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 ANGLO SAXON
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 PROP. F. J. CHILD’S MEMOIRS ON THE LANGUAGE OF
CHAUCER AND GOWER, REPRINTS OF THE RARE TRACTS BY SALESbury ON
ENGLISH, 1647, AND WELSH, 1667, AND BY BARCLEY ON FRENCH, 1621,
ABSTRACTS OF SCHMELLER’S TREATISE ON BAVARIAN DIALECTS, AND
WINKLER’S LOW GERMAN AND FRIESIAN DIALECTICON, AND
PRince L. L. BONAPARTE’S VOWEL AND CONSONANT LISTS.

BY

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XVII TH, XVIII TH, AND XIX TH CENTURIES.
LEDIARD, BONAPARTE, SCHMELLER, WINKLER.
RECEIVED AMERICAN AND IRISH PRONUNCIATION OF ENGLISH.
PHONOLOGICAL INTRODUCTION TO DIALECTS.

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CORRIGENDA ET ADDENDA

In addition to those already given on the backs of notices to Parts I. and II. and back of title to Part III., containing all the errors hitherto observed that could cause the slightest difficulty to the reader.

* This star is prefixed to the Addenda. The additions promised for Part IV. at the back of the title to Part III., in the belief that Part IV. would conclude the work, are necessarily postponed to Part VI. The additions here given are all of small extent.

In PART I. pp. 1—416.

pp. 3–10, the symbols of palaeotype have been much extended, and occasionally corrected. See the subsequent list of Additional Palaeotypic Symbols, p. xii.

p. 11, lines 19, 22, in the Caith words, for (u) read (u ǝ).

*p. 29, table, col. xvii, for nin’t read nin’t; and add to table: “(u) is put for (u) in the old pronunciations, owing to uncertainty.”

p. 32, against 1547, read 35 Henry VIII.

p. 33, l. 13 from bottom, read Jean Pilott.

p. 41, l. 14 from bottom, for Ripon, read Chester.

p. 60, col. of Sovereigns, between Edw. VI. and Elizabeth, insert 1553 Mary.

p. 67, lines 15, 6, and 3 from bottom, read get, mær, (mæ’).  

p. 67, l. 11 from bottom of text, for Mr. M. Bell’s French nasals, read (9ә, әba, әba, әa).

p. 80, l. 7, and p. 111, l. 16, read deei (de-әi).

p. 93, col. 4, line 5, read endevx.

p. 95, l. 2, read sto’tiri.

p. 99, l. 5, read hope hope (hoop).

*p. 111, l. 6, at end of sentence, add: “(see p. 817, note).”

p. 116, l. 1, omit and as it probably was in the xivth century.

p. 131, l. 8 from bottom of text, read dshoint.

p. 134, l. 9 from bottom of text, read vo’idsh.

*p. 145, l. 11 from bottom of text. add: “See p. 976, l. 6.”

p. 153, lines 9, 10, 11 from bottom, omit which.

p. 158, l. 9, read molten.

p. 159, l. 9, read ât, nát, brât, bât.

*p. 173, l. 9 from bottom of second col. of note, for (e, ә) read (e, ә). At end of that note add: “Prince L. L. Bonaparte heard M. Feline use (ә) for e must; all references to his pronunciation must be corrected accordingly.”

*p. 189, l. 7, read (bun, bun’ә) and at end of paragraph add: “M. Paul Meyer told me (30 April, 1871) that he suspected Falsgrave to allude to the Provençal method of using -ә, for what in northern French is -о mute, and to have pronounced this ә either as (ә) or (-oh).”

p. 190, last line, read (о’er’indzhә).

p. 192, last line, read ә.

p. 196, l. 12 from bottom of text, read differing nearly as (ә, ә).  

p. 198, lines 10 and 11, for ut, juz, read whi, jwhi.

*p. 201, l. 6 from bottom, add as a footnote: “Mr. F. G. Fleay says he knows two certain instances of Londoners saying (draaap).”

*p. 205, note 1, add: “The passages adduced by F. L. K. Weigand (Wörterbuch der Deutschen S.-nonymen, No. 1068) seem to leave no doubt as to the historic origin of church from the Greek, through the canons of the Greek churches.”

p. 216, l. 2, read (kon’di’zәn).
CORRIGENDA ET ADDENDA.

*p. 218, add at end of first column of footnote: “See also p. 922, col. 2, under suitor, and p. 968, col. 2, under &.”

p. 220, l. 11, italicise humble.

p. 223, note 1, l. 1, read Lehrgebäude.

p. 226, note 1, l. 1, after treatise, add: “(reprinted below, p. 815).”

p. 236, l. 4, read myv.

p. 240, l. 2, read but.

*p. 247, l. 18, add as footnote: “See the investigation below, pp. 463-462, and pp. 820, 822, under ai, et.”

p. 264, l. 7, read sumus.

*p. 265, note 1, add: “See p. 473, n. 1, and p. 1315.”

p. 268, l. 3, read 53221.

p. 269, note, col. 1, l. 6, read mouiller.

p. 271, l. 13, read confuses.

*p. 281, l. 31, for: “The words do not occur in Gill, but lady does occur,” read and add: “The words lady, worthy, occur in Gill, who writes (las’di, ladii’i), see p. 935, l. 13, below, and (wurdh‘i), see p. 909, col. 2, below; and lady also occurs. . . .”

*p. 282, l. 5 from bottom, add: “See p. 817, note.”

p. 283, l. 8, read melodye.

p. 284, l. 29, read Die = (da‘i-e, dii-e).

p. 286, lines 6 and 11, read (tii‘e, piir-ne).

p. 287, l. 13, omit it.

p. 288, note 1, line 4, read effect is.

p. 294, line last of text, read but (ee, oo).

p. 295, line last but one of text, read were.

p. 301, l. 10, read words in en.

p. 307, l. 22, for (xm), read (xn).

*p. 316, note 1, line 5, read an and en; and at the end of note 1 add: “see below, pp. 509, 825-828, and p. 828, note 1.”

p. 319, last line of text, read world.

p. 321, l. 2, omit one neer’d-e.

l. 7, read hertz‘ogh.

l. last of text, read fax’torliiths.

p. 323, l. 25, read gras.

l. 36, read nekh’ten.

p. 325, l. last but one of text, read lorsque.

*p. 327, throughout the French transcription of M. Féline’s pronunciation interchange (ɔ) and (o), according to the correction of the meaning of M. Féline’s symbols given me by Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte, who heard him speak; thus v. 1, read (kœ lo siel kelko zhur), and v. 3 read (miš kœ), etc. See p. 173 in this list.

p. 327, note, last line, omit which.

p. 328, l. 7 from bottom of text, read sauts.

p. 330, l. 13 from bottom of text, for be aware, read beware.

p. 331, l. 17 from bottom of text, read désirs.

p. 336, commence note with 1.

p. 337, l. 9 from bottom, read kouth’.

p. 342, l. 10, read hadd’.

p. 343, note 3, line 2, read & an e.

p. 345, l. 9 from bottom of text, read restored.

p. 346, art. 14, ex., col. 2, l. 11, read et ham.

p. 351, line 5, read fader.

Art. 35, l. 4, read Past.

Art. 38, line 4, read more, bettre.

p. 354, art. 61, ex., col. 2, line 7, read he let.

p. 377, l. 10 from bottom, read Tale.

p. 358, art. 65, under schal, line 2, read (dialectic).

* p. 363, art. 82, ex., insert after v. 388: “[See note on v. 386, p. 700, below.]”

p. 366, l. 5, for new fr., read old fr.

p. 367, art. 92, l. 13, read them, and l. 14, read lyme.
CORRIGENDA ET ADDENDA.

p. 370, note 1, citation iii. 357, read This toucheb.
p. 374, art. 108, ex., col. 2, line 1, read et-after.
p. 385, col. 2, under, hevmirche, read heofonrice.
p. 386, col. 1, under ill, read yile.
p. 388, col. 1, under lore, read lorc.
   " under -lx, line 6, read sodeinliche.
p. 392, col. 2, under ** Sleeve, read 16 sleeve 13162', stef ii 213'.
pp. 398-402, tables of probable sounds, etc., for (i, u), read (i, u) in several places; and also often to end of p. 415.
p. 400, under TH, read in two sounds.
p. 413, col. 2, l. 1, read Fa.ater.
   " in Kree doo, l. 1, read ine.
p. 415, v. 489, read Diissen tees Ee. vel Aa.

In PART II. pp. 417-632.
*p. 439, note 5, add: "The text of the Bestiary has been again printed from the Arundel MS. 292, in Dr. Morris's Old English Miscellany, published by the Early English Text Society in 1872, vol. 49, pp. 1-25. The references to the numbers of the verses (not to those of the pages) given in the present book, pp. 439-441, hold good for this edition."
p. 441, l. 13, and p. 445, l. 10 from bottom of text, for n. 4, read n. 1.
*pp. 442-3, add as footnote: "For corrections of some quantities, see p. 1270, note 1."
*p. 465, l. 35, add as footnote: "On the confusion of long ñ and ñ, see note in Madden's Layamon, vol. 3, p. 437, which will be further treated in Part VI."
p. 466, translation, col. 2, v. 4, read hill.
p. 473, note 1, col. 1, l. 8 from bottom, for § 3, read § 1, p. 1171;—col. 2, l. 1, for p. 446, read p. 447;—l. 14, for § 4, read § 2 (the reference is to the notice which will appear in Part V.);—l. 18, read May (the month);—and for the pronunciations in lines 17, 20, 21, 22, 24, 25, read: (mcr, dcr, swcr, pe, shfp, slfp, mfi, shfp, slfp, mfi, dzheist, dzheint, b'oid, peint, m'nt, munt).
*p. 474, l. 22, to the words "dode never appears as deide," add the footnote (:)
   "In the Cotton text of the Cursor Mundi, v. 1619, p. 100 of Dr. Morris's edition published by the Early English Text Society, we find deid rhyming to red; but the word is here the substantive deed, not the verb did, which is written did on v. 1608 above, rhyming to kydd. This deed is a mere clerical error for dode; the Fairfax, Göttingen, and Trinity MSS. have all dode, and the Cotton has ded, v. 1962."
*p. 475, note 1, add to this note: "In Cursor Mundi, Cotton text, v. 1629, we have Pe first was Sem, sham was the topeir, And Isphet hight put yonges brojer, where Dr. Morris writes 'yonges[i]', but this is unnecessary, see p. 1400, Halifax version, v. 12. Here we have a spelling topeir, which would have apparently rhymed to sir in Havelok. But it is a mere clerical error, not found in the other MSS., any more than the singular errors in v. 1973-4, I felagh naman do til ojer For ilkan agh be ojer brojer, where ojer, opier, occur in consecutive lines, and brojer is a similar error; ojer is the usual spelling in the Cotton MS., as in v. 1979, but we have brojer, tojier, v. 2031, with brojer v. 2043, etc. Nothing phonetic can be distinctly concluded from such vagaries."
*p. 475, lines 3 and 4 from bottom of text, see note 4 on p. 1404, col. 2, v. 2
p. 476, l. 1-19, see the remarks on p. 1310.
*p. 477, note 2, l. 3, omit more. Add to note: "On this dental t, better writ t(e), see p. 1096, col. 1, and p. 1137, col. 2, l. 16 from bottom."
p. 478, note 2, l. 6, read from giving.
*p. 484, note 1, add: "Another copy of the Moral Ode will be found in Morris's Old English Miscellany (E. E. T. S. 1872), p. 58, and another in the Old English Homilies, second series (E. E. T. S."


p. 220. On p. 255 of this last is given a hymn to the Virgin, of which the first verse with the musical notes, and the second verse without them, are photolithographed opposite p. 261, with a translation of the music first by Dr. Rimbault, p. 260, and secondly by myself, p. 261, of which the latter will appear in Part VI. of this book. To my translation I have added annotations, pp. 262–271, explaining the reasons which influenced me, and the bearings of this music (which is comparable to that of the Cuckoo Song, and Prisoner’s Prayer, suprà pp. 426, 432) on the pronunciation of final E, etc., the pith of which will also appear in Part VI."

*p. 487, l. 9, for attributes read seems to attribute. Add to note 1: ‘Was yate in line 16 of this note a misprint for yate? Did Thorpe mean that get in Orrmin would have been (jëet)? or (jëit)? If (jëit), then Thorpe consistently attributes modern habits to Orrmin; if (jëet), he makes one remarkable exception. There is nothing in his remarks which will decide this point, and hence I alter my expression in the text.’

p. 490, l. 24, read further.—note 1, last line, read Orrmin’s.

p. 495, col. 3, præ llegó, remove †, for this word is not oblique in v. 3475.

*p. 516, note, add at the end: ‘‘p. 541, and see especially note 2 to that page.”

*p. 516, add to note 3: ‘‘More particulars respecting this MS., which has been re-examined for me by Mr. Sweet, will be given in Part VI. There is little doubt that it is wrongly taken to be Anglo-Saxon on pp. 518–522, but is rather Celtice. However, it certainly shows the correspondence of the sounds of Latin and Greek letters in this country at that time, and hence indirectly bears on Anglo-Saxon usage. The MS. has a Paschal table from A.D. 817 to 832, which places it in the IXth century.”

518, note, col. 2, l. 8, after “teeth,” insert: “see p. 1103, col. 1, and p. 1337, col. 2, on i. 25.”—Both refer to the Sanscrit Ṗ.

p. 531. The following explanation of the words here quoted from Wace will appear as a note in Part VI.; it is taken from a letter of Mr. Skeat, date 1 Jan. 1872: “The cup was passed round. If a man drank too much, he was cautioned, ‘Drink half’ (only); if he kept the cup too long, the men two or three places off him sang out—‘Let it come, where is the cup?’ ‘Drink hindsword’ is drink backwards, i.e. pass the cup the wrong way; though it would commonly take the form: ‘No drinks go hindsword,’ i.e. ‘don’t drink backward, none of your passing the cup the wrong way round.’ I have heard ‘Let it come’ in a college hall; it is a most natural exclamation. I have said it myself! So instead of meaning ‘may you have what you want’ [as suggested suprà p. 532, line 1], it is: ‘may I have what I want,’ which is human nature all over.”

p. 534, conjectured pronunciation, v. 12, l. 3, and v. 13, l. 6, read `mæht`e.

*p. 541, note 2, l. 4, add: “printed in an enlarged form in Appendix I. to Mr. Sweet’s edition of King Alfred’s West-Saxon Version of Gregory’s Pastoral Care, printed for the E. E. T. S., Part II., 1872, pp. 496–564; in the Preface to this Part, pp. xxi–xxxiii, Mr. Sweet enters on the Phonology of Anglo-Saxon.”

p. 543, l. 8, read (gch, wh, w).

p. 547, l. 13, for “(e) final,” read “s final.”

p. 592, note, col. 2, line 2, read minimum.

*p. 600, col. 1, line 12, after hue, insert huec.

p. 601, col. 2, (O o), line 3, read heard in the.

p. 628, l. 3, read exist?)—

In PART III. pp. 633–996.

*p. 637, l. 16, after “usual,” add as a footnote: “Frequent instances of the interchange of (i, ee, ki) will be found in the specimens from Winkler’s Dialecicon, see below p. 1375, l. 21.”

*p. 638, note, at end of note continued from p. 637, add: “Prince L. L. Bonaparte informs me that the real Portuguese sound of a is (a), which is also nasalised (ə), see p. 1308, No. 23, vowels 8 and 9. Final and unaccented, this a is nearly (w).”
CORRIGENDA ET ADDENDA.

*p. 639, note 1, col. 2, l. 11, add: “Mr. (now Dr.) Murray collated this MS. in Edinburgh in 1871, and informs me that the MS. has deye, and not dethe, or deye, which is a gross blunder of D. Laing’s, as the y of the MS. is always dotted, and the j never is. He says that D. Laing’s Abbotsford text has above 60 misreadings per page.”

*p. 649, lines 7 and foll. The Alexandrines in Chaucer will be reconsidered in Part VI.;—line 12, after MSS., insert: “in retaining of hem”;—line 20, after “unnamish,” add: “in inserting pource”;—line 25, after MSS., insert as a footnote: “except the Cambridge, which reads—
With a threadbare cope as is a scholar,
where the is, which appears also in the Ellesmere and Hengwrt MSS.,
but not in the others, is an evident error.”

p. 663, note 38, l. 13, read of (or) for (ki).

pp. 680-725, in Chaucer’s Prologue, make the following corrections, in addition to those pointed out in the footnote p. 724, they are mostly quite unimportant. In the Text, v. 2, percol’; v. 3, lyceur; v. 8, yronne; v. 13, palmeur’s; v. 20, Tabbard; vv. 21, 78, pilgrimage; v. 24, weel; v. 25, yfalle; v. 29, weel; v. 49, Christendoom; v. 57, Fainurye; vv. 64, 85, been; v. 72 gentel’; v. 73, array; v. 85, chyerchye; v. 99, sertyssel’; v. 104, pocok; v. 107, feth’re; v. 123, nose; v. 138, amiabl’; v. 141, dygn’; v. 157, cloak’; as; v. 169, brydel; v. 170, cler; v. 186, laboure; v. 189, prykasour; v. 202, stemd’; v. 209, lymytour; v. 224, pytawe; v. 226, eygme; v. 241, evrych; v. 245 syke; v. 248, eytayle; v. 256, eer; v. 282, cherysawncus; v. 308, lern’; and; v. 326, wytryng’.—In the Pronunciation, v. 41, add comma; v. 76, add period; v. 144, saukw (wrongly corrected sakw in footnote to p. 724); v. 152 add semicolon after strait; glas;—in the Note on v. 260, p. 693, for “So all MSS. except Ca.” read “All MSS. insert pource except Ca.”

p. 756, note, col. 2, lines 25 and 26, read “(lhh, lh, lhh, ljhh) occur in the Sardinian dialect of Sassari, and (lhh) in the dialect of the Isle of Man.” Observe that (lhh) does not occur in the dialect of the Isle of Man, as it is incorrectly stated to do in the note as printed.

*p. 763, note 2, add: “Winge is given for whine from Rothbury, see the comparative specimen in Chap. XI. § 2. No. 12. below. This was more probably the word alluded to.”

*p. 768, add note to title of § 2: “This work was first seen by me in the British Museum on 14 Feb. 1859, from which day, therefore, the present researches should be dated.”

p. 789, col. 1, art. bold, read (boued).

*p. 799, note 1, col. 1, lines 17 to 20. This is not a perfectly correct representation of the Prince’s opinion, see reference on p. 1299, under (uh) No. 54; see also the additional note, given in this table of Errata, to p. 1296, line 1.

p. 800, note, col. 1, the Prince wishes to omit 2) and 3), lines 4 to 8;—col. 2, the notations (nh, sh, etc.), are now (sh), etc., and (ns), etc., is now (s), etc.

*p. 802, note, col. 1, line last, for Madrid, read Spain, although heard in Spanish America.—Add at end of note: “Prince L.L. Bonaparte considers that no buzzed consonant is found in Spanish, and hence that it is an error to suppose that (dh) or (z) occur in it. He thinks or Spanish is (b) after a consonant, or when standing for Latin bb, and (hh), which he does not reckon as a buzz, after a vowel or when initial. The Spanish strong r, initial and after s, and rr between vowels, he regards as a Basque sound (r), p. 1354, col. 2, No. 203. In Basque the only ordinary r (r) is a euphonic insertion, as our cockney law(r) of the land, draw(r)ing room. The Castilian s he considers to be the Basque z, and it sounded to me as a forward dental s with a half lip, possibly (zh) of p. 1353, No. 143, or (s) of p. 1105, col. 1, l. 24 from bottom. These fine varieties are very difficult to appreciate by persons who cannot hear them constantly in the spoken language, from many different speakers.”

*p. 803, last words of Hart, add as note: “This was Lord Eldon’s favourite motto.”

*p. 834, l. 25, add footnote: “The subject of modern, as distinct from ancient, French accent, has been considered in my paper on Accent and Emphasis,
Trans. of Philological Society for 1873–4, pp. 138–139, and by Prof. Charles Cassal, a Frenchman, *ibid*, pp. 260–276; but the views we have taken are disputed and stated to be entirely incorrect by most French authorities, and even by Prince L. L. Bonaparte, whose Italian education makes him familiar with the meaning of accent. The part played by Latin accent in French is the subject of an *Étude sur le Rôle de l'Accent Latin dans la langue Française* by M. Gaston Paris (1862), who also holds that M. Cassal and I are wrong in our views, but whose pronunciation, when tested by myself and Mr. Nicol, bore out what M. Cassal and myself meant to imply, so that there must be a radical difference of the feeling, rather than of the conception, conveyed by the word 'accent.' Hence the need of scientific researches, suggested in other parts of my paper on Accent and Emphasis. An advance towards a mechanical registration of the force of uttered breath in speech has been made by Mr. W. H. Barlow, F.R.S., in his *Logograph*, described in the Proceedings of the Royal Society, vol. 22, pp. 277–286, and less fully in a note to my Third Annual Address to the Philological Society (Trans. Ph. S. 1873–4, p. 389). The nature of Latin accent itself, whence, as seen through a Cельto-Frankish medium, French accent arose, has been carefully considered and practically illustrated in my *Practical Hints on the Quantitative Pronunciation of Latin* (Macmillan & Co., 1874). The strange difference in the whole character of French, Italian, and Spanish pronunciation, and especially in the nature of accent and quantity in these languages, although all derived very directly from Latin, and although Spain and Gaul were celebrated for the purity of their Latin, next of course to Rome, shows that the whole question requires re-investigation.

p. 866, note, col. 2, l. 4, *read* mead. In lines 7, 8, 9, a line has been dropped. The complete passage is printed on p. 1061, note, col. 1, line 10.

p. 918, line 15, *read* Shakspere was a South Warwickshire man.


*923, col. 2, add to the example "foot, gown:" "We have an echo of none as gown, that is (mun) as (gun, gun) in TS 4, 3, 31 (247, 85), where Katerina says: 'I like the cap, And it I will have, or I will have none,' which Petruchio chooses to hear as gown, for he says: 'Thy gowne, why I; come, Tailor, let vs see.t.'"

p. 923, to the examples of puns under A, *add*: "cote Kate TS 2, 1, 50 (238, 189–90). Observe that th in Katherina, as the name is spelled in the Globe edition, was simple (t). The folio has Katerina, and that Katerina was either (Katriin), or more probably (Kaa-trin), whence (Kaat) was the natural diminutive.

*pp. 925–6, add to example of puns under OA, O, OO: "on one TG, 2, 1, 2 (24', 2); 'Speed. Sir, your Gloue.—Valen. Not mine; my Gloues are on.—Sp. Why then this may be yours: for this is but one.' This is conclusive for the absence of an initial (w) in the sound of one.

p. 938, note 1, *add at end*: "See also Chap. XI. § 2. No. 11. for Derbyshire usage."

* p. 942, col. 1, before the last entry under Fourth Measure Trisyllabic, *insert*: To be suspected: framed to make women false. Oth. 1, 3, 86 (886', 404).

* p. 946, col. 2, *add* to the examples of well-marked Alexandria in Othello: That came a-wooning with you, and so many a time. Oth. 3, 3, 31 (993, 71). Not that I love you not. But that you do not love me. Oth. 3, 3, 90 (899, 196).

Since guiltiness I know not; but yet I feel I fear. Oth. 5, 2, 16 (907, 39).

* p. 953, just before the heading *Shakspere's Rhymes, insert as a new paragraph*: "Since the above examples were collected and printed, the subject of Shakspere's metrical usages has received great attention. See the Transactions of the New Shakspere Society, 1874–5. See also Mr. Furnivall's essay on *The Succession of Shakspere's Works and the use of Metrical Texts in Settling it*, being the introduction to Miss Bunnett's translation of Gervinus's *Commentaries on Shakspere* (1874)."

p. 963, col. 2, under "caught her," l. 8, omit first "."
CORRIGENDA ET ADDENDA.

p. 980, note, col. 1, line 18. The Devonshire oo will be fully considered in Chap. XI. § 2. No. 11.
p. 986, l. 10 of Portia's speech, read "mer'si."

In PART IV. pp. 997-1432.

p. 1086, l. 16, read my (e) in the xviii th may have been (s, o).
p. 1114, col. 1, line 5 from bottom, read being, dr, re.
p. 1167, col. 2, under sir, read (re'sn).
p. 1180, col. 2, v. 29, read answering.
p. 1221, col. 2, l. 19 from bottom, read (ruen) or (ru'en).
* p. 1251, add to note continued from p. 1250: "Mr. Elworthy, of Wellington, Somerset, says he has never heard Ies as a pure nominative, but only is standing apparently for us and used as I. More upon this in § 2. No. 11."
* p. 1296, l. 1, after "in such case," add as a footnote: "The following remark of the Prince on this passage was not received till this page had been printed off: 'When the vowels (25e), (46e) lose their tonic accent in Italian, they do not become quite (29e) and (51o), but the original sounds still influence the vowels in their unaccented state, producing the intermediate sounds (28e) and (49o). This explanation seems to me quite logical, and it is in accordance with the sensations of every fine Tuscan and Roman ear. On the contrary, if the original vowel is (29e) and (51o), it remains unaltered when it loses the accent. Compare the e and o of bellina, collina (derived from bello, colie, which have open vowels), with the e and o of stellaccio and pollina (derived from stella, polio, which have close vowels). I had never the least doubt upon this point, but in my previous statements I did not take the present minute gradations of sound into consideration. It would certainly be better to pronounce bellina, collina with (29e), (51o) than with (25e), and (46e).—L.L.B.'"

* p. 1323, note, col. 2, l. 7, add: (abstracred below, pp. 1378-1428).
p. 1376, l. 24, read (ruuter Jot).
p. 1381, col. 1, l. 5, read saan'es.
p. 1393, col. 2, line 8, read por-sii, and see p. 1428, col. 2, Note.

PALAEOTYPE: ADDITIONAL SYMBOLS AND EXPLANATIONS.

