Society "as to the orthography of their dictionary," beyond the accident of present custom in London. Much might be said on Mr. Jones's seven points, which he believes "most persons will readily admit." Why our present orthography should be considered so much less worthy to be handed down to posterity than one modified on Mr. Jones's "principles," and how any such modifications would render its use beneficial in schools to the extent anticipated, I am at a loss to conceive. To Mr. Jones's seventh proposition, if I understand it aright, my own orthographic studies lead me to give an unqualified denial.

CHRONOLOGICAL ACCOUNT OF THE EXPRESSION OF SOUNDS IN ENGLISH WRITING.

(A a), was always represented by *a* from 13. to 19., the sound went out in 17., and now only exists in rather a rare pronunciation of: *a*sk, st*a*ff, comm*a*nd, p*a*ss, and similar words, and is considered to exist in: st*a*r, c*a*rd, by those who believe the vowel short; it is common in the provinces in place (æ).

(*A a*), was probably the ags. sound written *a*, possibly the sound meant by *oa* in 13.; it is now lost in English, but is heard in Scotch.

(:A A), according to Wallis, etc., the sound into which short *o* fell in 17. when "fall folly, call collar, lawes losse, cause cost, aw'd odd, saw'd sod," were considered as perfect pairs. In 19. this short *o* is (ɔ). The distinction is delicate, but may be rendered appreciable by drawling *odd* into (ɔɔd) which will be found to be different from *awed* (AAd), or by shortening the vowel in the latter word, producing (Ad) which is different from *odd* (ɔd). In 19. *a* after a (w) sound, as *what*, *watch*, *squash*, (wHAt, wATch, skwASh), is the sole representative of this sound, and even here most speakers use (ɔ).

(Aa aa) was represented by *a* always in 13., and by *a* in open, and frequently by *aa* in closed syllables in 14. In 16. it was still written *a* without any indication that the syllable was long, except by an occasional mute final *e*. The sound was lost in 17., except perhaps before *r*, so that *ar*, *er* in t*ar*, cl*er*k, may have represented (aar), though they were acknowledged, and p rhaps most frequently pronounced, as (ær) only. In 19. the indication of length and quality is variously made according to the origin of the word in: f*a*ther, *are* (but not in b*are*, f*are*, etc.), ser*a*glio, *ah*, *a*lms, M*a*lmesbury, écl*a*t, *aun*t, b*ar*que, cl*er*k, h*ear*t, g*uar*d, but its principal indication is *a* before *r* = (ɹ) professedly, but intended to be omitted by those persons who write *larf* to indicate (laaf). In London *ar*, when not followed by a vowel, may be regarded as the regular sign for (aa), and is so used by many writers. The *ah!* of the exclamation is, however, nearly as certain, and does not involve the *r* difficulty.

(*Aa aa*), this appears to have been the long *a* of ags. It has since disappeared from acknowledged sounds. It is, no doubt, heard in the provinces, and it is by some recognized as the common London sound meant for (aa), which see.

(:Aa AA), unknown previously to 17., and then represented by *au*, *aw*, *augh*, *ough*; these sounds and notations still prevail. It replaced the sound of (au), and hence was represented by *a* before *l*, as now; or by *al*, with a mute *l*. It was identified with the German *a*, and is often called "German *a*" in pronouncing dictionaries; it was also identified with French *à*, and Miège could not hear the difference. See Erondell's remarks suprà p. 226, n., col. 2. In 17. *oa* represented it in br*oa*d. The following may be considered as its representatives in 19.: f*a*ll, *aa*m, M*a*gd*a*len College (MAAd·len), m*a*hlstick, w*a*lk, b*a*tman, h*au*l, M*aud*e, n*augh*ty, V*augh*an, *au*n, *aw*ful, *aw*e, br*oa*d, s*o*lder (spelled s*au*der in *Sam Slick*), *augh*t. The combination *or* is theoretically (ɔɹ), practically (AAɹ), or (AA); so that Dickens, in *Pickwick*, writes *Smorl Tork* as a name to indicate *small talk*. See suprà, p. 575, under *o*. Hence, extr*aor*dinary, G*eor*gie, G*eor*ge, f*or*k, h*or*se, may be reckoned as other examples, even by those who do not include the *r* in the combination.

(Aah aah). This delicate sound probably formed the transition from (aa) to (ææ) in 17., and it is occasionally heard from "refined" speakers, as a variety of (aa), which they consider too "broad," while (ææ) used by others is too "mincing." It is a mere variety of (aa), and is represented in the same way.

(Æ æ) was probably the short ags. æ, but in ags. it rapidly became confused with (E, e), and was then lost. It reappears in 17. as a substitute for (a), and was represented by *a* and the same varieties as that sound. So it has remained, but by omitting letters, and reducing many (aa), and even other sounds, to this favourite short vowel, it is seen variously represented in 19., as: s*a*t,

Is*aa*c, M*a*ckay, dr*ach*m, h*a*ve, always (ʜaav) down to 16., b*a*gnio (bæn·ɹo), T*agh*mon (Tæm·ɛn), pl*ai*d, s*al*mon, har*ang*ue, Clap*ha*m, considered as (Klæpæm), but really (Klæpɛm), T*o*llemache (Tæl·mæsh), piq*ua*nt. In 17. *one*, *once* were (wæn, wæns). It is in 19. also used by very delicate speakers, especially educated ladies in Yorkshire, in such words as: b*a*sket, st*a*ff, p*a*th, p*a*ss, *au*nt, in which (ah, a) and (ææ, aah, aa) are also heard. This vowel is now characteristic of English, and is the despair of foreigners.

(Ææ ææ). The long (ææ) replaced (aa) in 17., and was represented in all the ways in which (aa) had been previously pronounced. No change was acknowledged. The sound rapidly died out into the (ee) of 18., but it is now preserved in the West of England, where (Bææth, kææɹd) are pronounced for B*a*th, c*a*rd. It is the name of the letter A in Ireland. Twenty years ago it was, and probably still is, a fashionable long sound of A in Copenhagen. It is sometimes heard in 19., especially from ladies, as a thinner utterance of (aa) than (aah) would be.

(Æu æu). See (eu).

(Ah ah). This thin sound is seldom heard in 19., except in the pronunciation of delicate speakers, in such words as: b*a*sket, st*a*ff, p*a*th, p*a*ss, *au*nt, and, as Mr. M. Bell believes, for the unaccented *a* in *a*mount, c*a*nary, id*ea*, and rapidly pronounced *a*nd. It is also the first element in the diphthongs: h*igh*, h*ow*, as pronounced by some (ʜahi, ʜahu) in place of (ʜəi, ʜəu). It may have been the transition sound between (a) of 16., and (æ) of 17. It has the same representatives as (aa, a), generally *a*, sometimes *au*.

(Ahi ahi). See (ai, əi).

(Ahu ahu). See (au, əu).

(Ai ai), if this diphthong occurred at all in ags. it was represented by aʒ, and seems to be the aʒʒ of Orrmin. In 13. it was written *ei*, *ey*, *ai*, *ay*, and this representation continued, perhaps, through 16. After 16. the sound seems to have disappeared, but probably remained in a few words, and in 19. it is generally heard in the affirmative *ay*, or *aye*, and from many clergymen in Is*ai*ah. In the provinces it is a common pronunciation of long *i*. Mr. M. Bell considers that sound, however, and the German pronunciation of *ei*, *ai*, to be (*a*i), and (ai) to be the general sound of English long *i*; in that case (ai) would then have the expressions given below for (əi).

(Aʌ aʌ), this French sound has only recently been introduced into English, but is firmly established in *aide-de-camp* (*ee* di kaʌ), the last word being called (kʌʌq, kəq, kæmp) by different orthoepists, but (kʌq, kəq) would not be endured, and (kən) is more often said. In *en*virons (aʌ·viroʌ, envəiɹ·rənz), an *en*velope (aʌ·vilɛp, en·veləp), custom varies. For *en*nui the pronunciation (aʌwii·), or (ənwii), is common, (əqwii·) is *passé*, the old form was *annoy*, = (anui·). Perhaps it would be more correctly written (ʌʌ) as pronounced by Englishmen, the labialisation being disclaimed by Frenchmen.

(Au au), in Orrmin *aww*, in 14. to 16. *au*, *aw*. This sound was lost in 17. and has not been recovered, though some declaimers still say (aul) for (ʌʌl) *all*. Heard in the provinces. It is the German sound of *au*. Mr. M. Bell, however, considering this last to be (*a*u), and believes (au) to be the usual sound here assumed to be (əu), in which case it would really exist in the language, and be expressed as (əu) is stated to be below.

(B b), always expressed by *b*, or *bb*. The mute final *e*, and assimilated letters, have produced the 19. varieties: *b*e, e*bb*, e*bb*ed, ba*be*, Co*ck*-*b*urn (Koo·bɹn). Ho*lb*orn, cu*pb*oard (this was also in 17.), hau*tb*oy (ʜoo·bəi). In 17. Jones finds de*p*uty, cu*p*id, etc., pronounced with (b).

(Bh bh). It is doubtful whether this sound was ever known in England, but Dr. Rapp considers it was ags. *w*. It is possible that the southern (London and Kent) tendency to convert (v) into (w) may arise from some original mispronunciation of *v* as (bh). The sound is not only not acknowledged, but is rarely understood by Englishmen. Even in parts of North Germany (bh) has been replaced by (v). See the description of the sound, p. 513, note 2.

(D d), always expressed by *d*, *dd*. The mute final *e*, and assimilated letters, together with foreign words, have produced the 19. varieties: *bd*ellium,

*d*eep, a*dd*, Bu*dd*hist, tra*de*, Wyn*dh*am, lov*ed*, wou*ld*, bur*th*en, usually bur*d*en. In 17. they had: sou*ld*ier, wou*ld*, etc., bur*th*en, mur*th*er, etc.

(Dh dh), this sound must have existed in ags., but it is not possible to say whether ƿ, or ð, was meant for it. In Icelandic ƿ is (th), and ð (dh), but they must have been confused in ags. at an early period. See suprà p. 515, p. 541, n. 2, p. 555, n. 1, col. 2. Even Orrmin does not distinguish them. When *th* was introduced it was used indiscriminately for (th, dh). The 19. sign is still *th*, though there seems to be a feeling that *e* final will ensure the sound (dh), as brea*th*, brea*the* (breth, briidh). Some literary men write *dth* to indicate the sound.

(Dj dj), an unacknowledged English sound, common in speech in 19., and represented by *d* before *u*, as: ver*d*ure = (vɜ·dj*u*), when the speaker wishes to avoid (vɜ·dzhu). It is palatalised (d), a transition sound between (d) and (dzh), and is distinct from (dɹ). Vulgar speakers do not change *would you?* into (w*u*dzh·ɹ), but into (w*u*dj·ɐ). Some even say (·w*u*d·.dzhɹɹ?).

(Dw dw). See (d*w*).

(D*w* d*w*) is perhaps the true sound heard in: *dw*ell, *dw*arf, generally accepted as (dw), with doubts as to whether it is not (du). It seems to be an unacknowledged lip modification of (d), so that (d) and (w) are heard simultaneously, rather than consecutively, the lips being rounded as for (w), while the tongue is raised for (d), and the separation of the lips and of the tongue from the palate taking place at the same time to admit the passage of the vowel. How long this sound has existed as distinct from (dw, du) cannot be said.

(Dzh dzh), does not seem to have occurred before 13., and arose first from palatisation of final (g) in ags., which, after short accented vowels in closed syllables, passed through the form (ǧ), rather than (ǧh), and hence generated (dzh) in place of (ɹ), as: edge, hedge, ledge, fledge, compare ags. ecg, hege hæg, lecgan, flycge; and, secondly, from the Freneh *i* consonant, and *g* before *e*, *i*, which there is good reason to suppose was pronounced at one time as (dzh), and which is said to be (dz) in present Provençal, by a writer who confuses the Spanish *ch*, which is (tsh), with (ts), (Mirèio, Mireille, poème provençal de Frédéric Mistral, avec la traduction littérale en regard, 8vo., 1868, p. vii). Hence it is expressed by *i* consonant, *g*, *gg*, *dg*. Subsequently only *j*, *g*, *dg* (the latter before *e* generally) were used, but not consistently. In 19. we have: Greenwi*ch*, sol*d*ier, which was also heard in 17., with omitted *l*, as (soo·dzher, sadzh·er), ju*dg*ment, ri*dge*, W*edne*sbury (Wedzh·beri), *g*em, colle*ge*, Belling*h*am (Bel indzhum), *j*ust.

(E e), this, or (ɛ) was the ags. short *e*, and has prevailed in one form or the other to this day. I am myself in the habit of saying (e), but this appears too delicate to Mr. Melville Bell, who prefers (ɛ), which is the Scotch sound, and is in Scotland by many English people confused with (æ), see p. 271. It was occasionally expressed by *u* from 13. to 16. Being an exceedingly common sound, it easily absorbed related sounds, and hence even in 17. had numerous forms of expression, the only normal form both then and now being *e*, but *ea* was very common in 17. as in 18. and 19., and *ai* in 17. in unaccented syllables as cap*tain*, now (kæp·t*y*n), nearly (kæp·ten) or (kæp·t*i*n). Before *r* it seems to have been the refuge of other sounds, which however may be more properly (ɐ). The following are 19. varieties: m*a*ny, Pontefr*a*ct (Pɔm·fret), P*æ*stum, Mich*a*el, Th*a*mes, s*a*id, Aberg*a*venny [(Æb·ɹgen*i*) written *Aburgany* in the Shakspere folio 1623, Hen. VIII. i, 1, speech 49, where it must be in four syllables for the metre; this is not the Welsh pronunciation, but is common in England,] s*a*ys, l*e*t, h*ea*d, d*e*bt, Wednesday, all*e*ge, for*e*h*ea*d, h*ei*fer, L*ei*cester, l*eo*pard, ch*eque*, rend*ez*vous, *rh*etoric, fr*ie*nd, cons*ci*ence, f*oe*tid, conn*oi*sseur, b*u*ry, g*ue*ss, paneg*y*ric, [this pronunciation is going out, as also that in sp*i*rit, s*y*rrup, st*i*rrup], gun*w*ale, Thomas's (Tom·esez). If the sound is admitted in the syllable (eɹ) for (ɹ) then we might add: sabre, v*i*rtue, Br*i*dlington, sapph*i*re, bett*o*r, Urq*uh*art, ans*w*er. Most of these expressions are highly exceptional, and

arise partly from assimilations and omissions, and partly from insertions. Still the spelling has remained and has to be separately memorized by those who would use it, as no rule can be assigned.

(*E* *e*). It is impossible to say whether this sound occurred in ags. or old English as distinct from (e). Whether the final unaccented *e* of 13. and 14. had the sound of (*e*) or (e), or whether it was not rather (ɐ), is also impossible to determine. In 19. the sound only occurs as short and unaccented, in some words, as *aerial, aorta* (eerɪal, eɔrta), for which some would read (ahɔrtah). It is the French *é*.

(:E ɛ). This is a variety of (e) and in the pronunciation of some persons uniformly replaces it, and has been therefore always expressed as (e) was, wherever it occurred. See (e).

(ɜ ɔ). This sound does not appear in English till the middle of 17. It is not named by Butler, 1631. It is distinctly recognised by Wallis, 1653, and Wilkins, 1668, and all subsequent writers. It replaced (u) and was expressed as (u) had been by *u, o* and occasionally *ou*, and these have remained its principal forms to 19., but numerous degradations have occurred especially in unaccented syllables, where, however, stricter analysis seems to shew that the sound is now rather (ɐ). Thus we have the 19. varieties: rib*a*nd, meersch*au*m, escutch*eo*n, *hu*mble, mot*io*n, conse*io*us, s*o*n, d*oe*s, l*o*ve, tort*oi*se, Linc*o*ln, fl*oo*d, d*ou*ble, t*o*ngue, bell*ow*s, *two*ppence (in 17),—and if we consider that (ɹ) is properly (əɹ) we have this vowel in: amat*eur*, cupb*oa*rd, av*oi*rdupoise, c*o*l*o*nel, liqu*eu*r, liqu*or*. Mr. M. Bell uses (ɜ) for (e).

(*ɜ* *ɔ*). This French sound should of course be used in those French words containing it, which are used in English, but it is always replaced by the familiar (ɔ, ɹ).

(ʔ ɐ). This faintly-characterised vowel is recognized by Mr. Melville Bell as the real sound in unaccented syllables, where 19. orthoepists usually assume (ɔ, a) to exist, before *n, l, r*, and *s*, as: motion oc*ea*n, princip*a*l, Tart*a*r, facet*ious*. It is therefore expressed by any combination denoting unaccented (ɔ, æ).

(Ee *ee*.) In earlier English down to 18. we cannot distinguish (*ee*, ee). In ags. it seems to have been represented only by *e* or *é*. In 13. it was also represented by *æ*, and occasionally by *ea, eo*, at least, these forms all interchange with *e*. In 14. *eo* was almost quite dropped (though both *eo, oe* are occasionally found), and *ea* was very sparingly used, but *ee* was common, especially in closed syllables. In 16. the practice was introduced of representing (ee) by *e, ea* only, to the exclusion of *ee*. During 17. *ai, ay, ei, ey* were used as well as *e, ea*, but the two latter forms were less and less used as (ee), till they became exceptional expressions in 18. and 19. In the middle of 18. the usual forms were *a* (with any addition which shewed prolongation, as a final mute *e*), *ai, ay*, occasionally *ea*, and *ei, ey*, but the two last forms were rapidly going out, and at the end of 18. and beginning of 19. few remained. In 19., if not earlier, (ee) was separated from (*ee*), and the sound of (ee) was only used before *r* (ɹ), but it was expressed by all the same forms as (*ee*). This limitation of the sound of (ee) reduces the number of its forms in 19. where we find: *a*aron, m*a*re, *ae*rie, *ai*r, *ay*r, m*ay*or, p*ea*r, *e*re, *e'e*r, th*ei*r, *ey*re, h*ei*r. See (*e*).

(*Ee* *ee*). This sound was not consciously separated from (ee) till the end of 18. or till 19. Even now many persons do not perceive the difference (*ee*, ee), or if they do hear the sounds they analyse them as (eei, ee). In some parts of England (ee) alone is said, in the South many people cannot pronounce (ee) before any letter but (ɹ), and cannot prolong (*ee*) without dropping into (i), thus (*eei*). Some assert that (*ee*) is never pronounced, but only (*eei*), with which they would write the words: m*a*te, champ*ag*ne, d*a*hlia, p*ai*n, camp*ai*gn, str*ai*ght, tr*ai*t, h*alf*penny, often (naa·pen*i*) in the North, g*ao*l, Carshalton (*kees*·naat'n), g*au*ge, pl*ag*ue, pl*ay*, gr*ea*t, *eh!* v*ei*l, r*ei*gn, w*ei*gh, th*ey*, *eyo*t.

(ɜɔ ɔɔ). Never a recognized sound, but one from which (ɹɹ) is with difficulty distinguished. It is therefore heard in place of (əɹ, eɹ), or rather (ɹɹ, *ɹe*), by the representatives of which it is always expressed.

(Eei eei.) In 16. Gill acknowledges (eei) and frequently writes it in the word *they* (dheei). It probably existed in 17., as it is partially acknowledged by Cooper. If so it was written *ei, ey, ai, ay*. Most probably its use increased in 18., but there is no proper note of it.

(*E*i *e*i.) This sound is not acknowledged before 19., and then the extent of it is disputed. Some make it coextensive with the spelling *ai, ay*, others make it replace the sound of (*ee*) under whatever form it is expressed. Some persons in the South of England seem incapable of sustaining (ee) or (*ee*) without rapidly falling into (*i*, i). See (*ee*).

(ƎH əh.) This replaces (ə) under whatever form it may be expressed, in the pronunciation of many persons. It is the form acknowledged by Mr. M. Bell.