The original list of Palaeotypic symbols, pp. 3-12, drawn up at the commencement of this work, has had to be supplemented and improved in many points during its course, and especially during the delicate phonetic investigations of Part IV. Each new point is fully explained in the text as it arises, and although reference is generally made to the place subsequently, it will probably be found convenient in using the book to have all these references collected together, as it is hoped they are in the following list, which follows the order of the pages in the book. The index in Part VI. is intended to refer to each letter and symbol in alphabetical or systematic order.

p. 419, note, col. 1, line 2, symbol of diphthongal stress: an acute accent used to mark the vowel which has the stress in diphthongs, when the position of stress is abnormal, as (eâ). This use has been subsequently extended to all cases of diphthongs, and uniformly used to mark diphthongs from p. 1091 onwards, see p. 1100, col. 2.

p. 419, note, col. 1, l. 16, symbol of evanescent: the mark 1, a cut [], shows that the following vowel is scarcely heard; [], show that all included letters are scarcely heard; excessively slight 1 see p. 1326 in this list.

p. 800, note, col. 2, symbols for advanced s, sh = (s, sh) and retracted s, sh = (s, s), subsequently replaced by (s, s) and (s, sh).
p. 998, l. 11, symbol of discontinuity: the mark , a cut , used to show absence of glide; this is rendered nearly unnecessary by an extension of the use of the symbol of diphthongal stress, p. 419 in this list.
p. 1090, at the end of text, the mode of reference to pages and quarter pages is explained; the two symbols introduced in the summary of contents are referred to seriatim below.

p. 1094, col. 1, l. 33, symbols of Goodwin's theoretical English ch, \( j = (k_f, g_f) \) where \( j \) is turned (\( \breve{f} \)), see also p. 1119 in this list.

p. 1095, col. 2, l. 30, symbol of advanced contact, changed from (\( t \)) or (\( \cdot \)) to (\( , \)), as \( (t, d) \) for \( t, d \), \( (\cdot, d) \) for the dental \( t, d \).

p. 1096, col. 1, l. 20, and col. 2, l. 28, the use of (\( t\breve{u}, d\breve{u} \)) for \( t, d \), with inverted tongue, supposed to be incorrect for Sanscrit, and use of (\( t, d \)) for Indian \( \text{murdhanya} \) \( t, d \), and (\( t, d \)) for English coronal \( t, d \). In the Dravidian languages the inversion of the tongue, so that the under part of the tongue strikes the palate, seems to be much more distinct, and (\( t, d \)), which seem to be the same to a Bengalee, are apparently distinct as (\( t\breve{u}, \breve{t} \)) to a Madrasee.

p. 1097, col. 1, under (\( uu \)) symbol of (\( u \)) whispered, and (\( \cdot u \)) hissed vowels, see p. 1128 below in this list.

p. 1097, col. 2, symbols for explosions (\( t\breve{u}u, t\breve{u}u, t\breve{u}ruu \)) and implosions (\( \cdot t \)), see p. 1128 below in this list.

p. 1098, col. 1, under (\( r \)) symbol for Bell's untrilled \( r = (r) \), the (\( r \)) being a turned mark of degrees (\( \cdot r \)). This may be extended to (\( l \)), which indicates the same position. See p. 1341 below in this list.

p. 1098, col. 2, symbols for advanced or dental \( r = (r) \) and retracted \( r = (r) \).

p. 1099, col. 1, under (\( oo \)), symbol of indistinct vowel accompanied by permission trill (\( a \)), so that (\( \breve{a} = o \) or (\( a = o \)) at pleasure. Bell's point glide is (\( or \)), my (\( o \)), where (\( a \)) is a "helpless indication of obscure vocality," see p. 1128 in this list.

p. 1099, col. 2, Donders on glottal (\( \breve{r} \)), where (\( \breve{r} \)) is turned (\( r \)).

p. 1100, col. 2, l. 8 from bottom, symbol of widening the pharynx, as (\( e_o \)) for (\( e \)) with pharynx widened; supposed to be Irish.

p. 1102, col. 2, Land's exponent (\( a \)), see p. 1292, col. 2.

p. 1104, col. 2, l. 3 from bottom; symbol of advanced \( s, sh = (s, sh) \), replacing (\( as, sh \)).

p. 1105, col. 1, l. 24 from bottom, divided \( z = (z) \), probably Spanish.

p. 1105, col. 1, l. 15 from bottom, retracted \( s = (s) \).

p. 1107, col. 1, l. 5, symbols of higher and lower positions of the tongue in uttering vowels = (\( o^1, o\breve{1}; e_1, e_\breve{1} \)), and of close and open consonants as (\( ph, ph \))__;—line 28, symbol of more hollowness at back of tongue = (\( e^2 \)), as distinguished from (\( e_2 \)), see pp. 1100 and 1279 in this list;—line 14 from bottom, symbol of intermediary of two vowels, or doubtfulness, with inclination to first = (\( e \)).

p. 1107, col. 2, Scotch close and open (\( s, s\breve{1}; e_1, e_\breve{1}; o^1, o\breve{1}; o_1, o\breve{1} \)).

p. 1107, col. 2, last line; symbol of (\( u \)) with lips as for (\( o \)) = (\( u_o \)).

p. 1111, col. 2, symbols for glides, open to close (\( > \)), close to open (\( < \)), and absence of glide (\( \cdot \)), see p. 998 in this list.

p. 1112, col. 1, glottids; clear in (\( e \)), gradual in (\( e \)).

p. 1114, col. 2, last line; symbol for rounding by the arches of the palate as in the parrot's (\( p\breve{u}\breve{a} \)).

p. 1116, col. 1, symbol of medial length of vowels as in (\( a^2, a \)), the superior and inferior vowels being the same, and hence distinct from the symbol of intermediaires as in (\( e \)). p. 1107 in this list;—scale of quantitative symbols (\( a, a^2, a, a^3, a, aa, aaaaa \)).

p. 1116, col. 2, symbol for variety of lip rounding, as in (\( A_o \)) = tongue for (\( a \)), lips for (\( o \)), see p. 1107 in this list.

p. 1119, col. 1, l. 2, symbols for palatal explodents = (\( k_f, g_f \)), see p. 1109 in this list.

p. 1120, col. 2, distinctions of (\( x, k, k_f, t_f, t \), t, t, t, t, t, t, t, t, p, p).

p. 1120, col. 1, Mr. Graham Bell's alteration of Mr. Melville Bell's symbols for (\( s, sh \));—col. 2, re-arrangement of palaeotypic symbols of cols. 2 and 3 in Bell's table, p. 14. See p. 1341.

p. 1124, col. 1, Goodwin's (\( q_r \)), possible as original Sanscrit palatal nasal.

p. 1125, col. 2, to p. 1128, col. 1, Bell's rudimental symbols reconsidered and re-symbolised.
CORRIGENDA ET ADDENDA.

p. 1128, col. 1, *symbol of inspiration* (‘i), *implosion* (‘h), *click* (‘h), *flatus* (‘h), *whisper* (‘h), *voice* (‘h).

p. 1129, col. 1, abbreviations of these by the omission of the ‘support’ (h), etc.

p. 1129, col. 2 to p. 1130, col. 1, *symbols of glottis, clear* (‘), *check* (‘), *squeezing* (‘h), *trilled wheeze* (‘h), *bleat* (‘g).

p. 1130, col. 1 and col. 2, *symbols of degrees of force, evanescent* (‘h) *weak* (‘), *strong* (‘), *abrupt* (‘), *jerk* (‘), and its varieties (‘h, uh, ih, h‘h).

p. 1130, col. 1, to 1131, col. 2, *symbols of glides, slurs, and breaks, glide* (‘ ‘ ‘), *break* (‘), *slur* (‘), *relative force and pitch by inferior figures and superior accented figures*.

p. 1133, col. 1, l. 1, *symbol of short l + trilled r = (lr), Japanese intermediary.*

p. 1146, col. 1, *relative tone by superior unaccented figures.*

p. 1147, col. 2, *symbol of advanced (a) = (a).*

p. 1150, col. 2, l. 10, *symbol of Helmholtz’s u = (au) = tongue for (a), lips for (u).*

p. 1156, col. 2, *table of the relative heights of the tongue for vowels.*

p. 1174, bottom, *table of practical glosic.*

p. 1182, *table of Pitman and Ellis’s phonotyph, 1846 and 1873.*


pp. 1197-1205, *Mr. B. H. Smart’s analysis of English sounds with palaeotype equivalents serving to identify the palaeotype signs.*

p. 1232, *Irish rolling r = (r), and bi-dental t, d = (‘t, ‘d).*

p. 1265, *table of English dialectal vowels and diphthongs.*

pp. 1258-1262, *Glosic compared with palaeotypic writing of dialectal sounds.*

p. 1264, suggestions for marking quantity, force, and pitch, in practical writing.

pp. 1279-80, *combination of the signs for primary (e), tongue higher (e’), tongue lower (e), tongue advanced (e), tongue retracted (e); whole back passage widened (e), part in front of palatal arches, only widened (e’), pharynx only widened (e’); all widened, but more above than below (e), or more below than above (e’); height of tongue remaining, aperture of lips contracted to that for (a) in (e), to that for (e) in (e’), and to that for (u) in (e’); rounding by palatal arches in (e), giving 2916 forms of unnasalised vowels.*

pp. 1298-1307, *Seventy-five palaeotypic vowel symbols grouped in families, and supplied with key-words.*

p. 1328, line 12 from bottom of text, the slightest quiver = (‘lr).

p. 1333, col. 1, l. 11, *symbol of check puffs = (‘g).*

p. 1333, col. 2, *symbol of inspired breath, oral (‘i), nasal (‘i), orinasal (‘A) fluttering (‘i) and snoring (‘iA).*

p. 1334, col. 2, l. 9, *symbol of bleated consonants (‘b, ‘d, ‘g).*

p. 1334, *note on symbolisation, shewing the intention of palaeotypic as distinct from systematic symbolisation.*

pp. 1341-4, new table of palaeotypic equivalents for Mr. Melville Bell’s Visible Speech symbols, with subsequent explanations.

pp. 1346-9, new table of palaeotypic equivalents to Prof. Haldeman’s consonants with subsequent explanations.

pp. 1353-7, *table of Prince L. Bonaparte’s consonants with palaeotypic equivalents, of which 154 marked * are new combinations of symbols already explained, and in some few cases entirely new symbols.*
NOTICE.

When Part III. was published, I hoped to complete this protracted work in Part IV. But as I proceeded, I found it necessary to examine existing English pronunciation, received and dialectal, in so much greater detail than I had contemplated, and to enter upon so much collateral matter of philological interest, that I was soon compelled to divide that Part into two. Even the first of these parts, owing to other literary engagements into which I had entered when much briefer work was anticipated, could not be completed by the close of 1874, as required for the Early English Text Society, and hence a further division has become necessary.

Part IV. now contains the Illustrations of the xvii th and xviii th centuries, an account of Received English Pronunciation, and the introductory matter to the new collections of English Dialects which have been made for this work, in order to register dialectal pronunciation with a completeness hitherto unattained and even unattempted, as a necessary basis for understanding the pronunciation underlying our Early English orthography, which was wholly dialectal. These collections themselves, which have been already made to a sufficient and by no means scanty extent, will form Part V., to be published in 1875. That Part will therefore be devoted to English Dialects. After it is completed, I contemplate allowing at least two years to elapse before commencing Part the Sixth and (let us hope) the Last. If I have life and strength (which is always problematical for a man who has turned sixty, and has already many times suffered from overwork), I propose in this last Part to supplement the original investigations, made so many years ago, when the scope of the subject was not sufficiently grasped, the materials were not so ready to hand, and the scientific method and apparatus were not so well understood. The supplementary investigations which have been made by others, especially Mr. Sweet in his History of English Sounds, Prof. Payne and Mr. Furnivall on the use of Final E, the late Prof. Hadley on the quantity of English vowels, and Prof. Whitney in the second part of his Linguistic and Oriental Studies, and others, with the criticisms friendly (as they mostly are) or hostile (as Dr. Weymouth's) which my book has called forth, will be examined and utilised as far as possible, and by their means I hope to arrive at occasionally more precise and more definite conclusions than before, or at any rate to assign the nature and limits of the uncertainty still left. I have no theory to defend. Many hypotheses have necessarily been started in the course of this work, to represent the facts collected; but my chief endeavour has been, first to put those facts as accurately as possible before the reader in the
words of the original reporters, and secondly to draw the conclusions which they seemed to warrant in connection with the other ascertained laws of phonology. But as, first, the facts are often conveyed in language difficult to understand, and as, secondly, the whole science of phonology is very recent, and the observations and experiments on which it has to be based are still accumulating,—so that for example my own views have had to undergo many changes during the compilation of this work as the materials for forming them increased,—my conclusions may be frequently called in question. Nothing is so satisfactory to myself as to see them overhauled by competent hands and heads, and no one can be more happy than myself to find a guide who can put me right on doubtful points. *Nōn ego, sed rēs mea!*

In the present Part I have endeavoured to make some additions to our phonological knowledge, and I believe that my examinations of aspiration (pp. 1125–1146), and my theory of fractures and junctures (pp. 1307–1317), already briefly communicated to the Philological Society, are real additions, which will be found to affect a very wide philological area. The examinations of living Indian pronunciation (pp. 1136–1140), though merely elementary, together with the account of ancient Indian alphabets as collected, through Prof. Whitney's translation, from the *Atharva Veda Prātiṣṭākhya* (pp. 1336–1338), may also prove of use in Aryan philology. But one of the most important additions that I have been able to make to our philological knowledge and apparatus consists of those extraordinary identifications of Vowel Sounds in forty-five European languages, each guaranteed by an example (pp. 1298–1307), which, together with an almost exhaustive list of the consonants found in actual use (pp. 1352–1357), I owe to the linguistic knowledge and kindness of Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte, who has worked for me as hard and ungrudgingly as any of my other kind contributors, whose names (*quae nunc praeeritbehre longum est*) are each given as their contributions occur, and—if ever I reach that *ultima Thūlē* of authorship, my much-needed, and still more dreaded indices—will be duly chronicled alphabetically and referred each to his own work. The number of helpers—ladies I am glad to think, as well as gentlemen, aye, and men and women labouring with hands as well as with head—who have so kindly and unstintingly helped me in this work, and especially in the collections which will form the staple of Part V., serve to shew not only the unexpected interest which so many feel in the subject, but the vast amount of good fellowship and co-operative feeling by which alone we can hope to build up the gigantic edifice of philology.

As my Table of Contents will shew, the present Part consists of a series of essays bearing upon the history and present state and linguistic relations of our language, which either appear for the first time, or are put into a convenient form for reference from sources not readily accessible to ordinary readers. For the English of the Eighteenth century Lediard's little known book, for a knowledge of which I am indebted to Prof. Payne, gives much interesting
matter (pp. 1040–1049); and Noah Webster's account of American pronunciations nearly a century ago, derived from forgotten essays of that lexicographer (whose dictionary has been so recently imported in revised editions that few think him to be so ancient), make a new link in the chain binding the Seventeenth to the Eighteenth centuries (pp. 1064–1070). The examination of Received Pronunciation, as represented by Mr. B. H. Smart, Mr. Melville Bell, Prof. Haldeman, and Mr. Henry Sweet (pp. 1090–1207), and the actual observations on unstudied pronunciations as noted by myself at the moment of hearing, and contrasted with my own usages (pp. 1208–1214), form a new datum in phonology, because they enable us to estimate the real amount of floating diversity of pronunciation at any time, out of which, though unrecorded by orthography, the pronunciation of a future generation crystallises, only to be again dissolved by a fresh menstruum, and appear in still newer forms. We are thus put into a position to understand those changes which go on among even the educated, and "hear the (linguistic) grass grow." The accounts of existing differences in American and Irish pronunciation (pp. 1217–1243), which are mainly Seventeenth century survivals as modified by environment, though necessarily very imperfect, bring still more strongly to light existing diversities where there is appreciable sameness, that is, diversities which interfere so little with intelligibility of speech, that they have been hitherto disregarded, or ridiculed, or scoffed by grammarians and linguists, instead of being acknowledged as the real "missing links," which connect the widely separated strata of our exceedingly imperfect philological record. Beyond such initiatory forms of transition, are the past records of dialectal variety verging into species. For English—with the exception of Dr. Gill's most interesting little report on the dialects as known to him in 1621 (pp. 1249–1252)—these are reserved for Part V., but I have in the present Part IV. collected some of the results, and shewn their general philological bearing, as well as their special connection with the Early English Pronunciation, which is the main source and aim of my investigations; and I have also given the phonetic theories necessary to appreciate them more thoroughly (pp. 1252–1357). Thanks to the labours of the great Teutonic linguist Schmeller, I have also been able to shew the variations which interpenetrate one great branch of the High German dialects, the Bavarian (pp. 1357–1368); and, thanks to the extraordinary collection made by Winkler, just published in Dutch, I have been fortunate enough to give English readers a general view of the present state of those Low German and Friesian dialects to which our own Anglo-Saxon language belongs, as they have developed under merely native influences, without the introduction of any strange element, like Celtic, Norman French, and Old Danish (pp. 1378–1428). These modern dialectal forms are invaluable for a study of our Early English dialectal forms, for, although chronologically contemporaneous with the English of the Nineteenth century, they are linguistically several hundred years older. And
they enable us to appreciate the state of our own English dialects, which are in fact merely a branch of the same, left untouched by Winkler, because, like our own, these Low German dialects (with the exception of modern Dutch, which is a literary form of provincial Hollandish), have developed entirely without the control of the grammarians, the schoolmaster, and the author. To philologists generally, this wild, unkempt development of language is very precious indeed. The theory of vegetable transformation was developed by Goethe from a monstrosity. The theory of linguistic transformation can only be properly studied from monstrosities naturally evolved, not artificially superinduced. And for pronunciation this is still more emphatically true than for construction and vocabulary, for pronunciation is far more sensitive to transforming influences. Hence I consider that my work is under the greatest obligation to Winkler's, and that in devoting so much space to an abstract of his specimens, reduced to the same palaeotypic expression of sound which I have employed throughout, I have been acting most strictly in the interests of Early English Pronunciation itself.

Let me, indeed, particularly emphasise the fact that not even the slightest deviation has been made from the course of my investigation into English pronunciation by taking these dialects into consideration. As Mr. Green well says at the opening of his excellent *Short History of the English People* (which appeared as these pages were passing through the press):

"For the fatherland of the English race we must look far away from England itself. In the fifth century after the birth of Christ, the one country which bore the name of England was what we now call Sleswick. . . . The dwellers in this district were one out of three tribes, all belonging to the same Low German branch of the Teutonic family, who at the moment when history discovers them were bound together into a confederacy by the ties of a common blood and a common speech. To the north of the English lay the tribe of the Jutes, whose name is still preserved in their district of Jutland. To the south of them the tribe of Saxons wandered over the sand-flats of Holstein, and along the marshes of Friesland and the Elbe. How close was the union of these tribes was shewn by their use of a common name, while the choice of this name points out the tribe which at the moment when we first meet them must have been the strongest and most powerful in the confederacy. Although they were all known as Saxons by the Roman people who touched them only on their southern border where the Saxons dwelt, and who remained ignorant of the very existence of the English or the Jutes, the three tribes bore among themselves the name of the central tribe of their league, the name of Englishmen."

It is mainly owing to the dialectal differences of these tribes and places of their settlements in Britain (the history of which is given in an excellent epitome by Mr. Green) that the character of our dialects, old and new, was determined. But they did not all come over to Britain. Over the same Sleswick and Holstein, Jutland and Friesland, dwelt and still dwell descendants of the same people. Philologically we all know the great importance of the few ancient monuments which have remained of their speech preserved in monastic or legal literature. But these, as well as the oldest records of English in our own England (which I have hitherto called, and to prevent confusion shall continue to call
Anglosaxon), fail to give us enough foothold for understanding their living sounds. These we can only gradually and laboriously elicit from any and every source that offers us the slightest hope of gain. None appears so likely as a comparison of the sounds now used in speech over the whole region where the English tribes grew up, and where they settled down, that is, the districts so admirably explored by Winkler and those which we shall have before us in Part V. During the whole of this investigation my thoughts have been turned to eastern English for light. The opportune appearance of Winkler just before my own investigations could be published, was a source of intense delight to me, and though I was at the time overloaded with other work, I did not in the slightest degree grudge the great labour of abstracting, transliterating, writing out, and correcting those 50 pages at the end of Part IV., which indicate the nature of this treasure-trove, and I feel sure that all who pursue the subject of this work as a matter of scientific philology, and linguistic history, will be as much delighted as myself at the possession of a store-house of facts, invaluable for the investigation before them, and feel the same gratitude as I do to Winkler for his three years' devotion in collecting, arranging, and publishing his great Dialeception.

Such are the principal divisions of the present Part and their bearing on each other. For some subsidiary investigations I must refer to other books which I have had to pass through the press this year, and which are published almost at the same time as the present pages. Helmholtz's great treatise, On Sensations of Tone as a Physiological Basis for the Theory of Music (shortly to be published by Longman and Co., from my English version, with notes and additions), contains the acoustical foundations of all phonology, and without studying the first two parts of this book, it is impossible to arrive at a due estimate of the nature of vowel sounds and their gradations (see below, pp. 1275–1281), and hence of the physiological cause of their extraordinary transformations. Although the preparation of my version and edition of Helmholtz's work has robbed me of very many hours which would in natural course have been devoted to the present, every one of those hours has been to me a step forward in the knowledge of sound, as produced by human organs and appreciated by human nerves, and hence in the knowledge of speech sounds and their appreciation by hearers. As such I recommend the work—the outcome of many years' labour by one of the first physiologists, physicists, and mathematicians of the present day—to the most attentive consideration of all scientific phonologists.

The other work is one of much smaller size and very little pretension. It is called Practical Hints on the Quantitative Pronunciation of Latin (published by Macmillan & Co.), and is the recast of a lecture which I delivered to classical teachers last June. It does not compete with Corssen's work in investigating the actual force of the Latin letters (except final M), but it takes up the two important questions of quantity, and musical accent in speech, and
endeavours to give practical exercises for becoming familiar with them, so as to appreciate a rhythm dependent on "length" of syllable and embellished by "pitch-accent," as distinguished from rhythm due to "force-accent" and embellished by "pitch-emphasis." It also contains a delicate investigation of the nature of the final M and the meaning of its disappearance, which may be of assistance in appreciating the disappearance of final N in English, and the disappearance of other letters in English and other languages so far as their natural sounds are concerned, and their simultaneous survival as affecting adjacent sounds. As such I must consider it to be an excursus of the present work, necessarily separated from it by the different linguistic domain to which it belongs.

The materials for Part V. are, as I have mentioned, all collected, some of them are even in type, and others made ready for press, but it was physically impossible to prepare them in time for Part IV., and the nature of the typography, requiring great care in revision, does not allow of the least hurry without endangering the value of all the work, which is nothing if not trustworthy. The extreme pressure of literary work which has lain on me since I began preparing this Part in March, 1873, and which has not allowed me even a week's respite from daily deskwork, must be my excuse if marks of haste occasionally appear in the present pages. It will be evident to any one who turns them over, that the time required for their careful presentation in type was far out of proportion to their superficial area. And a very large part of the time which I have devoted to this work has been bestowed upon the collection of materials, involving long correspondence and many personal interviews and examinations of speakers—which occupy no space in print, while their result, originally intended to appear in the present Part, has been relegated to the next. Hence, with a cry of mea culpa, aliena culpa, I crave indulgence for inevitable shortcomings.

A. J. E.

25, ARGYLL ROAD, KENSINGTON,
Christmas, 1874.
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, REPRINTS OF THE RARE TRACTS BY SALESURY ON ENGLISH, 1547, AND WELSH, 1567, AND BY BARCLAY ON FRENCH, 1521,
ABSTRACTS OF SCHMELLER’S TREATISE ON BAVARIAN DIALECTS, AND WINKLER’S LOW GERMAN AND FRISIAN DIALECTICON, AND PRINCE L. L. BONAPARTE’S VOWEL AND CONSONANT LISTS.

BY
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CAMBRIDGE, B.A. 1827.

PART IV.
pp. 997-1432.
ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE PRONUNCIATION OF ENGLISH IN THE XVIIITH, XVIIIITH, AND XIXITH CENTURIES.
LEDJARD, BONAPARTE, SCHMELLER, WINKLER.
RECEIVED AMERICAN AND IRISH PRONUNCIATION OF ENGLISH.
PHONOLOGICAL INTRODUCTION TO DIALECTS.

LONDON:
PUBLISHED FOR THE CHAUCER SOCIETY,
BY TRÜBNER & CO., 57 AND 59, LUDGATE HILL.

1875.
Price Ten Shillings.
The Publications for 1866 are out of print, but a separate subscription has been open for their immediate reprint. The Texts for 1864, and all but one (which is now in the press) for 1865, have been reprinted. Subscribers who desire the Texts of all or any of these years should send their names at once to the Hon. Secretary, as several hundred additional names are required before the Texts for 1866 can be sent to press.

The Publications for 1864 (one guinea) are:—
1. EARLY ENGLISH ALLITERATIVE POEMS, ab. 1200 a.d. ed. R. Morris. 10s.
2. ARTHUR, ab. 1400, ed. F. J. Furnivall. 8s.
3. LAUDER ON THE DEATH OF KYNGIS, ed. F. Hall. 4s.
4. SIX GAVAYNE AND THE GREEN KNIGHT, ed. R. Morris. 10s.

The Publications for 1865 (one guinea) are:—
5. HUMPHREY ORTHOGRAPHIE AND CONQUESTIE OF THE BRITAN TONGUE, ab. 1017, ed. H. B. Wheatley. 6s.
6. LANDLORD OF THE LARK, ed. R. Skew. 8s.
7. DEWERS AND EXODUS, ab. 1200, ed. E. Morris. 8s.
8. NORTH ARTHUR, ed. E. Booth. 7s.
9. THYNGE ON CHAUCER'S WORKS, ab. 1500, ed. R. Kingsley.
10. MERLIN, ab. 1400, Part I, ed. H. B. Wheatley. 8s. 6d.
11. LYNDESAINT MONARCHY, ab. 1400, Part I, ed. F. Hall.
12. WRIGHT'S CHASTE WIFE, ed. 1500, ed. F. J. Furnivall. 1s.

The Publications for 1866 (one guinea):—
13. SEINE MARBERTE, 1200-1300, ed. R. Skew. 8s.
15. POLITICAL RELIGIOUS, AND LOVE POEMS, ed. F. J. Furnivall. 1s.
16. THE BOOK OF QUINTESSENCE, ab. 1400, ed. F. J. Furnivall. 6s.
19. LYNDESAINT'S MONARCHY, Part II, ed. F. Hall.
20. HAMPION'S ENGLISH PRIME TREATISES, ed. F. J. Furnivall.
22. PARTENAY OR LONIONG, ed. W. Skew.
23. DAN MICHELS AVERYDITE OF INNYT, 1540, ed. R. Morris.

The Publications for 1867 (one guinea, less Nos. 21, 25, 26, out of print) are:—
24. HYMNS TO THE VIRGIN AND CHRIST; THE PARLIAMENT OF DEVILS, ed. 1400, ed. F. J. Furnivall. 3s.
25. THE STATIONS OF THE PILGRIMS, ed. CLARE MAYDENHOD, 1500, ed. F. J. Furnivall. 1s.
27. LEVINE'S MANIPULUS VOCABOLIUTM, 1350, ed. H. B. Wheatley. 12s.
28. WILLIAM'S VISION OF PIERS THE PLOOMAN, 1300 A.D. PART I. The Earliest or Vernon Text. Part II, ed. W. Skew. 6s.
29. EARLY ENGLISH HOMILIES (ab. 1200-30 A.D.) from unique MSS. In the Lambeth and other Libraries. Part I, ed. R. Morris. 7s.
30. PIECE THE PLOOMHAN'S CREDE, ed. W. Skew. 2s.

The Publications for 1868 (one guinea) are:—
31. MYRICK'S DUTIES OF A PARISH PRIEST, in Verse, ab. 1250 A.D., ed. P. Peacock. 6s.
33. THE KNIGHT DE LA TOUR LANDRY (from French ed. 1570), ab. 1140 A.D. A Father's Book for his Rightson, ed. from Harl. MS. 1064 and Caxton's version by Thomas Wright. 8s.
34. FAULK, 'LEIS LELAM,' (belonging to ab. 1300 A.D.) from the Lambeth and other Libraries. Part II, ed. R. Morris. 6s.
35. LYNE'S BOOKE, Part II, ed. The Historical and Testament of Squyer Meldrum, ed. F. Hall. 2s.

The Publications for 1869 (one guinea) are:—
36. MERLIN, Part III, ed. H. B. Wheatley. 8s.
37. SIR DAVID LYNDESAINT'S WORKS, Part IV, containing the 3 Books of Esther, by D. J. Stuart. 3s.
CHAPTER IX.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE PRONUNCIATION OF ENGLISH DURING THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

§ 1. John Wilkins’s Phonetic Writing.

Dr. Wilkins, while Dean of Ripon (he was subsequently Bishop of Chester), after inventing a phonetic alphabet for the purpose of ving a series of sounds corresponding to his Real Character, gives a specimen of its use the Lord’s Prayer and Creed, “written according to our present pronunciating.” This is on p. 373 of his work, but on the occasion of his comparing the Lord’s Prayer in 3 languages (which he unfortunately does not represent phonetically) with his own Philosophical Language (erroneously numbered 1 instead of 50 on his p. 435), he adds the phonetic representation of the English version, which differs in a few words from the former copy, no doubt through insufficient revision of the press, and omits the final doxology.

In the present transcription into palaetype, I assume his vowels in his p. 363 to be (ə ʌ ə, ɛ ɛ ɛ, e ɛ, ɪ ɪ ʊ, ʊ u ʊ, ɔ ɔ ɔ), although he believes that he pronounced (ɔ, ɪ, u) in closed accented syllables other than (ʌ, i, u). His diphthongs will be represented as he has one on his p. 363; his so-called diphthongs ʊ, ʊ, on his p. 364, meaning (yi, wu), will be written (i-i, u-u), to distinguish them from the long vowels (ii, uu). He has no systematic method of representing the long vowels. In the Creed and first version of the Lord’s Prayer, he uses a grave accent to express length; in the second version of the Lord’s Prayer, he uses an acute accent. Again, the acute accent in the first version and the grave in the second represent the accent on a short vowel in a closed syllable. The ə seems to have been considered always long, as no example of short ə is given on his p. 363, although it is once marked long a r ə s in the Creed. It will be always transliterated by (o). The consonants were doubled without any special intention. The word body towards the end of the Creed he has written body, evidently a mistake for b ə d ə, as he does not use y in any sense, but employs a variation of it for (ə). Virgin is evidently an error or Wurdzhin. All the errors, however, will be given in the following transcript, and the various readings of the second copy of the Lord’s Prayer will be added in brackets. Afterwards will be given

1 See an account of his book supra, p. 41, where he is erroneously called Bishop of Ripon, of which he was only Dean. He married the widow Robina French, sister of Oliver Cromwell.
2 For the considerations which have influenced me, see supra pp. 68, 100, 177.
in palaeotype the pronunciation which Wilkins probably intended to symbolize. As this short specimen is the only instance that I have discovered of continuous phonetic writing in the xviith century, it has been thought best to give a minutely accurate copy in the first instance. One point only has not been attended to. Wilkins intended to represent (i) by the Greek ι, and has generally done so in the second version of the Lord’s Prayer, but in the first version and Creed ιι are commonly used in place of ι. As this is a mere accident of printing, I have replaced ι, ιι by the single letter (i). His diaeresis when written over a vowel will be replaced by ', made from , before the vowel.

**Transcript of Wilkins’s Phonetic Orthography.**

**The Lord’s Prayer.**

qur fœadher wihtsh ært in hev’en, hælloo-jed [halloéd] bi dhainæm [nam], dhai kiq’dom [kiqdám] kæm, dhai will [uil] bi dan, in erth æz it is in hev’en, giv os dhis dæi our dei li bred, ænd fargi’v [fargiv], æs our trespæssæz æz uI fargi’v dhæt trespæs [trespaes] ægeinæst æs, ænd leed æs nat intu tempæsæn, bat deli-ver æs fram ivil [i-vil], fær dhain iz dæh kiqdim, dhe pouer ænæ dhe glæri, far ever ænæ ever, Aæmen.

**The Creed.**

gi billiv in Gàd dhe fœadher almeiti macær af nev’en ænd erth, ænd in Dzhæsæs Kriost ñiz oouli sen our Lard, hu’u uæz kænseved boi dhe hooli Goost, bæn æf dhe Virgin Macøræi, sefæred ender Panisæs Poilæt, uæz kriusifæd ded ænd bærjed. Hì desseended intu nél, dhe thàrd dæi hi rooz ægein fram dhe dæd. Hì assedend intu nev’en, nuære hi sittæth æt dhe ræt änd af Gàd dhe fœadher, fram hœuenæ hi shal kom tu dzhædæh dhe

1 This mark will in future be employed in place of (’), to denote discontinuity or absence of audible glide. The different kinds of continuity and discontinuity will be discussed and more completely symbolised in Chap.

**Conjectured Meaning of Wilkins’s Phonetic Orthography.**

**The Lord’s Prayer.**

qur fœadher whisth ært in hev’en, nev’oeed bii dhoi næm, dhai kiq’dom kæm, dhai wæl bi dan, in erth æz it iz in hev’en, giv os dhis dæi our dæi-li bred, ænd fargi’v æs our trespæsæz æs wii forgi’v dhæt trespæs ægeinæst æs, ænd leed æs not in tu tempæsæ-sion, bat deli-ver æs from i-vil, for dhain iz dhe kiq’dam, dhe pouër end dhe gloór’, for ever ænæ ev’er. Aæmen.

**The Creed.**

gi billiv in God dhe fœadher almeiti’i, macær’er of nev’en end erth, ænd in Dzhæsæs Kriost ñiz oou’i-sen our Lard, whom wæz kænseved boi dhe hooli’Goost, borne of dhe Ver’dzhin Macæ’ri, sefæred ñendher Panisæs Poilæt’, wæz kriusifæcæd ded ænd bær’iæd. Hii desseend’ed intu nél, dhe thàrd dæi hi rooz ægein’ from dhe dæd. Hii assend’ed intu nev’en, wheer hii sit’eth æt dhe ræt änd of God dhe fœadher, from whens hii shaal kæm tu

XII. 1, when considering Mr. Melville Bell’s Key Words of modern English pronunciation, under WH. The old (’) will then receive the distinctive sense of the ‘clear glottis.’

The transition period of the xvii th century, reaching from the death of Shakspeare to the death of Dryden, presents considerable interest. It is remarkable for the number of "slovenly" pronunciations as they would now be called, which were recognized as in use either by orthoepists or orthographers, the former to correct them, the latter to determine the "proper" spelling from the "abusive" sound. Spelling was in a state of transition also, and many orthographies recommended by the would-be authorities of this period are now discarded. Our sources take therefore two different forms, one determining the sound from the letters, and the other the letters from the sound. To the latter belong especially those lists of Words Like and Unlike, which Butler appears to have commenced (supra p. 876), and which have ever since occupied a prominent place in our spelling-books. Great importance was always attached to the difference of spelling when the sound remained, or was thought to remain, the same, as this difference was—nay, is—thought by many to present perfect means of determining meaning and derivations. It would have been desirable to fuse the two methods into one, but the indications, lax enough in vocabularies, were far too vague in the other lists, and hence they have had to be separated.

1. Pronouncing Vocabulary of the Seventeenth Century, collected from Wallis 1663, Wilkins 1668, Price 1668, Cooper 1685, English Scholar 1687, Minor 1688, Jones 1701.

A pronouncing vocabulary of the xvii th century, though as much needed as one of the xvi th, is much more difficult to compile. For the xvi th century we possess a large collection of phonetically written words, which had only to be extracted and arranged, after their notation had been reduced to a single system. For the xvii th century I have not been able to discover any systematic phonetic method of writing, except in Wilkins's Real Character, where it is applied to a very small collection of English words. The other writers have more or less precise or lax methods of representing individual sounds, but very rarely indeed combine their symbols so as to spell out complete words. Their observations generally tend to shew the pronunciation of some particular groups of letters, principally vowels, in the words cited as examples, and the pronunciation of the rest of the word has to be collected, as well as possible,—which is often very ill,—from similar observations respecting the other groups of letters in the word. This arose from
the authors writing for those who, being well acquainted with the various pronunciations of the words, only required to have one fixed upon for approval, or who knew how to spell the word except in the individual point under consideration. To a learner in the xixth century such a course, however, presents great difficulties, and in many cases I have felt in doubt as to the correctness of the pronunciation of the whole word, although that of a portion of the word was almost certain. In other cases, especially in the important works of Price and Jones, much difficulty arose from the ambiguity of their symbols. Thus if one were to say that is was sounded as i in lie and sieve, it would be difficult to guess that the first was (loi) and the sound (siv), although (oi, i) are two common sounds of i. Still the results are very interesting, because in this xvith century the pronunciation of English altered rapidly, and many words were sounded in a style, which, owing to the influence of our orthoepists of the xvith and xixth centuries, is now generally condemned, although well known among the less educated classes. It may be doubted whether our language has gained in strength, as it has certainly gained in harshness and in difficulty, by the orthographical system of orthoepy which it has lately been the fashion to insist upon, but as such a system is thoroughly artificial, and results frequently in the production of sounds which never formed an organically developed part of our language, it is rather to be regretted than admired.

The following is not a complete vocabulary, as that would be far too extensive, but it embraces all those words in Wallis, Wilkins, Price, Cooper, English Scholar, Miego and Jones, which struck me as being in some respect noteworthy, because they illustrate some Elizabethan usage or shew a transition from the xviith century, or a peculiar but lost sound, or an early instance of some well-known sound now heard, or give the authority for some pronunciations now well known but considered vulgar or inelegant, or exhibit what were even in the xvith century reprobated as barbarisms or vulgarities.

1) Wallis does not furnish a long list, but the vowels in the accented syllables which he gives may be depended upon; in some cases of consonants and unaccented vowels I do not feel so secure.

2) Wilkins's list is very short, and has been already given in the example of his writing. In this vocabulary the words are respelled to signify the sounds he probably meant to convey.

3) Price is uncertain, sometimes even in the accented syllables, owing to the defects of his notation. His short a has been assumed as (ə), but throughout this century (ʌ, ə) are difficult to distinguish, and perhaps (ʌ) prevailed more widely than at present. Even now watch, want, are perhaps more often called (wotsh, wont) than (wash, want), the latter sounds being rather American than English, which, again, is to some extent evidence of their use in the xviith century.

4) Cooper is very strict but very peculiar in his vowel system, which has been sufficiently considered, supra p. 84.
omplete English Scholar, by a young Schoolmaster, contains some words re-spelled to shew what the ers their correct pronunciation, for a list of which d to the kindness of Mr. Payne. These re-spellings lly annexed.

being a Frenchman, and evidently but imperfectly glish sounds, has to be interpreted by endeavouring ot what were the sounds he meant to convey by his the sounds which were likely to have excited in him betrayed by his letters. This is of course a difficult operation, and I may have often blundered over it, ve frequently felt it best to annex either his own e gist of his remark.

rinishes the most extensive list, and in every respect urkable part of the vocabulary, because his object was erson who could speak, to spell, and therefore he has umerous unrecognized or "abusive" pronunciations which were "customary and fashionable." By add-ervations as "abusively, sometimes, often, commonly, ome, better," I have tried to convey a correct im-the generality of the pronunciation, so far as Jones's te go. I have not always felt perfectly confident of ss of my interpretation, owing to his ambiguous I am not quite clear as to the distinction which he m it, bit, which should be (it, bit)—a distinction of er author takes any notice; the first he considers as w (ii), and treats of under ee, the second he treats of w with i (ai).

ng abbreviations are employed:

er, 1685. P Price, 1668.
isch Scholar, 1687. W Wallis, 1653.
s, 1701. Wk Wilkins, 1668.
ě, 1688.

fter a combination shews that it is initial; before it, al, as entr, -our. Small capitals imply the older by the next following authority. The alphabetical follows the present orthography. Words not wholly to be read as in palæotypic spelling. The position of iost always marked from conjecture.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A</th>
<th>about about: C, baut J</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pronoun ai as, in M</td>
<td>above abov: P, C, M, bøv J</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pronoun en a court M</td>
<td>abroad abraid: J</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J</td>
<td>abrupt abrop: often J</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wont for want: J</td>
<td>abundance abundant: J</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ə C</td>
<td>abutt abutt J</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>böt J</td>
<td>acc- k, frequently J</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beid J</td>
<td>accompany accompany: J</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>embræel J</td>
<td>account account: J</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P, æb-1 C</td>
<td>accountant account: J</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C, J</td>
<td>accountant account: J</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>accumulate account: J</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>accumulate account: J</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ACH, a wish P
ACH, a seek P
ACH as if n ak't mækt C
A-CORN, a-kørn C
ACE, a-k, often J
ACQUISIT, a-kwusit J
ACRE, a-kur C
ACTION = airchon a k'shæn M
ADHERE, a dær J
ADJUDIC, a dju'dik P, a dju'di C
ADVOW, advaum C
ADVENTURE, a ven'tur C
AFFAIR, a fær C, J
AFFORD, a仿佛 af'er, freed J
AGAIN, a gen C
AGAINST, a genost C
AGE, a gæz C
AGNAIL, a n'il J
AI, a i, generally P
AIR, a air C
AIRY, a iri C
AID, a eed J
AL-, often as loon for solon J
ALARM, a lær M, usual J
ALBANS, a lbæn C
ALEMBIC, a lem'bik M, usual J
ALGER, a lær'ærhær æl'dzhæir C
ALL, a l M, J
ALEXANDER, a le'zæn'dær J
ALL, a l M, J
ALLOU comme un a Francois un peu long M
ALLEY, a l'é C, a l'i C
ALMANAC, a l'mænæk C
ALMOND, a l'mænd C M, a m'men a mun C, E
ALMON, a l'mon C
ALMONER, a l'm'nær, a l'm'nær J
ALMOST, a m'ost C, a l'm'most M
ALMS, a lms M
AM, a m, often J
AMBIGUOUS, a bìg'gwus C, sometimes J
AMBE, a bæm C
AMENDMENT, a mend'ment M
ANATOMY, a n'om M, often J
ANCHOR = mender a kær'ær M
ANCIENT, a n'ent M, C, ANCIENT
ENSHE'NT ou comme a simple anglais M
ANDIRON, a nd'ren C, J
ANGLES, a ng'læs C
ANGUISH, a ng'gwish J
ANN, a n, often as neel, annual
ANNOUNCE, a nounced, time, often C
ANNUAL, a nyol C, occasionally J
ANOINT, a noint C, sometimes J
APRON, a pron C
APPROVE, a pruv P
APRICLE, a prilik C
APRON, a pron C, E, M, J
AR-, often, as rhetorical arithmetic J
ARCHIBALD, ært'abalad J
ARE, a re M, C, NOT-er J
ARMAGH, æرمæh M
ARNOLD, ærnolad J
ARRAND, ær'rand J
ARRANT, ærant J
ARRER, æri C
ARRERE, ære M, J
ARRISE, ær'is C
ARRISE, æri C
ARRIVAL, ær'iv M
ARTHUR, ær'ærh J
ARTIFICIAL, ært'fish'ral, and in similar
words e = sh C
ARY-, a rí J
ASH-, a indoor
ASTRONOMY, a st'rom M, J
ASTHMA, æst'mæ M
ATHEISM, æthæz'm M, J
ATHLETIC, æth'letik M
ATT-, after, to people are apt to sound tenent for
ATTORNEY, ætorn M, C
ATTORNEYS, ætorn's M
AUDIBLE, æd'blæl, NEGLEGENT
AUDIENCE, æ'dju'desens M, sometimes
AUDIT, æ'dit J
AUDITORS, æ'dit M, C, sometimes
AUTHENTIC, æ'thentik M,
AUTHENTIC, æ'thentik M, C,
AUTHENTIC, æ'thentik M, C,
AUTHENTIC, æ'thentik M, C,
author a-tor J
duty authar'ri-te, authar'-ri neglis-
genter C, a-tor-i J
se- v- often as vaant aconsu J
sontcouver' vantcurrein'en'keriir J
avaries ev'eris J
o'er o'er
e'ver o'ver e'ver as pronounce
e M
aviery ev'eri sometimes J
award a'v'ard a comme en français M
aai aal W
azlerees mtri' facilatilis causa C
ay a1 C
azure wak-ar J

beautify biartali J
beauty beut'ri rev'pus, guidam bi'ri W, bi-ti M
because bikeaz' baak' J
been bi J
begin bighaz' W
behaviour bimecrav J
behail binnaul C
behave biiav P, biiuav C, M
belows bel'os C
belows bel'oo, facilatilis causa bel'es C
Belius Bee'lias J
bench bentah P
beneath bineedh' P
beneign ben'igan J
Berks Berks J
besone biam'ir C, M
besom biss'am M
besought bisock' J
betoken bitook'n C
betroth bitroth' P
beyond biand' C, bison' J
bezoar bezar J
beil bis'el C
bier beer biir J
Bilbao Bil'boo, Bil'buu J
bird bord P, C
bitterm bir'ros betar C
birth barch C
biscuit biz'kot J
bishop bash'op barbare C, = boshop
bosh'op pas du bel usage M, bush'op
sometimes J
blain bleen bleen J
blasphemous bleasfeem' J
blace blest C
blazon bleen' C
bler ble J
blerred blir'oid P, C, M
blind blaind C
blithe blith blith C
blomary blam'ari J
blood bloud blad P, ou = o court M, J
blood'-ly blad'-i-li C
boar buur C
board board buurd tabula C, J
bod bailo, bwoil (bwoil?) nonnumquam
W, bail bail C, buuil, sometimes
bail J
bod boaid nonnumquam bould W, buald
C, boauld J
bole boul P
bolster boul'star P, buul'star C, boul'-
stor J
bolt boult boul' J
bomb buan J
bomest bambest' J
done buon C
book buuk C
boor soan buur J
boose bower buur C
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boote  buut C
Bordeaux  BOURDEAUX  Buurdoor  J
borne  buure  baujolatuus  c., =borne  buure  borke  p.  borne  parturitus  c., =bure  baare  ne  M

bourn  bourn  parturitus  C., =bue  baare  ne  M
borough  =bue  barra  M
borage  bor-edzh  J
borne  borra  p.,  bataa  borra  som  J
boum  boum  J
bough  buu,  bou  J
bourn  buure  virulus  C
bouw  buu  areus,  buu  toquec  C
boul  soul  boul  globus  W,  C,  J.,  Boul
boul  poucium  W,  boul  boul  peters  C.,
bol  boul  J.  

boy  bai,  bwa  (bwe) unnunquam  W,  bu  a  disyllabum  C
bought  baat  C.,  boot  baat  sometimes
boft  J

brain  breen  C
brazier  brasier  breesh or,  sometimes
brezar  J

break  breek  P.,  breck  C
breakfast  brek-waat  in  some  countries  J
breastplate  bres-plaat  J
brewery  brevaris  sometimes  J
brew  bryy  W
breves  breves  P
bridge  bredh  J

Brilot  Brictoo  P.,  J
broad  braad  C.,  oae  d  M.,  J
briol  briol  brol  C.,  briol  sometimes  J
brotherhood  brodhorhood  C
brought  broot  P.,  J
bruss  briux  C.,  briuz  J
briut  but  J

Buckingham  Bax-rqem  J
build  buld  C.,  buld  J
bull  bul  M.,  J
bullion  boll-ron  C
bumble  bee  sm-bl  bii  J
bwoy  bwoy  bai  C.,  bai,  buni  J
bur  bar  C

burden  bar-dan  J
burlesque  borləsk  barlək  J
burst  birt  brir  J
bursten  bar-dhen  P
bury  ber  i  C.,  ber-i  M
busy  burbi  bəri  C.,  M
business  biz-nees  C
but  bai  o  court  M
C

campaign  kempeen  J
can  kaan  W.,  kuu  C
candle  kem'l  J
cape  keen  C
cannot  keent  J
canoe  canoo  kenuu  J
caunonier  keunoier  keunoir  J
cap,  kep,  en  ai  breff  ou  en  e  ovart  M
capable  kep-ebi,  kee-ebi  oee.  J
capacity  kepe-nate  C
cape  keep  C

caper  keer  C

capon  kep'n  C.,  kep'n  o  se  mange  M
car  keer  C.
card  keerd  C

care  keer  C.,  saire  keer  M
cared  keerd  =card  C
career  keer  pere  P
carking  keerk'iq  C

carp  kearp  C

carriage  ker-edzh  C.,  ker-edzh  oee.  J

carrier  ker'on  P.,  ker'en  occasionally  J
case  kees  C
cashier  casheer  keeshur  J
cast  keest  C
casually  kezwelt  sometimes  J
caterer  keetzor  C
Catherine  Keth-orn  E.,  Ket-orn  J
Catholic  kath-əlik  Wk
caul  kaal  W

cause  kaas  comme  a  francais  M
causeway  kaaze  P
cautious  kaushos,  kaa'shos  neglizenger  C
cavour  keviq  J
ce-see- J
celestial  skletəmel,  and  in  similar  words
-est  =-stet  C

censure  soenor  C.,  sen-shar  J
century  sen-tari  sen-taari  J
century  sen-tari,  sen-tari  J
certain  ser-ten  ?  ai  comme  en  certain  M
(exception)
chaldron  tahaa'dran  C.,  J.,  tahaa'dorn  J
chair  taher  taher  J
chalk  tahak  C
chamois  shamois  shemii  J
chamberlain  tahem'berleen  P
Chandois  Shendois  abusuvely  J
chandler  thuh'nèr  J
chaplain  tahlep'leen  P
chaps  tahpas  abusuvely  J
Charles  Tahaa'laz  barbaare  C
charriot  CHARIOT  taher'et  occasionally  J
chasten  tahemn  J
cheer  CHEER  tahir  P.,  J
Chelmsford  Tahemz'ford  J
cherub  taher'ub  W.,  taherub  J
-chester  -taheshor  J
cheyvern  tah'ewern  J
chew  tah'in  C.,  tahoo  tahou,  may  be  tahiu,  sometimes  tahaa  J.
chicken tab-ken J
children tab-len J
chimney tahm-ne P
cirp tsjer P
chirurgeon = sordgin sarzhan M
ciisle cerehl tahz-iel J
Chloe Cloiz Klove i C
chocolate tahk-oleet J
choir chors kwoir J
Christ mosam-iel J
Christen kri-ein J
Christian krest-jun W, kristen some-
times J
Christmas kri-mas J
church tahorish Wk
chovek tehuan M
-cial, -shiel J
-ciate -shaint J
cinga sirk J
-cious -shain J
circuit sar-kit C, sar-kiut sar-keit J
Cirecenster Sis-ter J
citron sit-avn C, sit-avn M
civil siv-al J
clarion klair-en occ. J
clear klir P, M, J
clerk klark J
close klui J
dift klif J
climb klaim P
cloak cloiz kloan C
clyster gi-la-tar J
cooch kootah C
course kuurs = course C
cobhros kob-el-en kab-orn J
cochineel kush-ineel J
cockey kok-ne P
coidi kadi-izel C
coffe = ophel koff M
cognizance kon-sans, ken-sans J
cohere kowneer J
cohert kwart J
colf kail C, quwir kof J
coil kulm, koil sometimes J, quwir koil J
coin koin J
colander kal-ender J
cold koold noamnquam kould W, kould P, kould C
collier kal-yor and in similar words, -yor = sor C
Cogogne Kul-en Cull-len E
coloned kal-nal J
colhsfoot koof-fut J
comb kuum J
combat kum-bast C
come kom W, kom kom C
comely kom-li C
comfort kom-fart J
comfrey kom-fre P
commandment kom-men-ment J
committee = commitee kom-tev M
companion kom-pen-von C
company kom-pen-i J
compleat = kompleat kompleat M, J
comportment kontrol J
conrad cambrade kam-treed J
concede konseet J
conseit konseet P, J
conseive konsere P, consiv kambray C, konsev ev masculin M, J
concours kom-kurs C
condign kondi-gan J
condition konsidion neglignant W
condit kom-dit P, E, kundet C, kon-diut kundet J
coney ken-i P, J
conge konddeh J
conjure kondshor J
conquer kover ker P J
conscience kon-shens J
conspicious konspikRESH J
constable kons-tabl abusively J
construct kon-star J
consumer kom-shumum J
contagion kom-tevezh occ. J
contradict kantredikt C
controul kontrol P
contrary kontrare C
convey konvei P, kanvee C
copy kufi C
coppice cope J
coral kor-el C, J
corrupt korup oft en J
coroner krauner J
costly koe-li J
couch kuantah P, J
cough kof W, P, kof kaf M
could kould P, koul C, kuud J
counsel kusnt J
countert kual-tar C
countray kon-tray P, kon-tri C, J
counterfeit kon-tefeet J
couple kopl C
courage, korvezh C, J, kurez zh J
courier korier J
course kuurs W, P, C, koorn ou = o un pew long M, kuars J
court kwart P, C, J
courtsian curtsean kortezen C, kort-
tissen J
courteous curtseas C, J, kuurt-yus J
courtesy kertesi P, J
courtier kwartier P, kwart-jar C
courtship kwartship C
cousin kozn P, consul goosen kozn C, kozn J
covet (garden) kov-en J
cow kow J
cowheard kowhard occasionally J
coy kai C
cozen kaz'n C, kaz'on J
cradle kread' 1 C
crazy krez'i C
credit kreu'dit J
Oreus criit J
crivia kree'viis J
crimson krim' esn E
crony kron' kro'ni C
crozier = kroz' her kro'zher M, krooz'er
sometimes J
crouch krouth J
crucified krius isi'jed Wk
cruise kriz J
cube kub C
cuckoo kuku' P
cupboard kub'ارد J
Cupid kiy'bid sometimes J
curs kyrr W, ki'ar C
curious kuir'ias C
curtain kair'teen P
cushion kush'en, kash'en E cough-en E

D
daily de'il 1 Wk
daily de'il C
dame deem W
damosel dem' sel C, dem' sel J
damson dam' arin dem' zin J
dance daans J
dandle dantl J
dandiff dandiffy d'en'dor facilitatis causa C
Daniel Daniel occasionally J
daphne Daphne J
dart dart C
dash dash C
date deat C
daughter daaftar occasionally J
daunt daant, dant melius fortasse C, daunt dant M, dant daant J
Daventry Daven'tri Deen'tri J
day dey W, Wk, deez C
de deec J
dear diir W, P, C, M, J, dor J
dearth dirth C
debonair debonair' C
decret deesev nonnulli deesit W, deeseet P, J
desecr desecr C, desecr gender C, desecr emasculin M, J
decoy diko' abusively J
design deem P, deen J
deitrel Deitr el J
deity detti daiti J
de monsters deen'en dimii J
deputy deeb'itii occasionally J
desper despair C
desume deshurn J
deter deter detect detær? o se pronounce at M
devil dev'l C, divl del sometimes del as in "del take you" J
diadem daed'man C
diamond daim'and di mund E
diaphragm dafræm J
diary deers' occ. J
dictionary dik'smari E, dik'smari customary and fashionable J, hence the old joke of a servant being sent to borrow a Dik Smari asking for Mister Rutheard Smeer'i
did dod barbaræ C
didat dast for speed's sake J
diphthong dit'phon dip'thoq J
dirge dar'dzhi C
distain distrein distreen J
discreet dik'reet J
do duu rectiis doo W, duu P, doo = doo C, duu M, J
dole dool P
dolt doul P, drault C
done dan W
door duuer sometimes J
dost duust J
doth duuth J
double dab'l C
doubled dab'let C, J
dough down doo C
doughty dooti J
doov doov W, deo M, doo J
dozan dozen douzen daez'n C, daez'n J
drachun dreum C, Derek'en, dreum J
draught draat C, J
droll drol C, drol a français M
draught = draught drount M, drount draat J
dumb dam P
Dunelm Dun'em J
dunghill doq'il P
Dunstable Dun'stabel abusively J
dure dyr W
Durham Dorr'em J
dwiddle dwinn'l J

e e... J
een een C
ear iir C, J
early er'ri C
earn ear'rn C
earnest e ernest C
carth mart orth barbaræ C, = yrth
serth pas du bei usage M
earwip iir-wig C
Beastheep Ec'theep J
eastward eest'ard J
exaltation belish'en often J
Ecolefield Ec'kelfield J
ecolque eg'log J
ecstasy eg'stan J
Edward Ed'ard J
cer cer J
effectual ef'ekt-ual occ. J
si nev = n J
eight wikt P, wikt vulgariter C, oit (?) J
silent sil-ent J
either eedh'ar P, eedh'or C, ed'h'ar s
feminin M, eedh'ar eedh'ar J
ek eck J
el.-1 often J
Eleanor Ellenor El'lor J
eleven elev-an illu'en J
em- m often after the or a vowel, as
mal'ahan emulsion J
em om them J
em-b- often as bod-i embody J
embalm embalm J
embolden embold-en J
emp.-p often as pestah empeach J
en- often as not enough J
en-an in eaten, &c., J
enamel en'mel J
ennuared em'ard J
end.-d as dem-ed'dh endamage J
end ind bar'dar bar'dar C
endeavour endee-var P
England Iliq'land P, J, Iq'land J
English Iliq'lish P, J
enorge gorg'ah J
engrave gre'ev J
enrue enhaa'n J
enough inf sat multum W, P, ensu-
sat multu W, enef quantitatem do-
tans, ensu numerum dolantes C
environ envior C
enroll enroud C
ensure enahnu J
ensure enhmur J
entrails en'trel C
enthusiasm en'thusiasm C, thi-
siasm J
Epiphany Fit'wini sometimes J
epistle pisl sometimes J
epitome ep'tome M
-er or C
ereker C
er or C
e-re often J
escape es'pee J
escheesth'ah-P, estshooh estshooh may
be estshiu'J
enquire swkwr J
-eas, -is, often in words of two syllables
as gud'nis goodness J
casey see J
custasees jetes J
cetera iter-nal P
Etch Eaton Et'ren J
etymology timal-adahi J
e-v often as vand'aheliat evangelist J
Evan IV ven Evan J
every ev'ari J
eve IV J
eve J
Eveling Ivi'iq J
even Ili'v J
evenning Ivi'iq P, J
evii'iv C, M, J
evii J
example ensem'pl sampl J
exasperate sa'peras J
Eschequer Eschequ'ar takok'or J
experience ekspro'runs sometimes J
extral ekstool P
extraordinary eks-tra-ordi'ner P
extreme ekstre'mm M
-e-y -o J
eyelet oilet si'let sometimes J

F

fable fa'bl C, =faible fa'em'b'l M
fair farr C, =faire fær see 'fare'
M by his rule, feer see J
falsion fa'shun J
falcon fa'kon J
falconer fa'kon'er C
fall fa'J
fallow fa'lu P, fa'luu commonly J
Falmouth fa'mousth J
fauler fau'tar J
fare = faise feer M
farrier fær-ar occasionally J
farthing ferdig C
fashion fa'shun o comme must M, faesh-
en J
fasten fasten J
father fa's-dher Wk, fa'dhar J
favour fa's'vrar fa's'oer J
fealty fit'e C
fear fiir J
February Feb'rari sometimes J
feign fign P, feen J
felt felt e en ai M
fello fellol J
female fe'menal J
feodary fa'd'ari C
foef fus C, fef J
fooffice fa'fii P, J
ferule fee riul J
feud feud P
few feu reciits, guidam flu W, feu P,
faa barbard C
field fiil'd C
fieldfare fiil'd-fær C, fiil'fær J
fend fiind W, find J
fight let = fit C
figure fig'er C
anger fig'er J
Air for C, far a peu près comme ouvert M
first first P, C
fire feur C, feuer re comme or M, feur J
assure fish-er J
fivepence -ip'en J
flake flék C
flash flash C
flasket flásésket C
flaunt flaunt P, C, flaunt flaunt J
flaw flaw flaa M
flea fleɪ J
flood flood P, flood flood C, flod J
flour flour sometimes J
foulish farish C
fool foal fool C
fool fail sometimes J
foist foist sometimes J
fold folded P, foldul C
folk look J
follow fol-'ου P, J, faa-laa fol-'aa com. J
fully ful-i C
fondle fonl J
fondling fon-lɪq J
foolful C
foot foot P, fut an distinct from fot, fot
barbard C, fat, better fut J
force fuors C
ford round fuurd P, J
foreign forain far'en C, far'en e fem-
inin M
forfeit =far'st C, forfot e feminin M,
for feet J
form fuorm classis C, fərm forarm forme,
=forrm forrm bane M
forsooth forsoth; better forsouth J
forswear forswear' C, forseer J
forwcors forwurr J
forth foorth forth C
forward forward J
four fuur C
fought foot J
fourth fourth P, fourth =forth C, J
fracture =frac'ter frank-tar avec e fem-
inin, familier M
frai frail C
frankincense frank- 'unsens barbard C
fraud fraud may be fraad J
fraudulent fraudiulan, fraudiulan negiliger C
frequent freékwent J
friend friend W, P, frand C, friend
friend friend J
friendly fre'nli J
friendship fre-n ship J
froize fraiz sometimes J
frontiers frontiərz P
frost fraaz, for semper producitur o
ante st C
froward fraud Fraud P, froward J
fruit fruɪt P, fruit C
frumenty formiti barbard C, =formité
formi M, formet J
fulds Fouks J
full ful C, ful M, J
funeral fem-erad C
fur for =fr C
furniture furnitar C, J
furrier forrier forr'er sometimes J
further farther C
fusiler fusisleer fuseilir J
fusatian fos'tiən P, fast'en sometimes J
future fust J