(Ei ei.) In 16. this is acknowledged by Salesbury, and Hart as the sound of *i* long and of *ei, ey*. Smith acknowledges it in a few words, containing *ei, ey*, where he doubtfully distinguishes it from (ai), but he marks *i* long as a separate vowel, which he identifies with the English words for "ego, oculus, etiam," *I, eye, aye*. Gill sometimes writes (ei), sometimes (eei), in the same words, and considers long *i* to be very nearly the same. Wallis does not acknowledge the sound, and it seems to have expired in 17. It is, however, reviving, although unacknowledged, as a substitute for (eei) and that for (*ee*), as (rein) *rain*.

(*E*i *e*i.) A variant of (ei), which cannot be properly distinguished from it in accounts of pronunciation, but seems to be the true sound of the modern Scotch long *i* in many words, see p. 290.

(ƎI əi), or perhaps (ə*i*) is acknowledged by Wallis and Wilkins in 17., and was perhaps intended by Gill as the sound of long *i*, and has since remained that sound, though individually and provincially replaced by (ai, ahi, ei, *e*i), etc., see p. 108. It is expressed by any combination of sounds which indicate that *i* or *y* is to be long. Hence in 19. we have: *naive, aisle, de*i*pnosophist* (and as many pronounce *ei*ther, n*ei*ther) h*eigh*t, the older sounds (neet, neeit) are occasionally heard, (nekht) is still heard in Scotland, (nekth) has been noted in the neighbourhood of Ledbury, Herefordshire, (nəitth, həith) are mistaken pronunciations—*e*ying, *eye*, r*hi*noceros, R*hine*, r*hy*ming, r*hy*me, b*ind* — this mode of expressing long *i* is found as early as 16., — ind*i*ct, d*ie*, l*ive*, s*ign*, s*igh*, s*igh*ed, v*i*scount, *isle*, beg*ui*ling, beg*uile*, b*uy*, fl*y*, d*ye*, sc*y*the.

(EA eA) is not an English sound, and no attempt to pronounce it occurs before 18. In 19. coup de main, which Feline writes (ku-d meA), is written (kuu·dimæq) by Worcester, (kuu dimæq·) by Webster, (kuu·di·maaq) by Knowles, (kuu·damæq:) by Smart, (kuu·dim*ee*n) by Mavor. It is generally called (kuu·d*i* meA), though some affect the complete French pronunciation.

(ƎA əA), this is also not an English sound and is so rare in French that it is seldom borrowed in English, except in the name of the game *vingt et un*, usually called (veAtəA·) in England, often corrupted to (væntiun·, vændzhon·), just as *rouge et noir* becomes *Russian war*, from the older pronunciation, still occasionally heard, of (Ruu·shen WAAR).

(Eu eu) Common in 13. and 14. as the sound of *eu ew*, from ags. *eaw*, etc. Less frequent in 16., expiring in 17., and lost in 18. In 19. it is frequent as a London pronunciation of (əu), thus (deun teun) for *down town*, and either in this form or (Eu, æu) common in Yankee speech, and in the East Anglican dialect. It is acknowledged in Italian and Spanish *Eu*ropa, and in modern Provençal, both *éu*, and *iéu* (Eu, i*e*u) are distinguished, the last word being the French *je*.

(:Eu. Eu). See (eu).

(ƎU əu). Not known before 17. In 17. and since, acknowledged as the sound heard in n*ow* h*ow*, though some pronounce (æu, ou, ou, au, ahu) and even (æu, eu). Expressed generally by *ou, ow*, with or without mute letters. In 19 we find: *caou*tchouc, Mac*l*eod, *hour*, compter, n*ou*n, d*oubt*, ren*ounce*, b*ough*, c*ow*, allo*w*ed.

(F f). From ags. to present day represented by *f, ph*, with their duplications *ff, pph*. From 16., at least, occasionally expressed by *gh*. In 19. we find: *f*oe, fi*f*e, sti*ff*, stu*ff*ed, *f*lugleman — a mere corruption — o*f*ten, lau*gh*, ha*lf*, sa*pph*ire, lieutenant.

(G g). From ags. to present day expressed by *g*. In 14. also by *gg* and in 15. also by *gge* final. *Ghost* is found in 16. In 19. we have black*g*uard, *go*, *egg*, be*gg*ed, *gh*ost, *gu*ess, pla*gue*.

(*G*ʲ *g*) or (gj), palatalized (g). Probably in ags. *g* before a palatal vowel, subsequently (dzh). After that change (*g*) cannot be clearly traced before 18., but it is still found in 19., represented by *g*, *gu*, before *a* (aa, aɪ) or long *i* (ɔi), as: *g*arden, *gu*ard, re*g*ard, *gu*ide. In 18., it seems to have been also used before short *a* (æ).

(Gh gh). In ags. perhaps more certainly in 13., expressed by ȝ, after *a*, *o*, *u* long and followed by a vowel as *oȝen*. Possibly the sound after *o*, *u* was labialized to (g*w*h). Whether these sounds were entirely lost in 14., being replaced by (kh, k*w*h), it is difficult to say; probably not. As long as they lasted they were expressed by ȝ, *gh*. It must have been lost in 16.

(*G*h *g*h). In ags. perhaps, more certainly in 13., expressed by ȝ after *e*, *i* long or short, and occasionally after *r*, *l*, in which case it fell into (*i*). In ags. perhaps the initial sound of ȝ before palatals, which in 13. was replaced by (ɟ). In 13. written ȝ, ȝ*h*, *yh*. After 13. generally replaced by (*h*, ɟ), and written ȝ, *gh*, *y*.

(Grh grh). Only known as a local peculiarity, the Northumbrian burr, and then expressed by *r*, *rr* as in *Harriet* (Hagrh·iət). See (*r*).

(G*w* g*w*). The labial modification of *g*, confused with (gw), from which it differs almost as simultaneity from succession, (g*w*) resulting from attempting to pronounce (g) and (w) at the same time. How long it has been known in English cannot be determined, but it is probably a very early combination in the Romance languages. In 19. it is expressed by *gu* in: *gu*aiacum, *gu*ano, *gu*ava (g*w*ai·akəm, g*w*aa·no, g*w*aa·va).

(G*w*h g*w*h). Probably an ags. sound of ȝ after labials, and occasionally *r*, *l*, in which case it became (u, *o*). In 14. probably expressed by *gh* after *o*, *u*. Perhaps *lahh*, *laugh*, *lauwh*, indicated (lagh, laug*w*h, lauwh) passing to (lauf). But the sounds may have been (lakh, lauk*w*h, lawh).

(H h). The true aspirate consisting of a jerked emission of the following vowel without the previous intervention of the whisper, was, probably, the genuine old form of aspiration, as shewn in the Sanscrit post-aspirates. It was frequently interchanged with (hʿ, kh, gh), the last (gh) being the value of the Sanscrit ह usually considered as *h*. Represented whenever it occurred from ags. to 19., by *h*. See (hʿ).

(Hʿ hʿ). The jerked utterance accompanied by a whispered breath preceding the vowel. The jerk is of importance; ('a-aa), is different from (h-'a-aa = h'aa). Constantly occurring, and represented by *h*, but in 16. occasionally by *gh*. In 19., either (h) or (hʿ) according to a speaker's habits of utterance, and frequently according to the momentary impulse of the speaker, is expressed by the following varieties: Calla*gh*an —and by *gh* in many other Irish names — *h*ole, *Colqu*houn, *wh*ole. Uneducated speakers, especially when nervous, and anxious not to leave out an *h*, or when emphatic, introduce a marked (hʿ) in places where it is not acknowledged in writing or in educated speech. On the other hand both (h, hʿ,) are frequently omitted, by a much more educated class than those who insert (hʿ), and in the provinces and among persons below the middle-class in London, the use and non-use of (h, hʿ) varies from individual to individual, and has no apparent connection with the writing. Hence its pronunciation has become in recent times a sort of social shibboleth. The very uncertain and confused use of *h* in old MSS., especially of 13., serve to make it probable that there was always much uncertainty in the pronunciation of *h* in our provinces. The Scotch never omit or insert it, except in *huz* (hʌz), the emphatic form of *us*. The Germans are equally strict. But the sound (h) or (hʿ) is unknown in French, Italian, Spanish, modern Greek, and the Sclavonic languages.

(I i). Whether this sound existed in closed accented syllables before 16., is doubtful, probably not. After 16. there is reason to suppose that if it did exist, its use must have been

very limited. In Scotland it both did and does exist. In all cases it was represented by *i*, *y*. As a short sound in open syllables it was probably quite common, and was in ags. to 14. represented by *i*. In 16. this short open (i) was *e* as in: b*e*leeve (bilii·v·). At present the distinction between (i, *i*) in such cases is rather doubtful, and both are apt to be merged into (ɐ). But where the distinction is made, short (i) is always expressed by *e*; see (*i*).

(*I i*). This seems to have been the common sound represented by short *i* in close accented syllables in ags., and by short *i*, *y*, and occasionally *u* in this situation from 13. to 19., and with tolerable certainty from 14. to 19. In 16., as a final, it was frequently written *ie*. Orthoepists, however, constantly confuse (i, *i*) both in closed and open syllables, so that any real separation of (i, *i*), is hazardous. In 19., (*i*) in closed syllables is expressed in a great variety of ways, owing to various degradations, but generally as *i*, *y* with some letters which have become mute, and when in final open syllables, generally by *y* or some variety of the same. The following forms may be noticed. *In closed syllables*: landsc*a*pe, S*ai*nt John (S*i*n·dzhɐn) as a family name, Jerv*au*dx (Jaaɹ·v*i*s), pretty, guin*ea*s, *beau*fin, br*ee*ches, forf*ei*t, Th*eo*bald (T*i*b·ɐld) the recognized name of an editor of Shakspere and a street in London, hous*ew*ife (hɑz·*i*f) a threadholder, ex*h*ib·*i*t (egzib·it) some say (ecsh·*i*b·*i*t) with a very marked (h·), r*h*ythm, p*i*t, marr*ia*ges, marr*ia*ge, pit*i*ed, to l*i*ve, s*i*eve, f*i*repence, w*o*men, gr*oa*ts (gr*i*ts), Jerv*oi*s, Mis·tress (M*i*s·*i*s), b*u*sy, lett*u*ce, b*ui*ld, b*usi*ness, Tyr-*wh*itt (T*i*ɹ·*i*t), Chis*wi*ck (Tshiz·*i*k), ph*y*sic, W*y*m*o*ndham (W*i*nd·ɐm). *In open syllables*, many of the above forms and: Roths*ay*, mon*ey*, Ann*ie*, Beaul*ieu* (Biu·l*i*), fell*oe* (fel·*i*), cham*ois* leather (shæm·*i*), plag*uy*.

(Ii ii). In ags. either (ii) or (*ii*), which see, was always expressed by *i* long, and so on to 14. and part of 15. After 15. (ii) was only rarely expressed by *i* long, but more and more frequently by *e*, *ee*, and in 16. frequently by *e ee* and rarely by *ea*, *ie*. The expression by *ea*, *ie* increased slightly in 17. In 18. *e*, *ee*, *ea*, *ie*, were the rule, and *ei*, *ey* the exceptions. In 19. the two latter also became the rule. The Latin æ, œ were also added to the list, and various degradations swelled the expressions of (ii) in 19. to the following extraordinary variety: minut*ie*, dem*ai*n, C*ai*us College, b*e*, *ea*ch, fl*ea*d, l*ea*ve, B*eau*champ (Bee·tshɐm), l*eag*ue, f*ee*t, *e*'en, complet*e*, sl*ee*ve, impr*eg*n, L*egh*, conc*ei*t, conc*ei*ve, s*eig*niory, L*eigh*, rec*ei*pt, B*el*voir, p*eo*ple, dem*e*sne, k*ey*, W*emy*ss (Wiimz), k*ey*ed, diarr*hœa*, inval*id*, gr*ief*, magaz*i*ne, gr*ie*ve, s*ig*niour, fus*il*, debr*is*, intr*igue*, fœtus, q*ua*y, q*uay*ed, mosq*ui*to, turq*uoi*se (tɐkiiz·) according to Walker, Smart, and Worcester, more commonly (tyr-k*w*ɑɑz·)

(*Ii ii*). In 14., and most probably earlier, the sound of long *i* and *y*. During 15. this sound nearly expired and was only retained by a few individuals in 16., being replaced by (ei, *i*) according as the syllable in which it occurred retained or lost the accent. It is heard in Scotch in 19., where a short (*i*) is accidentally lengthened as: gi'e, wi'. In English it is an unacknowledged sound often heard from singers who lengthen a short (*i*), as (st*i*l) for (st*i*l) still, as distinct from (stiil) steal, see pp. 106, 271.

(Iu iu iuu). These sounds cannot well be separated. They probably never occurred initially. When Smith wrote *iunker* in 16. he meant (ɹuŋ-ker). The sound was not recognized till 17., when it was generally expressed by long *u*, or *eu*, *ew*. The same combinations used initially, as in *use*, *u*nite, *ewe*, probably expressed (ɹiuu, ɹiu, ɹiuu). In my phonetic spelling I have seldom thought it necessary to distinguish (iu, iuu) and have frequently omitted to prefix the (ɹ). From these sounds should be distinguished (ɹuu, ɹu) which are also confounded with them, but are usually written *you*. With these the sounds (ɹhiu, ɹhiuu) often confounded with them, had best be considered. The following are the 19. varieties of expressing these sounds:

(iu) mon*u*ment, doc*u*ment, inc*u*bate, mant*ua*maker.

(iuu) b*eau*ty, f*eo*d, f*eu*dal, d*eu*ce,

Leveson, new, adieu, view, viewed, flugleman, amusing, fuchsia (fiuu·shia), cue, amuse, queue, impugn, buhl, suit, puisne, (piuu·ni), lute-string (liuu·striq,) fugue.

(ɹiu) unite, Eugene (Jiudzhiin·)

(ɹiuu) eugh, ewe, yew, yule.

(ɹu) in 16. young = (ɹuq) like present German jung.

(ɹuu) you, youth.

(ɹhiu) humane.

(ɹhiuu) human, hue, Hugh, Hughes.

(J ɹ). The palatal consonant into which ags. initial (gh) degenerated, generally confounded with an initial unaccented (i), whence it is occasionally derived, and often confused with the palatal modification (j) from which it differs as (w) from (w). Apparently in use from 13. to 19., expressed in 13. and often in 14. by ʒ, ȝ, whence the modern forms y, z, p. 310, and p. 298, note. The varieties in 19., are: hideous, onion, hallelujah, yard, Denzil.

(Jh ɹh). Orrmin's ʒh in ʒheo she. The whispered (ɹh) differs from (ɹ), as (kh) from (gh), but is by Germans confounded with (kh), although often pronounced by them quite distinctly in ja (ɹhaa) for (ɹaa). It has probably often been pronounced in English, but it is not recognized, and even in the words cited under (iu) it is not now generally acknowledged, (ɹhiuu) being taken as (ʜ'ɹuu, ʜ'iuu) sounds which are not easy to utter. It has no special representative, but is implied by any combination apparently expressing (ʜ'+iu).

(K k). The sound has been in use from ags. to 19. In ags. expressed by c invariably. In 13. generally by c, occasionally by k. In 14. by k and occasionally by kk, ck, but frequently in words from the Latin and French by c, cc. In 16. by c, cc, k, ck, and occasionally ch. In 17. gh, qu were added to the list. All these remain, except kk, which was disused before 16. In 19. we have: can, account, Bacchanal, school, ache, back, hacked, acquaint, hough, kale, bake, walk, quack, quay, antique, Urquhart, viscount, hatchel (ʜæk·'l) also written hackle, heckle, except.

(K k). This is the palatalized form of (k), see g, and its existence was acknowledged, and expressed in 18. by c, k before a (aa, aɹ, æ) and i (əi) as in: cart, candle, sky. This is regarded as antiquated in 19. but is still heard.

(Kh kh). In ags. expressed by h, hh; in 13. by ʒ, gh, and very rarely by ch, p. 441, from 14. to 16. by gh. After 16. lost in English, though common in Scotch, where it is usually written ch. At no time were the palatal and labial modifications (kjh, kwh) distinguished in writing from (kh), but there seems reason to suppose that a preceding vowel when palatal determined (kh = kjh), when guttural (kh) and when labial (kwh). See also (gwh).

(Kh kh). See (kh).

(Kw kw). This sound has always been confused with (kw), but there is reason to suppose that (kw) has been the real sound from the earliest times, pp. 512, 514, 561. In ags. (kw) was expressed by cw, in 13. qu seems to have been introduced and to have remained to 19.

(Kwh kwh). See (kh).

(L l). From ags. to 19. l and from 14. to 19. ll is frequent. In 19. mute letters have occasioned the following varieties: seraglio, mahlstick, lace, Guildford, ale, ill, travelled, kiln, isle, bristly, victualler (vit·lɹ).

('L 'l). In 16. certainly, this sound was expressed by final -le forming a syllable, and it was recognized by Bullokar after a and before another consonant, as halm (ʜa'lm) where others read (ul). In 19. several phonetic writers incline to (ul), but the majority consider (l) only, to be the sound. Mr. M. Bell considers it to be (ll) that is lengthened (l). It is always represented by -le or -l. It generally falls into (l) when a vowel follows as *double doubling* (dəb'l dəb·liq), but some persons retain the (') and say *double-ing* (dəb·'liq).

(Lh lh). Not now a recognized English sound, but it occasionally arises when instead of prolonging an (l) with the full murmur, the action of the vocal ligaments ceases, while the tongue remains in position, and the unvocalized breath escapes on both sides as (fʌʌllh). It is also recognized by Mr. M. Bell in *felt* (fɛlht) or perhaps (fɛllht), as he would write. In Modern French it is very common for (l') as (tablh) *table*, and hence it has been recently imported into the English pronunciation of

French words. It was probably the sound written *hl* in ags. and *lh* in 13., as it is now represented by *hl* in Icelandic.

(Lhh lhh). Few Englishmen can pronounce this Welsh sound properly, but as Welsh names of places are current in English, as *Lh*angoll*e*n (Lhhangolhh·en) it should be recognized, and not treated as (thl) or (tl), as in (Thlangoth·len). For a description of the sound see Chap. VIII, § 1, under *ll*.

(Lj, lj). An unrecognized English element, often generated in the passage from (l) to (ɹ) or (i) before another vowel. Thus *million*, *bullion* are rather (mɪl·ljən, bʊl·ljən) than pure (mɪl·ɹən, bʊl·ɹən) because there is no break, thus (l,ɹ), but the (l) is continued on to the (ɹ) producing (lj = l*ɹ). Some Englishmen pronounce *seraglio*, *lieu*, *lute*, as (seraa·ljio, ljiuu, ljiuut) others say (seraa·lio, luu, luut).

(M m). From ags. to 19. *m*, and from 14. often *mm*. In 19. we have the varieties, chiefly assimilations and degradations: dra*ch*m, phle*g*m, psa*l*m, Ch*o*lmond*e*ley (Tshəm·li), a*m*, la*mb*, ta*m*e, ha*mm*er, sha*mm*ed, hy*mn*, Ca*mp*bell (Kæm·el), Ba*n*ff (Bæmf), Po*nt*efract (Pəm·fret).

('M 'm). Certainly from 16. when it was recognized by Bullokar. Not distinguished from (m) in writing, and not recognized as a syllable in poetry, as: schis*m*, rhyth*m* (siz·'m, rith·'m).

(Mh mh). Recognized by Mr. Melville Bell in 19. before *p*, *t*, as la*m*p, e*m*pt (læmhp, ɛmht) or (læmmhp, ɛmmht).

(N n). From ags. to 19. *n* and from 14. *nn*. Silent letters and assimilations, etc., have produced the 19. varieties: stu*dd*ingsail (stən·s'l), ope*n*ing, *gn*aw, Jo*hn*, *kn*ow, Co*l*nbrook (Koon·bruk), Ca*l*ne (Kaan), *mn*emonies, co*mp*ter, ca*n*, riba*nd*, ca*n*e, ipecacua*nh*a, ma*nn*er, pla*nn*ed, gu*n*cale (gən·el), reaso*n*ing, *pn*eumatics, puis*n*e (piuu·ni).

('N 'n). Certainly since 16., represented by *-en*, *-on*, as in: op*en*, reas*on*. When a vowel follows the (') is lost, though some say (ləit·'niq) and others (ləit·niq) *lightening*, *lightning*.