G

gain gwin P
Gabriel Gabriel sometimes J
gallery gal'ri J
gallimafry gdl'maf'ri J
gallon green in Berks J
galloco gdl'ko E
gool dhaerl dhael J
gash gash C
gasp gracep C
gastly gree'l i J
gate gret C
gave gav gour barbør C
gazette gæzet grez't C
gear giir C, M, J
generall, dhan'eral approche du son de
notre a M
gentle dren'tl W
grocery dzehg-refi sometimes J
grocery dzehm etri J
Georgius Dhor-dhuus J
gesture dhæst-or-=jector C
get gret W, git facilatitio causa C
gh = in bought, etc. P, descent
pronunciation, retainetur in scrip-
turā, C
ghost goest C
ghostly goosi'li J
girl gerd a peu près comme e owert M,
gerl J
glance glæns P
glanders glæn'dars J
gle gleeb C
gleuen glīn J
glori glæn'ti Wk
Glouester Glast'or J
glove glasf M
gn- n J
go gūu rectiūs goo W, gnu P, goo C
gold gold nmmuntiam guld W, gould
P, gould C, Gould J
Goldsmith Guul'smith J
good good P, gud C, gad, better gud J
good-ly-ness gül-li-nes C
goose guu'dl J
gourd goord P, guord J
gourmet gørnet C
greece grees C, =greece grees M
gracious grætions grees' hos C
grammar, grem's approche du son de
notre a M
grandchild green'thould J
granddam /grɛnddɛm/ C
grandfather /grɛndˈfaːðər/ J
grandmother /grɛndˈmʌðər/ J
grange /ɡreɪndʒ/ C
grazed /ɡreɪzd/ C
grazopper /græzəpər/ J
grating /ˈɡreɪtɪŋ/ C
gravy /ˈɡreɪvɪ/ C
gravel /ˈɡreɪvəl/ C
great /ɡreɪt/ C
Greenwich /ˈɡriːnwiʃ/ J
grandad /ˈɡrændəd/ C
grandfather /ˈɡrændfaːðər/ C
grey /ɡreɪ/ P
gribed /ˈɡrɪb PDT əl/ C, grid-əl C
grindstone /ˈɡraɪnstən/ J
grist /ɡrɪst/ J
grout /ɡrɔːt/ P, graut C, M, J
grain /ɡreɪn/ sometimes J
groan /ɡroʊn/ J
guacamole /ɡwəˈkæməl/ J
guardian /ɡɜːrdiən/ occasionally J
gudgeon /ˈgudʒən/ C
gues-gues /ˈɡeɪs-geɪs/ J
guild /ɡɪld/ C
guildhall /ˈɡɪldhɔːl/ C
gilt /ɡɪlt/ J
surgical /səˈCHərəl/ C
facilitate /ˈfæsɪlɪteɪt/ C

H

ha! /hæ/ C
haak /ˈhææk/ J
Hackney /ˈhækni/ P
had /hæd/ past for speed’s sake J
ear /nɛə/ C
half /hɔːf/ C, J
halfpenny /ˈhɔːfpən/ J
ha(h) /ˈhɔː/ C
ha(m) /ˈhɔːm/ C, J
hamper /ˈhæmpər/ J
handkerchief /ˈhændkərfiʃ/ C
he-lkeshor /hɛlˈkɛʃər/ facilitate /ˈfæsɪlɪteɪt/ C, he-keshor /hɛkˈɛʃər/ M, hend-keshor /hɛndˈkɛʃər/ J
handle /ˈhændl/ J
handmaid /ˈhændmeid/ J
handful /ˈhændfʊl/ J
hardly /ˈhɑːrdli/ J
hardy /ˈhɑːrdi/ J
Harrow /ˈhærəʊ/ J
hasten /ˈhæstn/ J
hat, hat en at bref ou en a ouvert M
haunt /ˈhɔːnt/ C
haunt melius fortasse C
haut /hɔ̃/ C
haut-gout /hɔt ɡu̇ ʃ/ C
haven /ˈheɪvn/ C
hay /heɪ/ C
hazelnut /ˈheɪzlnʌt/ hezənˈʌt C
hez /ˈheɪz/ C
ehe /hɛi/ P, C, M, J
head /hɛd/ C
heir /heər/ W, P, C, M, J
heard /hɛərd/ P, O, C, J, heard J
hearken /ˈheərkn/ a est conté pour rion M
heart /hɑːrt/ C, J
hearth /hɛəθ/ C
Hebrew /hɪˈbruː/ J
hecatombe /hɪˈkeɪtəm/ J
Hector /ˈɛktər/ J
hedge /ˈɛdʒ/ J
heifer /ˈhiːfr/ P, heifer C, heifer e feminin M, heifer heifer J
height /hɪɡθ/ J
height /ˈheɪt/ J
heist /heɪst/ C, heist negligent C, = hait J
heist /hɛist/ M, hait heist, height heist J
heinous /ˈheɪnəs/ heinous, heinous
heist negligent C, heinous J
heir /hɛər/ P, he C
held /hɛld/ wild barbarè C
Helmsel /ˈhelməl/ J
hemorrhoids /hɪˈmərəhɔɪdz/ J
hence /hɛns/ C
her /hɛr/ P, C, hore feminin M, her after consonants J
herald /hɪrəld/ herˈɑl/ J
herb verb /ˈhɜːrb/ C, = verb verb pas du bel usage M, erb, verb as sounded by some J
Herbert /hərˈbɜːrt/ J
here /hər/ P, hiier re comme er M, hii J
heriot /həˈriət/ J
hermit /ˈhɜːmɪt/ J
heron /həˈrɒn/ J
herself /hɜːrˈsɛlf/ J
herself /hɜːrˈself/ J
his /hɪz/ C, often, as stop ‘is horse J
hit /hɪt/ C
hither /hɪθər/ C
hoarse /həʊrəs/ C
hospice /ˈhɒspɪs/ J
hostile /ˈhɔstɪl/ J
hostage /ˈhɒstɪdʒ/ J
hospitable /ˈhɒspɪtəbl/ J
hospitalliser /ˈhɒspɪtəlɪzə/ J
hostelry /ˈhɒstləri/ J
hoary /ˈhɔːri/ J
hob /hɒb/ J
hobgoblin /ˈhɑbɡəˈblɪn/ J
hobble /ˈhɑbol/ J
hoard /ˈhɔrd/ P, hord, mord, better jud J
hord /hɔrd/ P
horn haanth, sere semper producitur o
ante ren C
hosannah oozan-ū often J
hosier = höysir noo-ðhar M, noo-ðar J
host ooz P, ooz often J
hostage ooz-ðardh J
hoster whosor barbard C
hour, hourly our, ourli, the only words
with h mute M
household house'would J
housewife = hoz'if M, hoz'if M, hoz'if M,
noz'if M J
house hayor C
how kru molliores consciuentatem nimis
affectantes C
housover housëvor facilitas causa C
huge niudzh C, niudzh abusively J
hundred hous'dard facilitas causa C,
M, J
hurricane herauanc her'aaíeen? P
hyacinth dhaah'sinth J

I
I = ai ai M
idle ai'dl W
immersion mer-shan J
imp-p often, as pound impound J
impede impeed J
impost impoost C
imposthouse impostium P
impugn impug'an J
incision insh'een C
incipin insh'pin J
Indian Ind'zhahn, sometimes Ind'en J
indict indait: en sonnant l'i ai M, J
inhabit inab'it usually J
inhibit inab'it usually J
inherit inerit usually J
inhesion intish'han C
inhospitable inosp'itable usually J
injoin indzhahn: C
injury in'dhzeri J
instead insti'd J
interfere ENTEREER erterfoer P
interrupt interop often J
inve-w often as vast invest J
invegg invegg J
invegg invegg-l C, invegg-l é masculin
M, J
inward in-order J
iron eivar C, M, J, ern J
Isabel Ix'bel J
isle eil J
is not ? ent? facililitatis causa C
issue ish'uu J
isthmus ist'mas J
Italian Izh'en occasionally J
it has tax J
it is tiz J
is'ty -eti J

J
Jacquet dshak'et
jams dshaam J
James Dzeheem C
Jane = Dyene Dzhene M
January Dzhenn'ari sometimes J
jar dzar W
jasmine dzehe'min J
jaundice jaunders dzaahn'des C,
dzaahn'din J
jaunt dzaahn, dhænt melius fortaesse
C, dzhaent dzaahn J
jealous sii'ls see'leí, sii'ls E
jealousie dzehe'lasi P
Jenkin Dzhik'kin J
Jeffrey Dzhef're J
jeopardy dzehe'yerde P, C
jerk zerk as sounded by some J
Jesus Dzhemees J
Jero Dhiu J
jewel dzhurel P
join dzhain dzhoin C, dzhuuin, some-
times dzhoin J
joint dzhoint C
jointure dzhain'tor dzhoin'tor C
jolt dzhault C
journal dzharnel C
journey dzhorne P, dzharni C
joy dzei W, dzhai C
joy dzhai C
judge dzhadzh Wk
juice dzhius C, dzhius J
Julian Dzhil'ian, a woman's name J
Jupiter Dzhii'bi'tor sometimes J

K
Kelman Kew'xi J
Kenselm Ken'em J
korkchief kar-tahar J
koy kee P, J
kidney kide P
kihn kih J
kindle kin-l J
kindly kain'l J
kingdom kiq'dam Wk
kn = hn, nh (? C, n-, but may be
sounded kn J
kneve nheev C
knead nheed C
knee nhii C
knew knyy W, nhyu C
knoll nhyul C
know knau, alii knoo W, nho C
known nou C

L
ladle laur'dl C
lady laur'di C
lamprey lem'pre P
lane leem W
lance lands P, J
luncheon luncheons C
landscape landskip landskip J
lane lenn C
language leq-gedsh occasionally J
last les C
lastly les'd
laudable laud'able, laud'able negligerent C
laugh lef W, P, M, lef laa J
laughter laukt J
laundress laur'tis J
laurel laurl, laurl negligerent C
Lawrence Lar'vens Lar'rance E
law le w laa M
lead leed Wk, P
leap lep a est contre pour rien M
leaper lep'er=leper C
learn lern C
lease leas C
lecture laktar C, J
Ledbury Led'beri J
Leicester Les'ter J
Leigh Lea J
leisure lexiur, P = lejìer é mascelin
leather M, leexhar J
Leomistair Lemister J
Leonard Len'erd J
leopard lepa'rd P, lep'sard C J
Leopold Liverpool Lep'old J
let lek barber C
leve'r LEVER lev'r C, LEAVER lev'r
a est contre pour rien M
leve'ret LEVERET lev'ret C
lewd leud P
liberty lib'erti P
lice liss barber C
licorice liqui'rice lik'iris J
liet lyy W, lia P, lie C
lieutenant=lift'etnent liet'ent M, J
Lincoln Lin'kon J
linen lelin lim'min M
linger ligger J
liquid lik'id J
ligner lik'er J
listen liisn J
listless lis lees J
Liverpool Lerp'ul E, LIVERPOOL Lerp'ul Lerp'ul J
lawn lain = line C, lain sometimes J
lodging lord'iq W
loot la l a louis C M
London Londan negligerent W, J
longer laqger rectius loq'er W
look lak, better luk J
loss lums M
luss las C
lost laast C
loth loath = tath laath M
lough luf P J
love lov W, lof M, lov J
loyal lo'il abweely C
luncheon LUNCHION lun'then J
lure liir or C
lute lytt W, liut P
M
maggot = mauguet mag'ot M
Maidenhed Meed'ned Meed'ned J
main meer C
maintain menten' C
major meer'dher C
malign malig'gon J
malkin maa'kin peniculis C, Malkin, as a name, Maa'kin P, J
mail maal C = mel mel, jue de paume M
Malmsey MAAM'zi J
maltsterer maal'sterer J
man meer'en C
manger meer'dzhor C
mangy meer'dzhi C
man man German C
Mantua Mant'iu J
manuscript men'skript, men'skript
often J
many man'i C, men'e sometimes J
margin meer'dzhent J
marriage meer'edsh C, meer'edsh J
marsh meer'sh J
mask mee'sek C
mason meer'sn C
masquerade meer'k дер C
mastiff mest'ii J
maugre moor'or, may be Maa'gar J
maund maand J
maunder meer'der maan'der J
may-not meent J
Mayor MAJOR meer C, J
- -m -m in monosyllables J
me mit P, MEE C, M, J
mean mein C
meet meet W
measure meziur P, mesh'er J
Medes Meedz J
medicins med'sin P, M, med'sen C
meet mit C
merchant meer'thanent E, J
mercy mer'si J
mire meer'ardr J
mire meer'sh J
mire meer'en C
metal mett'C
metal meet = meat C, J
metre mit'tor J
Michielmaus Mil'man Miil'man M
mice mice barber C
minnow Miin'ow mee'nou J
- -mister -mister J
mire meer J
misapprehend mis'spren'd J
miscellaneous MISClAN mas'lin mas'len J
naked neek-′ed C
name neem C
napkin nee′pin sometimes J
nation nee′sion P
nature nee′ter C, = naiter nee′tter
familiar aee′ feminin M, nee′tter J
naught naaft occasionnally J
nawsels naur′sat baa′shart C
navy nee′v C
-neh -nah J
-nad- -n- when a consonant is added to such as end in ′ad J
neap nee′p J
near niir W, P, C, M, J
need niiid C
negro nee′gro J
neigh nei′t J
neighbour nei′bor nee′bor P
neither nee′dər nee′dər barbar′e C, nee′dər e feminin M, nee′dər nee′dər J
nephew nee′fi, neviu J
nether nee′dər J
neuter nee′tər recti′us, quidam niu′ter W, nee′tər P
new nyy, neu recti′us, quidam niu W, niu P, niu J
none noon W
nor nar C
North Noor J
Norwich Nor′diθ J
nostrel noe′trel J
notable nat′æbl C
notary noo′tari J
nought noot P, naft sometimes J
nourish noo′rish C
now nau J
-nts -ns J
nuschion neu′shen J

O
oaf au′p awf oof may be aap J
oatmeal st′mil on court M
oats oota, wats barbar′e C
obey obi′ I, oee′ C
obeyance obe′ins P
oblige obli′θi′ J
obscene oobsen J
ocean oo′shen C, J
of af W
ogre au′gur oogor may be aag el J
oil oil W, siel 1′l, iel C
ointment oim′ent C
Olave ol′iv J
old oold, nonnuqum ould W, ould P,ould J
-on -om C
-on -on C
once wens, winst as in Shropshire and some parts of Wales J
one oom W, C, wen J
onion on′on, and in similar words, -son = son C, on son, sometimes on son J
only = onlly oon′is M, J
opinion opin′on, pin′on by the vulgar J
-or -er C
ordination or′nens J
ordinary or′nai J
ordure aar′dar = order C
osier = oee′ C
osse′ C
ostler estra′ch estridi′ J
ostler hostler oor′ C or often J
ought oot P, aat C, = aat M
-sp = sp, -er, -or J
-sus = sus, -as, -es J
out aut C
over oor J
owe (oo) C
oue sul W
Owen Owen J
Chap. IX. § 2. PRONOUNCING VOCABULARY OF XVII CENT.

P

paesent paesah·in J
paes paen C
pael pael W
pall-mall pel·mel J
palm paam J
Palmer Paa·mar J
pance paantas J
papel paa·pel C
pape pepr·ar C
parade perceed· J
parliament per·lament C, E, sometimes
pel·lament J
parsley pars·li P
pasquail pes·kil J
pass pes C
past paast C
pastor pa·tor = pastor C
pate pez·et C
path paeth C
Paul's church = Póls Pools M, Pools-
to·tar Póla·church E, Pools, Pools,
may be Paalis J
paunch pa·nch paantah C
pea pii W
pear = paeir une poire M
pear peer C
pedant pec·dant J
penal pec·nel J
penny = peni pen·i M
pennyworth pen·orth pen·worth E, pen-
worth, pen·worth J
pension = pen·chona pen·shan M
people piip'·P, C, pep·'piip·J
person percev· é masculin M
perfect per·fect sometimes per·fect J
perwigg per·wig J s en ai M, per·wig
perig J
perjury pardahari J
perpetual perpetael sometimes J
Peter Pieter J
Pharaoh Freer·nro P, Freer·n J
phlegm = phlém flém M, C, flém, may be
flag·am J
phainix feenkiks J
phrenetic phrentik fréntik J
phthisic tò·rik J
piazzas pi·tassezh J
picture pik·tar = pickter her C, = pieter
avec e feminin familier M
Fiedmont Pi·mont J
pilow pil'·u P
pikpin pik·pin occasionally J
piqueant piek·ent J
pique pik J
pique piken J
pique pike·t J
pique piques M
poem poems poemm J
point point C
poise poiz sometimes J
poison poiz·n poiz·n C, poiz·n sometimes J
poll pool non·nuquam paul W, paul C
poll·room poll·ruum poll·ruum· J
poniard pan·yar J
Pontius Paa·sia·s Wk, Paa·shuns J
pontoon pontoon· J
pour paur = paurer C
poulerer pu·leror C
poulting pu·ling C
poultries pu·ling C
poultry pu·li·tri C
pleasure ple·zyur W, ple·zur P,
plez·her C, plez·her J
poor pu·uer sometimes J
porcelain par·selen J
portree poort·ree poort·rei J
possible pa·vbl facil·tatis causa C
postscript poos·skrip often J
pot puwt non·nuquam W
pother pa·her J
potatoes por·tadah, some write porridge J
pother pot·heerd pa·sheerd C
plain pleen C
plastered plaz·ted P
plane plazan C
plausible plaz·ble, plaaz·'bl negli-
genter C
pleurisy ple·rusy P
plevin ple·vin J
plough plow plau C, plo J
praise preiz W, prez·preiz negilgenter C
prance praans J
prayer preer C
pre· pree· J
prebendary preb·endi J
precise prisaiz C
prefer prifer C
pressure presh·ar J
prey preiz P
priest priest (?) J .
Priestman Priest·man J
prophecy prov·esi J
prove prav P, pruv C, M
provision prov·ish·on C
prove ploll prooul J
ps- s- J
psalm saam C, J
psalm saam J
pt· t· J
Pugh Piu J
pull pul C, pul M, J
pulley pul·e P
punctual pawk·tuel sometimes J
pursue parshuu J
pursuit parshunt J
puss pus M

Q

quality kwel·iti C
qualm kwam C, kwaam en a long M, J
quart kwaart en a long M
question kwest·ion P
quodlibet kold·libet J
quoif koif J
quoit koiJ
quote koot J
quota koot C, J
quotk koth J
quotidian koi’dje:n J

R
Rachel Rec'hel W
raddish raid’isheh facilatis causa C
raisins reyz’ins P, reyz’ins = reasons C, =
reyns reyz’in M, reyz’ins J
Ralph Raef Rafe E, Raaf J
rarity rager’ti C
re- ree J
-re = er or
read rid P
read read logo W, riid logo C
Reading Rec’id’iq J
reason reyz’n o se mange M, J, E, the
last writes ‘reas’n
receive receev’W, P, receev’ C, recov-
ed melculin M, recov’ J
receipt ricept P, receet J
reckless Reckleheh rer’les C
reception res’pep C
recipe res’pepe J
recount rikriu C
red red e feminin M
refuse refuz verb P
regard = regaird regard M
rehearse rihe’ser C
reign reen J
reingage reinge’eazdh M
reins reenz J
relinquish rihi’kish J
remove ri’mov P
rencounter rankoons’ter J
rendezvous ren-du’vooz ran-du’vooz E, ren-devu J
renew riiniu J
reprint reprent P
ree reen J
revenue ri’verd P
resurrection reisrek’sheen Wk
restoration restar’soh’shan J
retch retch retsh J
reward reward a comme en francais M
rhum rium C
riband rib’den J
Richmond Rich’man J
right wait Wk
righteous rai’tiis rai’tis J
rind rain J
risque riz J
roast rest root C
roastmeal rooz’moot J
roll roll nunnung’um roul W, rool C
Room Ruum P, Ruum = room, different
from room C, M, J
rough rot, W, C, M
royal ra’iul abusively J
rupture rup’tur C

S
sabbath sob’eth abusively J
saffron saf’ron C, E, M
said and facilitatis causa C, sed seed J
saints saints Wk
salad sal’id J
Salisbury Sarisbury Saal’sheer’i J
salt saalt P, C
saltcellar saail’seller’ salt’seler J
saltpetre saal’pet’er J
salmon saam’on C, see’m’an J
sale sec’y P, saav C, J
same saem W
sanders Saand’dor’iz J
Saviour sae’vvee’oh P
saw saa C
says sais sex facilitatis causa C
scaffold skraf’ol J
spectic skeptick skept’ik J
scene seene M, J
schedule sk rid’ul P, J, sed’ol sed’dul E,
sed’ul J
scheme skeem J
schism si’m C, J
scholar skol’ord abusively J
scold skoold, nunnunguam skould W,
skould P, skould C
scowndrel skou drel C
scourge skardzh P, C, skwardzh facil.
causa C, skardzh ou = o court M, J
scourse skweer permuto C
scream skreek C
scribe skriv’ner P
scroll skruuld C
scrupulous skru’pe’los facilitatis causa C
sewmer skim’er barbar’ C, =skimer,
skimer M
se- see J
see sit W, see C
seal seal W
search see’th C
scear si’r C
scears seers C
season see’n C, seezn J
seas sect W
seen sin J
seek seez C, J
seem seev C
seize seized W, seez P, M
seraglio sera’g’l’ooh C
serene = serene screen’ M
serge ser’ghe serzh’d P
sergeant ser’dh’mon P
Sergiues Ser’dzhuus J
serous see’ros J
servant ser’vant e en ai M
service survis bar bar’ C
seveningh = seven see’v M, sen’eit J
shadow sha’doo P
shall shall Wk, shaaal, signum modi C,
shel M
shalm shaa'm C, J
shambles sha'am-blz J
she shii P, C, M, J
shew shew C
shears shihr C, M
shepheard shep'herd J
sheep shun, shuu C, shoo shoo, may be shuu J
shire shihr C, J
shirt shart C, short P, approche du son de notre a M
shoe shuu P, shoo shuu C = choek shuu M
should should P, shuuld C, shuud J
shoulder shuuld-ar C
shouldest shuust J
shovel shouli J
show show J
shrew shrend, shroon, may be shriu J
shrewed shrood shrouded may be shrun J
Shrewsbury shrooz-beri, Shrouz-beri, may be Shriu-beri J
sigh sith, un son qui approche fort du
th en anglais M, soi sith J
simple simple J
sincere sincere P, J
-riam = than P
sir sar P, C, ser d peu près comme a ouvert M
sirrah ser-r C, sarra approche du son de notre a M
sirrup sorr-oop C
skeleton ske'let-on skel-eton J
shrink skink skiqk J
slant slant J
slowch sluutah J
-som = som J
snow snoo, aiiii snoo W
snow sneu rectius, guidam aniu, W
so soo C
soft saaft J
Soho Scoo'or often J
soil soil sometimes J
sojourn sozhorn J
sold sold, alii soold W, soold C
soldier soold J
soldier soul dax P, soo'dsher l must M,
soo'dsher soo'dsher J
Solns Soome J
Solomon Saal'a'am J
some som W
Somerset Sam'or-set J
somewhat saum-er J
son son W, Wk
sowt suut P, sat C, sat, better suet J
sorrow soru P
soul soul, aiiii soul W, soul P, soul C, soul J
source suurs W, C, M
source suus J
Southwark Soth-wark J
sovereign soveraig sov'teen J
Spanish Spen'er'd sometimes J
spaniel spen'el C, J
spirirt spirirt C, M
sphere sphære afoor M, J
spindle spindl J
spoil spo'el sometimes J
stall staa'k C
stump stamp barbari C, stomp abusively J
stanch stauntah J
stead sted a est conté pour rien M, sti J
steal steel W
steam stiim J
Stephen Steev'n J
stir stor C, ster d peu près comme a ouvert M
-atile -at' J
Stockholm Stok'oom J
stomach stam'ak J
stood stod P, stod C, sted better stud J
stoop stoup stupa C
strange streendzh C
stranger stran dzer a non tam requiritur
quam egredi exsatur W, streen'asher C
strain stroit abusively J
subtil subt'il P, = soille sam'il M, salt el J
subtlety sub'il P
succour suk'or P
sue shuu J
suet sueu suet C, shuu'et J
sure shuar = sure, or perhaps sær, as
shur is only "facilitatis causa" C
sugar shag-or (F) facilitatis causa C,
shung-ar J
suit siut P, suite siut C, shuat J
suitable sùt-ablo C
suture sut'er siuter C
supreme siupreme J
sure shiar facilitatis causa C, = chure
shiu M, shuur J
surfeit sor'fet C, sor'fot s feminin M
survey survei P
suture siut-ar C
swallow swal-lup
sweet sweer, see forswear far'swer C
soor J
sweet sweet C, set J
Sweden Sweeds J
swollen soolin J
sword sword P, suurd C
scorn suurn C, soorn J
syncope siq'cope J
syntagm sint'em J
system system J
T

Tabelle t'zemb'l C
tail t'zil C
Talbot Taabot J
tale t'zal C
talk talk rectius talk W
Tangier Tandzhier Tandzhii J
taper temperar C
tar tar T
.tar = taire taser M
tare tarseurs C
tart tartar T
.taunt taunt P, C, J, taunt J
tassels tassels en a long M
tea trea too J
tell tell W
tear tear lacero, tiir lacryma C
tear team im J
tearre teer J
temptation temptascian Wk
ten = tinn tin M
tenet teernet J
tenure tenaur = tenor C
terrone tereon J
terrible trambul facilisatias cause C
Thomas Teus J
that dhat en a court M
third thard Wk
thischer = deder dadhwr or feminin M
the dhee C, dhe J
Thebes Theebes J
their dheer J
Theobold Theoebold P
there dheer J
these dheez W, J
tyhey dziei P
Thomasin Tom’sin J
thought thot P
thousand thousand C
threepence = thr’-pinneul thr’-pins familier
M, threpens J
thresh thrash barbaré C
through throo J
thwart thart J
thyme = team M, J
-th ante vocalem sh C
tierce tiers C

tinder tan’-dar barbaré C
-tion =-shan J
tissue tishruu J
to tuu M
tobacco tabaco abusively sounded sometimes with an ‘o,’ tobaek-o, tobaek-ed J
toil tail W, toil toil C
told tould P, tould J
toll tool, nonmingual toul W
tom tuum C, M, J
took took, better tuk J
torture tortlar tarterar C
touch tuutah tostah J
tough tof W, too J
toward tourard P
towel toval J
toys toix W
traffique trefig J

transient = traingient trenzhiant M,
trenzhent C, tren’-ahent J
trail trail P
traveling trav’-liq J
treasure treahor J
treble treb’-l J
trifle trai’-fl W
triphthong triphthong trip’-thoq J
troll trowl trouul J
trouble trobl C, J
trough trof W, troo ow = o un peu long M, J
trouvel trivel barbaré C
trué triu C
truncleen troun-chiin J
trunidle ran’-l J
turqoise turkez’ P J
twang taoq J
Twec’d Twere Twiid J
two tuu C
twopence = topins tap’-ins familier M,
toppen J
tune tyyn W
Tyre toir C

U
u, la prononciation commune de l’u voyelle en Anglais est la même qu’en français (supra p. 182) iu M
ugly ougly agli P
-un -um, may be -em J
uncouth ankuuth C, enkoth J
up ap C
upholster upol’ster poulersterer J
up to ap tu barbaré C
-u’re -or C, -er or, may be sounded -iur J
us = cua or M
use = yuor ziu pas du bel usage M
useless jivies barbaré C
usual tu zhenual C, = ziiual iuzhiuel M
usury veeulare barbaré C

V
valley veili P
vanquish vank’-kish J
vapour verbor C
varya yar’-i C
vaunt vait vaat a loop J
vaunt vaunt C, J
veil veel J
vein vein P, veen si comme en français M, veen J
vengeance vendehejens P
venison ven’-son P, venz’-en M, venz’-en J
vewes vewes veewiu J
verdict verdikt verdait J
verjuice verzhis P, verzhis C,
verzhes E, J
viel vaiial P
vivials vit’-ias facilisatias cause C, = vitiles vit’-les M, vit’-les vit’-les J
view vyy W, via C
villain, vil·la·n ai comme en villian M, 
an exception to his rule
villany vil·ni J
virgin vardishin J
virtue vortty, a non tam requiritur 
quam aegre creturum, W
riscount voi·kount J
vision vis·ion P
voyage voi·edah vye·age E
volatile vol·netul J
rouch vuuah J
roucheffe vuutseef J
voyage voi·edah abusively J
culgar vul·gar J

W
wafer wعرف C
waij whip weof J
waniscat wem·ekot P
waistband wast·band wear·band J
waistcoat wast·coat wear·koot C
walk wak, rectile wak J
walks wak·koo P
Walter Wå·ater J
waste wård C
wars wa·at C
wasted wast·ed C
warm wa·om C
wars wa·om C
was wax, wax en a court M
wash wash on a court M
wasteful wast·ful waste·ful C
watches wå·ah C, wathch en a court M
wasters wa·ater C, = ouster wa·ater M, 
wa·ater J
waists wå·ets wå·et C, wå·et en a court M
we wil P, M, C, J
weed weel C
wean ween C
wear wear C
weary wear P, wairi, wore barbaré C
Wednesday Wen·deazi P, wens·de M, J
weight wait P, went ei comme en 
francais M
were weare = wear C, wear J
Westminster Wem·ster J
wh = hou wh M
what what en a court M, wast, better 
what J
when = hoin whin M, wen·better when J
whence = hoinsce whins M
where wheer J
wherry whirry where·s C
whether whead·er barbaré C, wheod·er J
where whrei P
whit huit = P, huit W
widow wid·u P

will wil, wal barbaré C
who who Wk, whuu P, huh C, J
whole hool W, J
whom whom P, huum C, J
woop huup upp J
whore nuur P, C, J
whortle hurt·l J
whose huum J
Wincecomb Wince·kom J
wind wind com·tus C
wind wind·d wind J
willow wil·u P
Wiltshire Wilt·shir J
windmill win·mil J
wines wein C
Windsor Win·ser J
winnow win·u P
with with cum, woth barbaré C
wood cood J
woo wuu = wuoo C
wolf wulf wolf C, uif J
woman wam·en P, E, em·en J
womb wuum C, M, uum J
women wi·men P, wim·en C, = ouimem 
wim·en M, win·en J
wonder wend·er wan·der C
woo o· un· u J
woe woe uu J
wood wod P, wud C, wod, better ud J
woof waf, better uuf J
wool wal P, wul C, wul, better ul J
Woolshed Woot·ed
Worcestar Wus·ter, Wast·er, Ust·er J
wood word J
world world P
woollying war·liq J
worldly war·li J
woor·ed woor·ed genús panni, wast·ud 
facilitatis causa C, = ousted wust·ed M
would would P, wuud C, wuud J
wouldst wousted barbaré C, wuust J 
woor· relat (F) J
wrestle wraft·le real·l J
wraith raath C, raath en a long M
wristband ris·bend ris·ben J
worth’ ght root P, J

X
Xantippa Suntip’i J

Y
ye sii P, J
yea sii W, C, saa rustic, see sii ii J
year sii P, J, iir J
yeast sii·est liat J
yellow seel’o J
yeman yem·en yem·en E, se·men
sii’ men ii·men by many J
yes sii M, ii J
2. Words Like and Unlike.