(Nh nh). Recognized in 19. by Mr. M. Bell in *tent*, which he writes (tɛnht) or (tɛmht).

(Nj nj). An unrecognized English sound produced by continuing the sound of (n) on to a following (ɹ, i) as *onion*, more properly (ən·njən) than (ən·ɹən). Some call *new* (njiuu), others (nuu). Common French and Italian *gn*.

(O o). This seems to have been the original ags. and English short *o* up to 16., and to have been lost, except in the provinces, after the middle of 17. when it was replaced by (ʌ, ɔ). It is the French h*o*mmage (omazh) as distinguished from 19. h*o*mage (ɒm·ydzh). It is Italian short *o* aperto. It is also heard in Spain, Wales, and a great part of Germany, though it is liable to fall into (*o*) on one side and (ɔ) on the other. In old English invariably *o*.

(*O o*). This short sound in closed syllables is not recognised in 19., but it is heard the provinces and in America for short and sometimes long *o*; thus, *whole stone* (*o*l, st*o*n), and then is scarcely distinguishable from (*u*) or (ə), and is confounded by some with (ə). In open syllables it is not uncommon, as in: *o*blige, mem*o*ry, win*dow* (*o*bləidzh·, mem*o*ri, win·d*o*), where it is often confused with (ə, ɐ), and even, when final, with (ɹ). It, probably, came into use with (*oo*) in 17., but was not distinguished from it. Generally expressed by *o*, *ow*, as above, and in 19. we call *Pharaoh* (F*ee*·r*o*).

(Ɔ ɔ). In 17. short *o* passed from (o) to (ʌ) or (ɔ). The distinction between these sounds being of the same degree of delicacy as that between (i, *i*) and (ɛ, æ) renders it difficult to determine which sound was said. In 19. (ɔ) prevails, though (ʌ) is occasionally heard, and may be heard when the expression is *a*, *au*, or (a) influenced by (n) in any way. See (ʌ). The general expression of (ɔ) is *o*; but in 19. we have the varieties: r*e*sin, *h*onour, *o*n, gr*oa*t, f*o*rehead, *eo*gnisant, J*oh*n, h*ough*, pedag*ogue*, kn*ow*ledge. In *or* not followed by a vowel, the theoretical sound is (ɔɹ), the actual sound scarcely distinguishable from, if not identical with (ʌʌ', ʌʌ). See suprà p. 575, under *o*.

(Œ œ) is not a recognized English sound, but is heard in the provinces

and in Scotland, and written *o*, *oo*. Confused in English with (ɔ).

(Ɜ ɔɔ). Recognized in 19. by Mr. M. Bell as the vowel in: pref*er*, *ear*nest, f*ir*m, m*yrrh*, g*uer*don, where he writes (ɔɔɹ) for the italicized letters. I do not distinguish these sounds from (ɹ), and in general find them confused with (ɹ). See these sounds.

(Œœ œœ). Occurs in the provinces, and probably in Scotch. It is the German long *oe*, as in *Goethe* (Gœœ·te).

(Oi oi). With this must be taken (ʌi, ɔi, *oi*; ʌ*i*, ɔ*i*, *oi*). It is very difficult to determine the limits of these sounds in time or place. Probably in 16. when *oi*, *oy* were not (ui), they were (oi). In 19. (ʌ*i*, ɔ*i*) prevail, (*oi*, ui) are provincial. The expression is always *oi*, *oy*, with or without some additional mute letters. In 19. we have: bourg*eois* (bɹdzhɔ*is*·) n*oi*sy, n*oi*se, p*oi*gnant, c*oi*gne, b*oy*, enj*oy*ed, B*oy*le, q*uoi*t; some say (k*w*ɔ*i*t), b*uoy*; some say (b*w*ɔ*i*), buu*i*), b*uoy*ed.

(Oo oo). From ags. to 16. this was the recognized long sound of *o*, and expressed by *o*, *oo*. It is still heard in the provinces. It was apparently lost in the received dialect in 17., but revived in 19. before (ɹ), as in: *oa*r, *ore*, *o'er*, m*oo*r, m*ou*rn, p*ou*r, f*ou*r, s*wo*rd. Sometimes heard before *f*, *s*, *th*, as: *o*ff, cr*o*ss, br*o*th (oof, croos, brooth), where it is apt to degenerate into (ʌʌ, ɔɔ), or sink into (ɔ).

(*Oo oo*). From 17. the recognized sound of *o* long, and generally represented by *o*, *o-e*, *oa*, and occasionally by *oe*, *ou*, *ow*. In 19. we have the varieties: h*au*teur, h*au*tboy (ʜoo·bɔ*i*), b*eau*, y*eo*man, sh*ew*, now frequently written *show*, s*ew*ed, frequently written *sowed*, p*o*st, *oa*ts, provincially (wɔts), S*oa*me, b*oa*tswain (boo·sɐn), C*oc*kburn (Koo·bɹn), d*oe*, b*o*ne, *o*glio, *oh*, scut*oi*re (skrutooɹ·), according to Sheridan, Walker, etc., now generally (skrutwɔɹ·), y*ol*k, br*oo*ch, apropos, Gr*o*svenor, dep*ó*t, s*ou*l, r*o*gue, Y*ou*ghall (Joo·ʜʌʌl), th*ough*, kn*ow*, t*ow*ards, *owe*, Kn*ow*les, q*uo*th (k*oo*th); some say (k*woo*th). See (*oo*u).

(Ɔɔ ɔɔ). The drawl of short (ɔ) is only heard in drawling utterance, as (ɔɔd) for (ɔd) *odd*, as distinct from *awed*. Preachers often say (Gɔɔd), but seldom or ever (Gʌʌd) for *God*. In America some say either (dɔɔg, lɔɔq), or (doog, looq) for *dog*, *long*, etc., which the phonetic writers there recognize as (dʌʌg, lʌʌq), and the two sounds are difficult to separate.

(Oʌ oʌ). This present French nasal is in older English represented by (uun), as retained in our modern *balloon*. In recently imported French words the (oʌ) is intended to be retained, together with its French expression, as *bonbons*, *bon mot*, *on dit* (boʌboʌz, boʌ mo, oʌ dii). But the usual substitutes are (ɔn, ɔq), and occasionally (*oo*n, ən).

(Oou oou). From 13. to 16. the pronunciation of those *ou*, *ow*, which represented an ags. *áw*, *ów*. Lost in 17.

(*Oo*u *oo*u). From 17. to 19. the usual pronunciation of those *ou*, *ow* which represent an ags. *áw*, *ów*. This pronunciation has been, however, generally ignored, or, if recognized, reprobated by orthoepists. Some speakers distinguish *no*, *know*, as (n*oo*, n*oo*u), orthoepists generally confuse them as (n*oo*), compare the list of words under (*oo*); others again confuse them as (n*oo*u). Mr. M. Bell states that every long *o* is (*o*u), meaning the same as I mean by (*oo*u). Some Englishmen say that it is not possible to lengthen (*o*) without adding (u), and pronounce nearly (*o*u, *o*uu).

(Ou ou). In 16. the general sound of *ou*, replacing the previous (uu) which however was heard contemporaneously through the greater part of 16. In 17. the sound was recognized as (ɔu), and the sound (ou) was lost.

(*O*u *o*u). The modern provincial substitute for (ou), not recognized.

(Ɔu ɔu). In 18. orthoepists recognized *ow* as having the sound (ɔu) or (ʌu). It was probably an erroneous analysis, which even yet occasionally prevails, owing to the usual orthography *ou*, *ow*. Provincially however (ɔu, ʌu) may occur.

(P p) was from ags. to 19. represented by *p*, and from 14. to 19. by *pp* also. In 19. we have the varieties, hiccou*gh* (nik·kɔp), *p*ay, a*pe*, Cla*ph*am, fla*pp*er, fla*pp*ed.

(Q q) was from ags. to 19. written *n* or *ng*, sometimes *nz* for nʒ. In 19. we have the varieties: fi*ng*er, ha*nd*kerchief, si*ng*er, wi*ng*ed, Birmi*ngh*am, to*ngue*, Me*nz*ies (Meq·iz), p. 310.

(Qh qh), is recognized by Mr. M. Bell in 19. as the sound of *n* before *k*, in *think* (thiqhk) or thiqqhk)

(R r) was from ags. to 19. represented by *r* before a vowel; and probably from ags to 16. represented also by *r* even when not before a vowel. Perhaps lost in the latter position in 17. Preserved pure in Scotland. In 19. we have the varieties: *r*ight, *rh*etoric, *wr*ite, hu*rr*y, cata*rrh*al.

('R 'r) How soon this sound came into English, cannot be precisely determined. There is reason to think it may have been used in 16. and 17., and that it generated (ɹ). At present in: fea'ring, pai'ring, deba'rring, igno'ring, poo'er, fie'y, bo'ery, there is a doubt whether the sound heard is best expressed by ('r) or (ɹr). Mr. M. Bell gives the first, I have generally preferred the second, see p. 197.

(*R r*). This peculiar guttural *r* so common in France and even in Germany, but unknown in Italy, seems to be only a softer form of the Northumbrian burr. It is not recognized in writing as distinct from r.

(ꟾ ɹ). Probably recognized in 17. as well as in 18. and 19. as the peculiar English untrilled *r*, not heard before a vowel, and represented by final *r* together with mute letters in 19., as: spa*re*, co*rps*, bu*rr*, mo*rt*gage. It has always a tendency to change preceding (*ee*, *oo*, *uu*) into (ee, oo, *uu*), while short *a*, *o* become (aa, ɔɔ), or theoretically (a, ɔ); and short (*i*, e) according to Mr. M. Bell fall into (ə), which see. Short (ə) is supposed to remain, as *cur* (kəɹ), for which I prefer (kɹ, k'ɹ, kɹɹ) and generally write (kɹ) as quite sufficient. In place of (ɹ) provincially (əhɹ, əɹ, *a*hɹ) are heard. The physiological distinction between (ɜ) and (ɹ) is very difficult to formulate. There is no doubt that in many cases where writers put *er*, *ur*, to imitate provincial utterances, there neither exists nor ever existed any sound of (r) or of (ɹ), but the sounds are purely (ə, ɜ). Thus *bellows* in Norfolk is not (bel'erz) but rather (bɛl'ɜz). There also exists a great tendency among all uneducated speakers to introduce an (r) after any (ə, ɜ, a, ʌ) sound when a vowel follows, as (drAA'riq, sAA'riq) *drawing*, *sawing*, in Norfolk, and this probably assisted in the delusion that they said (drAAɹ mi, sAAɹ w*a*d) and not (drAA mii, sAA w*a*d). In London: father farther, laud lord, stalk stork, draws drawers, are reduced to (faadh'ɐ, lAAd, stAAk, drAAz), even in the mouths of educated speakers. I have usually written (ɹ) final in deference to opinion, but I feel sure that if I had been noting down an unwritten dialectic form, I should frequently write (ɐ, ə, ɜ). Careful speakers say (faa'dh'ɐ, lAA'd, stAA'k, drAA'z) for *farther*, *lord*, *stork*, *drawers*, when they are thinking particularly of what they are saying, but (far'dher, lɔrd, stɔrk, drAA'erz) is decidedly un-English, and has a Scotch or Irish twang with it. See p. 196.

(ꟾ *ɹ*). I use this (*ɹ*) to represent the sound expressed by Mr. M. Bell as (ɔɹ), see (ɔ). Thus, *myrrh*, *differ* =(m*ɹ*, dif*ɹ*'). But I do not find (ɹ, *ɹ*) generally distinguished, and consequently write (mɹ, difɹ') more frequently than (m*ɹ*, dif*ɹ*'). The physiological distinction between (ɔ) and (*ɹ*) is very difficult to formulate. See (ɹ), and p. 196.

(.R .r). This strongly trilled (r) is only known as an individual or local peculiarity. In Scotland the trilled (r) not before vowels, as *firm* (ferm) often gives rise to a sensation of (.r), as (fe.rm), and many Scots and Irish use (.r) as *work*, *arm* = (wɔ.rk, æ.rm). It is not recognized orthographically.

(Rh rh) is not now a recognized English sound, but is occasionally imported from the modern French final *-re*, as *sabre* (sabrh) for (sabrə), into the modern English pronunciation of anglicised French. Probably ags. *hr*, as it is Icelandic *hr*. The Welsh *rh* is rather ('rH) than (rh), as generally supposed.

(S s). From ags. to 19. commonly represented by *s*. Rapp imagines the ags. sound to have been (sj). In 14. (s) was represented *s*, *ss*, and by *c* before *e*, *i* in words taken from the French, and occasionally by *sc* before *e*, *i*. In 19. we have the varieties: *c*ell, a*c*e, Glou*c*e*s*ter, *ps*alm, Ci*r*en*c*e*s*ter (Si*s*'i*s*tɹ), Wo*r*ce*s*ter (Wu*s*t'ɹ), *s*ee, *sc*ene, coale*sc*e, *sch*ism, Ma*sh*am, hi*ss*, hi*ss*ed, li*st*en, epi*st*le, etc., since 17., mi*str*e*ss* (mi*s*'iz), *sw*ord, br*itz*ska (bri*s*'ka), bello*ws*, mezzotint.

(Sh sh). This was not an ags. sound, but it was already developed in 13., and it was generally written *sch*, but sometimes *sh*, *ss*, in 13. and 14. Orrmin writes *sh*, *ssh*, and this was used at the end of 15., and generally afterwards. At the latter end of 17. (sh) was expressed by *s* before (iu), so that *siu* became (shuu). Traces of this found in the early part of 17. Towards end of 17. also expressed by *ci-*, *si-*, *sci-*, *ssi-*, *ti-*. In 19. we have the varieties: *ch*aise, and frequently in French words, fu*ch*sia, spe*ci*al, *psh*aw! sugar, *sch*edule, con*sci*ous, *sh*all, wi*sh*ed, A*ssh*eton (Æsh·tɐn), compre*ssi*on, mo*ti*on.

(T t). From ags. to 19. the regular expression is *t*. In 19., however, we have the varieties: de*bt*, ya*cht*, indi*ct*, suck*ed*, sou*ght*, *phth*isical, recei*pt*, *t*oe, *th*yme, ha*tt*er, *tw*o, mezzotint.

(Th th) was in use from ags. to 19. In ags. it was written either þ or ð, or both indifferently. In 13. and 14. it was sometimes ð, but generally þ, and occasionally *th*, which last expression has remained to 19. In 17. in si*gh* it was written *gh*, and probably in other words. In 19. we have the varieties: Kei*gh*ley (Kiith·li), eigh*th* (*ee*tth), apo*phthe*gm (æp·*o*them), Sou*th*ampton (Sɔuthnæm·tɐn), *th*in, bli*the* (bləith), or (bləidh) Ma*tth*ew.

(Tj tj). An unrecognized English sound, generated by the action of a following (iu), when the speaker avoids the stiffness of (t.ɹ), and wishes also to avoid (tsh), as: vir*tu*e, lec*tu*re (v.ɹ·tju, lek·tjuɹ), commonly (vɹ·tshu, lek·tshɹ). See (dj).

(Tsh tsh) was generated, at least, as early as 13. from ags. (*k*), and written *ch*, and in 14. also *cch*. The form *ch* has remained, but since 16. at least *cch* has become *tch*, very common as a final in 19., in which some importations and assimilations have produced the varieties: verm*i*celli, *ch*ain, ar*ch*ed, *chi*oppine, Mar*jori*banks (Maɹtsh·bæqks), ma*tch*, ma*tch*ed.

(T*w* *tw*). An unrecognized English sound, usually confounded with (tw), but it is (t*w) the action of (t) and (w) taking place simultaneously, and not successively, in *tw*ine, *tw*ain, etc. Written *tw*.

(U u). It is probable that (*u*) was used in 16. at least, and perhaps earlier, but it is not easy to distinguish (u, *u*) as short sounds before 19., and even then few persons acknowledge that p*oo*l, p*u*ll, have vowels of different quality, as well as length (puul, p*u*l), and that the true short sound (u) is heard in French *poule* (pul). Mr. M. Bell considers that the Scotch and English pronunciation of *book* differ as (buk, b*u*k). To my ears the Scotch have preserved also the original length of the vowel, and say (buuk), or at least give it a medial length. Hence, taking (u, *u*) together, we may say that the sound has existed and been expressed by *u* from ags. to 19. In 14. it was also expressed by *ou*, *ow*, and the expression *ou* was continued in a few words in 16., and is not yet quite lost as *could* (k*u*d). In 16. (u, *u*) was occasionally expressed by *oo*, still common in *wood*, *book* (w*u*d, b*u*k). In 14. and thence to 16., *o* was often used for (u, *u*), and is still found in a few words. During 17. most of the words having (u, *u*) lost the sound, and were pronounced generally with (ə). There is still a fight between (*u*, ə), and in some of the Midland Counties the usage is just reversed from that now accepted, thus (b*u*t, k*u*t, r*u*b) = *but*, *cut*, *rub*, and (fət, pət, fəl, bəl) = *foot*, *put*, *full*, *bull*. And generally (wəd, wəm·ɐn) are not uncommon for (w*u*d w*u*m·ɐn) = *wood*, *woman*. The key to this mystery seems to be a provincial (ɜ) which becomes labialised after labial consonants. In the pronunciation of the Peak of Derbyshire, I have found it very difficult to choose between (ɜ, *o*, *u*h, *u*) for such words. See below Chap. XI., § 4. In 19. we have the varieties: w*o*man, Bolingbr*o*k*e*, w*oo*d, w*or*sted, W*orce*ster, caoutch*ou*c, c*ou*ld, b*u*ll.

(*U u*). See (u).

(:U ʊ). This unrecognized English sound seems to occur as a variant of (y) in Cumberland, Lancashire, and East Anglia, and is written as long *u*.

(Ui ui), Apparently one of the oldest forms of the diphthong *oi*, *oy*, probably the usual sound in 14., when it was also written *ui*, *uy*. Still used in many words in 16. and even 17. In the provinces it may be still heard in *boy* (bui), and it is the sailor's pronunciation of *buoy*.

(Uu uu). In ags. written *ú*, in 13. *u*, of which this is a characteristic orthography. Between 1280 and 1310 both *u* and *ou* were used. In 14. *ou*, *ow* were generally written, but *o* alone was also employed, and has remained in many words. In 16. *ow* was quite discontinued, and *ou* sparingly used, but *oo* was introduced as the usual form, and has remained to the present day. How soon the (iu) of 17. became (uu) after *r* is not ascertained, but it is now the rule (except in the provinces), that long *u* after *r* = (uu). Hence in 19. we have the varieties: gall*eo*n, R*eu*ben, Bucc*leugh* (Bəkluu·), br*ew*, br*ew*ed, r*heu*m, r*hu*barb, d*o*, sh*oe*, m*ove*, man*œu*vre, t*oo*, w*oo*ed, s*ou*p, b*ouse* (buuz), thr*ough*, Br*ough*am, rendezv*ous* (rəndevuu·), surt*out* (sɹtuu·), billetd*oux* (bilidnu·), C*ow*per, tr*ue*, r*u*ling, r*ule*, br*ui*sing, br*uise*, H*u*lm*e* (Huum), t*wo*, *who* (ʜuu).

(:Uu uu). A provincial variety of (yy), expressed only as long *u*.

(V v). In ags. possibly and Orrmin (v) was expressed by *f* between two vowels, otherwise it would seem not to be an ags. sound. In 13. (v) was expressed by *u* consonant and *v* consonant, and so through to 17. when *v* consonant was exclusively applied, and *u* consonant and *v* vowel discontinued; but it was seldom represented by any but a *v* form afterwards. In 19. we have: o*f*, Be*lv*oir (Bii·vɹ), ha*lve*, ne*ph*ew, Gro*sv*enor (Gr*oo*v·nɹ), *v*eal, ha*ve*, rende*zv*ous.

(W w). Apparently a peculiar ags. sound, and hence expressed by a peculiar letter ƿ when the Roman alphabet of the time was adopted, p. 513. For this in 13. *w* was adopted, and has remained to 19. The sound was sometimes expressed by *u*, but *persuade* was often written *perswade*. In 19. we have: ch*o*ir (k*w*əiɹ), the labial modification assumed as (w), see (k*w*), pers*u*ade, *w*ar. In the word *one* the initial (w), which is not written at all, dates probably from the latter part of 17.