Lists of this kind ought to supply the place of an investigation into the puns of the xviii th century, comparable with that already given for Shakspere (supra p. 920). But their compilers had so much at heart the exigencies of the speller, that they often threw together words which could never have been pronounced alike, but were often ignorantly confused, and they sometimes degenerated into mere distinguishers of words deemed synonymous which had no relation in sound. This is particularly observable in Price’s lists, in which like and unlike words are all heaped together in admirable confusion. Cooper is the most careful in separating words which were really sounded exactly alike from those nearly alike, and those absolutely unlike. But the earliest collection, and in many respects therefore the most important, is that by Richard Hodges. The full title is:

A special help to Orthographie: or, the True-writing of English. Consisting of such Words as are alike in sound, and unlike both in their signification and Writing: As also of such Words which are so neer alike in sound, that they are sometimes taken one for another. Whereunto are added diverse Orthographical observations, very needfull to be known. Publish’d by Richard Hodges, a School-Master, dwelling in Southwark, at the Midle-gate within Mountague-close, for the benefit of all such as do affect True-Writing. London, printed for Richard Cotes. 1643. 4to. pp. iv. 27.

In this the exact and approximate resemblances are distinguished, and at the conclusion the author has given a few instances, unfortunately only a few, of various spellings of the same sound, when not forming complete words. These are reproduced, together with some extracts from his orthographical remarks, which relate more strictly to orthoeopy. He had, like most such writers, individual crotchets both as to spelling and sound, and had an intention, probably never carried into effect, of treating orthoeopy, as shown by a short-table of sounds with which he closes his brief work. Many of his instances are entirely worthless, but it was thought better to reproduce them all, marking with an asterisk those to which more attention should be paid, and to gain space by simply omitting his verbal explanations, where they were not absolutely necessary, or did not present an interest of some kind. Nothing has been added, except a few words in square brackets [], and the original orthography is reproduced.
Owen Price’s list has also been given complete, but the explanations have been similarly reduced. On the other hand, the whole of Cooper’s chapter on the subject has been reprinted, restoring only the position of some words which had been accidentally misplaced. His orthography, which was also designed as a model, has been carefully followed.

I. Richard Hodge’s List of Like and Unlike Words.

1. Such words as are alike in sound and unlike both in their signification and writing, are exprest by different Letters, in these examples following:

A
assent, asent, a sent or savour. a pieces to shoot withall, a piece, apiece. a loud, allow’d, aloud. aught, ought. air, heir. an arrow, a narrow. an eye, a night, an I. a note an oat-cake. a motion, an ocean. Annis, Agnes a woman’s Christen name. an idle person, Anno. Alas, a los (lasse) or a Maid. altar, alter. a ladder, alledge. a lie, alias, a light, slight. a lot, allot. a learn, alone. a lure, allure. a dead, a due debt. he adjourn’d me to do it, adjourn’d-stool. a judge, adjudg. assoon as she came in, she fell into a swoon. awl, a (ail). assault, a salt-cell. assigne, a signe. attainted, a tainted piece of flesh. attired, a tired jade. a mate, a mate or daunt. a noise, amaze. a rest, arrest. a peace blossom, appease. a peal, appeal. a tract, attract. abbetter, a better colour than the other. appear, a peer. a wait-player, await. a weight. avry, a very-mouthed Plaise. a quaint discourse, acquaint.

cal (call), caul. of course, corpse. *courses, courseth, corpse. *coul’d, could. collar, choler. a culler of apples, a colour. counsil, czen. council, counsel. *common, commune. cockie and dannel, cockie-shel. champion, the champain field. *choose, cheseth. a cruise or company, the cock crew. did chase, the chase. *you come, he is commes. a cruise or companions, a cruise or pot. a cruel master, wrought with cresc. consent, concert of music.

D
dam, to damn. *fallow-deer, dear friend. deep, Diep a town so call’d. diverse men, skilful divers. *a doe, his cake is dough. descention, dissension. dollar, dolour. dolphin, the dauphine of France. the deviser of this, multiply the quotient by the divisour.

E
*Easter, queen Hester. *John Eaton hath eaten, a scholar of Acton. eight, ait (islet). *earn, yern. emerode, emerald. exercise, excercise. *I eat my meat to-day, better than I ate it yesterday.

F
did seed, was see’d. *your fees, she feeth. I would fain, she did feign. did finds, were fin’d. feloce, fellows. Philip, philip the fold, hath fold’d. fore-tel, four-fold. forth, fourth. *furze, furur, furu. foul, fowl. Franecs, Frances. *freeze, friese-jerkin, shee freeth him. *to kil a flea, to slay of (off) the skin. flean, flenth, flayeth. to fleer, a fleer away. flour, flower. *flours, foureth.

G
I guest, a very welcome ghost. a ghost, thou go’st. *jests, jests, jesteth. *ox-gale, the gale, he gaulteth. *a
gaze or pledge, to gauge a vessel. a
gilt-cup, guilt. groan, wel-grooven. to
glister, a clyster. a guise, Mr. Gyl's
man.

H
hart, heart. a hard heart, I heard
his voyce. hare, hair. he, high, height-wo. thou hiest, the highest fouro.
hide, she hid. make haste, why hast
thou done it? hole, whole. holy
wholly. the hollow, to whoop and
hollow. home, whom, a holm tree.
homes, Holmes. I hope to see, I hop
to do his work. hoops, hoopeth,
whooped. him, hymne. the bread
doth hoar, whore. whores, hoareth.
his hue, Hughe. hues, Hughes. herald.
Harold. happily, haply.

I
I, eyes. incite, in sight. inure, in
ure, in your account.

J
jest, jest. geats, jests. to jet, a jest-
stone. the juice or sap, a joice to bear
up the boards. a jakes, Mr. Jaques.
gente, a gentil or magot. a jointer, a
tool to work withal, a woman's jointure.
a jordun, the river Jordan.

K
Mr. Knox, hee knocketh many knockes.
kennel, the chanel. to kill, the brick-
kill.

L
the Latine-tongue, a latten-ladle.
the cow lowed very loud. take the
least, last bee angry. lenons, lemons.
lesson, lessen. litter, the hors-litter.
the leas of wine, to leese or loose ones
labour. leapers that can leap, lepers
full of leprosie. to, low. lowe, lower.
a luster after evil things, a bright lustre.
out-laswed, laud.

M
manour-house, in a good maner. he
hanged his mantle upon the mantel-tree.
Medes, meals. meat, to mete. a
message, the message. a master that
giveth meat to the cattel, a corn-meter,
a meteor in the air. Martin, martien.
Mr. Marshall, maritall. a mons and be-
wall, his corne was moune. mow or
more, to mowe. the cat did mowe well,
amongst the corn-mowes. hawks-
muses, he museth his hawk, to muse. mite.
might. a good minde, under-mined.
Maurice did dance the morice. murrain
murion a head piece. millions, muk-
melons.

N
Nash, to gnash. for nought, the fige
were naught. may, neigh.

O
O, oh! our. gold-ore, oar, the over
of a debt, oars, ouers. ordure, order.
our, hour. ours, hours.

P
to pare the cheese, a pair. pause,
pauses, paweth. the palat of his mouth,
lay upon his pallet. Paul, pal
(pall). parson, person. pastor, pasture.
priase, preys, preyeth, preyeth. the
common pleas, please. Mr. Pierce did
peare it with a sword, the scholar did
pare and construe his lesson. she
wearth her patena, letters patena.
pillars, cater-pillars. pride, bee pried.
proph, prophet. the propper of it up,
a proper man. she hath no power to
poure it out.

R
rain, rein, reign. reinos, reignis,
reigneth, raineth. a noble race, did
race the wals. the rais of the sun, to
raise. ranker, rannour. red, hast thou
read? a reddish colour, a radish root.
reason, raisin. reasons, reaseth,
raisineth. ream, realm. reams, realms.
Rhemes the name of a place. Mr. Rice
took a rie, the rics. rite, right,
write, a wheel-wright. Wright.
rites,
rights, wheel-wrights, righteth, wrote.
the rine wherein the brain lieth, the
rinae of a pomegranate, the river Rhine.
Ros, a roe-buck, a row of trees. roes,
roves, he roveth, a red-rose, Ross.
when there was a rot amongst the
sheep, I wrote him a letter. bee caught
[misprint for rought = reached] it from
of (off) the shelf, when hee wrught
with me. a riding rod, when I rode.
I rode along the road, hard-roed, my
daughter Rhode, rooved space. roads,
Rhodes. the highest room, the city of
Rome (roume). round, she rounded
him in his ear. a tiffany-ruf (ruffe),
a rough garment. ring, wring, rung,
sprung. bee rued, so rude, the cheese-
rack, ship-wrack.

S
sight, slight. he was no sewer in
buying, a sweet-savour. savers, savours,
savoureth. the seae, to seize. ceasing
from strife, causing him to pay. *cease, of (cease) him so much. *seller, wine-seller. *the one seller, was subtiller than the other. *signe, either a vine or tangent. *censor, censor, censure. the third century, an herb century. *he did shear the sheep, in Buckingham-shire. cite, sight, site. cited, quick-sighted, was cited. *a syren or mermaid, Simon of Cyrme. *a lute and a cittern, a lemon or a citron. Mount-Sion, a scion or graft (graffe). *a sink to convey the water, the *eau, to sowe the seed, to sewe a garment. *the sole of a shoe, the soles and body. *the soles of his shoes, he soleth his shoes, soles of and bodies bought and sold, the soles were sole'd. *very sound, he fell into a swoon [compare assue, a second above]. strait, straight, sloe, slow. *a sore, hee sores or aware. sly, Sigh. a hedge and a stile, a style or form of writing. did soor, the sourer. *to shoot an arrow, a suite of apparel, a suit in law, Shute a man's surname. *shoots, suites of apparel, suits in law, shooteth, sueteth, non-sueteth. succour, bloud-sucker. some, sum (summe). sues, son (sunne, sonne).

T
tame, Thame. tamer, Thamer. *tas, taceath, tacks. *the treble and the tamer, a tenor or form of words, the
tenure whereby a man holdeth his land.
there, their. *turkeys, a trowowe. time, thyme. the tide, tied together. too, toose, toose, you toss the wood. toad, fanged and toad, he tossed his barge. tole the bel, pay tol (toll). I told him. I tolled the bel. too, two, to. tract, I tracted him. a tractive, diverse treaties. *I had then more work than I could do. throws, throne. *it was through your help that I came thorrow. threat, if he throw's away.

V
vein, vein. *a venter or utterer of commodities, to venture. *ventures, venturer, ventureth. vial, viol.

W
*a way, to walk in, a weigh of cheese. ways, weighes, weighth. *water, Walter. *watereth, watereth, Walters. wait, weight. *waits, weighteth, weight. *if you were, you would wear. a wick- town, a witch. *wood, would. *he wooded her, he was woods. *a wad of straw, wood to die withall.

Y
*yew, you and I, V and I are vowels. *yews, uye. your, put this in ure, a bason and euer. yours, basons and eures, he in-ureth himself. yes that is wise, yea.

Such words which are so neer alike in sound, as that they are sometimes taken one for another; are also express by different

Letters, in these examples following:

A
ask, ax, etc. Abel, able. amase, amase, amase, al-one, alone, actions, aiones. arrows, arras. advice, advise. Achor, acre, at, aun. occurrence, accidents. as, as (same).

B
(to play at) bowls, (to drink in) boles. baron, barren. barrow, borrow, borough. Boyse, boys. bath, bathie. bands, bands. bare, bear. begin, biggin. breath, breathe. bauble, Bable, baby (babbie). bile, boyl. Bruce, bruise, brewis (brews), brewhouse. (the little childe begahn to) battle (when his father went to the) battel. bore, bear, arrant, errand. bowes (and arrows). boughs, bittern, bitter, boasters, bolsters. both, botheth, best, beast. (your book is not so well) best, boast. boots, boats.

C
copies, copise. coughing, coffin. (when hee) caught, caught, coat. cummin, coming, chews (cheese), chestis. chaps, chips. char, chair, cheer. capital, capitol. currents, currants. consequence, consequenta. cost, coast. causes, causeys.

D
dun, done. (he was but a) dunse, dun. decent, descent, dissent. descension, digestion, discomfit, discomfort. (backs and) does, (one) doe, device. devise, decease, disease, dust, (why) dost (thou). death, death, deal. desert, desart.

E
east, yeast. earn, yarn. (you must) either (take out of the hedge) the ether (or the stake). ears, yeers. els, else.
eminent, imminent. even now, inow, inough. Eli, Ely.

F
fals, fals. froise, phrase. fares, fairs. fons, fence. sought, fault. follow, follow. fur, fir, form, form, form (to sit upon). Pharex, fairies. farmer, former. (a smal) fie (may) floe. fins, fiends.

G
gallants, gallons. garden, guardian. glaf (glass), gloc (gloss). gesture, jester. (a) jerkin, (never left) jerking (his horse).

H

I
James, jambs. ingenious, ingenious. impassable, impossible. imply, employ. it, yet. idol, idle. inough, inow. eyes, ice. Juice, joys.

K
know, gnaw. known, gnawn. knats, gnats.

L
lines, loyans. lowe, low. lower, (why do you) lowre. (the) lead (was) layd, (he) led. (the) less (were added to) his lease. lies, lice. loth, loathe. losses, lessees.

M
Maries, marry, marrow, morrow. mines, mindes. minec, mints. mist (misce). mists. (to mowe, (a) mough (of corn). maims, mends. mower, more. molce, moulds. myrth, mirth. (a) mouse, (barley) moush. morning, mourning. (hawke-) mues, (a) muse. mistref (mistresse), mysteries.

N
neither, nether. nones, nonce. needles, needlew (needlew). (his) neece (did) neece. never, near.

O
once, ones. owner, honour. ought, oft. owne, one, on.

P

R
reed, reade. wrought, wrote, rote. rashe, raise. rassur, raiser. rat, rot, real, ryal, royal. reverent, reverend. wroth, wrath, rathe.

S

T
ten, tense, tente, tenths. tons, tongues. trough, trophie. tome, tombe. tost, toast. thy, thigh. trope, troop (troup). thou, though.

V
volley, valley, value. vale, vail. vacation, vocation. verges, verjuice. vitals, victuals.

W
wilde, wield. weary, wors, (the sheep). whether, whither. wiles, wildes. (they took away the fishermans) weels (against their) wils. wines, windes. wick, week. (thou) wast, waste. wicked, wicket. wrent, wrist. (the man that was in the) wood (was almost) woode. wist, wisht.
Examples of some words, wherein one sound is exprest diverse ways in writing.

Sea-tied, con-cxi-ted, cea-sing, se-izing, se-rious, See-va, ce-dar, Manas-seh, Phari-see, Wool-sey, sche-dule.

Sea-ded, suc-cea-ded, sie-lings, over-se-ers, pur-sey or fat men, merc-e (or mercy).

Si-nister, sy-nagogue, Sci-pio, Sce-thian, Cy-prian, ci-vil, Ce-cil, So-vern, pur-sui vant.

Si-rence, ci-ted, quick-sigh-ted, sigh-ning, sci-ence, sy-ren, Cy-rene, sa-ti-ety.

These syllables aforegoing, may suffice, to give a taste, of al the others in this kinde.

touch is to bee pronounc't short like tuch.

Sa-chel, in the Old Testament, where the last syllable thereof is pronounc't like the last syllable in sa-chel.

Ek in architect must not bee pronounc't like k: nor in any word beginning with arch ... arch-angel ... is only excepted.

Win-der and wit-der where the first syllable in either of them must bee pronounc't long as in wine and wile ... some men cal the winde, the wind ... in the word wit-der-ness, it must be pronounc't like will.

[ca] short, as in these words head, read, stead, heavy, reed, stea dy ... it is therefore ... very meet to put an e in the end of some such words, as in reade, the present tense, to distinguish it from the short sound of read, the proper imperfect tense.

al words of more than one syllable ending in this sound as ... are written with one, but pronounc't like as, in glo-ri-ous, etc.

It is our custom to pronounce at, like at, and to write it in stead thereof, as in bate, walk, talk, stahk, stalk, malikin, caikin, caikers, falcon; as also, in almond, alma, halm, balm, palm, calm, shalm, psalm, malmsey; and in like manner in these words, namely, in self, half, valour, valour, caile, valer, halver: as also in scalp, scalps.

The sound of ce before some letters is exprest by i as in field, shield, field, Priest, piece, grief, griev, thief, thieve, chief, atchieve, brief, relieve, relief, siege, liege, Piere, piers, bier, lieutenant, which is to be pronounc't like lieutenant.

Howsoever wee use to write thus, leadeth it, maketh it, noteth it, raketh it, perfumeth it, etc. Yet in our ordinary speech ... wee say leade it, notes it, raketh it, perfumes it.

But I leave this, as also, many other things to the consideration of such as are judicious: hoping that they wil take in good part, whatsoever hath bin done, in the work aforegoing: that so, I may bee encouraged yer long, to publish a far greater, wherein such things as have bin here omitted, shal bee spoken of at large. In the mean time (for a conclusion) I have thought it good, to give a taste thereof, in the syllables and words following: wherein are exprest the true sounds of al the vowels and diphthongs, which are proper to the English-tongue.

The true sounds of al the short and long vowels, are exprest in these examples.

\begin{align*}
\text{ad} & \rightarrow \text{lad, ade lade} \\
\text{ed} & \rightarrow \text{led, ead lead} \\
\text{id} & \rightarrow \text{rid, eed reed, ide ride} \\
\text{od} & \rightarrow \text{lod, aud laud, oad load} \\
\text{ud} & \rightarrow \text{gud, ude gude} \\
\text{ood} & \rightarrow \text{good ood food}
\end{align*}

The true sounds of all the diphthongs, are exprest in these examples.

\begin{align*}
\text{ai} & \rightarrow \text{day} \\
\text{eu} & \rightarrow \text{dew} \\
\text{oi} & \rightarrow \text{coy} \\
\text{oi} & \rightarrow \text{coi-ness} \\
\text{ou} & \rightarrow \text{cow}
\end{align*}
To the above miscellaneous remarks of Hodges, may be added the following quotation from Edward Coote’s English Schoolmaster, 4to. 1673, the exact meaning of which it is difficult to discover, but which seems to imply some old scholastic tradition in the spelling out of words, recalling the village children’s celebrated method of spelling_Habakkuk as: (œ-næ æ-næ aæ, æ-næ bii æ-næ æ-næ aæ, æ-næ kii æ-næ kii, æ-næ uu æ-næ kii.)_ Probably many similar traditions were still in existence in the “dames’ schools” of a few years ago.

Rob. What if you cannot tell what vowel to spell your syllable with, how will you do to find it? as if you would write from, and know not whether you should write it with a or ə.

Joh. I would try it with all the vowels thus: fram, fre'm, frim, from; now I have it.

Rob. But Good-man Taylour our Clerk when I went to school with him, taught me to sound these vowels otherwise than (methinks) you do.

Joh. How as that?

Rob. I remember he taught me these syllables thus: for bad, bid, bid, bod, bude, I learned to say, bade, bid, bide, bode, bude, sounding a bed to lie upon, as to bid or command, and bid, as bide long, as in abide; bud of a Tree, as bude long, like rude: for these three vowels, æ, ə, ʌ, are very corruptly and ignorantly taught by many unskilful Teachers, which is the cause of so great ignorance of the true writing in those that want the Latin tongue.

Joh. You say true; for so did my Dame teach me to pronounce; for sa, se, si, so, su, to say, sa, see, si, soo, soo, as if she had sent me to see her sowe: when as se should be sounded like the sea; and su as to swo one at Law.

[In a marginal note it is added:] Let the unskilful teachers take great heed of this fault, and let some good scholars hear their children pronounce these syllables.

II. Owen Price’s Table of the Difference Between Words of Like Sound.

A

Abel, abel. abd. abbot. audience, decision. incident. account, accompt. dore, alchon the first valley, the Israelites entered, in the land of Canaan, doorm. affection, affectation. all, awl. Alc, ail. dilly, ally. aim to lovel. alike, ails augh; wo is me, a Less, ditas, aloes. Alexander, alexanders, or alexander a plant. aloud, allowd. ditar, litter. Ammon, Ammon. dimple. dimble. angel, angle to fish with hook, and line, dnele. annual, annuls. arrowe to stir up, drosses darts. ascett, assent, consent. dis, ashes any fuel burnt to dust, ask a tree, ask to enquire. acts, ax, asp a serpent that kills with its looks, hap of door. assemble, resemble, disemb. ant, aunt. austere, byster. array, airy windshield empty. arrant, mey, very, right, eran and business that one goes about. assud to try, provo, essay a trial, attempt. assistants, assistance. ascerttain to make sure, a certain sure. attidch to apprehend, arrest, atteque to face about, to charge with a ship. attaint, attain.

B

Babble, bible a toy fit for children. Bachelor of Arts, bachelor one unmarried. bocow, becon.badge, batch. bag, boil, bald, baul, ball, bay a colour, bay an harbour for ships. baiz thin cloth, bais a garland, or leaves of bay tree. base meant to allure or entice with, make base that sets folks by the ears, base to strike. brand an armie, a tie, bond obligation, bill, imprisonment. bane, poison, miserie, bane report made of matrimonie. bann, bannier. Barbara a woman’s name, Barbare a part of Africa, barberry a tree. bark, barry a little ship. battel a fight, battelles diet in a College. battlement, battelore. bee, be is, are, beaver castor, bever food eaten between dinner and supper. boos wast, were, bin a hatch to keep bread in. beer, beer. bellows, belliw. benefic, benefic. beare defile, beaury discover, betray. bestrich, bestige. body, bastydy, bowl to wash in. bowls to play with, bowls to drink in. boar, bore to pierce, bore the long hole in the gun. book that we read in, buck a deer, buck of clothes to be washed.
bought to range meal with, boil a great arrow, door bar. blow to shoot with, branch, bow to bend. boys little lads, boose great logs of wood floating in the bay to guide in the ships. burnt, burnt an assault, encounter. bitty, bitty. buy, by and by. biggin a little coife, begin. bister, bolster a great pillow. breach, breeches. breed, bred that is reared, bred. brain, brown boar's flesh, bran.

C
Cabinet, cubbin. quaint sudden fit, calm still, quiet. Caleb or Cadiz a city in Spain, Calis a town in France, châtlice. cauld a dress for a woman's head, caud of a beast, call to name, catts to the Scots call cabbage. ciumba rules for men to walk by, cimmon a great gun, canun a Cathedral man. cepacious, capable. captiv, capit. carriage, cart, cayres or cartes, chariot. carrier one that carries, cartes a gallop with full speed. cavalier a horseman, caviller a wrangling, capitious fellow. centurion a plant, centurio any 100 years of the ages of the churches. sentinel one that watcheth in a garrison, keenel, cornel, chinnel, chinnel. chattel a man personal estate, cattel tame beasts. case, cause. censer a reformer of manners, censer a perfuming pan. chafe, chaff, chance, change. chapters as those in the Bible, chapters the heads of the pillars of the vail Exod: 36, 38. char or chire, a small household business, chear to make merry, cheer countenance, or good visualls, chair a seat to sit on. chew a narrow chink, cheap. champion, campaign large, even fields. check, chic, check one side of the face. chest, chess, cheese. child, chill, cider drink made of apples, cider. clamour, clamber. cittern instrument of music, citron a fruit. cloy, clave. clave, close. clause, clause, he clappeth. cockpit, quote, cote a little plat of inclosed ground, cottage. choicer, collar, scholar, colier, colour. could, cold, cool'd. gallop, collop a rasher of bacon. comb to comb one head with, honeycomb. come, comment, comet a blazing star. comma, common publick, commune to talk, converse together, common a ground not enclosed, commons a scholars allowance in meat, cummin an herb, cumminseed the seed thereof. commonplace a partaker, accomplish, confit or confects dried sweet meats, comfort. considerate, considerable. carol a song, coral a red shrub that children rub their gums with. crounner or cérner that makes inquest after a murder, corner a by private place. cónneler a commandat of a thousand, cónneler a plantation. consumption, consummation. counsel advise, a -e-i, council the Kings council, or a synod of learned men, c-i-i. course rough, course dead body, course to go a hunting, curse to wish evil to one. cousin, cosen. current that will pass, as good money, current a stream, coronis small raisins. crasis, irnem, sickly, crased, cracked, distracted. crocodile monster in the river Nilus, còckatrice serpent that kills with its very small. cosmos a mans name, cocks do crow.

D
Deflection, defect, defer, differ. diamond, diadem. diary, dairy. damn to condemn, damn up to stop, keep out the light, damn a stopping of the water before a mill, damp a noysom vapour out of the earth, dame a mistress, or any beast that brings forth young. damson a little black plum, damoseal a brave young virgin. decaysed, discon. decade departure. dear, dear. deitie, ditty. delicate, delegate. deman to behave, demin the means of a Lord, or a Cathedral, demand. demer, desert wilderness, desert to forsake, desert merit. descent, dissent, decent. desirous, desirable, disconsort, disconsol. digest to concoct viualls, digest to set in order. dew small drops from the skie, due a debt, avid. dint or dont, din, dine to eat about noon. do, do, dough, due. dote as he doth give, dote he maketh. drain, drawn. dry a cured, dray. Don Sir, master in Spanish, done, dun. doest thou dost make, dost a sign of the second person, as thou sayest or dost say, dust powder.

E
Ear, wherewith one hears, ear to till ground, or to plough, ears of corn, ere before, year 12 months. early, yearly. earn, yarn to be moved to compassion, yarn. earth, earth. east where the sun riseth, east barm, ease. egg to provoke, to set on, egg which the hen layeth, edge, edge. eldern a tree, elder more old. Elízâer, Eldersar. Embas- sador, embassage. emeraldi, emeroids, piles. eminent, imminent. encomium, engagement. epha, epohd, epoch, epod a sort of verses. Esther, Hexter a
Saxon Idol, Easter, yesterday, experiment, experience. eyes the windows of the head, etc.

Fair, fare, far, fear, fashion mode, manner of apparel, fashions or farry, running batches upon horses. fain, feign, savourer, favourite. felon a thief, fello a swelling sore on the finger. fendi, fine. Findeth, fine. fillip, Philip. fle to shun, avoid, fle to pull off the skin, fits a small creature that doth fly, fle a small skipping creature, fleece the wool of one sheep. fleet, navy, fleet swift, fit to wavur, fit, fix or flux bloody issue. flower, fower fine meal, flower of a plant. foal, foal, foal, fold, foul, fault. ford a shallow passage in a river. afford, fore, four, forth, fourth, frie shag'd cloth, freeze to congeal. friery where Friars live, ferry, ferry. froiss a small pan-cake, phrase. furs fine, hairy skins, furs prickly shrubs. fundament, foundation.

Gantlet a souldier's buf, or iron glove, Gantlet two ranks of sollidiers that scourge a malefactor that is condemned to run between, with his back stript. gard or great hem of a garment, guard a company of men that defend or secure ones person. guardian a tutor, or one intrusted with a fatherless child, garden an inclosed piece of ground. gentles heathens, gentil a magot, gentle mild, generous, tractable, gentil curious in apparel or carriage, picture, jest, jest where the King lodges in his journey, or progress, jest, gluttonous, glutonous. gister, gyster or clyster, cluster. God, good, grass, graze to eat grass, grace. gray a colour, grey a damner, an earth hog. Greece a country, grose a small ascent, steps on the floor, ambergris a perfume, grist corn brought to be grinded. grin to wry the mouth, grind to bruise small, as we do corn. grouw, grown. guest, guest. gun, gone.

Hail God save you, hail stones, hale to lug, to draw. hair, heir, hare, air, are they be. by to make hast, hay, high, height loftiness, heightness. heart, hart. hartsthorn a long leaved plant. hartsthorn which the hart bears. here,

hoar. heard I did hear, hard solid, stiff, herd a drove of small cattel. hearing giving ear to, herring a seash. heron a man's name, hern a crane. heathens, heavens. horse, hoarse, horse. hallow, hollow, hold to bowl. holy. hole, hole, home, whom. hole a frizzling frost, where. hoo to cut, to fell trees, hoe visage, physiognomie. hu and cry, Hugh a man's name.