(Ɯ ɯ). Defective trill of the lips substituted for a trill of the tongue, not recognized except as a defect, and then written *w*, but "Lord Dundreary" distinguishes (fɯend) from (fwend), which last he indignantly declared he did *not* say for *friend*.

(Wh wh) was probably expressed in ags. by *hw*, and was the *wh* of 13. to 19. It is still distinctly pronounced by most northern and careful southern speakers, but is rapidly disappearing in London.

(Y y). This was probably the sound of ags. *y*, and possibly of short *u* in 13. It is very doubtful whether this short sound has been used at all since 13. It seems to have been replaced by (*i*, e). It probably occurs, either in this or the cognate forms (ʊ, ɪ) in the provinces, and is recognized in Scotland.

(*Y y*). According to Mr. M. Bell this is the indistinct sound only used in unaccented syllables in English, and written *e* in: hous s, goodn*e*ss (ʜəuz·*y*z, g*u*d·n*y*s), etc., where orthoepists are doubtful whether it is (*i*) or (e). He also identifies it with the Welsh *u*, *y* having a similar sound. Not generally recognized, and not provided with any distinct form.

(Yi yi). The French *ui* was confused with (w*ii*) in 16. It is kept in some recent words as *suite*, though persons ignorant of French say (swiit).

(Yy yy) was probably written long *y* in ags. This sound seems to have disappeared in 13., or at any rate its traces are uncertain. In 14. it revived with the introduced French words, and was written *u*, *eu*. It remained into 17. written *u*, *eu*, *ew*, when it was still recognized by Wallis, although his contemporary Wilkins seems to have been unable to pronounce it, and it was subsequently replaced by (iu). It is, however, still common in East Anglia, in Devonshire, in Lancashire, and probably other parts of England, and in Scotland, where it appears as a substitute for (uu), as was already the case in 16. The provincial sounds vary as (ɪɪ, ʊʊ, əə, yy).

(Z z). Not recognized as distinct from (s) in ags. but probably existing always, as in 14. it was not unfrequently written *z*. It has, however, been generally confused with *s*, except in a few words from the Greek. The sound seems to have remained with few exceptions in the same positions from 14. to 19. In 19. we have: sacrifi*e*ing, sacrifi*ee*, which some pronounce as a substantive with

(s) and as a verb with (z), *czar*, Win*dsor* (Win·zɹ), Sa*lis*bury (SAAlz·ber*i*), as, discern, ea*se*, dis*h*onour, bus*i*ness, scissors, Kes*w*ick (kez*i*k), he bello*ws*, beaux, zeal, size, whizzing, whizzed.

(Zh zh). Hart 1569 recognized this sound in French but not in English. Its earliest recognition in English is by Miège 1688, who being a Frenchman distinguished it from (sh) with which it was long confused. It is derived generally from (zi) and hence is generally spelled *s*, *z* except in some recent words, where the Modern French sound is employed. In 19. we have: rou*g*ing, rou*ge*, *j*eu de mots, which Worcester writes (zhuu·d*i*mo*o*·) in place of Féline's (zhœ·d-mo), pleasure, divis*i*on, absciss*i*on, azure.

(') When a mute (p, t, k) ends a word, and a pause follows, as the contact is loosened, a slight breath escapes, not marked in writing, but very apparent in (kæp', bæt', bæk'). This was probably always used in English, and its absence, which renders the consonant difficult to be heard, was probably the occasion of the suppression of such final consonants in French.

(') If a sonant (b, d, g) end a word, many speakers force out a faint murmuring sound after removing the contact, as (eb', æd', bæg') *ebb*, *add*, *bagg*, similar to the French indication of their *e muet* in such a place. In some speakers this amounts to adding (ɐ), and then it is recognized in satirical orthography by writing *a* as *ebba*, *adda*, *bagga*.

(ɕ). The cluck indicated by *tut*.

(ʎ). The cluck indicated by *cl'ck*.

(·) The primary accent which has never been indicated in English orthography.

(:) The secondary accent, which has never been indicated in English orthography.

§ 3. *Historical Phonetic Spelling.*

The great multiplicity of forms for the same sound, joined to the existing variety of sounds for the same form,[1] shewn in the preceding sections, has urged many persons to attempt correcting both by one stroke, as a matter of literature and science, and still more with a view to education and uniformity of pronunciation, and with a hope of making our language more easy to acquire by foreigners. The device has generally consisted either in the introduction of new letters, or in giving constant values to known combinations, so that the same sound should be always represented by the same letters and conversely. In the XII th or XIII th century we had Orrmin, in the XVI th Smith, Hart, Bullokar; in the XVII th Gill, Butler, Wilkins; in the XVIII th, Franklin and many others after him in the same and in the XIX th century both in England and America. The most persistent attempt is the phonotypy which grew out of Mr. Isaac Pitman's phonography or phonetic shorthand, and which in various forms

[1] The strange fantastical variety of our orthography, when viewed solely from the phonetic point of view, could not fail to attract Shakspere's attention. Hence he makes Benedick speak thus of the love-sick Claudio: "He was wont to speake plaine, & to the purpose (like an honest man & a souldier) and now is he turn'd orthography, his words are a very fantasticall banquet, iust so many strange dishes." Much Ado, ii. 3, speech 5, fo. 1623, p. 107, col. 2.

has been regularly used in printed periodicals from 1843 to the present day.[1] Such schemes are different from those which aim at a universal alphabet for the purposes of science or missionary enterprize, such as the alphabets of Max Müller, Lepsius, Merkel, Melville Bell, and the palaeotype used in this volume. And neither have the slightest connection with the scheme of a universal language, or with any view of altering our language in any way, although they have been often confounded with such impossibilities.

After reviewing the two preceding sections the question naturally arises: *is it possible from the general, firmly established English uses, to construct a system of orthography which should represent our pronunciation at the present day?* If such a spelling were possible it would clearly be so suggestive that it would be legible to the mere English reader almost without instruction. It seems possible, and at least worth the trial, for numerous instances occur in which it is advisable to attempt indicating sounds to purely English readers by combinations of the letters with which they are familiar. It is also only by exhibiting such a tentative orthography that the possibility of altering our spelling so as to more or less indicate our pronunciation, but without altering our alphabet, could be properly considered. The following scheme is based upon the two preceding tables, and will be termed GLOSSOTYPE, as suggested on p. 13, from its main use in compiling provincial glossaries.

In the phonetic alphabet used by Mr. I. Pitman and myself, only 34 simple sounds, 4 vowel diphthongs, and 2 consonant diphthongs, were represented, giving a total of 40 letters in the following order: (ii, *ee*, aa, ʌʌ, *oo*, uu; *i*, e, æ, ɔ, ə, *u*; əi, ɔi, əu, iu; ɹ w ʜ; p b t d tsh dzh k g, f v th dh s z sh zh, r l m n q). The numerous texts which have been printed in this alphabet have shown that it suffices for printing our pronunciation with sufficient accuracy to satisfy such ears as have not been sharpened by a phonetic education. We may, therefore, commence our investigations by determining the best representatives of these sounds.

From the XVI th century *ee*, *oo* represent (ii, uu) with certainty, from the XVII th *ai*, *au* represent (*ee*, ʌʌ) with almost, but not

[1] The writer of this treatise was much connected with this last scheme from 1843 to 1849, and in 1848-9 published two editions of the Testament, many books, and a weekly newspaper, the *Phonetic News*, in the alphabet settled by Mr. I. Pitman and himself in 1846, which differs in many respects from that now used by Mr. I. Pitman. If an alphabet differing entirely from the Roman is to be used, and none other can be expected to find favour for all languages, the principles upon which Mr. Melville Bell's various alphabets of Visible Speech, for printing, long and short hand writing, are formed, seem to be the best hitherto proposed.

quite the same certainty. But there is no usual way of representing (*oo*). The combinations *oe*, *ou* are so unfrequent that they would occasion hesitation in unusual positions, as: *hoep*, *hoap*, for *hope*. Symbols for (aa) have disappeared since the XVIIth century. The two exclamations *oh!* *ah!* present the only combinations to which no other value seems to have been assigned; but the combinations *oh*, *ah*, are scarcely used in other words. We have then *ee*, *ai*, *ah*, *au*, *oh*, *oo*, as the only certain representatives of the six long vowels (ii, *ee*, aa, AA, *oo*, uu).

The short vowels (*i*, *e*) have been uniformly represented by *i*, *e* from the earliest times, and it would be impossible to obviate the ambiguity of their also representing (ɔi, ii) in accented syllables, without pursuing Orrmin's plan and doubling the following consonant, when it is one of possible initial combination; thus, *vibrait* would suggest (vɔi·breet), rather than (*vib·reet*), which would require *vibbrait* for certainty, and this notation may be adopted at the pleasure of the writer. From the XVIIth century *a*, *o*, *u* have been in like manner the constant representatives of (æ, ɔ, ə), although they would also require duplication of the following consonant to preserve them from the ambiguity of (*ee*, *oo*, iu), as: *fammin*, *notting*, *fussi* = famine, knotting, fussy, compared with: famous, noting, fusee = *faimus*, *nohting*, *fiwzee*, or *fyoozee*. The last short vowel sound (*u*) occasions great difficulty. In fact it is not recognised generally as distinct from (uu), except in such rare pairs, as *fool full*, *pool pull*. As *oo*, *u* have already been appropriated, and as *ou*, employed for this sound in *would*, *could*, *should*, would inevitably suggest the sound (ɔu) in other situations, we are driven to some modification of *oo*, *u*. The form *uh* is not English, and has been frequently used conventionally for (ɔɔ), so that it is excluded. The exclamation *pooh!* although dictionary makers seem only to recognize the orthography *pugh*, is yet sufficiently familiar in the other spelling to all readers,[1] and suggests the form *ooh* for the sound of (*u*). It is certainly long, but it is known, and could only mislead so far as to cause the reader to substitute (uu) for (*u*). The six short vowels are, therefore, *i*, *e*, *a*, *o*, *u*, *ooh*.

Of the only recognised forms for diphthongs: *oy*, *ow*, *ew* = (ɔi, ɔu, iu), as in *boy*, *now*, *new*, the first is unobjectionable, but the other two do not begin with the elements represented by *o*, *e*, (ɔ, ɐ). The common diphthong (əi) has no representative distinct from *i*, *y*, which are already appropriated. For writing provincial dialects a careful separation of the various diphthongal forms is important. Hence a systematic mode of representing diphthongs is indispensable, and it must be founded upon the historical use of *y*, *w*, as the second element, which involves the rejection of such final forms as *ay*, *aw*, for the sounds already symbolised by *ai*, *au*. By simply prefixing any of the vowels *ee*, *ai*, *ah*, *au*, *oh*, *oo*, *i*, *e*, *a*, *o*, *u*, *ooh*, to *y*, *w*, we obtain most suggestive forms

[1] As in Prof. Max Müller's *pooh-pooh theory* of the origin of words, *Lectures on the Science of Language*, i, 344.

of diphthongs, containing those vowels run on to a final *ee*, *oo*, typified by the *y*, *w*. Thus: *aiy* (*ei*) is the usual English *may*,—*ahy* (aai), *aye*, or German *ai*,—*auy* (aai), a broad sound of *joy*,—*ohy* (*oi*), a provincial sound of *boy*,—*ooy* (uui), the Italian *lui*, and common sailors' *buoy*,—*ey* (ei), the Scotch *bite*,—*ay* (æi), a Cockney long *i*,—*oy* (ɔi) the usual *boy*,—*uy* (ɔi) the usual *buy*, *Guy*;—*eew* (iiu) an exaggerated Italian *iu*,—*aiw* (*eeu*), an exaggerated Italian *eu*,—*ahw* (au), the German *au*,—*auw*, a broad provincial *how*,—*ohw* (*oou*) the common English *know*;—*iw* (*iu*) the American and, perhaps, the common English *new*, for which both Wallis and Price (p. 139) used the sign *iw*,—*ew* (eu) the true Italian *eu*,—*aw* (æu) the Norfolk *pound*,—*ow* (ɔu) a provincial *ow*,—*uw* (ɔu) the common English *now*. The use of *y*, *w* being only a systematisation of an old extinct method of writing diphthongs may be fairly regarded as historical, and gives great power to this system of writing.

The sounds of (ɹ, w, ʜ) must be represented by *y*, *w*, *h*, having no other historic equivalents. But as *y*, *w* have been already used for diphthongs, and *h* is a modifying symbol in *ah*, *oh*, *ooh*, in which sense it must also be employed amongst the consonant combinations, whenever *y*, *w*, *h* occur in such situations as would occasion ambiguity, the recognized expedient of inserting a hyphen, as *ai-y*, *oh-w*, *o-h*, must be resorted to. The sound of (wh) must be represented by the historical symbol *wh*, instead of the anglosaxon *hw*, which is now uncouth.

The consonants and consonantal diphthongs must be *p b*, *t d*, *ch j*,[1] *k g*, *f v*, *th dh*, *s z*, *sh zh*, *r l m n ng*, for although *dh*, *zh* are unhistorical, they have long been generally recognised as orthoepical symbols. To these it seems best to add the historical *nk* for the unhistorical *ngk* (qk); but *ngg* must be used for (qg) to prevent ambiguity, as in *singer*, *fingger*. Hyphens must be employed in *t-h*, *d-h*, *s-h*, *z-h*, *n-g*, *n-k*, when each letter represents a separate element. All truly doubled consonants must also be hyphened, as *boohk-kais*, bookcase, distinct from *boohkking*, booking, and *un-ohnd*, unowned, from *un-nohn*, unknown.

The practical writing alphabet of the English language will therefore consist of 42 symbols, which may be fairly called "historical," namely: *ee*, *ai*, *ah*, *au*, *oh*, *oo*; *i*, *e*, *a*, *o*, *u*, *ooh*; *uy*, *oy*, *uw*, *iw*; *y*, *w wh*, *h*; *p b*, *t d*, *ch j*, *k g*; *f v*, *th dh*, *s z*, *sh zh*, *r l*, *m n ng nk*. But the use of this alphabet would soon point out deficiencies, for example *air*, *ohr*, are no adequate representatives of the words: air, oar. The indistinct murmur which forms the conclusion of these words as generally pronounced may be written ('), as the historical representative of an omitted found, and the full theoretical sound may be indicated by *'r*. This

[1] As these letters are really contractions for *tsh dzh*, when they are doubled to shew that the preceding vowel is short, it is natural to double only the first element, and write *tch*, *dj*, meaning *ttsh*, *ddzh*. But it is not allowable to write *tth*, *ddh*, *ssh*, *zzh* for *thth*, *dhdh*, *shsh*, *zhzh* (although in older English *ssh* is often used for *shsh*), because *tth* represents a really different sound, thus *Matthiw* would be (Mæt·thiu) not (Mæth·iu,) and *aitth* = (*ee*tth), eighth.

full sound is always heard if another vowel follows, as *hee'ring*, *poh'ring*, *poo'rer*, *fuy'ri*, *luw'ring*=hearing, pouring, poorer, fiery, lowering. Such sounds as *her*, *cur*, as distinct from *herring*, *occurrence*, require a means of representing the fully trilled *r* after a vowel, as common in Scotland and Ireland, and the examples chosen suggests the expedient commonly employed of writing *rr*, so that *herd* or *he'rd* is English, and *herrd* is Scotch 'heard.' The *vowels* in "air, oar, her" however, as distinct from those in "hale, hole, herring," have not yet been represented, and several other signs will be found indispensable in writing those dialectic sounds which are here of prime importance.

Now, on examining the long and short vowels, *ee i*, *ai e*, *ah a*, *au o*, *oh u*, *oo ooh* = (ii *i*, *ee* e, aa æ, AA ɔ, *oo* ɔ, un *u*), it is readily seen that they are more distinct in quality, than in quantity. In fact Englishmen find the true short sounds of the long vowels, and the true long sounds of the short vowels difficult to distinguish from the long and short sounds respectively. This suggests the employment of the quantitative signs (¯) and (˘), when prominence is to be given to the quantity, the unmarked sign being regarded as doubtful, just as in Latin, Italian, Spanish, Welsh, and generally. Thus *e̊en* is Scotch, *ēen* Yorkshire for the plural of 'eye'; *wāit* or *waiyt* is English, *wăit* Scotch, *stōhn* is Norfolk and American "stone," *bŏok* is Scotch, *bōohk* southern English, *bōok* northern English, "book," *Bāth* is the local, *Bāhth* the usual pronunciation of "Bath," and the true sound of "air" is perhaps *ē'r*, for which *ai'r* is practically sufficient, and the true sound of *oar* is very nearly, but not quite *ō'r*. Another way of representing the quantity is the thoroughly English method introduced by Orrmin, to which we have already found it convenient to have occasional recourse, namely, to allow a single following consonant to indicate the length, and two following consonants the brevity, of the preceding vowel, open vowels remaining ambiguous. Thus the preceding examples may be written in order: *eenn een*, *wait waitt*, *stohnn*, *bookk*, *boohkk*, *book*, *Bath*, *Bahth*, the short sounds of the two last becoming *Bathth*, *Bahthth*. Other methods of representing quantity in connection with accent will be given presently.

Any one who tried to write down provincial or foreign sounds would still find considerable deficiencies. The following sixteen additional vowel signs are, however, all that it seems expedient to admit, the principle of ambiguous quantity applying as before.

For ordinary purposes, use:—

eh=(ɛ), for the broader sound of *e* verging into *a*, heard in Scotland, and generally in the north of England in place of (e), French *bête*, Italian open *e*. This may also be taken as the sound of *ai* in *air*, which may be written *ehr*.

oa=(o), for true sound of *oa* in *oa'r* = oar, known provincially even when not followed by *r*, a broad sound of *oh* verging to *au*, Italian open *o*.

ui=(y), for Scotch *ui*, French *u*, German *ü*, being *ee* or rather *i* pronounced with rounded lips.

eu=(ə), for close French *eu*, which has two sounds, close as in *jeune*, and open as in *jeûne*=(ə, œ), not ordinarily distinguished by Englishmen; the first is *ai*, the second *e* or *eh*, pronounced with rounded lips.

N=(ʌ), to represent French nasality when it occurs, as in *enfant*, *vin*, *bon*, *un*, which might be written *aNfaN*, *oN*, *boN*, *uN*.

kh, *gh*=(kh, gh), for the Scotch and German guttural *ch*, but (*kh*) may, when desired, be distinguished as *yh*, and (k*w*h, g*w*h) may be written *kwh*, *gwh*.

lh=(lhh) for the common Welch *ll*.

rr=(.r) for the strongly trilled Scotch *r* not preceding a vowel, as *herrd*.

rh=(grh) or (*r*) for the French, German, and Northumbrian so called *r grasseyé*, guttural *r* or burr.

For still more accurate dialectic writing, use:

ae=(ah) for the fine southern *ah* verging to *a*.

aa=(*aa*) for a deeper sound of *ah*.

ao=(*a*h) for the broad Scotch *ah* verging to *au*.

uh=(ɑ), for that deeper sound of *u* which it is necessary to distinguish in the provincial diphthongs *uhy*, *uhw* (ɑi, ɑu), if not elsewhere.

ua=(ɒ), for a still deeper sound of *u*, occasionally heard.

uo=(*u*h) for the *ooh* verging to *oh*, or the *oh* verging to *oo*, heard in many provincial dialects, the true Italian close *o*.

ih, *ue*=(ɪ, ʊ) for the sound of *ui* verging to *ee* or *oo* respectively, as heard dialectically in English, German, and French, *ih* being a frequent form of the German *ü*, and *ue* being the Swedish *u*.

oe=(œ), for the true German *ö*, and open sound of French *eu*, described under *eu* above.

ë or *ə*=(ɔ), for the sound of *u* in "cur," or *e* in *herd*, which may be written *kër*, *hërd*, (or *kər hərd*, if the type *ë* is deficient,) when it is considered necessary to distinguish them from *kur*, *herd*.

ä or *ɐ*=(ɐ), for that frequent obscure unaccented *a* found in canary, real, tenant, which may be written *känehri*, *reeäl*, *tennänt*, (or if the type *ä* is deficient, *knnehri*, *reeul*, *tenuant*), when it is thought necessary to distinguish it from *a* or *u*.

ï or *ɪ̈*=(*y*) for the obscure sound of *e* goodness, which would be written *goohdnïss*, (or, if the type *ï* is deficient, *goohdnɪ̈ss*,) when it was thought necessary to distinguish it from *e*.

By thus adding from 4 to 12 vowels to the original 12, only 8 unusual, or obscure vowels, out of the 36 recognized in Palaeotype, viz., back (*æ*), *mid* (ʏ, ɔh, *o*h, oh, ɔh) and *front* (ə*h*, æh), are left without signs, and these probably do not occur in any provincial English dialectic pronunciation, but might, in case of necessity, be represented by *ö; ü, ëh, uoh, oah, aoh; euh, oeh*, respectively, the first two on account of their partial resemblance to the German *ö*, *ü*, and the others on account of their being liable to be confused with the sounds already represented by *ë*, *uo*, *oa*, *ao*, *eu*, *oe*, respectively.

The sixteen additional vowel signs are therefore *ä*, *aa*, *ae*, *ao*, *ë*, *eh*, *eu*, *ï*, *ih*, *oa*, *oe*, *ua*, *ue*, *uh*, *ui*, *uo*, and although they are chiefly

unhistorical, they are so suggestive that they could be readily fixed on the memory. Compare *aesk ăent*=ask aunt, in southern English, *ask ant* in fine Yorkshire; *il el* English, *el ĕhl* Scotch= ill ell; *măon* Scotch = man, *unku gēud shēun* Scotch = unco guid shoon; *nōa dōa'nt gōa* Norfolk=no don't go; *Gōete bŏekke* German = Goethe böcke, *mūen* Devonshire =moon, *lĕn* Cockney = learn, *pūir bòhdi* Scotch = puir body.

The system of diphthongs may now be completed by using the 16 additional vowels as prefixed to *y*, *w*; and also by using all the 28 vowels as prefixes to (') and to *ui*. The (') diphthongs are not uncommon provincially, the *ui* diphthongs are rare, but are found in Germany and the Netherlands. The easy method thus furnished for representing complicated diphthongal sounds, which are so frequently met with in provincial utterances, is one of the greatest recommendations for glossotype as a means of writing English dialects.

Any mode of marking the position of the accent is unhistorical, but it is so important in unknown words, as all written in Glossotype must be considered, that the Spanish custom of marking its position, when not furnished by some simple rule, is well worthy of imitation.[1] This rule for English has been laid down thus by Mr. Melville Bell: The accent is to be read on the first syllable, unless otherwise expressed.[2]

The accent mark on an ambiguous vowel or diphthong will be the *aeute* on the first portion of the symbol, as *reedéem*, *obtáin*. The accent mark on a short vowel will be the *grave*, and on a long vowel the circumflex, thus combining the notes of quantity and accent, as: *deemàhnd*, *deemâhnd*. When the accent falls on more than one syllable, it should always be written, as: *hùywái*=highway, *óonàhbzáibâhre* = unabsehbare, German. The evenness of French accent had also best be noted in this way for English readers, as *ánfán* = *enfant*, or otherwise an exception to the rule must be made for French words only, which would then have to be specially named. The small number of accented letters supplied to English founts renders it advisable to have a substitute for these accent marks, and the turned period used in palaeotype will be found most convenient. A device familiar to writers of pronouncing dictionaries will enable us to indicate the long vowel by placing

[1] This language seems to be the only one, except Greek, in which the necessity of marking the position of the accent has been acknowledged. In Portuguese, Italian, English, and Russian, the position of the accent is a constant source of difficulty to foreigners. The Spanish Academy in its anxiety to avoid many accent marks, and its desire to prevent ambiguity, lays down *five* rather lengthy rules for placing the accent mark, which are generally adopted by Spanish printers, whether they are so by writers I cannot say. When I printed phonetically I carried out a similar system, but the value of it was not sufficiently appreciated for few or no persons used accents in writing, and Mr. Isaac Pitman, and almost all other phonetic printers, have utterly ignored accents, at least for all native words. Mr. Melville Bell has however consistently carried out his one simple rule, which is here recommended to Glossotypists.

[2] Visible Speech for the Million, p. 6.

the turned period immediately after it, as *reesee·d*, and the short vowel by placing it after the following consonant, as *empir·ik*. This principle may be applied to monosyllables, thus readily distinguishing: Yorkshire *boo·k*, Scotch *book·*, English *boohk·*, without having to double the following consonant. The principle may also be applied to shew the length of the first element of diphthongs, so that the true English "may know," may be written *mâiy nôhw*, or *mai·y noh·w*, while *bàiyd*, *nòaw* or *baiy·d noaw·* would indicate (beid nou), which are the Teviotdale pronunciation of "bide, knoll."

Great care has been bestowed upon this system of writing from a belief that it is not a philosophical toy or a plaything, but may prove extensively useful to writers of pronouncing vocabularies, to provincial glossarists, to travellers forming word lists, to writers of Scotch novels, and authors of provincial poems and tales, all of whom at present introduce more or less unsystematic, ambiguous, or unintelligible orthographies.[1] It will be employed, therefore, for the representation of dialectic English and Scotch in Chap. XI. § 4. Except for the closest scientific purposes, for which palaeotype, or some system as extensive, is requisite, Glossotype as here presented, will be found sufficient.[2]

The practical use of this system of writing[3] has suggested some improvements in the tabular arrangement, and the preliminary table on p. 16, must therefore be considered as cancelled and replaced by those on pp. 614-5. In the first of these, the simplest form of Glossotype, which may be fairly termed historical phonetic spelling, is presented, containing only two of the additional vowels, *eu*, *ui*, without which no dialects could be even approximatively written, In the second, these two and the other fourteen are briefly explained, some vowel progressions are introduced which may assist the reader in forming a conception of the sounds, and the exact value of the 28 glossotype vowels, the diphthongs and consonants is fixed by a comparison with palaeotype.

[1] In Mr. Peacock's Glossaries (Transactions of the Philological Society, 1867, Supplement Part II.) a partially systematic method of writing is adopted, explained in the annexed Essay on Some Leading Characteristics of the Dialects, etc., p. 11 note; but on endeavouring to transliterate the specimens of the North and South Lonsdale dialects there given (pp. 31, 32) into glossotype, I found several combinations and signs employed which had not been previously explained, and which I had simply to guess at. Yet Mr. Peacock's writing is a gem compared to most which I have met with, for they generally leave me in a state of utter bewilderment. Few writers even condescend to give a key at all, and in Mr. Peacock's Glossaries, the editor has not considered it necessary to prefix a key conspicuously, but has left it hidden in a footnote to an appended essay, as if it were of no consequence, instead of being of prime importance. One consequence of this to myself was, that I did not discover the key till I had with great difficulty, and much uncertainty, made one for myself by examining the whole glossary. To form a system of writing requires peculiar studies. The present glossotype is the result of much thought and experience extending over a great length of time, combined with long practice in phonetic writing.

[2] Oriental signs can easily be borrowed from palaeotype, or supplied by other conventions.

[3] The information from my dialectic correspondents (p. 277 note 1) was chiefly collected by means of Glossotype.

KEY TO GLOSSOTYPE.

Especially intended for writing dialectic English according to literary English analogies. Isolated letters and words in Glossotype should be in Italics. No letter or combination is ever mute; thus, final *e* is always pronounced as in German. Never use *ay*, *aw*, etc., for *ai*, *au*, etc., even when final. *C.* Cockney, *D.* Dutch, *E.* English, *F.* French, *G.* German, *I.* Italian, *P.* Provincial, *S.* Scotch, *W.* Welsh.

VOWELS.

a *gnat* | i *knit*
ah *father* | o *not*
ai *wait* | oh *rose*
au *all* | oo *wooed*
e *net* | ooh *wood*
ee *meet* | u *nut*
eu *F. eu* | ui *F. u*

(') *an indistinct murmur.*

(˛) *nasalized utterance.*

N *F. nasal n* is written *ŋ*

Obscure vowels are double dotted in *hër reeäl goohdnïs*, for which turned letters may be used if types run short, as: hor reeəl goohdnıs

All vowel signs are ambiguous, short or long, and may have their quantity distinguished when desired, by a single or double following consonant, by the signs of quantity (¯ ˘), or (ˆ ˋ), or a turned period (·) placed immediately after a long vowel and after the consonants following a short vowel, as, Yorkshire *book bo̯ok bo̯ok* or *boo·k*, *S. bookk bo̯ok bo̯ok* or *book·*, *E. boohkk bo̯ohk bo̯ohk* or *boohk·*, *E. noh·w* = know, Teviotdale *noaw·* = knoll.

When accents are not marked by (') for ambiguous vowels, or (ˆ ˋ ·) for long and short vowels as above, the accent must be placed in reading on the first syllable of a word.

DIPHTHONGS.

ay *S. P. C.* | aw *P. C.*
ahy *G. ai* | ahw *G. au*
aiy *may* | aiw *C.*
ey *S. bite* | ew *I. eu*
euy *F. œil* | euw *D.*
..... | iw *mew*
oy *boy* | ow *P.*
ohy *P.* | ohw *know*
ooy *I.F.P.* | .....
uy *high* | uw *how*
uiy *F. ui* | .....

In all these diphthongs the first element has the sound assigned in the preceding column, which is run on quickly, with a glide, to a following *ee* or *oo* written *y* or *w*. Numerous other diphthongs can be formed on the same model.

Diphthongs may also be formed by affixing (') as *roh'd* almost *rohăd rohud* = road, and by affixing *ui*, as *D. heuuis* = huis, but it is generally sufficient to treat this *ui* as *y*, thus: *heuys*.

In the rare cases when any of the above combinations do not form single vowels or diphthongs, introduce a hyphen, as *ah-yónt* = ayont *S.* Observe that the *w* and *y* of the consonants *wh*, *yh*, never belong the preceding vowel.

CONSONANTS.

b *bee* | ngg *finger*
ch *chest* | nk *think*
d *doe* | ny *I. gn*
dh *the* | p *pea*
f *fee* | r *ray*
g *go* | 'r *air*
gh *D. G. g* | rr *I. S. r*
h *he* | rh *P. F. r*
j *jay* | s *see*
k *coo* | sh *she*
kw *queen* | t *tin*
kwh *S. quh* | th *thin*
kh *G. ach* | v *vale*
l *lo* | w *wail*
lh *W. ll* | wh *why*
ly *I. gl* | y *yet*
m *me* | yh *S. nieht*
n *no* | z *zeal*
ng *thing* | zh *vision*

Foreign and Oriental sounds must be represented by small capitals, &c., by special convention.

Really doubled consonants should be separated by a hyphen, as *un-nóhn* = unknown.

When any of the above combinations do not form single letters introduce a hyphen, as *mad-huws*, *Bog-hed*, *Mak-héeth*, *in-gráin*, *in-kum*, *mis-háp*, *pot-huws*, etc.

EXPLANATION OF THE ADDITIONAL AND FOREIGN VOWELS.

ä obscure *a* in *real, cristal.*
aa deeper sound of *ah*, in *G.* and *F.*
ae between *a* and *ah*, fine southern *E. a* in *staff, ask, path, pass, command.*
ao between *ah* and *au*, broad *S. a* in *man.*
ë the obscure sound of *e* in *herd*, when it can be distinguished from *e* or *u.*
eh between *e* and *a*, broad northern *E.* and *S. e*, *I.* open *e*, *F. è.*
eu produced by pronouncing *ai* with rounded lips, *F.* close *eu* in *jeune.*
ï obscure *i* or *e* in *goodness.*
ih resembling *ui* verging towards *ee*, *P. G. ü*
oa as heard in *oar*, between *o* and *oh*, *P. E.* broad *o*, *I.* open *o.*
oe produced by pronouncing *e* or *eh* with rounded lips, *F.* open *eu* in *jeûne*, *G. ö.*
ua very deep sound of western *E. u.*
ue resembling *ui*, verging towards *oo*, Swedish *u.*
uh deeper and broader sound of *u*, general in *P. E.* and *S.*
ui produced by pronouncing *ee* or *i* with rounded lips, *S. ui*, *D. F. u*, *G. ü.*
uo between *oh* and *oo*, a broader *ooh*, *I.* close *o* in *somma*, Edinburgh *coal.*

VOWEL PROGRESSIONS, arranged to shew approximatively how the (italic) sixteen additional and foreign vowels lie between the (roman) twelve usual English sounds.

1. *palatal to guttural*: ee i ai e *eh* a *ae* ah
2. *guttural to labial*: ah *aa ao* au o *oa* oh *uo* ooh oo.
3. *labial to palatal*: 1) oo *ue ui ih* ee; 2) oh *oe eu* ai
4. *deep to high, obscure*: *ua uh* u *ä ë ï.*

GLOSSOTYPE COMPARED WITH PALAEOTYPE.

When more than one palaeotypic symbol is placed after a single vowel, the first represents the sound that would be naturally given to it by an English reader, and the two may be distinguished, when required, as previously explained. Glossotype in *Italics*, Palaeotype in ( ). The arrangement is partially systematic.

VOWELS.		DIPHTHONGS.		CONSONANTS.	
Historical.	*Additional.*	*Y series.*	*W series.*	*Pairs.*	*Single.*
ee (ii i)	*ï* (*y*)	*aiy* (*eei ei*)	*aiw* (*eeu eu*)	*p b* (p b)	*h* (ʜ ʜ‘)
ai (*ee e*)	*eh* (ᴇ ᴇᴇ)	*ehy* (ᴇi)	*ehw* (ᴇu)	*t d* (t d)	*rh* (grh *r*)
	ae (ah aah)	*aey* (ahi)	*aew* (ahw)	*k g* (k g)	*r* (r)
ah (aa a)	*aa* (*aa a*)	*ahy* (ai aai)	*ahw* (au aau)	*ky gy* (kj gj)	*'r* (ʁ)
au (ᴀᴀ ᴀ)	*ao* (*ah aah*)	*aay* (*ai aai*)	*aaw* (au)	*kw gw* (kw gw)	*rr* (.r)
oh (*oo o*)	*oa* (oo o)	*ohy* (*ooi oi*)	*ohw* (*oou ou*)		*lh* (lhh)
oo (uu u)	*ue* (ᴜᴜ ᴜ)	*ooy* (uui ui)		*wh w* (wh w)	*l* (l)
	ui (yy y)	*uiy* (yi)	*uiw* (yu)	*f v* (f v)	*'l* ('l)
i (*i ii*)	*ih* (ɪɪ ɪ)		*iw* (iu ɹu)	*th dh* (th dh)	*ly* (lj)
e (e ee)	*eu* (*əə ə*)	*ey* (ei)	*ew* (eu)	*s z* (s z)	*m* (m)
	oe (œœ œ)	*euy* (*əi œi*)	*euw* (*əu œu*)	*sh zh* (sh zh)	*'m* ('m)
a (æ ææ)	*ä* (ɐ)	*ay* (æi)	*aw* (æu)	*ch j* (tsh dzh)	*n* (n)
o (ɔ ɔɔ)	*ë* (ɞɞ ɞ)	*oy* (ɔi)	*ow* (ɔu)	*yh y* (ɹh *kh* ɹ)	*'n* ('n)
u (ə əɔ)	*uh* (ɜ ɜɜ)	*uy* (ɔi)	*uw* (ɔu)	*kh gh* (kh gh)	*ny* (nj)
	ua (ɔ)	*uhy* (ɜi)	*uhw* (ɜu)	*kwh gwh* (kwh gwh)	*ng* (q)
ooh (*u uu*)	*uo* (*uh uuh*)				*nk* (qk)

Murmur ' (ʾ) FRENCH NASALS—*an en on un* (ᴀɴ ᴇɴ ᴏɴ ᴜɴ).

The eight omitted palaeotypic vowels may, when required, be indicated by writing—

	ö;	*ü*,	*ëh*,	*uoh*,	*oah*,	*aoh*;	*euh*	*oeh*
for	*œ*;	ʏ,	əh,	*o*h	oh,	ɔh;	əh,	æh

The historical spelling from which Glossotype has been evolved, is, of course, not proposed for immediate adoption in literature, although there is no historical or etymological reason against its use. In order to shew the effect of adopting such an orthography in place of that now current, I have annexed the glossotypic spelling of some lists of words already given in the previous section on the pages referred to in each case, in which the reader will find the solution of their orthographical riddles. As these lists contain the principal anomalies of spelling in our language, the absurdity of propagating them will appear strongly in reading over their sounds, without having the orthography immediately present to the eye. The historical letters only are used, hence the unaccented vowels, and some shades of sound are not discriminated with perfect accuracy, and the intention has been rather to endeavour to give the letters which an average speller, acquainted with the ordinary orthography, would select when intending to write his own pronunciation glossotypically, than to aim at orthoepical accuracy, as the appearance which would be presented if such a style of spelling were adopted, could not otherwise be imitated. For this reason duplicated consonants, are freely admitted, when they would be likely to suggest themselves to the writer, but are not used systematically, and only the ambiguous accent (′) is employed. The order of the sounds is that given in the last paragraph of p. 609.

ee, p. 599. miníwshiee, deeméen, Keez Kolledj, bee, eech, fleed, leev, Beechum, leeg, feet, een, kompleet, sleev, impréen, Lee, konséet, konséev, seenyuri. Lee, reesét, Beevur, peep'l, deeméen, kee, Weemz, keed, duyaréea, invaléed, greef, maggazéen, greev, seenyur, fiwzée, debrée, intréeg, feetus, kee, keed, muskéetoh, turkéez.

ai, p. 596. mait, shampáin, dailia, pain, kampáin, strait, trai, haipeni hahpeni, jail, Káishaut'n, gaij, plaig, plai, grait, ai! vail, rain, wai, dhai, ait.

ah, p. 593. fahdhur, ahr, seráhlyoh, ah, ahmz, Mahmzberi, aikláh, ahnt, bahrk, klahrk, hahrt, gahrd.

au, p. 593. faul, aum, Maudlen Kolledj, maulstik, wauk, baumun, haul, Maud, nauti, Vaun, aun, auful, au, braud, sauder, aut, ekstráudineri, Jaurjik, Jaurj, faurk, haurs.

oh, p. 602. hohtúr, hohboy, boh, yohman, shoh, sohd, pohst, ohts wuts, Sohm, bohs'n, kohburn, doh, bohn, ohlyoh, oh, skrootóhr skrootwáur, yohk brohch, aprohpóh, Grohvnur, deepóh deppoh, sohl, rohg, Yoh-haul, dhoh, noh, tohrdz, oh, Nohlz, kohth, kwohth.

oo, p. 605. galóon, Rooben, Bukloo, broo, brood, room, roobahrb, doo, shoo, moov, manóover, too, wood, soop, booz, throo, Broom, rondevóo, surtóo, billidóo, Kooper, rooling, troo, rool, brooz-ing, brooz, Hoom, too, hoo.

i, p. 599. lanskip, Sinjun, Jahrvis, pritti, ginniz, bifiin, britchiz, forfit, Tibbuld, huzzif, egzíbit, rith'm, pit, marrijiz, marrij, pittid, too liv, siv, fippens, wimmin, grits, Jahrvis, Missis, bizzi, lettis, bild, biznis, Tirrit, Chizzik, fizzik, Windum, Rothsi, munni, Anni, Biwli, felli, shammi, plaigi.

e, p. 595. menni, Pomfret, Pestum, Muykel, Temz, sed, Abbergeni, sez, let, hed, det, Wenzdi, alédj, forred, heffer, Lester, lepperd, chek, rondevóo, retturik, frend, konshens, fettid, konesúr, berri, ges, pannijérrik, gunnel, Tommasez, saiber, verehoo, Berlingtun, saffer, better, Urkert, ahnser—*or* saibur, vurchoo, Burlingtun, saffur, bettur, Urkurt, ahnsur.

a, p. 593. sat, Uyzak, Makki, dram, hav, banyoh, Tammun, plad, sammun, haráng, Klappam, Talmash, pikánt.