Iamsa, James, idol, idler, jewes, Jewish, juice. imply, employ. impostor a great cheater, impostor one that takes the names of such as are absent, or tardy. incite, insight. inconsiderable, inconsiderable. inn, in. Job. Job. Joise a woman's name, rejoise, joist a little beam in building. rich, hitch. its his, its' it is, its it is. judge, jugs. judicious, judicial.

Kem, ken, kin, kindness. kill, chyle. keel, kin, knead. need.

Ladder, leather. lamb, lane. lance, to cut off dead, rotten flesh, lance to put out a ship from harbour. last that they make shoes upon, last after all the rest, farthest, last to endure, hold out. latton tin, Latine Roman language. leaden, Leyden. league, leg, liege man. leaper, leper, leopard. lease (with a soft, s) to pick up shotted corn, lease (with a hard, s) an indenture, writings, least, smallest, less smaller, least a note of forbidding as lest I chastise you. leman concbine, whore, lemon a kind of an apple. legion, legends. litsurgie, lethargie. lesen, listen, lies false tales, lice small, biting worms. limb weak, liminer one that draws pictures. limn, limb. line whereby we work, or write straight, loin flank, hanch. Lions a town in France, lion a fierce beast, lion a great cross beam. letter, litter, lieter a sedan carried between two horses. lose to let go, to let slip unknown, loose (with a soft, s) to undo, to slack, loose (with a hard, s) debauch, lewd. lost, loss.

Main might, chiefest, main prize, suretiship, sail, mane of a horse. mars that breedes colts, major the chief ruler.
of a citie, major a commander by one degree higher then a Captain. mors, moor a marsh, moor a man’s name. mansion a chief house of abode, manchet a little white loaf. winner fashion, winners good carriage, mannour a great farm by heritage, manner to dung the ground. map, mop the first moneth, march to go as soldiery go together. Mars, marsh a moor. married, married. martin, martyr, mercer, merchant. mace, mass. mast the biggest pole in the ship, masts acorn. mast food, meet to measure, meet fit, convenient. message, messuage. meteor, metre. might, mite, mind, mine. mince, mint. minister, minister, ministred. most a deep pond about a house, mote the least dust. mortar made of lime and sands, mortar that we pound any spice in. mo more, mow rice of corn, mow to cut down hay, or corn. mounthisbank, Mounthague.

N
Naught bad, naughty, nought nothing. Nazarene, Nazarine. neither lower, neathroot lowest, neither none of them. nestle tender, effeminate, nce one sister’s, or brother’s daughter, nice curious, delicate. may, neigh, nigh. none of purpose, none the first part of the moneth in the Roman compass. none, now, noise. notorious, notable.

O
Over to row with. ore metal not refined, o’re for over. odour sweet smell, udder the pap of a cow. off with a double, f, after a word of action, as to cut off, to draw off, of before the word it belongs to, with one, f, as the fear of God. one the first in number, own. once, one’s, our, Hour. Ho, o or ought a note of excluding or be-moaning, owe.

P
Palate, paliate, palett a little low bed to be rolle up. paws, pause. paile, pales kind of stakes. pale a compass, appall to discourage. pane, pain. pattern cippie, patient, patterns wooden soils. patient, patience. pease a grain of corn, poises weights, to a clock, or jack, peace, peach, pieces part. peer, pear. pare, pair, repair. person the word man used with some reverence, person a kind of minister. pebble, people. pens, pence. Pilate, pilot, pirate. pistols, petit wherewith we

ound in a mortar, epistle. pittious an object of pittie, pittiful one given to pittie. place, places a little broad fish. piad a course cloak, such as the Hollanders wear, pliat a small parcel of ground, plait to set the hair in order, plot a cunning design. play a game, a comedie, plea a defence, excuse. Common pleas, place, plus, over-plus, non-plus. potte, bottle. precedent a pattern to authorize any action, precedent foregoing. President a head of a College, or chief Ruler. price, Prizes, prize, prizes. principal, principle. private, privets small trees. privy to, privy, portend. pretend. poor one in want, pore to fix ones eyes, and mind upon any thing. pour to shed, to throw down, power might. pray, pray, pray. puppies, puppets.

Q
Quadrel strife bickering, quadril of glass. quarrie, querie. quench, quince. queen, queen.

R
Rack, wrack ruin. rays, raise. rise (with a soft, s) when one lifts up ones self, rise (with a hard, s) the original, rise a sort of corn. ras, race. reach to fetch a thing to one, reach to stretch, rich, wreath. refuge, refuse off-scouring. relict, reliques. reveil, revel. revile, rival, rice. rain, reign. reins of the back, reins of a bride. raiser, one that stirreth, rasure that we shave with. read I have read, red. real, royal. reverent, reverend. right, rites, write. rose, rose as slaves do in a boat, rose or row of trees, row. Romans. romanes Rome the chiefest City in Italy, rome to rage, and tear all before one, room a space, a chamber. rough ruggid, course, boisterous, stuff plaited together, as a rough band, roughcast. rule, rowel.

S
Sale, sayl, sallce, sace. same, Psalm. Sceour, savour. Satan, satten smooth, silken stuff. scarce, scars, scent, sent. school, scull, scholars, scullers little boats. see, sea an ocean, sea the Pope’s jurisdiction, as the sea of Rome. seal as to seal a letter, or writing, sicel to plaster the roof of a room. season possession, season opportunitie. sect, set, sects, sex. seargant one that arresteth men, surgeo chirurgeon, that heals wounds, Sir John a Knight’s name. share, shear, sheer. shire, sheave as of corn, sheathe, shive
a slice of bread, cieve that we winnow corn with. sheep, ship. shell, shield. show a brave sight, show to manifest, shoe. Shiloh, Siloe, Siloa. shoot, shout, shoe, shole as a shole of fishes. shut, root. sink, cinque five. cinqueports haven towns. sin, sing, sign. sied, sighted, cited quoted. with seeing that, sith that we mow hay with, sethe to Boyle. sludge the smith's great iron hammer. stede a dray that drag things in. sloe, sloo. smutch to besmear, as with soot, much a great deal, nick to play the treant. so, ser. soar to fly high like a kite, sere a young deer, sore painful, tender, galled flesh. some, summ as summ total. s-o-n the father's son, s-u-n the shining sun. Spaniard, specimen a shag'd dog. speer spear. spies. spice. spit, spittle that we spit out, or an Almes house. stable, staple as staple commoditie, staple of the door, staple the length of the wool. stars, staves black birds that do mischief the pigeons, stairs. stature, statute, statue. stead, bedstead, steed a stately horse. steel that men edge tools with, stile a form, or facultie in writing. steer a bullock, steer to guide a ship. stood did stand, stud a small post in a tower wall. storied historic. straight even, quickly, straight a distress perplexite. aucourc, sucker. suit to agree with, suit in law, or of clothes, sewet the fat of beef, or mutton. sound to faint, sound entire, without flaws.

T

Tales, tails. talons, tailles, talent. taber a small drum, or timbrel, taper a stately wax candle. tar, tears, tears drops from the eyes, tear as to tear cloth, break, cut. teach, learn. theeams subjects that we descend upon, teams of horses. thither, there, their, thriv as to break thör all, through by means of, throw to cast. thrush, thrust, thyme or tyme, a sweet plant, time, tattle, title, tittle a point. to a sign of a verb, t-o-e the foot's toe, too, as too much, too also, too, too. tomb, tone. tongues languages, tons a pair of tongues. torn that torners do make, torn rent, torn to move round. track the picture of ones footsteps, track to follow one, step, by step, tract a handling of this, or that point. treaty a parley concerning peace, treatment, treatise, treatie conference concerning peace. true, truths. trust, trust. turbant the Turk's great linnen Cap, turbot a byrt, a great sea fish.

V

Vacation, vacation. v-a-i-n empty foolish, v-o-i-n in the body. sail or covering, sake to put off, to submit, as to vale bonet, vale or valley. witch a sort of corn, fetch to bring. volley. vial a great cup, viool an instrument of music. visage feature in a face, vizard a false kind of face, to cover ones face. vital, victuals. umbles the inwards of a Deer, humble, umpiire, empire. us Us Job's country.

W

Wait, weight, waits, the citie musicians, waites waiteth. Wals the true Britain's country, wals great thrids in hair stuffs, walls, bescvil. walk, awake, wakes a parish festival time, walks. wand, wan, wain. worship, worship. way, weigh. wear, were, wears, dams where they catch fish. wicked, wicket. wilie cunning, un-weldeis awkward, wild untame, weild to turn a sword about. win, wind that blows, wine. wipe to rub off dirt, sweep to shed tears. witch one that by a compact with the Devil doth bewitch, witch a trap to catch vermin, which that, who. wo alas, wo to be a suitor to a mistress. wood dying stuff, wood fowell, timber. wrap, rap. wort, write, wheelwright. wrote, wrought, rote. vrench, rinse to wash slightly.

Y

yea, I. yet, It, witt, wist a tree in the church yard. yeu, you. yolk of eggs, yoke that oxen draw under, oak. yore in old time, ever a small neck'd pewter pot.

III. Cooper's Lists of Words Like and Unlikely and Introductory Remarks.

De Varis Scripturis.

1. Quadrum scribuntur vel cum c vel s; ut daco apus, ice glaciers, farce farcio, race stadium, rice oryza, sauce condimentum, cesser censor, scarse vix, acisors

ciera forfex, cellar cells, sinners scoria ferri, sivee porrum sectile, cisset xibethum, sluce emissarium, source sons, syder melites, nourse nutrio, pencil penicillus, chace lucus, fugo, etc.
C. Cooper's Words Like and Unlike.

I.

Voces quae tandem habent pronominationem, sed diversam significacionem et scribendi modum.

A.

All omnes, aci subula. altar altare, alter mutu are sunt, air aer, heir, here, ore long statim ant formica, sunt amita assem assensus, assent assensus assault invado, a salt bit bolus salutus

B.

baies lauri, baius pannus villosus bald pilus, bald vocifer bare nudus, bear fero. be sum, bee apes berry bacca, bury sepolio bit'd rostratus, build edifico bitter amarus, bit'tour butio bone torquet, bouge rami, bowse perpoto bread panis, bred nutritus broc' frondo, bros palpebre borne portatus, born rivulus buy emo, by per

C.

calendar levitas presse tim panni, Calendar calendarium call voce, caul omentum censor thuribulum, censor censor, censora judico centory herba centaria, century centuria sive apatium centum annorum chair cathedra, chair negotiiolom chas'd fugatus, chast castus chres masticat, chuse eligo clause clausula, clause unguis coat tunica, quote cito come illudo, cousin germanus chord chorda subtensa, chord fundus collar capistrum, choller bills comming veniens, cummin cuminum cool'd refrigeratus, could possemp coughing tussicns, coffin sandapila coarse levendens, coarse curus counsel consilium, counsel curia colors coores, cullers ovis rejicula ear'd curabam, card pectino.

D.

dam mater, dawm condemnno dear carus, dear fora dispersio dissensio [no second word given]
C. COOPER’S WORDS LIKE AND UNLIKE. Chap. IX. § 2.

dos dama, do ago, doso massa farinaria
don factus, duns fuscus
dors ros, dus debètus

E
emerald emareogdus, emrods hemorrhoides

F
sea pulex, tlay vel lsea excorio
seam phlebotomum, phlegm vel seam
phlegma
forth ex. fourth quartus
fair pulcher, furs ligurio
fir abies, fur pellis, far longa, furs

G
genista spinosa
fit aptus, flight pugnabat

gest gesta, jest jocus;
jestor jocator, gesture gestus

go’st radia, ghost spiritus
grone gemo, grawn accruts

H
hair crinis, hare lepus
hake scroo, huck accipiter
hart cervus, heart cor
hard durus, heard auditus, hard grex
hear audio, here hic
holy sanctus, wholly totaliter
hew scindo, hue color
hy festino, high altus
higher altior, hire stipendium
hollo vocifero, hollow concavus

I
ire ira, eyer observator
insight prospectus, incite incito
isle volo, tale insula, oil oleum
in in, inns diversorium
jerkin tunica, jirking flagellans

L
lamb agnus, lamm verb vero
lead plumbum, led ductus
least charta redemptionis, least ternio

canum
leper saltator, leper leprosus
lessen diminuo, lessen lectio
least minimus, last that ne; (sed potius
vice versâ least ne)

lemon pellex, lemon malum hesperiam
limb membrum, limn miniculor
lo en, low humilis
line linea, loin lumbus
lustre splendor, luster lustrum

M
manner mos, manour predium
male mas, mail loricà

meat cibus, meto metior
message nuncium, message villa
mouse (mous) mures catpo, mous
familia
musc meditor, musc accipitrem in
egastulum compingit, sea mows fulcies
mufs cum f foramen per sepimentum

N
neither inferior, neither nec
naught malus, naught nihil
a notion notio, an ocean oceanus

O
O interjectio vocandi, oè doloris vel
vahementia, oè deboe
oar remus, oar ore ballux, o’re super
owr noester, hour hora

owl agnoeco, one unus
order ordo, ordeus stercus

P
pair par, pars rescindo, pear pyrus
pause paus, paus ungues.
pastor, pasture pascum
plae causa, please placeo
pickit her sam elegit, pictures pictura
prophet propheta, profit commodum
pray precor, pray praeda
plum prunum, plum perpendicularis
pour fundo, power potestas

R
rain pluvia, reign regno, reins renes
raise suscto, raise radii
ranker olidior, rancour odium
raise stadium, raise expungo
rarer rarus, rear atollo
read lectus, red rubber
read legeo, read arundo
raise uva passa, reason ratio
right rectus, rite ceremonia, write scribo,
arti-right carpenterius
ry secale, rov obliquus
roe capreolus, row series
vote memoriter, wrote scripsi
ruff sinuis, rough aper

S
say loquer, say pannus rasus
saev parsimonicus, saev sapor
seas maria, seece apprehendo
sell vendo, sell cellula
seller venditor, sellar cella
sight visus, site situs, cite cito
size senio, size glutino
season tempestas, seisin possessio
seat sodex, deckel fraus
share paro, sheer tondeo
shoo calceus, shew demonstro
C. COOPER'S WORDS LIKE AND UNLIKE.

slo prunum sylvestre, slow tardus
stiers gradus, stiers aspectat
so sic, soo suo
soor subvolio, soor uclus
sought quentius, saw't id vidi
spider araneæ, spid' dr observabam
ipsam
sucher antha, succower suppetior
sorum body aliquis, suam summa
suor sol, son filius
surer certus, suer candidatus, suor pre- 
gustator
sweep verro, swepe tolonus

T

tacks clavi, affigit, taeh uncins, tax 
tributum
tenor, tenure tenura
their suus, there ibi
time tempus, thyme thymus
tide fluxus et refluxus maris, ti'd ligatus
to ad, too stupa
toes digits pedis, toes gradatim solvo
tower turris, tower subvolio
tract tractatus, tract' t per vestigia
secutus
throne solium, thrown jactus
tire lasso, ty her ligato illam

V

vein vena, vein inanis
vial phiala, viol pandura

W

wore merces, wore tero, were essent
weight pondus, wait expecto, waits 
spondiaules
woo proco, woo calamitas
whoop chodum, whoop vico
woe usus, use utor, evoe ews feminem
wser aqualis, are assustatu
yoe ics, ye vos

Sequentes item distinguantur, quas autem omnes non dis- 
tinguunt.
bruist fama, brusc brustrum
desert meritum, desart eremus
down lanugo, down, doorn deorum
foul sordidus, fouel vulcrisa
friese pennus villousus, fros congelo,
semper freex liberat
moat fosse, mole atomoe
savoury satureia, savoury sapidus vel
dodoratus

II.

Voces que diversum habent sonum et sensum sed eandem
plerumque scripturam; quæ ta-
tem melius hoc modo semper dis-
tinguantur

acorn glans, a corn granum
attack obsedeo, attach prehendo
bore ferebam, bore aper
born parturitus, borne latus
bore torqueo, bore arcus
bow globus, bowel patera
convert converto, convert proselytes
form formæ, form ular classia
guest hoopen, guest gesta, jest jocus
get adipiscor, jet gagate

gives dat, gives compedes
head plumbum, heads duco
tight residi, light lux
live vivo, alius vivus; lived vixi, long-
lived longerus; lives vivit, lives vixit
mow acervus, mowet meto
past præteritis, pasto pastillus
rebel rebello, rebell rebellator
Rome Roma, roam vago
sow sus, sowes suo
singing cano, singe amburo
tear lacrymæ, tears lacerio
tost agitatus, tostis panis tostus
weast ernis, waste consumo
solid effectus, solid volui
jill triental, jile branchise

Exemplorum sequentium prior
ora sonum habent /, posteriora,
que scribuntur cum / finali,
onum /.

V/e usus, use utor: abuse abusus, abuse
abutor
close clausus, close clando
cru/e pocillum, cruse prædor
divere diversi, divers urinarissere
dose dosis, dose dormito
disse preterea, disse ulme
excessa apologia, excess excuso
faila falla, faila cadit
his sibilo, his suus
loose remississ, loose solvo
premise / premise, promise præmitto
refuse / quesilite, refuse abnuo
house domus, house stabulo

muss mus, mouse mures capto
louse pediculus, louse pediculis capto
bras nas, brace suberno
glass vitreus, glass invitreo
glass / gramen, grass pasco

III.

Propria nomina cum commun-
ibus, quæ eundem vel affinem
habent sonum.

Achon, acre juger
Bede, bead coronæ, bede tree azedarach
Barbara barberry oxyacantha
Brux, brooks rivuli
Cain, cane canna
Diep, deep profundus
Francis ms, Frances femina
Joyce, joiis gaudia
Baton, eaten pastus
James, Jams parasstades
Marshall, Martial Martialis
Martin, Marten cyphelus
Mede, mead hydromelum
Mora, mor maurus, palus, more plus
Maurice vel Morrice, morris dance
chironomica saltatio
Nash, gnaah strido
Noahs, nose nasus
Nig, niggh propē
Paul, pall palla, palīd mucidious
Pilate, pilot nauclerus
Rhode, road via publica, rode equitavi
Rome Roma, room spatium
Styx flumen infernale, sticks bacilli
Thamar, tanner manuector
Walter, water aqua

IV.

Voces quae affinem habent
sonum sed diversum sensum et
scripturam.

A
alone solus, a loan vel lone mutuatum
advice consilium, adviis consulio
devise inventum, devise comminiscor
deiue vale, adoe conatus
alley ambulacrum, ally affinis
arose resurrexit, arrwas sagittae

B
baren sterilia, baron baro
begin incipo, biggin capital
batle pinguesco, battel praelium
behoulding aspicens, beholden obligatus
bor'd terebratus, boord tabula
bon't gibbus, boast glorior
bile ulcus, boil coquo
bawble nugas, bable garrio

candid candidus, cundyed conditus sac-
charo
causeys vie strate, cause cause
carrion cadaver, carrying portans
champion pugil, champin campus
citiren cithara, citron citrum
collegue socius, collegy collegium
colors, colures colori
copicy exemplar, coppis nemus
currens utw corinthias, current amnes
crown corona, coroner, crowner questor
erawne pusillanimus, craving rogueus

D
Dauphin primogenitus regis Galliae,
dolphin delphinus
decent decens, decent descensus
der, actor, door ostium

e
exercise exercere, exercise conjuro

F
fellows socii, felliss apesides
file limo, foil sterno
fence septimentum, femm paludes
fluid invenio, fiend damnon
flax linum, flank flocculi
floor pavimentum, flower floe, floor
pollen
fold plico, foal'd pooperit aqua
fros vel phrase frictia, phrase phrasis

G
glister mico, glyster vel elyster
garnier granarium, gardian gardianus,
gardener hortulanus

H
hence hinc, hose gallinae
home domus, whom quem
hollow cavus, hallow sanctifio
hose caliga, whose cujsus

I
idol idolum, idle ignavus
employ impendo, imply intimo
ingenious ingeniose, ingenious in-
genius
inure assuesso, in your in vestra
juice succes, joie transtrum

L
lain positus, lane viculus
latin latinitas, lattin orichalcm
lettice lacteas, lattice transenna
leasour locator, lesser minor
loud laulo, oul-loa'd proscriptus
leaf folium, leave libertas

M
may/at possis, mast malus
medal sigillum fusile, medle tracto
mines foddine, minds mentes
mole talpa, mold humus
moon gemus, moon mesus
mowser messor, more plus
moral melo, million 1000000 sive
centum myriades
mote atomos, moth tinea
mile miliaria, moit laboro
§ 3. Conjectured Pronunciation of Dryden, with an Examination of his Rhymes.

Dryden was born in 1631 and died in 1700. The date of his pronunciation, acquired when he was a young man, therefore coincided with the publication of Wallis’s grammar, 1653. But as his chief poetical works did not appear till much later, it is possible that he took advantage of the change of pronunciation going on to give greater freedom to his rhymes. Still his own pronunciation must certainly be looked upon as that of Wallis or Wilkins. As
Wallis is the last of those who advocate the use of (yy) in English to the exclusion of (iu), it will be perhaps safest to assume that Dryden agreed with Wilkins and subsequent orthoepists, in saying (iu) and not (yy). He lived at a time during which long a passed from (ææ) to (æe), but he most probably retained his youthful habit (æœ) to the last. His use of o, as could not have inclined more to (ii) than Jones's, perhaps not so much. But we may perhaps assume that all the words with as collected above, p. 86, were generally pronounced with (ii), though in any case of necessity they retained their older sound of (ee). He probably read as, as always as (ee) or (er).

With regard to Dryden's rhymes, the notices on p. 87 show that, although he allowed himself much liberty, they were not so imperfect as our present pronunciation would lead us to conclude. But as those notes referred to a particular case of as, it will be convenient here to review the rhymes in one of Dryden's most finished poems. For this purpose I select the first part of Aabalom and Achitophel, containing about 1000 lines, written in 1681, just about the time (1685) that Cooper published his grammar.

1. We did not act on the following as to labialise it, so that sound land, were scars, are perfect rhymes (wend land, were scars), and in care was, declare'd harr' d (kæar war, deklearsd bard) we have only a long and short vowel rhyming, as is constantly the case. Embrace'd taste rhymed perfectly as (ambreast tastest), not according to our present pronunciation.

2. With proclaim rhyme name tame, that is, according to Cooper, (-ææ) rhymes to (-ææ), or, if we give the older pronunciation, (-ææ) rhymes to (-ææ), which was certainly sufficiently close for Dryden, who may even have called the first (-ææ). There are only three such lines in the whole piece.

3. The rhymes theme dream, please these, break weak, great repeat, bear hear, are perfect (ee, ee). Again, foars ears, fear hear are perfect (ii, ii). But fear bear (ii, ee) is imperfect, unless he here took the liberty of giving fear its older sound (fear). In the rhyme spares tears (ææ, ii), he may have also taken the liberty to say (tears). The rhymes care bear, wear care, (ææ, ee), were sufficiently close for Dryden. Appear where (ii, ee) present a decidedly bad rhyme, unless he chose to say (whirr), which is possible, as the pronunciation still exists dialectically.

4. The group years petitioners, fears pensioners, please images, please prayers, great yet, supreme them, declaim Jerusalem them, must all be considered forms of (ee, e), or long and short vowels rhyming, although at that time years foars were (fiir, fiir). In receive prerogation (ee, i), sweet At (ii, i), the intention was the same, the wide (i) being made to do duty as either (e) or (i).

5.owl devi was a perfect rhyme (i, i); but sense prince, pretense prince, (e, i), seem to point to a well-known Irishism, and the close connection of Irish pronunciation with the xvith century leads us to suppose that such words would be generally accepted as rhymes.

6. The Y final seems to have been doubtful in value. From Spenser's time to our own we have found poets taking the liberty to rhyme it as (ei) or (ii), and as the Irish of the present day are said to pronounce final y as (ii), we may, as usual, presume that this pronunciation was rife in the xvirh century. In the present poem we have y final taken as (ii) in free liberty, be democracy, decree royalty, me liberty, degree university, be lumacy; and as (ii) in tie posterior, sky naturely, why property, wise enemies, by husbandry, cry theocracy, eye royally, high extremity, despise indignities, cry tyranny, die posterior, high destiny, I liberty, cry liberty, try anchory, by company.

7. The following rhymes were per-
fect (ei, ei) according to a prevalent use in the xviiith century, smiles toils, design join, join coins. Gill gives (wind) for wind, content, and poets have always taken the liberty to rhyme it, as Dryden does, with bind, behind. The rhyme flight height was perfect (ei, ei) according to Mige, but Cooper has (amst), Jones (meet, meetth). Clearly there was a diversity of pronunciation of which the poet availed himself.

8. The (oon) of the xviiith century, when generated by a following t or s, was so often considered as (oo) by the orthoepists of the xvith century, although the usage varies, that we need no surprise at the rhymes soul pole, grown throne, own throne, would fold, overthrow foes, soul control, blow forgo. But gold old, gold old, were at that time (guard, could could cold), and the rhymes belong to the same category as choose deserve, poor more = (uu, oo), (though, as the Expert Orthographeist, 1704, says that poor is pronounced as o long, the two last words may have been perfect rhymes to Dryden), or good load, shook broke yoke, took spoke = (u, oo), of which took flock = (u, a), would scarcely be deemed a variant. Cooper heard blood, flood as (black, flat), so that that pronunciation must have been sufficiently prevalent to pass the rhyming of blood with flood, wood, good. And as a wound is still often called a (wound), we need not wonder at finding bound wound.

9. No distinction was made in rhyme between (eu, ii), if indeed the distinction had not become altogether obsolete. Poets allow (ii, uu) to rhyme, considering the first as (iuii) or (iun), but the fact that they are now felt not to be genuine rhymes at once discredits the common theory that long u is now (ruu). The first element receives so much stress that it cannot degenerate into (s). Accordingly we find the rhyme anse pursue, love accuse, few true, muse chose, rue'd cool'd.

10. The rhyme remove lose was at that time perfect in some mouths as (a, a), but thong tongue, song strong, were probably quite imperfect as (a, a), although (thog, toq) may still be occasionally heard, and in some dialects all these words end in (-eq). But son crown (son kroun) was altogether unjustifiable at that period.

11. The r seems to have excluded many indifferent rhymes. Afford sward, which now rhyme as (swood swood), then rhymed as (sfoord swood), and afforded words, mourn'd return'd, were (uu, s), sword lord, court sort, were (uu, a), scorn return, born turn, were (a, o), board abhor'd, restor'd lord, were (oo, a). First cure's d was probably perfect as (oo), Art desert was perhaps considered a perfect rhyme. In none Abraham the vowels perhaps agreed as (oo), but as the consonants were different, the result is only an assonance.

The following rhymes of Dryden, and other authors, who, having acquired their pronunciation in the xviiith century, must be reckoned in that period for the present purpose, have been taken from the appendix to Walker's Rhyming Dictionary, where they are given as "allowable rhymes," or Prof. Haldeman's Felix Ago (supra p. 866 note), where they are cited as anomalies. The authors with their dates are as follows:

Addison, 1672—1719.  Herrick, 1591—1674.
Butler, 1612—1690.  Oldham, 1653—1683.
Cowley, 1618—1667.  Philips, 1676—1708.
Crashaw, d. 1650.  Parnell, 1679—1717.
Creech, 1659—1700.  Prior, 1664—1721.
Dryden, 1631—1700.  Rowe, 1673—1718.
Garth, 1672—1719.  Waller, 1685—1687.

The rhymes are arranged, very nearly, in the same categories as those just considered, and the numbers prefixed to the groups will therefore generally be sufficient to point out their nature. This
review will shew, that it would not be possible to infer identity of vowel sound in apparently rhyming words in the xvii th century.