o, p. 601. rozzin, onnur, on, grot, forred, konnisant konnis'nt, Jon, hok, peddagog, nolledj.

u, p. 596. ribbun, meershum, eskútehun, umb'l, mohshun, konshus, sun, duz, luv, tortus, Linkun, flud, dub'l,

tung, bellus, tuppens, amatúr, kubburd, avvurdiwpóyz, kurnel, likúr, likkur.

ooh, p. 604. woohmman, Boohlling-broohk, woohd, woohstid, Woohstur, kuwchoohk, koohd, boohl.

uy, p. 597. nuyv, uyl, duypnóssoh-fist, huyt, nying, uy, ruynóseros, Ruyn, ruyming, ruym, buynd, indúyt, duy, luyv, suyn, sny, suyd, vuykuwnt, uyl, beegúyling, beegúyl, búy, fluy, duy, suydh.

oy, p. 602. burjóys, noyzi, noyz, poynant, koyn, boy, enjóyd, Boyl, kóyt kwoyt, boy bwoy booy, boyd booyd.

uw, p. 597. kuwchouk, Maklúwd, uwr, kuwnter, nuwn, duwt, reenúwns, buw, kuw, alúwd.

iw, p. 599. monniwment, inkiwbait, manchiwmaikar, biwti, fiwd, fiwdal, diws, Liwsun, niw, ahdíw, viw, viwd, fiwg'lmun, amiwzing, fiwshia, kiw, amiwz, kiw, impíwn, biwl, siwt, piwni, liwstring, fiwg, iwnúyt, Iwjéen, iw, iw, iw, iwl, iw íwth, *or* yoo yooth, hiw-máin, hiwman, hiw, Hiw, Hiwz.

y, p. 600. hidyus, unyun, halilóoyah, yahrd, Denyil.

w, p. 605. kwuyr, purswáid, waur, wun.

wh, p. 605. when.

h, p. 598. Kala-han, hohl, Koh-hóon, hohl.

p, p. 602. hikkup, pai, aip, Klap-pam, flapper, flapt.

b, p. 594. bee, eb, ebd, baib, Koh-burn, Hohburn, kubburd, hobboy.

t, p. 604. det, yot, indúyt, sukt, saut, tizzikal, reesceét, toh, tuym, hatter, too, metsohtint.

d, p. 594. dellium, deep, ad, Boohd-dist, traid, Windum, luvd, woohd, burd'n.

ch, p. 604. vairmichélli, chain, ahreht, chopéen, Mahrchbanks, match, matcht.

j, p. 595. Grinnidj, sohljur, judjment, ridj, Wedjberi, jem, kolledj, Bellinjam, just.

k, p. 600. kan, akúwnt, Bakkanal, skool, aik, bak, hakt, akwáint, hok, kail, baik, wauk, kwak, kee, antéck, Urkurt, vuykuwnt, hak'l, ekscpt.

g, p. 598. blaggahrd, goh, eg, begd, gohst, ges, plaig.

f, p. 597. foh, fuyf, stif, stuft, fiwg'l-man, of'n, lahf, hahf, saffer, lefténant.

v, p. 605. ov, Beevur, halv, nevviw, Grohvmur, veel, hav, rondevóo.

th, p. 604. Keethli, aitth, apohthem, Suwth-hámtun, thin, bluyth, bluydh, Mathiw.

dh, p. 595. dhee, breedh.

s, p. 603, sel, ais, Gloster Glauster, sahm, Sissister, Woohstur, see, seen, kohalés, siz'm, Massam, hiss, hist, lis'n epis'l, missis, sohrd, briska, bellus, metsohtint.

z, p. 605. sakrifuyzing, sakrifuyz, zahr, Winzur, Saulzberi, az, dizérn, eez, dizónnur, biznis, sizzerz, Kezzik, hee bellohz, bohz, zeel, suyz, whízzing, whizd.

sh, p. 604. shaiz, fiwshia, speshal, shau, shoohgger, sheddiwl, konshus, shal, wisht, Ashtun, kompréshun, mohshun.

zh, p. 606. roozhing, roozh, zhóo-dimóh, plezhur, divizhun, absízhun, aizhur.

r, p. 603. (r), ruyt, retturik, ruyt, hurri, katárral, ('r,ar) fee'ring, pai'ring debáhring, ignóh'ring, poo'rer, fuy'ri, buw'ri, (ɹ) spai'r, kaur koh'r, bur, maur-gaij, (ɹ) mur, deefúr, *or* mer deefér.

l, p. 600. seráhlyoh, maulstik, lais, Gilfurd, ail, il, travveld, kil, uyl, brisli, vitler.

m, p. 601. dram, flem, sahm, Chumli, am, lam, taim, hammer, shamd, him, kammel, Bamf, Pomfret, siz'm, rith'm.

n, p. 601. stuns'l, ohpning, nau, Jon, noh, Kohnbroohk, Kahn, neemónniks, kuwntur, kan, ribbun, kain, ippikakkiw-ánna, mannur, lpand, gunnel, reezning niwmáttiks, piwni, ohp'n, reez'n.

ng, p. 602. fingger, singer, wingd, B rmingam, tung, Mingiz—hank, han-kerchif, link, drunk, ankshus.

Some readers will naturally object to such orthography that it is entirely fictitious and not in any respect historical. It is not meant to imply that the above spelling was ever used at any time, but only that almost every combination of which each word is composed has been in use for such a long time, generally more than two centuries, that its employment in the sense proposed is really historically justified. But how should we spell? What other grounds of spelling are there but the phonetic? There are the purely historical, the etymological, the typographical. The purely historical, however,

such as was adopted by the Anglosaxons, and by the best writers in the XIIIth and XIVth centuries, was also purely phonetic, reflecting the pronunciation of the writer to the best of his ability. We might adopt that systematised scheme of the XIVth century explained above (p. 401), and illustrated in the next chapter, but we should find it extremely difficult to make any one but an Early English student see the value of it, and perhaps even he might demur to fixing the time at so recent a period, the latest during which the principle of phonetic spelling actually influenced the writer. But I know no other period which would in any respect answer the purpose. With regard to the words introduced since then, we should have to consider how they would have been probably pronounced at that time, and write them accordingly. The rehabilitation of our orthography on that ground would therefore be a work of extreme difficulty, and would find a correspondingly small number of adherents. Even those who employed it would have to re-memorize every word in the language, a discipline to which none would submit who could escape it. The attempt to introduce such a system could therefore only result in confusion worse confounded. We may adopt it for our XIVth century schoolbooks, but we must not ask writers to use it in their everyday scribbling.

Dismissing, therefore, any purely historical system, we have only to consider the etymological, and the typographical, which will occupy the two next sections, while the phonetic ground will be considered in the last section.

§ 4. *Etymological Spelling.*

The two tables in §§ 1, 2 may serve to dissipate the phantom which haunts many brains under the name of etymological orthography. It seems that the gross departure from the original phonetic conception which pervades our alphabetic system, and which degrades alphabetical to hieroglyphical writing, has led persons to suppose that the phonetically useless and inconsistently applied letters, which they have constantly to employ, are intended to convey to the reader the history and origin of a word, whence it came, how it changed, what was its original meaning, and how that has been modified. It is true that the recent etymological labours of Wedgewood and E. Müller, might be sufficient to prove that such information could not be conveyed by any means, because it is in many cases unknown now, and was less known to those who have modelled our orthography, and also that when it is known, or tolerably certain, there is no generally understood abbreviated system for conveying the information, which often requires a considerable amount of words to explain, nor does i appear possible to conceive that any such system could be invented, much less brought into use. These matters do not strike those who are possessed with the etymological conception, for they are

generally very ill informed respecting the real history of our language, and think rather of the recent terms borrowed from the Latin and Greek, which present no difficulty whatever, and could scarcely be made to present much difficulty by any freak of orthography,[1] than of the old terms of Germanic, or Norman French origin, or those, not rare words, in constant use, of which the origin is unknown. Many of the troublesome additional letters, which were perhaps inserted from a supposed knowledge of the origin of a word, are mistakes, few of them are of any assistance, and none of them are consistently employed.

To take a simple example: those who know that *oak* corresponds to ags. *ác*, may be inclined to think that the *k* was put in to show it was Germanic, and not Latinic or Hellenic, whereas we know that the introduction of *k* was a mere habit of the XIII th and XIV th centuries; or that the inserted *a* was meant to allude to the old *a*, while the prefixed *o* shewed the modern change; whereas, we know that the XIV th century wrote simply *ok*, *ook*, that in the XV th, and the greater part of the XVI th century, *oke* was employed (this is the orthography of Palsgrave and Levins), and that the *a* was introduced towards the latter end of the XVI th century as a mere phonetic contrivance to distinguish (*oo*) from (uu), and without any etymological reason whatever. It so happens that we still write *stroke*, nothwithstanding the ags. *stracan*. There was a long fight between *sope*, *soap*, and it is not to be supposed that *a* was carried by Latin *sapo*. It is but very lately that *cloak* triumphed over *cloke*; but there can be no etymological reason, because no one is certain of the etymology, and the middle Latin *clocca*, generally adduced, would not favour the *a*.

Take another simple instance, which, like the former, applies to numerous cases: In the word *name*, the final *e* is supposed to allude to a former final vowel, and to indicate the lengthening of the preceding vowel. The ags. had a final *a*, but the preceding vowel was short. The *a* had become long in Orrmin's time, and he wrote *name* because he said (naa·me), and *not* (nam·a), which he would have written *namma*, and similarly he changed all the other vowels to accord with his own pronunciation. The meaning of the added *e* was lost in XV th century, and in the XVI th it was frequently, but of course inconsistently, used to indicate vowel length, and in this case the length of (aa) as (naam). It was not from a wish to preserve the *a* etymologically that it was not changed to *naim* in the XVII th century, but it was because *ai* became settled as (ee) before *name* ceased to be (næm), so that there was a difference in sound felt nearly up to the time when our orthography crystallized in the XVIII th century. Should not we suppose *same* to give us similar information. It would be wrong if it did, for though Orrmin has an adjective *same*, there is no ags. adjective *sama*, but only an ags. adverb *same*.

[1] Italian: ipoteca, ipotesi, ipofisi, ipofora, filosofo, fisonomia, geroglifico, epitaffio, epitalamio, etc., present no more difficulty than our *bishop*, and not so much as our *church*.

The reason usually given for wishing to retain the *u* in spelling *honour*, *favour*, *errour* is the French orthography *-eur*, on the plea that this orthography discriminates those words which were taken from the French from those where taken direct from the Latin. It is certainly not obvious that this discrimination is worth any trouble, or that any one could determine to which class every word ending in *-or* or *-our* really belongs. Nevertheless this etymological reason has been frequently advanced, and was especially insisted on by the late Archdeacon C. J. Hare.[1] Our investigations, however, shew that the reason given is altogether fanciful and destitute of any foundation of historical truth. These words were spelled *-our*, in the XIV th century, because they were pronounced (*-uur*), for the same reason that *þu nu* became *thou now*. Moreover *honour* could not have been derived from *honneur*, because that French form did not exist when the English *honour* was adopted. The French used *honor*, *honur*, *honour*. The mutation of Latin *o* into French *eu* did not take place till a later period.[2] If indeed the French had used *eu*, which they would have pronounced (eu) or (ey), there is no doubt that Chaucer who used the sound (eu) and wrote it *eu* or *ew*, would have also written *honeur*. We see then that *honur* has more claim than either *honor* or *honour* if we go to the old French; though *honour* asserts its right as old English, and just as *honos* was old Latin. But such squabbles are trifling. The historical spelling of § 3, would decide in favour of *onur* or *onnur*, which no orthographer has proposed, although every orthoepist would be scandalized at the pronunciation of the "etymological" *h*.

"Trouth and honour, fredom and curtesie,"

writes the Harl. MS. 7334, v. 46. What do we gain, either phonetically or etymologically by writing,

Truth and honor, freedom and courtesy.

Etymologically, *trouth* agrees better with ags. *treowþe*, *fredom* with ags. *freodom*, *curtesie* with old French *curtesie* (Roquefort).[3] The spellings *true*, *truth*, are certainly etymologically inferior to the discarded *treue*, *trouth*, which represented the proper sounds of the time, and we ought, on the same principle now, to write *troo*, *trooth*. The termination *-y*, used for the threefold termination, *-e*, *-ie*, *-y*, the last being a contraction for *-iy* = *iȝ*, is a gross violation of all supposed principles of etymological spelling. It is evident that those who shaped our spelling had little or no knowledge of etymology, had no acquaintance with the customs of our ancient orthography, which many even yet regard as a chaos without law, or custom, and, except in very rare and very obvious instances, paid no attention whatever to historical affiliation, or ancient etymology.

[1] On English Orthography, Cambridge Philological Museum, vol. 1.

[2] Diez, after citing *feu jew*, *heure*, *pleure*, etc., adds "in allen diesen Fällen kennt die alte Sprache auch das einfache *o*," Gram. der Rom. Spr. 2nd ed. 1856. vol. i. p. 426.

[3] The XIV th century orthography of this word is especially considered in Chap. VII. § 1, near the beginning.

The first thing which we have to do in studying a new language for comparative philology, is to determine its sounds, and only in so far as the orthography enables us to determine the sounds, is it of any etymological value. Any deviation from phonetic representation is an impediment in the way of etymology. And the only true etymological spelling which can be conceived is one that is strictly phonetic. The investigation which we have just concluded, by enabling us to restore from the changing orthography the changing sounds, that is, the changing words of our language, puts us in a far better position than ever to determine the etymological relations. We still want a similar investigation for French, at least, and for all our dialects, as well as that principal southern form which alone offered sufficient facilities for examination. All the labour and trouble of such an examination would have been saved if the writers had had a sufficient alphabet from the first, and had known how to use it. But, unfortunately, the true conditions of alphabetic writing have only just been determined, and the number of those who can use correctly even such an approximation as is furnished by the forty-two historical phonetic symbols of the last section is very small. No one has ever dreamed of writing provincial dialects etymologically. It was felt that by so doing the whole means of representing them was lost; for, until they were written their etymology could not be determined. It was forgotten that our own particular cultivated English language, is but the most fortunate among many dialects, that, therefore, *its* etymology, also, could not be determined till it was fixed by phonetic writing, and that, consequently, for etymological purposes we should endeavour to represent it on paper as accurately as the generality can appreciate it. Other reasons there are in abundance. But on the ground of philology alone, we can truly say, there is no etymology without phonetics.

§ 5. *On Standard, or Typographical Spelling.*

It is possible to write a language without any relation to phonetics. The greater part of the Chinese vocabulary is said to be of this nature. One system of writing is prevalent throughout a vast empire, is understood by each province, and is provided by each with a different set of corresponding vocables. At Pekin they cannot understand the speech of Canton, but the writing is mutually intelligible. It is like the cyphers of arithmetic, or the signs of algebra, and the diagrams of geometry, which are read in different tongues, but with the same apprehension of their meaning throughout Europe. This ideal has great fascination for many. Conceive a grand symboleum, known everywhere, and yet read by each in his own tongue. Such a conception has been nearly carried out in England, Germany, France, and Italy, and probably in other countries. A fixed system of spelling has been, either by aca-

dennical authority, or through the action of printers, accepted in each country. No two men in England and Germany, at any rate, pronounce in the same manner every word which they would write alike. In Germany completely diverse systems of utterance are pursued among the educated in different districts. The high German, as distinguished from all and every of these systems, is known as "die *Schriftsprache*, d. h. als diejenige Sprache in der man Deutch *schreibt*."[1] It is a *literary*, not a spoken language, and in Saxony, in Prussia, on the Rhine, on the Danube, by the Vistula, and the Eider, or in Switzerland, the language changes to the ear.[2] The peasantry of Saxony are taught to write High German; their spoken *Upper* German dialect tries a foreigner sorely.

In the same way we have a literary language in England, a written language, having only a remote connection with the spoken tongue, and shaped by printers as an instrument intended to satisfy the eye. Indeed the great objection to any innovation is its "odd appearance." And persons naturally conceive that to change the spelling is to alter the language. We have succeeded in getting this orthography to be recognised, and there are probably many who look upon it as an institution as unalterable and natural as the musical scale (which, by-the-bye, differs materially in different countries, and is thoroughly artificial in its origin), and regard any unwitting deviation from it as unfitting a person for the commonest occupation,[3] and excluding him altogether from the ranks of the educated, and yet the only "good (!) spellers" in the country are compositors and printers' readers. A reference to the tables in the two first sections of this chapter should dissipate all idea of fixedness, every notion of a sacred character in our orthography. It is barely a hundred years old, to give it the longest life. Two hundred, three hundred, five hundred years ago our spelling was entirely different. The same letters were used, but differently collocated, for what only standard orthographers could look upon as the same word. Notwithstanding this, a standard orthography is not only a possibility, but an actuality,[4] and as long as it is accompanied by its indispensable adjunct — a pronouncing dictionary — it will cease to be detrimental to the philologer, who can resort to the phonetic representation for what he requires. But it should remain fixed to be of value. However much the language may hereafter vary, this crystallized form should remain. No change of any kind, or from any cause should be permitted.

[1] "The language of writing, *i.e.*, that language in which we *write* German," as distinguished from *speaking* German. *K. F. Becker*, Schulgrammatik der deutschen Sprache, 3rd ed. 1835, § 23.

[2] This is still more striking, I am informed by natives, in the Arabic language. The written symbols and the literary language are the same from Morocco to Persia, the native dialectic pronunciations are mutually unintelligible.

[3] "Correctness in Spelling," that is, habitual use of typographical custom, is essential to those who intend to pass any Civil Service examination.

[4] The slight variations and uncertainties pointed out on p. 590, note, may be entirely disregarded for present purposes.

Otherwise to the enormous practical evils of an orthography which has no connection with sound, which helps no one to read and no one to spell, will be added the last straw of uncertainty.

For my own part I do not see the value of a standard orthography, but I do see the value of an orthography which reflects the pronunciation of the writer. Our present standard orthography is simply typographical; but in that word lies a world of meaning. It is a tyrant in possession. It has an army of compositors who live by it, an army of pedagogues who teach by it, an army of officials who swear by it and denounce any deviation as treason, an army, yea a vast host, who having painfully learned it as children, cling to it as adults, in dread of having to go through the awful process once more, and care not for sacrificing their children to that Moloch, through whose fires themselves had to pass, and which ignorance makes the countersign of respectability. Accepting this fact, I have arranged all my vocabularies according to this typographical spelling, simply because it will be familiar to all who read this book, and they will, therefore, by its means most readily discover what they require.[1] But I cannot do so without recording my own conviction, the result of more than a quarter of a century's study, that our present standard typographical spelling is a monstrous misshapen changeling, a standing disgrace to our literature.

[1] For the same reason in any dictionary, whether of ancient or modern English, which is published before a general revision of our orthography is effected (the Greek Kalends?), I recommend an arrangement of the words *according to the orthography in most general use at the time of publication*, because the intention of such an arrangement is to find out a word with facility, and the most generally used orthography is necessarily the one best known. No individual systems such as Webster's, or that proposed by Mr. E. Jones (p. 590, note), or peculiarities, such as Mitford's *iland*, Milton's *rime*, Johnson's *musick*, which are not found in one book or newspaper in ten thousand, should be adopted. Where there is a concurrent use, do as Minshew did (suprà, p. 104), give all spellings, the *explanations* under the one thought to be *most usual* (to the exclusion of all caprice, individual preference, and pet theories of correctness) and *cross references* under the others. To search a dictionary of any extent is penance enough. The searcher can't afford to have his labour increased. Would not a beginner in Anglosaxon be driven mad by the arrangement in Ettmüller's Dictionary, to which no index even is appended? I have often regretted the precious time it has cost me. In Dr. Stratman's excellent Dictionary of the Old English Language "the words are entered in alphabetical order, under their *oldest* form, for example *âwen ôwen* under *âȝen*, *êfen*, *even* under *æfen*; *ivel*, *evel* under *uvel*, etc." The consequence is the waste of hours. Such a dictionary should have the chief article, as in Coleridge's Glossary, under the *most usual* existent form, as best known, and cross references under *all* the old forms, as being unknown. Individual Glossaries must of course follow the *exact orthography* of the books which they index, but even here cross references may refer to the chief article under the *usual* orthography. Great advantage would accrue in comparing all forms of words in all books by some such arrangement as this. Where the field is so vast and the multiplicity of detail so immeasurable, those patriotic individuals who give us the result of their labours should do their best to render them *quickly* accessible. The increased *bulk* of any glossary or dictionary is utterly unimportant, as compared with the saving of time to its consulter.

§ 6. *On Standard Pronunciation.*

For at least a century, since Buchanan published his "Essay towards establishing a *standard* for an *elegant* and uniform pronunciation of the English language *throughout the British dominions*, as practised by the *most learned* and *polite* speakers," in 1766, and probably for many years previously, there prevailed, and apparently there still prevails, a belief that it is possible to erect a standard of pronunciation which should be acknowledged and followed throughout the countries where English is spoken as a native tongue, and that in fact that standard already exists, and is the norm unconsciously followed by persons who, by rank or education, have most right to establish the custom of speech.

One after another, for the last century, we have had labourers in the field. Buchanan, 1766, was a Scotchman, and his dialect clung to him; Sheridan, 1780, was an Irishman, and Johnson, from the first, ridiculed the idea of an Irishman teaching Englishmen to speak.[1] Sheridan was an actor, so was Walker, 1791, but the latter had the advantage of being an Englishman, and his dictionary is still in some repute, though those who study it will see his vain struggles to reconcile analogy with custom, his constant references to the habits of a class of society to which he evidently did not belong, his treatment of pronunciation as if determined by orthography (precisely in the same way as grammarians consider grammar to mould language, whereas both orthography and gram-

[1] "BOSWELL: It may be of use, Sir, to have a Dictionary to ascertain the pronunciation. JOHNSON: Why, Sir, my Dictionary shews you the accent of words, if you can but remember them. BOSWELL: But, Sir, we want marks to ascertain the pronunciation of the vowels. Sheridan, I believe, has finished such a work. JOHNSON: Why, Sir, consider how much easier it is to learn a language by the ear, than by any marks. Sheridan's Dictionary may do very well; but you cannot always carry it about with you: and, when you want the word, you have not the Dictionary. It is like the man who has a sword that will not draw. It is an admirable sword to be sure: but while your enemy is cutting your throat you are unable to use it. Besides, Sir, what entitles Sheridan to fix the pronunciation of English? He has, in the first place, the disadvantage of being an Irishman: and if he says he will fix it after the example of the best company, why they differ among themselves. I remember an instance: when I published the plan for my Dictionary, Lord Chesterfield told me that the word *great* should be pronounced to rhyme to state; and Sir William Yonge sent me word that it should be pronounced so as to rhyme to *seat*, and that none but Irishmen would pronounce it *grait*. Now here were two men of the highest rank, the one the best speaker in the House of Lords, the other the best speaker in the House of Commons, differing entirely." Boswell's Life of Johnson, anno. 1772, æt. 63. Dr. Johnson, however, had his own fancies: "I perceived that he pronounced the word *heard*, as if spelled with a double *e*, *heerd*, instead of sounding it *herd*, as is most usually done. He said, his reason was, that if it were pronounced *herd*, there would be a single exception from the English pronunciation of the syllable *ear*, and he thought it better not to have that exception." Ibid, anno 1777, æt. 68. Dr. Johnson had forgotten *heart*, *hearken*, *wear*, *bear*, *to tear*, *swear*, *earl*, *pearl*, which all orthoepists of his time pronounce differently from *ear*. On *great*, *seat*, see suprà, p. 87.

mar are *casts*, one of speech sounds, and the other of speech combinations); in short, in almost every part of his "principles," and his "remarks" upon particular words throughout his dictionary, they will see the most evident marks of insufficient knowledge, and of that kind of pedantic self-sufficiency which is the true growth of half-enlightened ignorance, and may be termed "usherism." Walker has done good and hard work; he has laid down rules, and hence given definite assertions to be considered, and he has undoubtedly materially influenced thousands of people, who, more ignorant than himself, looked upon him as an authority. But his book has passed away, and his pronunciations are no longer accepted. Jones, 1798; Perry, 1805; Enfield, 1807; Fulton, 1821; Jameson, 1827; Knowles, 1835, need not be more than named. The last was a corrector and follower of Sheridan. Smart's *Walker Remodelled*, 1836, and Worcester's *Critical and Pronouncing Dictionary*, 1847, are those now most in vogue. Smart was a teacher of elocution in London, who enjoyed a considerable reputation; Worcester is an American. In both of these we have a distinct recognition of the vowels in unaccented syllables, but by no means a distinct representation of the same; and in Smart we have great consideration bestowed upon the final vocal *r* (ɹ), and its diphthongal action on the preceding vowel.

The vocabulary of our language is so much more copious than the vocabulary of any individual, and the vocabulary of any writer is so much more copious than the vocabulary of the same man as a speaker—unless he be a public orator, a clergyman, a lecturer, a barrister, an actor,—and the orthography of our language conveys so little information upon the intended pronunciation of any word, that there will be many thousand words that even the most accomplished and varied speakers and hearers have never uttered or heard; and other thousands which they have only on the rarest occasions uttered and heard, of the sound of which they must therefore be more or less in doubt, unless they feel that confidence in themselves which will allow them to assert that their own pronunciation is correct, because it is their own.[1] By far the greater number of

[1] I do not remember ever meeting with a person of general education, or even literary habits, who could read off without hesitation, the whole of such a list of words as: bourgeois, demy, actinism, velleity, batman, beaufin, brevier, rowlock, fusil, flugleman, vase, tassel, buoy, oboe, arehimandrite, etc., and give them in each case the same pronunciation as is assigned in any given pronouncing dictionary now in use. Dr. Kitto, who lost his hearing at twelve years of age, but retained his power of speech, says: (The Lost Senses, 1845, Series 1, Deafness, p. 23) "I have often calculated that above two-thirds of my vocabulary consist of words which I never heard pronounced. From this result some peculiarities not unworthy of notice. Many of the words of my old vocabulary continue to be pronounced in the provincial dialect in which they were learned, such as *tay* for *tea*, even though I know the right pronunciation, and generally recollect the error after it has been committed. I know not that I should regret this, as it seems to give to my language a *living* character, which it would necessarily want, if all framed upon unheard models. Many such words do not, however, occur, as I have exchanged many provincialisms for book words, which I am not *in the same way* liable

speakers, however, do not feel this confidence, and, afraid that the sounds they are accustomed to use in their own limited circles would be ridiculed in the higher walks to which they aspire, are glad to take the "authority" of a pronouncing dictionary as a guide. *Quis autem custodiet ipsos custodes?* What guide do the guides follow?

Now our previous investigation shews that at any given time there has always existed a great diversity of pronunciation, and that pronunciation has altered with different velocities and in different directions in different places, that what was considered "polite" at one time, was scouted at another, that there never has been so near an approach to a uniform pronunciation as that which now prevails, and that that uniformity itself is not likely to be so great as might have been anticipated.

Uniformity of pronunciation, necessarily depends upon the proximity of speakers. We have seen that the great changes in English were produced by the two civil wars, which mixed up the elements of our population. In more recent times a certain degree of uniformity is sustained, by 1) that communication between town and country which disseminates the habits of the metropolis throughout the provinces; 2) that system of university education which rubs together the different dialects of England in a classical mortar, and sends out the product as the utterance of young men of rank and fortune, and still more effectively, as that of young clergymen throughout the length and breadth of our land, and 3) that plan of teaching teachers which instils into them the pronunciation of the most usual words and enables them to impress it upon their pupils in the primary schools throughout the country. But that nothing approaching to real uniformity prevails is easily seen, and some striking illustrations will be furnished in Chap. XI.

When we listen to a discourse we are by natural habit carried away with the succession of ideas, and we have great difficulty in withdrawing our attention from this, and fixing it merely upon the sounds which are uttered. Any one, however, who wishes to study

to mispronounce. But even my book words, though said to be generally pronounced with much precision, are liable to erroneous utterance through my disposition to give all such words as they are written, and it is well known that the letters of which many of our words are composed, do not adequately represent the sounds with which they are pronounced. This error of pronouncing words as they are written is the converse of that so common among uneducated people, of writing words down according to their sounds. Many of such faults have, however, been corrected in the course of years, and it may not now be easy to detect me in many errors of this kind: but this arises not more from such corrections, than from the curious instinct which has, in the course of time, been developed, of avoiding the use of those words about the pronunciation of which I feel myself uncertain, or which I know myself liable to mispronounce. This is particularly the case with proper names and foreign words; although, even in such, I am more in dread of erroneous quantity than of wrong vocalization." The above test words, which are not all to be found even in Worcester's dictionary, written in glossotype according to my pronunciation, would be: burjóys, deemúy, áktiniz'm, veléeiti, bauman, biffin, breevéer, rulluk, fiwzée, fiwg'lman, vauz, tos'l, boy, ohboy, áhrkimándruyt.

pronunciation must be able to do this. It is entirely insufficient and misguiding to ask a person to pronounce you a given word. The most you can do is to propound him a sentence, and listen to him with closed eyes as he repeats it over and over again. Then you will probably detect differences of utterance at each delivery, differences which it requires years of care and attention to discriminate and symbolize satisfactorily. Even then, too, each delivery may be false, that is, not such as the speaker would utter naturally, when he was thinking of the meaning and not of the sound of the words. Listen to a preacher, shutting out your sense to his meaning, and observe the alternations of loud, distinct, slow, and scarcely audible, obscure, rapid utterances. Listen to the same man engaged in ordinary conversation, and observe the increase of the rapid, obscure utterances, and the difference occasioned in the tolerably distinct syllables by the difference of emphasis and delivery. Then think how difficult it is to determine the real pronunciation of that one man. How much more difficult must it be to determine and then bear in mind the pronunciation of thousands of other people, whom you only hear occasionally and observe less frequently, because you wish to know what, not how, they speak. And yet this has to be done by any one who wishes to discover what is the real actual existing usage of English speech. It is needless to say that it is not done. Certain associations of childhood determine the direction of pronunciation, certain other habits and associations of youth and early maturity, serve to modify the original, and, if the speaker inclines to consider speech, he may artificially "correct," and at any rate, materially change his habits of pronunciation in after life, but this is an exception. He soon ceases to hear words, he drinks in ideas, and only glaring differences which impede this imbibition, strike him and are, more or less falsely, noted. He is in the habit of using an orthography which not only does not remind him of the sounds of words, but gives him the power of deducing great varieties of pronunciation for unknown words. What chance then have we of a uniform pronunciation?

What is the course actually pursued by those who seek to determine a standard of pronunciation? Dr. Johnson laid down as "the best general rule, to consider those as the most elegant speakers who deviate least from the written words."[1] This was entirely theoretical, and was penned in ignorance of the historical variations of the orthoepical significance of the "written words." Walker asks whether the custom of speech to be followed is the "usage of the multitude of speakers, whether good or bad," epithets which beg the question, "the usage of the studious in schools and colleges, with those of the learned professions, or that of those who, from their elevated birth or station, give laws to the refinements and elegancies of a court?" and replies that it is "neither of these . . ., taken singly, but a sort of compound ratio of all three," which expression, knowing what compound ratio means, I do not profess to understand. He goes on to say, "Neither a finical pronun-

[1] Preface to Dictionary.

ciation of the Court,"— is then Court pronunciation necessarily *finical?*"—"nor a pedantic Graecism of the schools,"—(does this exist?)—"will be denominated respectable usage till a certain number," what proportion?) "of the general mass of common speakers," *i.e.* those who are neither courtly nor educated? "have acknowledged them; nor will a multitude of common speakers authorize," to whom?) "any pronunciation which is reprobated by the learned and polite. As those sounds, therefore," he concludes, "which are the most generally received among the learned and polite; as well as the bulk of speakers are the most legitimate,"— *i.e.* according to law, but what or whose law?—"we may conclude that a majority of two of these states ought always to concur, in order to constitute what is called" by Mr. John Walker, "good usage." But how does Mr. John Walker, of Colney Hatch, determine the usages of each of the three classes he has named, but certainly not defined? Smart seems to take refuge in "the mouth of a well-educated Londoner," presumably his own, and he talks of "vulgar speakers," "an appearance of pedantry," "quite rustic," "speakers of the old school," "metropolitan usage among educated people," "a vulgar mouth," "an affected speaker," "the best speakers," "distinct utterance," "obscure or colloquial utterance," "irregularity," "vulgarism," "current pronunciation," "actual pronunciation," "broad utterance," "affectation," "the most solemn speaking," "vague and fluctuating," "elegant speaker," etc., etc., words and epithets implying theories or foregone conclusions, but not greatly advancing our knowledge. We may then repeat the question, what is the course actually pursued by these orthoepical oracles? It appears that they have observed somewhat, thought out, practised and *taught* more, till they have confirmed a usage in themselves, and have then announced that usage to be the custom of the "best speakers," allowing occasional latitude. Worcester endeavours to judge between past orthoepists, and among them allots the palm to Smart, but frequently gives several different pronunciations and says that "the reader will feel perfectly authorized" by Mr. Worcester? "to adopt such a form as he may choose." "The compiler" he adds, "has not intended in any case, to give his own sanction" to which, however, he seems to attribute considerable weight, "to a form which is not supported by usage," (which he has not heard generally used?) "authority," (which some previous orthoepist has not recommended?) "or analogy," (as derived from orthography?) He most sensibly concludes that "it would be unreasonable for him to make a conformity to his own taste, or to the result of his own limited observation, a law to those who may differ from him, and yet agree with perhaps the more common usage."

It has not unfrequently happened that the present writer has been appealed to respecting the pronunciation of a word. He generally replies that he is accustomed to pronounce it in such or such a way, and has often to add that he has heard others pronounce it differently, but that he has no means of deciding

which pronunciation ought to be adopted, or even of saying which is the more customary. This, indeed, seems to be the present state of the case. A large number of words are pronounced with differences very perceptible to those who care to observe, even among educated London speakers, meaning those who have gone through the usual course of instruction in our superior schools for boys and girls. These differences largely increase, if educated provincial speakers, especially Scottish, Irish, and Welsh, be taken into consideration. If our American brethren are included, the diversities still further increase, though our younger colonies generally, being of more recent formation, so that few of them can count even a small number of persons whose fathers and grandfathers were born and lived in them, do not materially swell the number. But if we extend our circle to those who have only received primary education, and still more to those who have received no education at all, who, not being able to read and write, or having no knowledge of theories of language, have developed language organically, we find the diversities extremely great. The respect which the inferior pays to his superior in rank and wealth makes him generally anxious and willing to adopt the pronunciation of the superiorly educated, if he can but manage to learn it. How can he? Real communication between class and class is all but impossible. In London, where there is local proximity, the "upper ten," the court and nobles, "the middle class," the professional, the studious, "the commercial class," the retail tradesman, the "young men and young ladies" employed behind the counter, the servants, porters, draymen, artizans, mechanics, skilled and unskilled labourers, market men and women, costermongers, "the dangerous classes,"—all these are as widely separated as if they lived in different countries. But almost all read, almost all have their favourite periodical, and all such periodicals adopt, within narrow limits, the same orthography. If that orthography only shewed some kind of pronunciation—it is really of very little importance which variety of those current among the educated be selected, or even if different systems were chosen in different newspapers—there would then be some means of comparing pronunciations, something less fleeting and more "questionable" than the utterance itself, something to which the reader would in the act of reading teach himself to conform. The educated author who has fancies of his own respecting pronunciation, could insist on his printer "following copy" and giving his opinion in his own spelling. But the printers generally, printers of journals in particular, would each soon adopt some special form, some vocabulary constructed for their office (suprà, p. 591, n. 2), and in a few years the jolting of these forms together would yield to some compromise which would produce the nearest approach to an orthoepical standard we could hope to attain. Would, however, our pronunciation remain fixed? All experience is against its doing so, and consequently spelling considered as the mirror of speech, would probably have to be adjusted from generation to generation.

Is such a standard pronunciation desirable? The linguist and philologist may perhaps sigh over this unnatural and inorganic orthopædic treatment of language. For one, the present writer could not suppress a feeling of regret. But the well-being of our race points in another direction. Recognizing the extreme importance of facilitating intercourse between man and man, we should feel no doubt, and allow no sentimental regrets to interfere with the establishment of something approaching to a general system of pronouncing, by means of a general system of indicating our pronunciation in writing, as far as our own widespread language extends. Without in the least presuming to say that other and much better systems cannot be devised, the writer may point to the historical phonetic spelling, developed in § 3, as a means at hand for writing the English language without any new types, with as close an adherence to the old orthography, as much ease to old readers, and as much correctness in imitating the sounds used by the writer at any time, as we could hope to be generally possible. And as to primary confusion, what would it matter, if not greater than the scarcely observed confusion of speech? Thus if one writes, in this spelling:

Ahy deemáhnd leev too plahnt mahy stahf maur furmli on dhu pahth. Wotsiz naiym, sur? Ahy reeuli dohwnt nohw, mum, mahy memmuriz mizzurubul:—

and another writes—

Ey dimánd leev tooh plant mi staf moh'r fermli on dhe path. What is hiz naim, ser? Ey reeali dohnt noh, mam, mi memmori iz mizzerab'l.

both would be intelligible, and a difference of sound not previously noticed would be forced on the attention, and probably changed; provided only that those who say *ahy plahnt*, &c., will not write *ey plant*, etc., because it is "finer," or "neater," or "shorter," or "nearer to the old orthography," or for any other irrelevant reason, which is the great danger to be apprehended—as I know by experience.

At present there is *no* standard of pronunciation. There are many ways of pronouncing English *correctly*, that is according to the usage of large numbers of persons of either sex in different parts of the country, who have received a superior education. All attempts to found a standard of pronunciation on our approximate standard of orthography are futile. The only chance of attaining to a standard of pronunciation is by the introduction of phonetic spelling, which will therefore fulfil the conditions required by etymological spelling, standard spelling, and standard pronunciation. Our present orthography approximately fulfils only the second of these conditions, and grossly violates the other two.