1. Wan man, Dryden. care war, Garth. hard reward, Parnell. prepares Mars, Grametta. marr’d spar’d, Waller. place’d last, Dryden. haste last, Waller. made bad, Dryden. This is the common rhyme of a long and short vowel (ee, a).
2. Complaint elephant, Prior. saint pent, Addison. these differ only from proclamation name in having the second vowel (ee) short, instead of (ee) long.
3. They sea, Dryden. defeat great, Garth. great heat, Parnell. neat great, Parnell. please ease images, Wyckerley. praise ease, Parnell. train scene, Parnell. steel fail, Parnell. bears shears, Garth—are all practically perfect (ee, ee) or (oo, oo). State treat, Dryden. ers cares, Prior. retreat gate, Parnell. place peace, Parnell. theme fame, Parnell. are wear, Wyckerley—are only (ee, ee). here share, Garth. years shares, Garth. hear air, Milton—may have been taken as (ee, ee) and (ee, ee), instead of (ii, ee) and (ii, ee).
4. Ear, murderer, Dryden. great debt, Dryden. express cease, Dryden. rest feast, Dryden. contemns streams, Dryden. dress’d feast, Dryden. express cease, Dryden. entreat, Prior. digest feast, Prior. reveal tell, Prior. east, west, Addison. threats beats, Creoch—are all cases of (ee, e) or long and short vowels rhyming. chin unclean, Dryden. use (s) for (ee). distress place, Garth. use (see) for (see). compelled field, Dryden. held field, Garth. well steel, Dryden. freed head, Dryden—have (ii, e) for (ee, e).
5. Dress’d fist, Dryden. flesh dish, Dryden. heaven given, Prior—are the usual (e, i).
6. See energy, Roxcomom.
7. Defile spoil, Dryden. declin’d join’d, Dryden. decline disjoin, Garth. join design, Butler. vine join, Cowley—were perfect rhymes; and weight flight, Dryden, may be compared with height flight.
8. Doom Rome, Butler. throne gone, Dryden. load abroad, Dryden. food good, Parnell—were probably perfect rhymes, and: stood blood, Butler, Dryden—may have been so, but: floods gods, Dryden. along hung, Dryden—were anomalous, yet evidently not felt as very bad; to these belong: strow’d blood, Dryden. rode blood, Dryden. and: sow plough, Dryden. show bough, Dryden. inclose brow, Dryden. flow’d vow’d, Dryden. plow low, Philips. stone down, Waller, were perhaps felt as (oo oun) rather than (oo ou), and were therefore not far from (uu, uu) in: soon town, Dryden. you allow, Blackmore.
9. now you, Crassow. pow’r secure, Garth, so that they connect the former with: grout shut, Dryden. proud blood, Garth, or (uu, uu). The rhyme (ee, uu) or (oo, uu) is found in: home Rome, Butler. looks provokes, Dryden. gone soon, Dryden. store poor, Dryden. throne moon, Dryden. look yoke, Dryden. spoke took, Prior. home home, Row's. door poor, Parnell. shoes, fools, Garth.
9. No example.
10. In: rock smoke, Dryden, which was really (a, oo), the intention was (o, oo), and this led readily to tolerating (a, oo) or (o, un) in: home plum, Dryden. home comb gum, Dryden. come home, Herrick. struck oak, Dryden. grove love, Garth. moves loves Waller. come Rome, Dryden. come Rome, Butler. come Rome, Garth. shut foot Davenant.
11. Heard hard, Garth, was perfect; but courd hoard, Philips. forth worth, Dryden. where clear, Prior. cord bird, Dryden—show the influence of r.
12. The following seem rather to be overights than intentional anomalies: ground swoon, Dryden. unbought draught, Dryden. form man, Dryden. wish bliss, Dryden. views boughs, Addison. tree by, Oldham. I aye, Oldham.

The character of the good parson has been selected as a specimen of the conjectured pronunciation of Dryden, because it can be compared directly with the original of Chaucer, Chapter VII, p. 704, both as to matter and sound, and Dryden's version scarcely differs from Chaucer's more in the first than in the second, if the results of the preceding investigation be adopted.
Æ Gud Pers'ın,
imitated from Tshaa·ser and enlær·dshd.

Æ pers'ın priest was af dhe pel'grim treem;
Æn aaf'fal, rev'rend, ænd relizh·as men.
Hiz ëiz diizuf·ed æ vër·æbel graesse,
Ænd tahær·të itself was in his fees.
Ritah was hiz sool, dhoo hiz ætöir wasz puur;
(Az Gad hëd kloothd hiz œon æmbæ¢æder,)
Far setah an æarth hiz blast Redii·mar boor.

:Saz sikts'ë jirz hii sîmd; ænd wel moit lëst
Tu sikts'ë moor, bet dhëet hii lëv tui fëst;
Refeind' himself tu sool, tu korb dhe sens,
Ænd mæazt alamoot' as sin af æb'stinens.
Jet hëd hiz æs·pakt nath'q af sevey, 12
Bat setah æ fëees æe pram·'ëst hëm sëmët.
Nath'q rezërvd' af sol'en wasz tu sëi,
Bet swiit regeæa·ds' ænd pleez·q seoz·tëu:
Moild wasz hiz ëk·sent, ænd hiz ëk·shen frii.
With al·kouëns inætæt hiz taz wëz æeærm, 16
Dhoo æææh dhe pree·sept, jet dhe pree-taher tåhaærm.

Far, lët'q duun dhe gunld'nh tahzen fram hëi,
Hii dru hiz æu·diens op·wërd tuu dhe skëi:
Ænd aft widh hoo'ës himz hii tåhsærm dheer iirz,
(Az miu'zik moor meloo'ës ëshen dhe sëferz).
Far Des·wid left hëm, when hii went tu rest,
Hiz loïer; ænd æftær hëm, hii soq dhe best. 24
Hii boor hiz greet komish·en in hiz lëk,
Bet swiit·lë tem·pert ëa, ænd æft'nd aal hii spreek.
Hii preetaht dhe dzhaiz af hëv'n ænd pëenz af hel,
Ænd wærm dhe sin·er with bekem·'q zeel; 28
Bet an ætern·al mer·'si lëv tu dwel.
Hii taaët dhe gas'pel rëd·'er ëshen dhe laa,
Ænd foort' himself tu draiv', bet lëv tu draa.
Far fiir bet friiz'ëz maindz; bet loy loik neet,
:Egæææl' dhe sool seblœim tu sik hër nœæ·tiv seet.

Tu threts dhe stëb·èrn sin·er aft iz ëeærm :
Rept in hiz kröimz, ægænest dhe count prepæærm;
Bat when dhe moild·er beemz af mer·'s plëx, 36
Hii mlæts, ænd throuz hiz kem·'ras klëk sëwee'.
Loit'ëq ænd thœn·der (hëv'n ærtër·or). 38
(Az hër·bendzhez bïfoor dh: :Aalmaë·të flii:
Dhooz bot proikzëm' hiz stëil, and disæpiir', 40
Dhe stël·er sound æksíizd', ænd Gëd iz dheer.

Dhe taioðh hiz përs'ın fleeli·pered, hii tuck,
Bat nev'er siud, æf këst with bel and buk;
With pesæ·shens beer·'q fæq, bot afriq noon, 44
Sins ev·ri men iz frii tu luuzz hiz œoon.
Dhe këntë tri tahërlz, skar’dig tuu dhee koind,
(Huu grëzdh dhee diuz, send lov tu bii bhiëind;)
Dhe les hii saat hiz af’riqz, pinash dhee moor,
And prëxed ës priist kantënted tu bi puur.

Jet af hiz lë’t'1 hii hëad som tu s패eer,
Tu fiüd dhe fëm’iåht, send tu kloëdh dhee beser;
Far martësaïd hii wëz tu dhät digrii,
Æ puur’er dhen hëmsel’ hii wud nat suë.
Triu priists (hii seëd), send preetsch’ér af dhee wërd,
Wer om'ls sti’erds af dheer sëv'ten lërd;
Noth'ëq wëz dheerz, bot aal dhee pëb'lëk stoor,
Intrës’ted rësh'ez tu reliiv dhee puur;
Huu, shëw dhee steel, far wënt af hiz reliif,
Hii dëzhëndh hëmsel’ sëkamplis with dhee thiif.

Woid wëz hiz përs’sch, nat kantrëk’ted kloos
In striits, bot hëir aënd dhee er së straëg’iëk hëus;
Jet stël hii wëz sët hënd, without’ rekëwest,
To sërv dhee sëk, tu sëk’er dhee distrest,
Templtiq, an fut, seloon, without’ sëfrëit,
Dhe dëseven’zhërz af së dëerk tempëstiusës noit.

:Àal dhës dhe gwëd oold mën përfosrm'd seloon,
Nar speëzëd hiz pëkiiz; far kiü’rest hëad hii noonz;
Nar dërst hii trost sëndh’er with hiz keër;
Nar rood hëmsel’ tu Poools, dhe pëb’lëk fëkrr,
Tu tahërf’er far prëfërmant with hiz guuld,
Wëer bësh’opriks and sëvë’nikurz sër oold;
Bot diu’ls wëstëht hiz flak bei noiz send dëz,
Ænd främ dhee prou’liq wëlf rëdiiim’d dhe prës,
Ænd hëq’gri sënt dëz wëi’ls fëks seëwë.

Dhe prëou hii tooëmd, dhe pem’ëntent hii tahëurd,
Nar tu rebiük’ dhe rësh af’ënder fiûr;
Hiz preetsch’iq mëtsh, bot moor hiz prek’tis taa,
(Æ lively sër-mën af dhe truths hii taa:)
Far dhës bei riulz seëver hiz leif hii skëwëzërd,
Dhët aal maat sii dhe dak’trët whësh dhee hësërd.

Far priists, hii seëd, ser pëst’ërns far dhe rëst,
(Dhe guuld af hëw’n, huu beer dhe Gëd’impréz.)
Bot when dhe preësh’ëm kaiz iz kep’t anklëen’,
Dhe sëvë’renz èm’sëdzh iz noo laq’ger aïn.
Æ dhëi bii feu, an hëwëm dhe pëp’il trest,
Wël moë dhe besëer’ bëss kantëk’t së rëst.

Dhe prël’rest far hiz noo’ls leif hii prëizd;
Dhe wër’ls pëmp av prël’sëz’ despoiz’d.
Hiz Sësë-wëir kësem nat with o gaa’ðs shoo,
Nar wëz hiz këq’dem af dhe wërd biloë’.
Pææ-shens in went, ænd pæv-ærs af meind,
Dheeæ mærs af tahertsh ænd tahertsh-men nii dessind',
Ænd lëv'-iq taæt, ænd døv'-iq lëft biïænd'.
Dhe krææ hii woor weæ æf dhe point-ed tharn;
In pær-pl nii weæ krææ-sëdæd, nat bæm.
Dhee nuu kæntæd' far pëææs ænd noæ digriæ;
Æææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ æ
CHAPTER X.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE PRONUNCIATION OF ENGLISH DURING THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

§ 1. Some English Orthoepists of the Eighteenth Century.

The pronunciation of the xviii th century is peculiarly interesting as forming the transition to that now in use, and as being the “old-fashioned” habit of speech which we may still hear occasionally from octogenarians. Those who, like the author, can recollect how very old people spoke forty or fifty years ago, will still better understand the indications, unhappily rather indistinct, which are furnished by the numerous orthoepists of the latter half of the xviii th century. In the present section some of those which had not been consulted in Chap. III. will be noticed, and a specimen of Buchanan’s pronunciation will be given. In the next, two American orthoepists will be considered. These are especially interesting, because the pronunciation preserved in New England is older than that of the mother-country.

To Mr. Payne I am indebted for an acquaintance with Lediard’s Grammar, which devotes 270 pages to a consideration of English pronunciation and orthography in 1725. As the author had studied Wallis’s treatise, and explains the pronunciation by German letters, it seems advisable to give rather a full account of his conclusions.

T. LEDIARD’S ACCOUNT OF ENGLISH PRONUNCIATION, 1725.

From: Grammatica Anglicana Critica, oder Versuch zu einer vollkommenen Grammatic der Englischen Sprache, in welcher . . . eine neue Methode, die so schwer gehaltene Pronunciation in kurzer Zeit zu erlangen, angezeigt . . . . wird . . . . durch Thomas Lediard, N.C.P. & Philol. Cult. Hamburg, 1725, 8vo. pp. 976, and 82 unnumbered introductory pages of dedication, preface, contents and laudatory German verses!

In the preface he complains of Theod. Arnold, who, in his Neue Engl. Grammatica, Hanover, 1718, endeavours to distinguish the (to Lediard) identical vowel sounds in: fear dear, heap cheap, meal deal, food root, mould shoulder; while he confuses as identities the (to Lediard) distinct vowels in: year pear, door blood, porter border, rash watch, dead heart, seize their, feign height, few new, jowel brewer, winter pint, mother modest, Rome come, good root, foot tooth, round mourn, could mould, youth young, sume tune, burn pull, pulse bull, due spike.

Lediard remarks that “the English pronounce more in the front of the mouth and softer, than the Germans, who rather use the back part of the mouth, while the French are intermediate. In rapidity the French are fastest, Germans slowest, and English intermediate.” The following citations are abridgments, except when the words are between inverted commas, in which case they are full translations; the palaeotype and passages in [ ] are interpretations or interpolations.

A

I. 1. Long a like German äâ or French ai in mais; (that is, æœ), in-
tended for (was), because he uses a because the a paragraph, for a short in glad, had, yet this (was) is suspicious because of Wallis, as names nähm, shades schönd, face faces, etc. When unaccented, as short a or e, (that is, e, e), as private präfikt, courage currädsh (ka-redsh), dissolve dissolat. 2. many mahm, to quadrature quähdräte, the e is not meant to be sounded. Mary Mähr, except water waterer, aek should be (ae), but is meant for (aa). Observe many (mæn-æ). Only the principal examples are given. 3. hæza hoseah (næ-seæ). 4. plague plægh. 5. in -ange, as change tshählandsh, range rählandsh, angel ändscheil. In angelic, orange only as short a (æ). 6. in -aste = shat (asæst), as chaste paste, haste waste.

II. Like German a or rather more lengthened almost like German a, [mean for (aa), i. in -ahl = aehl (-aa)], as all, call, wall, small. But Half in the small game, and shall have short ã (æ). 2. in derivatives as already, waterm wahlnot; but challenge, tschahlendsh, tallow, tällho, galloves gällus [possibly (ge-lou) and not (ge-lus)], but observe not (ge-lou), and see OW below], cal- lowes källus. 3. in bald bahld, scalded skahlded. 4. in walk wahlik, talk tahlik, chalk tshahlik, but in these and similar words l is not heard in "rapid" pronunciation. 5. in false, balsam, pales. 6. in mail, salt, hall, exalt, but shalt shalht. 7. in -war in one syllable, as war, warm, toward towardh (tewwarh), reward, warm, piece, but in warren, warnant with a (a) short. 8. in quart, quarter.

III. These two principal sounds of A are long, and each has its short sound, as short â and short a in German, thus: as short â (æ) in can, man, rash, but as long a (aa) in watch, was, wash [mean for short a (æ), see V. below]. "The short a (æ) really approaches short a, and has as it were a middle sound between a and a, [that is, (a), lies between (e) and (a),] and the difference is therefore best heard ex usu or from a native Englishman."

IV. Short a as a short â (æ). 1. In monosyllables, as glad, had, man, rash, hard hard, march märsh, branch branosh, dance dans [i.e. these words have short (æ), and this generally before r, n]. 2. in derivatives German Descherman, gentleman descheltelman; barley barli, partridge partridsh, chambor tshämber, [compare Moore's rhyme: amber chamber, supra p. 859], 3. in -org, -chance, 4. in -el, as general deschermel, alter altr. 5. in -ain, as again again (segæn) elbroad elbroad (elbra:). V. Short a is sometimes pronounced as German a, [properly (a), meant for (a) or o). 1. After gu, as qualify, quotleil, qualify quality, quarter, quacle, quander. 2. after w, as wound, sworn, wound, wounit, was, wash, water, swab, swaddle, swallow, swan. Except, quack, quadrature, quag, quanyndary, quash, quash, waist, wog, waggon, was, which belong to IV., [that is have (æ); observe * words.]

E I. Alphabetic name of (ii) has the sound of long German s, and is then called a masculine. 1. in -e, as be, he, me, she, we, ye jeh, except only the, which has short (æ), not to distinguish it from those, but because it is alwaysatomic. 2. in -e as Eve, even, evil ibril, Edin, Egypt, equal iqual. 3. before a following vowel, as idea icdiä, Chaldeans, Deity, Medusa Medüsæ, Medusa mooiühm [probably (mooselliem)]. 4. ending a syllable, as in Peter Pither, etc. 5. in the following monosyllables here here, Meda Medisht, Orte Krtih [compare Jones, 1701, supra p. 86], a mere, to mate, rere admiral, some sinn, scheme skiihm, sphere, these dhis [pronoun]. "To these should be added there, were, where, which by bad habit are called dähär, währ, hwahr." [Lediard was therefore of the school of the Expert Orthographist, supra p. 88.] 6. in adhere, austere asthr, blaspheem, oother, complete, concede, concrete, converse, extreme, impure precision, interfere, Nicene, obscene obsühn, proceeds, records, repelete, reverse, reverse, sincere, supereude, supreme. Except extremity, severity, supremacy, spherical, discretion, etc., which have German æ (æ).

II. E masculine is pronounced short as German a [probably (i), in Hamburg and North Germany (i) for (i) is common in closed syllables]. 1. in emn-, as embark imbärk, encourage inkurredd, English Inglish, enjoy indeshai, insure insu. Except embers, emblem, embyro, emperor, emphasis, empire, emerald, encomiast, enmity, ennoble, enter, enthusiasm, entity, entreats, envoy, enve and derivatives.
Ending a first syllable, as elect ict. Also in yes, yesterday, devil, Sevil [observe this (z̩a, d̩i-v̩il, S̩i-v̩il), but (yes) occurs below]. 3. in -e when heard. 4. in the middle of polysyllables, “where it is read quite short, or is almost quite bitten off,” as atheist ãthi̇st, courteous kortius, every evri, piety peiti, righteous reitius, sovereign sov̩rai̇n.

III. E feminine, like the French, only before r, where it has “an obscure sound almost like German ö (ö), or a very short obscure s as in her, vertue,” etc.

IV. E neuter as German s (I interpret by (e), but really (s) is common in German, as however Lediard uses û confessedly (u) for (e), I think it best to sink (u) altogether and use (e, e) in the interpretations), as in end, etc. 1. in -en very short, bitten off, and little heard, as open opn, often af’tn [observe the û]. 2. Short or elided in -ed.

V. [About e mute, -le, -re, genitive -ae, etc.]

I. Long û as German û (¹ai), as many in England still pronounce, but we are not to suppose that Lediard would have distinguished (ai, ai, ahi, ei). The examples agree with present usage, except that live-long has û short in Lediard, and sometimes û long now.

“Strongness is commonly but wrongly called fîppens” (fîpns?). In child, mild, wild, just, bind, behind, kind, blind, blend. But build, build,uild, windlass windlass, Windsor, rescind. Use i when id, nd belong to two syllables. Some call the wind, others wind, 4. before gh which then mute. “The Scots, and some Northerners retain the guttural sound of gh, but this is considered a fault and should not be imitated. In sigh, gh is by some pronounced in the throat, but with a sound not unlike English th” [supra p. 213, note].

Diamond deymond [in two syllables].

9. Fire feter, etc., but shire shrirr, cashirr kaschirr, frontirr frantirr [that is, in cashirr (kashirr), frontier (frantirr)].

10. Christ Kreist, climb klein, indici- ment indecent, pint pint, thith teith, writh reith [now (kridh, ridding)].

II. Short œ generally possesses no interest. Notice long û (ii) in Price [explained as German boy, a kind of bâle], gentile or gentiel, oblige some say oblidech according to rule, pigue, shire, fatigue fati̇gg, intrigue intrigueg.

III. A middle sound between French œ feminine and German û, before r only, as in bird, etc. In sirrah, œ is almost pronounced as short a (œœ œœ), in kitâher, thither, arithmetic, mithridate, the œ before thœ is almost short œ. The œ is quite “swallowed” in business businesses, chariot tcherrot (tcher-ot), carriage kärredeh, marriage, medicine mediz, parliament, ordinary ahrdínirr, spaniel, spannel, seni̇sen venen.

O.

I. As a “long German œ or oh, a Greek œ, or the French œ” [probably (œ), possibly (œœ), certainly not (œœ)].

1. The usual rule, as alone alôn, etc. Exe. above, done, gone, love, shows, with “a short œ, but somewhat obscure, almost as a middle sound between short œ and short œ” (that is, û, û) as between (œ, œ).] Also except in atoms, come, custome, done, none, [not (noon) but (nœœ)], shone (shœn), some. Except when û sounds as long German œ or ū (uu) in behove, move, remove, prove, approve, disprove, improve, reprove, lose, done, Rome, whose; and as û in gos gan (göœ). 6. In -dome, -some as (œ). 3. Use œ in o, bo, fro, go, ago, ho, to, mo, no, pro, so, to, unto, tho’ altho’; “the words to, unto seems to belong to the other rule [II. p.]; but as the majority bring them under this rule, I content myself with noting the difference” (this sound of û as too, or (to) should be noted, it is not uncommon in America). Except, to, do, too, who with long ū (œœ); twopeness is tuppens (tœpûns). Use œ long [and not the diphthong (œœ) in old, old, etc., and œ long, not short, (that is (œœ) not (Aœœ) or (ÁÁœœ)) in ford, lord, sword, divorce, force, porch, forge, pork, form a bench, forlorn, shorn, worn, worn, forth, fort, port, deport, effort, export, import, purport, support, transport, sport, except when the * words are accented, as by some, on the first syllable.

II. Short œ like short German œ [properly (œ), or (œ), not (A) or (OE), and Lediard clearly means to distinguish the sounds]. 1. at the end of an unaccented syllable, as absolute absoluit. 2. in o-, as obey obah, etc. 3. “In the beginning and middle of the following words, although they have the short accent, and must hence be
excepted from rule III.; obit, unseen, swan, unseen, oven, oral, other, toward, towardly, associate." [That is, these words have (o) or (u) short, not long, (eo), nor (a), as some have now, and not (A, ɔ), as in the next rule.]

III. Short o is pronounced as "a short quick German a, not as M. Lodwig thinks from the palate, but from the throat, like German a, but short and quick" [properly (a), meant for (A, ɔ)] 1. on an, or aachs, etc., except omer, ombra, and only. 2. in comb, come, contra, cor, non, except when comb is followed by b or f, as in combat, combine, comfit, comfort, etc., and also in compact, company, compass, compassion, compatible, comprehensible, compose, complication, complete, comprehend, complete, compliant, etc., in which o is an obscure o (ο) [the o words have now (o)]. In other words short a is used, as competent kampfent, complement, comprehend, etc. Condueit kundit (kundit). 2. [Rules for o before two consonants as (A, ɔ) except the following when o is a short o (ο), borough, brother, chronic, colon, colour, columbine, cover, cover, cover, cover, cover, cover, govern, hony, mony, mother, plover, sloen, mother, the o words have now (o) woman "in which o is not so obscurely uttered as in the others," except common wimmum. 5. [Much is passed over as of no interest, hence the numbers of the rules, which are those of the original for convenience of reference, are not always consecutive.] The short o (ο) is also heard in affront, amongst, amongst, atterny, Monday, monger, mongrel, monkey, common [as now].

IV. English o is pronounced as a short obscure o (ο). 1. in -om, -sm, -som, 2. see exceptions to I. 3. after w, as wolf [this and woman seem to belong to the same category, but wood is further on said to have short o, so that short w (u) and short obscure o (ο) are sometimes confused by Lediard], soon, wonder, word, etc., except woes wohy, won't wohn, worn wohn, want [often (went)], will wat, womb wuhm. 6. Rather short and obscure in the last syllables of almond, bishop, buttock, etc. 7. In front [some say (front) even now], monk, mouth, son, spong, spong [ʃպ], yolk [jъl], etc.

V. English o is a long o or u (u), 3, in tomb, wound, whom, and words otherwise excepted.

VI. "Finally English o is pronounced like German a, but very short, obscure and almost bitten off." 1. in -on, including -ion, -or, -ot, as bacon, bähken or bëkk'n, button butt'n, lesson less'n, anchor ank'r, senator senat'r, faggot fagg't. 2. in the terminations -dron, -from, -prom, -iron, in which ro is pronounced as er, but rather quick and obscure, as chaldron tahidern [(t̜ishe•dern)]; saffron saffern [(so•farn)]; apron äpfern, citron citron, sittern, patern pattern [no longer usual in the o words]. The o is almost mute in damoell damel, faulkner fahkner, orndannor ordinans, poynous, prisoner, reasoning, reckoning, retierick, seasonable; and one, once, are wun, wüns (wen, wens).

U

Rule (u) Long U is pronounced in (u) after h, c, f, g, h, j, m, p, s, but u may sometimes be suh.

Rule (b) Long U is a long German u or uh (uu) after d, t, r, t. In gradual, valuable, annual, mutual, u may be either iu or uh.

I. Long English u is pronounced as in, in, or uh, more or less rapidly according to accent. 1. according to rule (a) as in in abuse abuh, huge hweh, June Dciuh, as uh in seduh, seduh, exclude, minute minuh, rude, Brute, conclude, obvride. 2. as in or rather juck (juu) in the beginning of words, as union junion. 3. except duocat, punisht, pumice, study, tuly (?), short and like obscure o (ο), in busy bissi, bery berrri.

II. English short u has an obscure sound between German u short, and o short (ο) in the usual places. I only mark a few. 2. in bulk, buntbast; except where it is a German short u (u), as in bull, bullace, bullet, bulion, bullock, bull, bullrush, bulwark, bush, bushel, butcher, cushion, full, fullage, fuller, fully, pudding, pull, pull, pull, pull [all as now]. 3. in in, -um, -us.

III. English short u is very short, obscure, and almost like an obscure e, in -ule, -ure, as giandule, globule, macule, pustule, schedule, spatule, verule, adventure, benefacture, consume, conjecture, conjure magically, dispose, failure, future, grandure, inclusion, manufacture, nature, perjure, posture, rapture, scripture, sculpture, timere, torture, venture, verdue, venture, etc. [all now with (uu) except the o words occasionally]. Except rule* and the following rule follow rule
(a.), adjure, adjure, allure, assure, azure, conjure entreat, cure, demure, dure, endure, epicure, impure, insure, insure, lure, mature, obscure, procure, pure, secure, sure* [all now with (u) except the *words (ruul, shuul)].

[After thus going through the vowels by the spelling, he proceeds to describe their formation; but as he has scarcely done more than translate Wallis, apparently ignorant that Wallis's pronunciation was a century older, I feel it useless to cite more than the following remark in an abbreviated form.] "According to Mr. Brightland and others, the English express the sound of French u by their long u, and sometimes e. I cannot agree with this opinion, for although the English perhaps do not give the full sound of German u to their long u after d, t, n, r, l, yet their sound certainly approaches to this more closely than to the French u, which has induced me to give the German u as its sound, contrary to the opinion of some writers. After other consonants English long u is iu, and has nothing in common with French u."

**Digraphs.**

Æ, as ï or é (ii) in: ara ihra, Ceres, Caesar, sieve, perineum, etc.; e or é (ii) in aquinoz, aquinoz, astival, cacity, calibrate, questor, pronunrise, etc.; e or i short, when unaccented, in aquatic, equirbrous, aquinozal, amnigatical.

AI, "as ï or English long a, with a little aftersound of a short i" [is this from Wallis, supra p. 124? it is very suspicious]. 1. in aid shd, ait, aim, air, etc. 2. in affair affair, bail, complain, etc. Except as e or é in agin, against, wainscot wennskat; as short ù (a) in really râlli, raittler râlli; as long è (ee) in raisins rehains, and as é (ii) in chair tehsir (tahhir). As a short e or i or a sound between them in the middle or end of words, especially in -ain, as complaisance kampilins (kompilinse), curtail kurzil (kurtill), captain kapten, chamberlain tahâmerlin (tahm-berlin), fountain, mountain, plantain, purslain, villain, etc. Afraid is erroneously called aâférd (afírd).

AU. I, like ah (aa) in audience, vaut, etc.; like ï ï [wey], marked long in aunt ahnt, daughter[?], daunt dahnt, draught drihaft, haunt, haunt, jaunt, laugh, santer, taunt, vaunt; like short a (A, o) in fawnt fawnt, sausage saußidech (soûdideh). Some call St. Paul's Church Pohls Tschortbach, but it is a pure corruption of pronunciation among the vulgar [but see supra p. 266]. II, unaccented, like short German a, as casuality kasâliliti.

AW as AU, but Lawrence is Larren. AY as AI, in Sunday, Monday, etc., the ay is very short, almost like a short e or i, as also in holy-day halclide.)

**EA.** The commonest pronunciation of ea is that of German ëh or é (ii), when long and accented, as appeal, appear, bead, bay, beast, cheap, conceal, dear, decrease, eat, entreat, feast, feaster, grease, hear, head, y, enxepsh, ess, league, mead, meastle, near, pea, peace, quassiness, reap, reason, sea, season, teach, treason, veal, wear, weak, weapon*, yeast*, year, zeal, etc. [see supra p. 88, observe the *words.] "Most grammars err greatly in the pronunciation of this diphthong, but rather where this first rule applies, than where, in the opinion of some, ea should be pronounced êh (ee). Perhaps, as Mr. Brightland observes, this, with an after-sound of English a, was the old natural pronunciation. I know also that at the present day ea is so pronounced in the north of England. For the usual pure pronunciation of English, however, it is a visiwm... How Harr König... who had been established for many years as a teacher of languages in London, could have missed it, I cannot understand." Except in bear, beard*, break, earl*, early*, great, pear, steaks, swear, wear, which are pronounced with long e (ee). [Observe the *words.] II. Short, or unaccented, like short German e (e), as, already, bread, cleanse, dead, endeavour, feather, head, lead, leather, lineage [?] meadow, pleasure, potheard, realm, sergeant, steady, tread, treasure, wealth, weather. III. But if short ea is followed by r, it is called u (a), as earn* arm, wrongly pronounced jern (jorn) by some, earnest*, earth*, hearken, heart, hearth, learn*, pearl*, etc. [Observe the *words.]