And thus the present writer has been brought round, by a totally different route, to the advocacy of a principle to which he devoted many years of his life and a considerable portion of his means. It is his own conviction, founded not only upon philological grounds, but upon philanthropical, educational, social, and political considerations, that a phonetic system of spelling should be adopted for our noble language. To its introduction he finds but one real objection—the existence of another orthography. Hitherto all phonetic attempts have made shipwreck on this rock. But the enterprising spirit of the phonetic navigators is worthy of their arctic predecessors, and their aim being not merely to solve a problem in natural science, but to increase the power and happiness of the vast race which speaks the English language, is one which is not likely to die out. Even now a phonetic periodical appears regularly in London, conducted by Mr. Isaac Pitman, whose widely extended system of phonetic shorthand, has done so much to popularize the phonetic idea. Even now Mr. Melville Bell has brought out the most philosophical phonetic alphabet yet invented, and has reduced it to a system of writing far simpler and easier than that in common use. Even now the present writer is engaged in producing a new edition of his *Plea for Phonetic Spelling*, for the second and larger home of our language, the United States of America.[1] It is true that the difficulties in the

[1] It was in preparing this new edition for Mr. Benn Pitman, brother of Mr. Isaac Pitman, and now of Cincinnati, Ohio, U.S., that I was fortunate enough to discover Salesbury's book (14 Feb., 1859), and thus commenced the special series of investigations which have developed into the present work. The printing of this third edition, after the text was complete, was interrupted by the American Civil War, and the preparation of these pages has hitherto prevented me from finishing the Appendices. It may not be out of place to annex here the headings from this forthcoming work, premising that ordinary spelling is therein for convenience termed Romanic. *Romanic Spelling*: (1), renders reading difficult, and writing still more difficult; (2), necessitates the memorizing of every form in the language; (3), makes learning to read and write a hateful task; (4), is one great cause of our prevailing ignorance; (5), mis-trains a child's mind; (6), is a hindrance to missionaries, travellers, ethnologists, and philologists; (7), obscures the real history of our language; (8), conceals the present state of our language; (9), hinders the extension and universal employment of English. *Phonetic Spelling*: (1), renders reading very easy; (2), forms the best introduction to romanic reading; (3), is as easy as correct speaking; (4), in conjunction with phonetic reading facilitates romanic spelling; (5), renders learning to read even romanically a pleasant task; (6), by economising time, increases the efficiency of primary schools; (7), affords an excellent logical training to the child's mind; (8), improves pronunciation and enunciation; (9), will greatly assist the missionary traveller and ethnologist; (10), would exhibit the real history of our language; (11), would exhibit the real state of our language; (12), would induce uniformity of pronunciation; (13), would favour the extension and universal employment of our language;

way are enormous, the dead weight of passive resistance to be moved is overwhelming, the ignorance of the active resisters stupendous, and the hands of the promoters weak; but the cause is good, the direction is historical, the means obvious, the end attainable by degrees, the material results of even small attempts useful, and one of the most practical men that ever spoke or printed our language, Benjamin Franklin, has left on record his own conviction that "sometime or other it must be done, or our writing will become the same with the Chinese as to the difficulty of learning and using it."[1]

(14), would effect a considerable saving of printing [this does not apply to glossotype, or any system in which diagraphs are employed]; (15), would bring phonetic shorthand into general use; (16), would be of material use in facilitating etymological investigations. The objections considered are arranged in five classes; (1). *Impossibilities and Errors*: It is impossible to introduce new letters and a new alphabet, or to frame a true phonetic alphabet, the analysis of all so-called phonetic alphabets being faulty and insufficient, and the new letters hitherto proposed constructed upon an erroneous basis. (2). *Linguistic Losses*: The change from romanic to phonetic spelling would tend to obscure etymology, would confuse words having the same sound but different romanic orthography in different senses, would occasion orthography to differ from person to person, place to place, and time to time, would obscure history and geography, and unsettle title deeds by altering the appearance of names, and would introduce vulgarisms of pronunciation. (3). *Material Losses*: The change would occasion a great loss of literary property, and great expense in providing new types. (4). *Inconveniences*: The change would be bad as change, would be too great, and would amount to an alteration of the language. (5). *Difficulties*: Phonetic books have a strange appearance, we should have to learn two systems of spelling instead of one, the fewness of the phonetic books renders the acquisition of phonetic spelling worthless, the change is not needed, and is useless, because only partially adopted, and another system of spelling exists. The author endeavours to shew the incorrectness of all these objections, except the last.

[1] The whole of Franklin's remarks will be found in a transliteration of his own phonetic orthography, infrà Chap. X., § 2.

Supplement

TO

Andrew Boorde's Introduction and Dietary.

EXTRA SERIES, NO. X, 1870.

NOTE ON THE DISCOVERY IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM OF A BOOK WITHOUT AUTHOR'S NAME OR INITIAL, BUT UNDOUBTEDLY THE WORK OF ANDREW BOORDE.

By Charles Faulke-Watling.

This very interesting little volume from the press of Robert Wyer was entered in the Catalogue under the general heading "Book," there being nothing to show until now by whose hand it was written. The writer of this note, while searching for something else, was so struck with the title "The Boke for to lerne a Man to be wyse in building of his house", that he sent for it, thinking that it might supply material for an interesting article commenting on Dr Richardson's recent lectures on the same subject, after a lapse of more than three centuries. This expectation was amply justified, and the subject having been mentioned to Mr Ponsonby Lyons, that gentleman suggested the name of Andrew Boorde as a writer on sanitary matters in the 16th century, whose works might supply additional material for the purpose in view. But when Boorde's works were obtained, it was found that the interest was by no means confined to the subject matter, but that the first eight of the forty chapters contained in his Dietary were as nearly as possible identical with the eight chapters of which the volume now to be described consists.

The book is quite perfect, and in as good condition as when it first came from the press. It is a small quarto of sixteen leaves (A. B. C. D. in fours). There are twenty-five lines to each page, and every chapter has a woodcut initial letter, which is not the case with any of the editions previously known, except that belonging to

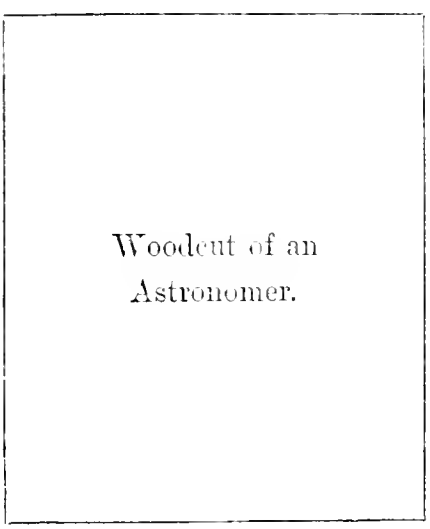
Mr Henry H. Gibbs, which has ornamental initials throughout. The attention of Mr Furnivall was called to the book, and he at once pronounced in favour of its being the work of Boorde. It may be that it was his first attempt at authorship, and that after he had acquired some degree of reputation, and was engaged in writing the more comprehensive work which he published under the title "A compendyous regyment or a Dyetary of helth," he prefixed the little treatise now under consideration to the later work instead of republishing it in a separate form. No edition of the Dietary is known which does not contain these eight chapters, but, as will be seen hereafter, the title is not so applicable to them as it is to the succeeding thirty-two chapters, which relate exclusively to questions of regimen and diet, and there appeared at first sight to be some reason for supposing that the break in the continuity of the subject was recognized by several of the printers, who have concluded the eighth chapter with lines gradually decreasing in length. This is the case in all the editions, except Powell's and that in the possession of Mr Gibbs, in both of which Chapter VIII. ends evenly; the irregularity, however, occurs in one or more places in every edition of the Dietary, so that in all probability it should be attributed rather to accident than to design.

The Title-page, Table of Contents, and Colophon of the newly-discovered work are here given in full, and the notes appended will show that they have been carefully collated with those of five editions of the Dietary; attention is also directed to a circumstance of some interest at the end of the third chapter. The other differences between the work described and any one of the editions of the Dietary are not greater than those between that one and each of the others. There is no dedication to the Duke of Norfolk, but that is also the case with the undated edition of the Dietary (A.), as well as with Colwell's edition of 1562 (B.), both in the British Museum. No allusion whatever is made in the dedication printed in the 1542 edition (E.) to any portion of the book having been in existence previous to that date, and this is, of course, an argument against the supposition that the first eight chapters were published in a separate form *before* the appearance of the Dietary, and would tend rather to show that they

were really published as an extract from a book previously known. Which of the two hypotheses is the true explanation is the question now submitted for consideration, and the following extracts are given to aid in the solution of the difficulty. The title-page is as follows:

The boke for to Lerne a man to be wyse in buyldyng of his howse for the helth of body & to holde quyetnes for the helth of his soule, and body.
¶ The boke for a good husbande to lerne.

¶ We Maysters of Astronomye, And doctoures in Phesycke cõfyrmeth this sayenge to be good & trewe both for the body, and also for the soule. ☞



A 1

The woodcut is not the same as that in the copy belonging to Mr Henry Hucks Gibbs, from which Mr Furnivall printed his edition of the Dietary for the Society, nor is it the same as that printed in the undated copy in the British Museum, and in the 1562 edition, which has also been recently acquired by the trustees of the National Library. The double-dated Edition, and that of 1576, have no woodcut on their title-pages. It is noteworthy that the woodcut of the 1542 edition represents St John *without* the eagle. Robert Wyer used as his device a cut of the Saint writing the Revelations, and attended in most cases by an eagle. Herbert makes a special note

of the rarity of Wyer's use of the device in which the attendant eagle is omitted.

Another peculiarity to be observed is, that in the tract now described the title-page itself is signed, A. 1.

The next point for description is the table of contents. This has been carefully collated with those of the five editions of the Dietary, and all the various readings are supplied in the foot-notes, chapter by chapter, the heading being numbered 1, and the eight chapters 2 to 9.

[1] ¶ The table of this Boke.

[2] The fyrste chapter doth shewe where a / man shulde buylde or set his howse, / or place, for the helthe of his body./

[3] ¶ The seconde chapter doth shewe a man,/ howe he shulde buylde his howse, that the / prospect be good for ye cōseruacion of helth./

[1] A. ¶ The Table of the Chapters / foloweth; B. The Table / ¶ The Table of the chapters / foloweth; C. ☞ Here foloweth the Table / of the Chapiters: D. ¶ The Table; E. ¶ Here foloweth the Table / of the Chapytres.

[2] D. first; A. B. Chapter (throughout): C. Chapyter; E. Chapytre; B. doeth: D. shew: C. E. shuld: D. should; in A. B. D. "cytuate" for "buylde"; C. E. cytuat; A. B. C. D. E. "set his mansyon place or howse," instead of "howse or place"; except that D. has "mansion," E. "mancyon," and B. C. D. have "house"; C. y^e^.

[3] B. omits ¶ (throughout); D. secōd; C. chapiter; E. Chapytre; C. dothe: D. shew: D. how: C. shuld: D. should: B. D. build; B. C. D. house; A. B. C. D. E. here insert "and"; A. B. prospecte; C. pspect; A. B. D. the; A. B. C. E. conseruacion; D. conseruation; A. B. C. D. health.

[4] ¶ The thyrde chapter doth shewe a man to / buylde his howse in a pure and fresh / ayre for to length his lyfe./

[5] ¶ The fourth chapt' doth shew vnder what / maner a man shuld buylde his howse in ex/chewyng thynges y[t] shuld shorten his lyfe.

[6] ¶ The .V. chapter doth shewe howe a man / shulde ordre his howse, consernynge the im-/plementes, to cõfort the spyrites of man./

[7] ¶ The .VI, chapter doth shewe a man howe / he shulde ordre his howse and howsholde, to / lyue in quyetnes.

[8] ¶ The VII. chapter doth shewe how the hed / of the howse, or howseholder shulde exercy/se hymself, for the helth of his soule & body

[9] ¶ The .VIII. chapter doth shewe how a man / shuld ordre hym self in slepynge & watche,/ and in his apparell werynge.

¶ Explicit tabula.*

[4] C. has ☞ for ¶. D. third ; C. Chapyter ; E. Chapitre ; B. doeth : C. dothe ; D. shew ; A. mā ; B. D. build ; A. B. C. D. house ; C. ī ; C. inserts "a" before "fresshe"; A. B. C. E. fresshe ; A. B. C. D. E. lengthen ; B. D. life.

[5] A. IIIJ ; B. E. IIII : A. B. D. Chapter : C. Chapiter ; E. Chapytre ; B. doeth ; C. dothe ; D. shew ; A. B. C. shulde ; D. should ; D. build : B. hys ; B. C. D. house ; here A. B. C. D. E. all insert the words "or mansyon" (D. spells mansion) ; A. B. D. omit "in" ; C. E. eschewynge ; D. eschewing ; D. thinges ; A. B. D. E. that ; A. B. C. shulde ; D. should ; A. B. D. "the" for "his".

[6] D. fift ; C. Chapiter ; E. Chapytre ; B. doeth ; D. shew ; C. E. shuld ; D. shold ; B. C. D. order ; B. hys ; B. C. D. house ; A. B. concernynge ; C. E. concernyng ; D. concerning ; A. B. Implementes ; A. B. C. D. E. comforte ; A. B. C. E. spyrytes ; D. spirites.

[7] C. has ☞ for ¶. D. sixte ; C. Chapiter ; E. Chapytre ; D. shew ; C. a mā ; B. shoulde ; D. should ; B. C. D. order ; B. C. D. house ; B. has "housholde" as a catchword, but at the top of the next page the word is spelt "housholde" ; D. quietnesse.

[8] A. VIJ ; D. seuēth ; C. chapiter ; E. Chapytre ; D. E. shew ; C. E. howe ; C. y[e] ; A. hed of house : B. hed of the house : C. hed of a house ; D. head of the house ; E. hed of a howse ; A. B. C. D. E. insert "a" after "or" ; A. B. D. housholder ; C. householde ; A. B. shuld ; D. should ; C. excereyse ; D. exereise ; A. E. C. hym selfe ; B. D. himselfe ; A. B. C. health ; C. E. the soule ; A. B. and bodye ; D. E. and body.

[9] A. VIIJ ; D. eyght ; C. chapiter ; E. Chapytre ; E. shew ; C. howe ; C. mā ; A. C. E. shulde ; B. shoulde ; D. should : B. C. D. E. order : A. hymselfe ; B. E. hym selfe ; C. him selfe ; D. himselfe ; D. sleeping ; A. B. C. D. E. and ; C. E. watchynge ; B. apparel ; A. B. C. E. wearynge ; D. wearing.

* Wyer's undated edition, A. Colwel's of 1562, B. Powell's double-dated edition, 1547-67, C. H. Jackson's of 1576, D. (the table not in black letter). Mr Furnivall's reprint of the 1542 edition, E.

The words "explicit tabula" at the end of the eighth chapter are, of course, peculiar to the treatise which is brought to a conclusion at that point. In all the enlarged editions published under the title "Dietary of Health," the table of contents proceeds, without any break whatever, to give the headings of the remaining thirty-two chapters. The various readings of the concluding words in the different editions will be found at page 231 of Mr Furnivall's reprint.

The next point to be observed is, that in the Dietary there occurs, at the end of the third chapter, a reference to the 27th chapter, but in the book under examination there is no such reference for obvious reasons, but the information referred to appears as a separate paragraph on the *same page*. The extracts are given here, for the sake of comparison, in parallel columns, partly with a view to directing attention to the differences between them, and partly because the circumstance appears, at first sight, to afford some additional ground for believing that the larger work was first published, and the smaller one brought out afterwards in a separate form.

Paragraph at the foot of Chapter III. in the book described.

¶ For whan the plaages of the Pestylence or the swetynge syckenes is in a towne or countre, at Mountpylour, and in all other hyghe regyons and countres, that I haue ben in, the people doth flye from the contagyous and infectyous ayer, preseruatiues with other councell of Physycke, notwithstandynge. In lower and other baase countres, howses the whiche be infectyd in towne or cytie, be closed vp, both dores & wyndowes, and the inhabytours shal not come abrode, nother to churche nor market, for infectynge other, with that syckenes.

Opening sentences of Chapter XXVII. (Mr Furnivall's reprint.)

Whan the Plages of the Pestylence, or the swetynge syckenes is in a towne or coûtree, with vs at Mountpylour, and all other hygh Regyons and countrees y^{t} I haue dwelt in, the people doth fle from the contagious and infectious ayre preseruatynes, with other counceyll of Physycke, notwithstandyng. In lower and other baase countres, howses the which be infectyd in towne or cytie, be closyd vp both doores & wyndowes: & the inhabytours shall not come a brode, nother to churche: nor to market, nor to any howse or cõpany, for infectyng other, the whiche be clene without infection.

It will be seen that in the tract the author does not use the words "with us" when speaking of Montpelier. Can it be that he wrote the treatise on house-building elsewhere? and, if so, are we to suppose that it was written before or after 1542, the date of his dedication of the Dietary to the Duke of Norfolk, which Mr Furnivall believes to be the date at which the first edition was published? And, speaking of this dedication, does the text afford sufficient ground for believing that it was actually *written* in Montpelier? It is dated from there, but it would be hard to prove that it was not written in London. The author in the body of the dedicatory letter calls attention to a book "the which I *dyd* make in Mountpyller," and which he says "*is* a pryntynge besyde Saynt Dunston's churche." The dedication, as prefixed to the 1542 edition, and the version in Powell's edition of 1547, are printed by Mr Furnivall in parallel columns (page 225 *et seq.*), and we see at once that Powell kept both the original place, Montpelier, and the original day and month, 5th of May, but altered the year, 1542, to the date of his own edition, 1547, to make it look like a new book.

1542 *Edition.*	*Powell's Edition.*
From Mountpyllier. The .v. day of May. The yere of our lorde Iesu Chryste M.v.C.xlij.	From Mountpyller. The fyft daye of Maye. The yere of our Lord Iesu Chryste M.cccce xlvii.

It is at least possible that the principal object of Boorde, as well as Powell, was to show, not that the dedication was *written* in Montpelier, but that the author had studied in the medical school of that city, which he himself describes as "the hed vniversitie in al Europe for the practes of physycke & surgery or chyrming."

There is nothing more in the book here described that requires any special consideration until the eighth and last chapter is brought to a conclusion, with a caution against travelling in boisterous weather. "¶ Explicit" is printed at the foot of the chapter, and thereafter are inserted the following verses, which do not occur anywhere in the various editions of the Dietary. The last verse is followed by the word "Finis", and beneath that is the Colophon as printed below

¶ Of folyshe Physycyons.

Who that useth the arte of medycyne
Takynge his knowlege in the feelde
He is a foole full of ruyne
So to take herbes for his sheelde
wenynge theyr vertue for to weelde
whiche is not possyble for to knowe
All theyr vertues, both hye and lowe.

¶ Of dolorous departynge.

¶ Neuer man yet was so puyssant
Of gooddes or of parentage
But that mortall death dyd hym daunt
By processe at some strayght passage
yea, were he neuer of suche an age
For he spareth neyther yonge nor olde
Fayre nor fowle, fyerse nor also bolde.

¶ Of the true descripcion.

¶ The wyse man whiche is prudent
Doth moche good where euer he go
Gyuynge examples excellent
Unto them the whiche are in wo
Teachynge them in all vertues so
That they may not in to synne fall
If that they hertely on God call.

¶ Of Phylosophye.

¶ At this tyme doctryne is decayed
And nought set by in no place
For euery man is well appayed
To get good with great solace
Not carynge howe nor in what place
Puttynge the fayre and dygnesophye
Under feete with Phylosophye.

¶ Finis. ¶

Imprynted by me Robert
Wyer,[1] dwellynge at the signe of ;S:.
John Euangelyst, in s. Martyns
parysshe in the felde besyde the
Duke of Suffolkes pla-
ce, at Charynge
Crosse.

¶ Cum priueligio, Ad
impremendum
solum.

It now remains to say a few words about the relative ages of the tract described and of the first edition of the Dietary, regarding the question from a purely typographical point of view. All the evidence appears to be in favour of the tract having been printed at an earlier period than the "Dietary." It is well known that the printers of the day allowed the quality of the paper they used to deteriorate as time went on. Now there is a marked difference in the texture and finish of the paper on which the tract is printed and that of the paper which is used for the Dietary, and the superiority belongs entirely to the former. The type used in the tract is, in the opinion of experts, of an earlier character than that used in the Dietary, many of the letters (l, v, &c.) bearing a closer resemblance to the forms used in manuscript, while a careful comparison of those of the woodcut initial letters, which are common to both books, seems to show that if the same blocks were used in both cases they were less worn and in better condition when the tract was printed than when they were used for the Dietary; but, of course, it is quite possible that

[1] Wyer's undated edition says nothing about "the Duke of Suffolk's place," but reads "Dwellynge at the / signe of seynt John E/uangelyst, in S Mar/tyns Parysshe, besy/de Charynge / Crosse /

¶ Cum priuilegio Ad impremen-
dum solum.

For the colophons of the other editions noticed by Mr Furnivall, see page 304 of his reprint. In H. Jackson's edition of 1576 an imprint is given at the foot of the title-page, but the colophon merely consists of the word Finis over the woodcut reproduced by Mr Furnivall from Mr Gibbs's copy, that is, Wyer's ordinary device, St John *attended* by the eagle: it will thus be seen that Mr Gibbs's copy affords examples of two out of the three devices used by that printer, one of them being very rare.

the initials in the two books were printed from different blocks, cut to the same pattern; and if that were the case the argument, based upon the superior clearness of the impressions in the tract, falls to the ground. However, taking all the facts of the case together, the writer, as far as he can venture to form an opinion on such a subject, is inclined to believe that "The boke for to lerne a man to be wyse in the buyldyng of his howse" was printed, if not actually written, at an earlier period than the earliest known edition of the "Compendyous Regyment or Dyetary of Helth," with which it was incorporated; and the supposition that the Dietary, in its complete form, was *first* published, and then that the first eight chapters were extracted and published separately under another title, he believes to be untenable and against the weight of the evidence.

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