EAU, is juh (juh) in beauty bißhi, etc., but shuul is boh (bo). EE, generally long, as a, ï, ii (ii), as in bleed blid, etc.; short or unaccented as short i (i) in been* bin, creek* kríck, breech, sreech* oot skritsch-aul, sleek* three-pence, coffee, committee*, cong* eosmoinary, fores, lovee*, pedigree*,
area-show, Sassium*; [Obs.
words, here and in future.] 
th or th (ii) in concert, con-
ducive, invigil*; invigilal,
receive, receiv, receive, ren
words]; 2. as (th ee), or
as (sm) in design, eight,
it, heinous, hear, inveigh,
shuor, heinou, rain, straight
at, their, even, weigh, weight.
In sileet-hole, height, slant
as short o (e) in either,
or neither, foreign farren,
as short i (i) in counterfeet,
et, signior.
Geoffrey Dechefri, jeopardy,
in people, (aa) in George
y, yeoman, jomman or jie-
man.
as long ou, namely (iu) or
ng to preceding consonant,
e, new, sewe, sewer, by some
ated as (ez) in cowsey, grey,
pursey, survey, they, whey;
plet-hole, key-day*; and as
unaccented as (e) in abey

(ai) in eye.
(n) in eat, die, dree, fe,
tie, dri, vie, etc.; cries, etc.;
the, deft, dense, etc. II. as
ove, atchieve, belief, believe,
field, grief, grieve, liege,
(misathti-voe), piece, relieve,
e, thrive, wieldy, yield,
the verbs in -rove, than in
ives in -isf. As short (i)
or, fights, friends*. Handker-
cher. III. as short (i) in
vors, beater written with y
in foreign words, as (iu)
ak, as (ii) in mensieur*, and
sentiment*.
(s) as (iu), in sien viuh.
) in abroach, etc.; as (aa) in
w, groat graht; as (we) in
which [according to Lediard,
] is the right spelling, not
short, in oatmeal* attmi, in
cupboard cobbert.
(a) as (ii), as economy; final
or [a crow-bar], doe, foo, voe,
; as (uu) in canoe, to cow [to
woc usb woc].
"are pronounced as aoe
ai, meaning (ai) in one
avoid, boisterous, choice,
et, moist, noise, oyster, noise,
boy bace, aoe, destroy,
y [hau bols], joy, joy, 2roy,
etc. Except as (e) in anoint
annoint, appoint slippery, boit beil, broil
breil, coil keil, coen by some kuein
(kuain), embroil, foist, hoist, join, joint,
joiner, jointure, joust, lown, loiter, point,
poison, rejoinder, spoil, toilet by some
ussilet (twai-let).
Oo never at end of a word except
too; long as (uu) in aloof, galoon, pata-
coon, etc.; as (oo) in door, floor, moor
moir; short as (u) in book, brook, foot,
footh, good, etc. [as now]; as short
(o) in blood, flood sometimes written
blood, floud, Swoon ssuaun [sauen], or
(swaun)? which is common now] and
its derivatives.
OU. I. long and accented as German
au (au), in about, doughly, drought*,
plough, a wound*, etc. Except as o or
ah (oo) in although, bough, bow, bow-
trou, course, court, courrier, discern,
dough, four, fourth, jowl*, jowl, mould,
mouldy, morn, mould, moulter, poulterer,
pointless, poultry, to pour, recourse,
shoulder, slough* a bog, for slow, not
quick, has a w, soul, souldier, though;
and as long a or ah (aa) in fourty,
fourth,ough,ough, brought, brought,
ought, ought, ought, thought, wrought;
and as long u or uh (uu) in to accouter
bouge*, cartouch, could, gouge, goupes,
rendve, shoul, sartout, through,
would, you, youth. It is now
customary to write cou'd, shou'd, wou'd
and pronounce as cou'd, shou'd, and
wood with the short accent.
Coup, scoop, soupp, troup are now written with oo.
II. as an obscure u or middletone be-
tween o and u (o), 1. in adjourn, blind
blood, beef, country, couple, courageous,
double, enough, flound, flood, flour,
journey, nourish, rough, sordues, tough,
trouble, young. 2. In -our, -ous as
armour, behaviour beabhiuvr, courteous
curtius, dubious dubbius, etc.; except
devour devaun, haw aur, flour, aur,
diffour difoehr, four foahr, pour
pohr. 3. In -mouth as in Dartmouth,
etc. In borough, concourse as short o.
OW. I. as au (au) in adouw, bow
bend, rowel, etc. [as now], except as
(o) in bawl arcs, bowl a cup, jowl,
shower [one who shews], meaning not
given, and others as now]. II. as short
(o) in arrow, galowitz [written ga-loz],
under A. II. 2, the rest as now.
Knowledge knalledsch, acknowledgment
knalledsch.
OWE, now generally oow.
UE at end of words, as long U.
UI as (iu) in cuisses kiubras, juice,
pursuit, suit siuht, suitor siuot, etc., "although these last three may be just as correctly pronounced pursuht, suht, suivot," [that is (suu) as well as (siiu)]; as (uu) in bruise, bruit bruth, crowis, fruit, recurit rekruth; as short (i) in build bild, circuit sörkit, conduit kundit, eervijuice verdasce.

UOY is pronounced by some aey (ai) and by others incorrectly ey (ai), only found in buoy.

UX as (ai) in buy, etc.

YE, used to be written for ie in dye, ige, etc.

Consonants.

[Of the consonants it is not necessary to give so full an account, but a few words may be added.]


D. Almond amon, handsome hänsüm, friendship frienschip, riband ribben, wordy (wordly?) worlil, hand-maid hännamah, Wednesday Wensdah. Come and see kum än säh, go and fetch goh än fetsch, stay and try stääh än trey, etc.

F. In housewife, sherrif, f is soft like v, and in of the f is omitted, and a is pronounced as a very rapid a (a). Gemini dsehmeenin.

G (g) in ribous, heterogeneous, homogenous. GH initial (g), final, or followed by t is not pronounced, except in cough, caught, enough, rough, tough, trough, drough, where it is f (f), and sigh*, drought*, height*, where it is th. Apothegm apothem, phlegm* fihim (fiim). Initial g before n sounds as an aspiration or h, not like a hard g, as gnah* hëisich not gnäisch, gnä(c) hëit not gnäit, gnaw* hñah not gnäh, gnomon, gnostick. See under K. G is hard (g) in impugh, oppugh, repugh. In bagno, seignior, gn retains the sound of Spanish ñ, Italian gn (n).

H is not pronounced in heir, honest, honour, hospital, hostler, hostile, hour, humble, humour, Humphrey and derivatives, but is pronounced by some in hereditary; herb is called erb by some, and hyerb in one sound, (herb f) by others. H is also not pronounced in John, Ah, Shido, Sirjak, etc.

K before n at the beginning of a word is only aspirated, and spoken as an h; as knack knäck, knave knäve, knife hñef, knee hñie, knot, know, knuckle, etc. "M. Ludwick says that k before n is called t; Arnold and others declare that it is pronounced d. But any one experienced in English pronunciation must own, that only a pure gentle aspiration is observable, and by no means so hard and unpleasant a sound as must arise from prefixing d or t to n." Did he mean (nññit) for knees? Compare Cooper, suprà p. 208 and p. 544, n. 2.

L is not pronounced in calf, half, bark, talk, walk, folk, balm, calm, sailer, to halve, etc., almon, chaldron, falcon, falconer, farcisfion*, malte, almon, almo, salveg*, solder, halfpenny-worth biphoth (mee-path). In could, should, would, t is heard only in sustained pronunciation.

N is not pronounced in -mn, in kil(n), in teme(n)t, gover (n)ment.

PH is p in phlebotomy*, diphthong, triphthong, and e in nephew, phial vial, Stephen. Phantasum, phantasick, phan-tasy, are now written with f.

QU is k in banquet*, conquer, conqueror, liquor, equipage*, exchequer, masquerade, musquet musket, paragguet, piquet, piquant, and a few others. C is now written in quoi, guins oinns, quoit, quial, but qua remains in quince, opaque, oblique.

R agrees entirely with German r, except that it is not heard in marsh, marshy, harness, haile; nor is it the first syllable of parlour, partridge. RH in rhapody, rhetoriick, rhyme, rhomb, rhume, etc., is pronounced as r.

S is hard = (s) in design, rezign, cissor, desolate, lyszard (lizard), rosin, pleasant, visit [this is according to a rule, certainly not now observed, that s after a short accented vowel or diphthong is doubled in pronunciation]. S is hard = (s) in dis-arm, trans-ac, vis-dom. In island, viscount, s is mute and i = (ai).

S is hissed, almost like German sch (sh) in suc, sust, suit, sugar, sure, and compounds, but some say siss (siiu) and others sekuh (suu); and in nauseate, nauseous, Asia, Silvan, enthusiasm*, enthusiasm*, effusion, occasion, hostier, rosier, and their derivatives *Ariadick, etc.; also in Persia, transient, mansion, Russia, passion. "After a shortly accented vowel or diphthong the reduplication of sch must be observed, especially in the termination sion, as in decision,
provision." [Did he say (disi'ehon) and not (disi'ehoh)?] T is sounded (sh) in patience, portion, etc., but (t) infaction, mission, etc., and as (th) in righteous reitschius, courteous, bounteous, covetous kvol-schius, virtuous vortschius, etc., and is not pronounced in facts faka, neglects and similar -ets, nor in -fem, -stem, -stel, as often ash’n, softem wahl’n, hasten bah’sen’, lastem, castle kiss’, pestle, whistle, bustle, etc., and also in maister, mortgage. [There is no mention of -tur, -dure = (taher, dhter), but the inference from the w rules is that they were called (-tar, -der), and this is confirmed by gesture dachester, ordure ahndur, pasture pastur, century menturi, given below, p. 1049, in the words of the same sound, etc.] TH in "rapid speech" is pronounced as d or dd in apothecary*, [it not d below] burnthen, fathom*, mother, murder*, Th is "for euphony" pronounced in fifth*, sixth*, itself*. TH is (th) in with. TH is (dh) in them, that, tho’ though, etc. [that is, (thoo), as in Scotch, was unknown to him.] T is (t) in Thames, Thanet*, Theobald*, Thomas, Thompson, etc., in thill, thiller, [sill, tiller P], thyme, and, "according to some," in anthem*, apothecary*, [see th as (d) above], authority*, authorize* [not author*-f].

"V", in English called ju consonant, is not merely much softer than f, but also than the German v, but not so soft as the English or German w, and is therefore better to be explained as French v. German beginners in French find some difficulty with this French v. All German grammars which I have seen express English w by German w, without indicating any distinction. But I find a sensible difference, namely, that the English w is not so hard, so that I am able to regard German w as a middle sound between English v and w, and hence, in order to indicate the sound of German w to an Englishman, I would express it in English by wv, and I am certain that he would hit it off better than if I were to write a simple w. Pronounce p and allow the breath to escape from the mouth, and you have f, ph or Greek φ. Pronounce b, and allow the breath to escape through a horizontal slit or split, and you form v. The difference between German and English v consists in the greater compression of the breath, and its passage through a narrower opening for the German sound, which makes it harder, so that it approaches f more nearly." [He really heard the same sound for German v as for f.] "On the contrary, the English in pronouncing their v give the breath greater freedom and compress it less, on allowing it to escape. The Spaniards make such a little difference between their b and v in speaking, that they often use them promiscuously in writing. This sound was unknown in Greek, where φ most nearly approaches it. The English w is made by allowing the breath to escape by a round hole. The German w seems to be a medium between English v and w, the air escaping through a rounder hole than for English v, and a flatter hole than for English w." [See the descriptions of (w, bh, v) supra p. 513, note 2. I have quoted this passage at length from pp. 149 and 168 of Lediard, because his observations were made at Hamburg, and Lepsius and Bricke ascribe the sound of (v) instead of (bh) to North German w. This careful distinction shows that (bh) was certainly heard in Hamburg in 1725.]

W is not pronounced in answer, awkward* ahkerd, huswife housewife, hoess, suetley suetly, swoon, sword ssohrd, "but in swear, swore, sworn, some consider it to be distinctly spoken."

In WE the w is "little or scarcely heard, as in wrack, wrench, wrist, wrong, wrung, in which I can only find a soft aspiration (eine sehr galinde aspiration) before r, so that w must not be pronounced, as Herr Ludwick thinks, like wr in the Germ. Wrangel"... (bharaq). "Wf is pronounced as hu, or rather as German A, but so that the w rapidly yields to the sound of the following vowel, as what huht, when huen, which huht[s?f], who hub[f], why huey." Except whole, wholeseme, whole, in which w is not pronounced.

X is kesh (kah) in complexions, anxious ankschius[f], etc. "Y as a consonant at the beginning of a word, or syllable, sounds as German jota. but somewhat softer, and not so guttural as it is heard from some Germans especially in Saxony, but almost like a short German i when it is rapidly pronounced as a separate syllable, as yard, yes, you, jard, jes, yuh, or better


Stûpefactive, benefactor, powâmder, legislatour, nômencâmure, utê Neil, chiméra, domémecy, cândêstine, musâchoë, doctrinâl, agricûluré, bûtûmen. Phâlêctry, amphithéâtér, cêlabôrious, cêlèbrity, comôdiân, acadêmân, solémnial, stupédious, homogénêal, homogênus, hyménial, dysêntery, majêstative, longévity, libidinous, fastidious, conceputable, chirôgûren, chirôgyrûren, épîcùriân.


Cônjure conjûre, âugust n. âugust n., abject n. abjet, cêmement n., cônserve n., cûnsult n.: cônvoy n. convoy v., essay n. essay v., fréquent a. frequent v., maûnure n. mandur v., ôvermatch n. overmatch
Words of same (or different) sound and different (or same) spelling. [I cite only some of those that Lediard has written in German letters.]


Alley (street) álli, (friend) alley; ant änt, amt änt; arrant aërent, errand erränd; barley bärli, baril bärli. Centaury sæcntori, centustry sæcnturi. Chair (sæcher) aecier, tahier, chare (jack n. v. rebel, triumph n. triumph v.


As Lediard agrees so much with the Expert Orthoepist in respect to EA, it is interesting to compare the two following extracts, one only 1 year earlier, and the other about 30 years later. These diversities of opinion and experience are most instructive in showing, first the overlapping of pronunciations, and secondly the ignorance of orthoepists as to varieties of pronunciation, or their habit of simply discrediting as "vulgar" or "faulty" all pronunciations with which they are themselves not familiar.


T. What is the proper sound of the diphthong eo?

L. Ea has the sound of e long in bear, pear, near, sweer, weer, etc. [that is, as in mate, pate, etc.]

2d. A short in earl, heart, learn, pearl, search [that is, as in mat, mart, earl].

3d. Ea has the sound of e long in appear, dream, read, sea, seem, speak, veal. [Bailey has not mentioned what the sound of e long is, but as he says e is sounded like eo in certain words, he, me, we, here, there, even, besom, Ely, Eoe, fealty, Peter, we must presume he means eo, and not (ii); but some of this last kind have the a changed with the e final, as compleat [complete], supremae [supreme; this confirms the view just taken, compare also 6th.]
4th. \( \text{Es} \) has the sound of \( \\circ \) short in
\( \text{breast} \), etc.

5th. \( \text{Es} \) has sometimes the sound of
\( \text{ee} \) in \( \text{beam}, \text{dear}, \text{hear}, \text{stead}, \text{year} \). [This
is therefore the exceptional, not the
general pronunciation, compare 3rd.]

II. From a "Narrative of the Journey
of an Irish Gentleman through England
in the year 1762, p. 156. Privately
printed for Mr. Hy. Huth, 1869."
Mr. Furnivall, who kindly furnished
me with this extract, remarks that the
Additional MS. 27851 in the British
Museum is probably by the same writer,
and gives an account of his visits to
England in 1758, 1761, and 1772.
"By listening to her conversation [that
of a lady passenger, in whom "the court
lady reigned in every action"], I gained
a better taste for the polite world, except-
ing one point in pronunciation, to wit,
that of calling \( A \) \( \text{E} \), and saying \( EE \) for
\( E \); but this was a thing I could not
readily reconcile myself to, for I re-
member when I first went to school my
mistress made me begin with my great
\( A \). Whether it was that the letter was
bigger in dimensions than its brother
vowel \( E \) that follows it, I cannot tell;
but I am very certain she never made
me say \( E \). I was so very defective, or
[failed] by too blunt a clipping, that
my fair tutoress said she was afraid I
would never make any head on't. She
assured me she was not above eight or
ten months arriving at that perfection,
which I am sure would cost me my
whole life without making half the
progress."

Buchanan has already been frequently referred to. He was
much ridiculed by Kenrick,\(^1\) who is particularly severe on his Scotti-
cisms, and very unnecessarily abuses his method of indicating
sounds. Kenrick himself is not too distinct; but as he does not
trust entirely to key-words, and endeavours to indicate sounds by a
reference to other languages,—the sounds of which he probably
appreciated very indifferently,—it will be best to give extracts
from his explanations of the vowels. The conjectured values are
inserted in palaeotype, and some passing observations are bracketed.
Among these remarks are introduced a few quotations from Gran-
ville Sharp.\(^2\)

**Dr. Kenrick's Vowel System, 1773.**

1. cur sir her monk blood earth = (a)
2. town noun how bough = (au)
3. bull wool wolf push = (u)
4. pool groupe troop = (u)
5. call hawl Saul soft George
   cloth = (aa)
6. new cube duty beauty = (eu, yy)
7. not what gone swan war was = (a)
8. no beau foe moan blown roan = (oo)
9. boy joy toil = (e)
10. hard part carve laugh heart = (aa)
11. and hat crag bar = (a)
12. bay they weigh fail tale = (ee)
13. met sweat head bread = (e)
14. meet meat deceit = (ii)
15. fit yes busy women English
guilt = (i)
16. why nigh I buy join lyre hire = (ai)

Add to the above the indistinct sound, marked with a cypher thus [o], as
practised in the colloquial utterance of the particles \( a \) and \( the \), the last syllables
of the words ending in \( en, le \) and \( re \); as a
garden, the castle, etc., also in the
syllable frequently sunk in the middle
of words of three syllables, as every,
memory, favourite, etc., which are in
obvious at sight in a manner perfectly
simple and principally new.

\(^1\) William Kenrick, LL.D. A New
Dictionary of the English Language;
containing not only the Explanation of
Words, with their Orthography, Et-
yymology, and Idiomatical Use in Writing;
but likewise their Orthoepia or Pronun-
ciation in Speech, according to the
present Practice of polished Speakers
in the Metropolis, which is rendered

\(^2\) An English Alphabet for the use of
Foreigners, wherein the pronuncia-
tion of the Vowels or Voice-letters is
explained in Twelve Short general
Rules with their several Exceptions.
1786. 8vo. pp. 76.
verification sometimes formally omitted in writing, by the mark of elision.

Under one or other of the numbers composing the above table, are comprehended all the species of distinct articulate sounds contained in the English language. Not that they differ altogether equally in quality; several differing only in time. There are no more than eleven distinct vowel sounds of different qualities in English; ten of the numbers specified in the table being expressed by the long and short modes of uttering our five vowels; as exemplified in the following words:

A. barr'd
E. met
I. bit
O. not
U. pull

The other six sounds are either always short as w in war, or always long as o in mete, or double as i or y in hire lyre; as in bare; ou in town and on in joy: most of which long sounds seem to partake of two qualities, not so equally blended in them all, as to pass without our perceiving the ingredients of the compound. Thus I or Y appear to be a commixture of the long a [previously defined as e in mate] and short i [in Ait]; U of the long e [a in mate] and short u [in pull]; OW of the short o [in not] and long u [oo in pool]; and OI most palpably of the short o [in not] and i [in Ait].

[Dr. Kenrick’s appreciation of diphthongs was evidently very inexact. See numbers 2, 6, 9, 16, in the following explanatory remarks on the vowels in preceding table.]

1. [U in war.] It is always short, and bears a near, if not exact, resemblance to the sound of the French leur, cuer, if it were contracted in point of time. [It is not to be supposed that the sound was exactly the French (o) or (a). It is more probable that Kenrick pronounced the French sounds as (o) or (a). G. Sharp says: “O has the sound of a short u in af-frant, etc. (In the dialects of Lancashire and some other places the o is pronounced according to rule in many of these words) . . . eur-eur, . . . etc., and their compounds, etc., except di-eur-eur, re-eur-eur, which are pronounced according to rule . . . One is pronounced as if spelt sum.”

2. [OW in town.] The long and broad ow, ow, and u, as in town, none, cucumber [the old sound of this word remaining, notwithstanding the change of spelling. Sharp also says: “U is like the English ow in the first syllable of cu-cumber,” p. 13.] This sound greatly resembles the barking of a full-mouthed mastiff, and is perhaps so clearly and distinctly pronounced by no nation as by the English and the Low Dutch. The nicer distinguishers in the qualities of vocal sounds consider it as a compound; but it has sufficient unity, when properly pronounced, to be uttered with a single impulse of the voice, and to pass for a distinct sound or syllable, I consider it only as such.

3. [U in ball.] The French have this sound in fol, sol, tres, clew; the Italians I think everywhere in their u.

4. [O in pool.] Nearly as the sound of down, spouse, gouge, rose, done, and the plurals, sole, sole, do from sol, sol, tous, etc. [The difference between 3 and 4 is only meant to be one of length. The French generally recognize the lengthening of the vowel as the mark of the plural. G. Sharp says: “OO is not pronounced so full, but partakes a little of the sound of a short u in blood, flood, foot, good, hood, stood, sot, wood and wood. OO has the sound of a long in door and floor. Door and floor are pronounced by the vulgar in the Northern parts of England as they are spelt, for they give the oor, in these words, the same sound that it has in door, moor, poor; and “O is sounded like oo in tom and won, (wherein 0 is silent), loor, gold, whoa, and whoa. In the northern parts of England the words gold, who, whom, and whose, are pronounced properly as they are spelt.”]

5 and 7. [A in call and O in not.] This sound is common in many languages, although the distinction of long and short is preserved in few or none but the French. The French have it exactly in the words ame, pas, la, etc. [This is a distinct recognition of the English habit of pronouncing French. See Sir William Jones’s phonetic French, supra p. 835. But it does not follow that the French said anything broader than (a). Mr. Murray, a native of Hawick, informed me that when he and a friend first studied my Essentials of Phonetics, they were exceedingly puzzled with the distinction I drew between (aa) and (AA). They could find no distinction.
at all, and thought it must be fancy on my part. Mr. Murray now recognizes that he then pronounced (ae) in place of both sounds. Compare Prof. Blackie's confusion of (aa, AA), supra p. 69, n. 3. G. Sharp calls the French a the "English diphthong aw," and says that a "has a medium sound between aw and the English a, in fa-ther, and the last syllable of pa-pa, man-na, and also in ham't (for have not), mas-ter and pils-ter; and is like aw in hal-ter (wherein t is mute), false and pal-yu. A has the sound of aw likewise before id and it, as in bold, cal-tron, at-ter, etc., in all primitive monosyllables ending in il (except shall and mall, which are pronounced according to rule), as in all, gall, fall, etc., and before lk (wherein k is mute), as bark, stalk, walk, talk, etc., but before if, lin, lee, and before nd in words derived from the Latin word mando, it is sounded like the Italian a, only somewhat shorter, as in half, calm, save, command, demand, etc." Here "English a" seems to mean (oe) and (aa) to be considered intermediate between (ee) and (AA)."

6. [EW in new.] This sound, variously denoted in letters, by w, uw, uw, ou, and even eu, as in duty, feud, true, new, beauty, when slowly uttered, is evidently a compound of the long i [as in heart] and short u [as in pull]; but when pronounced sharp and quick with a single effort of the voice, is no longer a diphthong, but a sufficiently single and uniform syllable; whose quality is distinctly heard in the words above mentioned; as also in the French words du, une, unir, prune, eu (yy). [Now here we observe first that the analysis of the diphthongal sound is (iu), instead of (eu), as before, supra p. 1051 c. 1, and secondly that the recognition of French u does not perhaps imply more than that the diphthong became extremely close (that is, both the elements and the connecting glide very short), and that Dr. Kenrick did not know any better way of pronouncing French u. That Dr. Kenrick generally recognized a close and open pronunciation of the diphthongs is evident from his remarks on 2 and 16. Still the cropping up of the French p a century after Wallis had apparently noted it for the last time, is curious and interesting. I have myself heard it sporadically, not reckoning provincialisms.]

8. [O in no.] The French have it in Dôme, ou, repou, faïne, maus, fats. [This indicates a long (oe).]

9. [OY in joy.] This sound approaches the nearest to a practical diphthong of any in our language. . . . A vicious custom prevails, in common conversation, of sinking the first broad sound entirely, or rather of converting both into the sound of i or y. No. 16; thus oil, oil, are frequently pronounced exactly like ali, tile. This is a fault which the Poets are inexcusable for promoting, by making such words rhyme to each other. And yet there are some words so written, which, by long use, have almost lost their true sound. Such are boil, join, and many others; which it would now appear affectation to pronounce otherwise than bile, jine. [This is important in reference to rhymes.]

10. 11. [A in hard and end.] The French have it short in alta, race, fasse; long in abattre, grace, age, etc. The Italians have it long in padre, madre, and short in ma, ia, allegro, etc. It is somewhat surprising that men of letters, and some of them even residing in the Metropolis, should mistake the simple and genuine application of this sound. The native sound of A," says Dr. Bayly, "is broad, deep and long, as in all, aw, war, daub; but it hath generally a mixed sound, as in man, Bath, Mary, fair, which are sounded as if written maen, baeth, etc." But who, except flirting females and affected fops, pronounce man and Bath as if they were written maen, baeth, or like Mary, fair, etc. [Dr. Kenrick would seem therefore to have really pronounced (a) and not (ae), considering the latter sound as effeminate. It is curious to see Gill's Mopsey and Smith's matriculae and urbania loquentes (supra p. 90) cropping up as Kenrick's flirting females and affected fops. In all ages refinement has apparently led to the same mincing, that is, closer form of vowel sounds, with the tongue more raised, or brought more forward. G. Sharp ought to agree with Kenrick, when he says: "A has a short articulation of the English aw, or rather of the Italian a, as in add, bad, lad, mad," for this seems to preclude (ae). He likewise says that e is like short a in yellow, known yet, but only as vulgurism.]

12. 13. [AY in bay and E in met.] The short sound is nearly or quite the
same as the French give to their e in the words elle, met, posit, etc. At the same time it is observable they give it to the combinations ai and ei and ei, as in pleine, pleine, ciaoze. The French extend it also nearly as much as the English long sound in the words nes, des, clefs, parler, fondue, aimai, direi, etc. . . . . The protracted or long sound of the short e as in met, let, etc., is in fact the slender sound of the a. [This confines the close and open sounds, and renders it probable that Kenrick pronounced (ee, e), and not (ae, e).] Break is generally sounded like brake, make, take, but few, except the natives of Ireland or the provinces, say ate, speak; but eat, speak, agreeably to No. 14. [Here we have a recognition of the (ee) sound of ea still remaining, and of the occasional (ii) sound of as in break, supra p. 89. G. Sharp says that "a is like the French ei in de-gel, beam, edm.-brick, Oman-bridge, dad-ger, and wind-ger: " that are is spoken "as if spelt air," and that in a-ny, ma-ny, a "sounds like a short e or foreign e."]

14. [EE in met. This was clearly (ii).]

15. [I in fit.] A contraction of the long sound of e or ee in me or met. This is plain by repeating the words fit and foot, pit and past, mit and meat; in which the similarity of sound is very perceptible. [This ought to give (i) and not (e), yet there is very little doubt that (e) was said, and the distinction not recognized. G. Sharp says that e is like i short in England, pretty, yes and yet.]

16. [Y in why.] As at present uttered by the best speakers in the metropolis, it is the sharpest, shrillest, and clearest vowel in our language; albeit it has the appearance, when slowly pronounced, of being a compound of the a or e and i. I do not know that any other language has it equally clear, single and distinct. I have elsewhere observed that our Scottish linguists say it has the sound usually denoted by pecce, but the error of this is obvious to every Englishman. The French however come near it in the interjection ah! which they pronounce quickly as one syllable, without the nasal twang that attends the words fin, ein, and some others, bearing a near resemblance. [Kenrick is very peculiar about his diphthongs. Many Englishmen, however, as we have seen in the case of Smith (p. 112) and Gill (p. 114), considered long i as a single sound. Kenrick's admissions point to (ai), rather than (ei) as his diphthong. G. Sharp is very peculiar, and would seem to have two pronunciations, possibly (ei, ai), or thereabouts, as in the present Scotch-English; he says: "There are two ways of sounding the long i and y (though both long), the one a little different from the other, and requiring a little extension of the mouth, as may be seen by comparing the following words, viz. I and yae, high and high-ha, by's (for by it) and bite, sigh'd and side, strice and strife, etc., but this difference, being so nice, is not to be attained but by much practice, neither is it very material. . . I's English, or long, like the Greek ei, or something like the French i before n in prince."

It did not enter into the scheme of either Buchanan or Kenrick to give specimens of pronunciation in a connected form, but an example of their two systems of pronunciation is furnished by the following transcription of the passage from As you Like it, which was given in Shakspere's conjectured pronunciation on p. 986, and is here rendered according to the best interpretations I can effect of the symbolized pronunciation of each separate word in Buchanan's Vocabulary and Kenrick's Dictionary.

**Buchanan, 1766.**

:Aal dhii wörd-z æ steedzh
And æal dhii men ænd wim'-ën
mii'li ple'C'rž.
Dhee næv dheer ek'-sits ænd
dheer en'-trinsez,

**Kenrick, 1773.**

:Aal dhii wörd-z æ steedzh
And æal dhii men ænd wim'-ën
mii'-li ple'C'rž :
Dhee næv dheer eg'-zits ænd
dheer en'-trinsez,
BUCHANAN AND KENRICK COMPARED.

BUCHANAN.

And wen man in his taim pleez man'is paert,
Hiz se'ks bi'i'q sev'n eedzh'ez.
A't farst dhi'i in'fint
Mi'lu'iq an piik'iq in his nars'ez aarzm,
A'nd dhen dhi'ii whoi'n'iq skuul'boi
with his se'sah's'il
A'nd sho'in'iq mars'iq fees,
kriip'iq leik sneel
qunwil'iqlis tu skuul. A'nd dhen

KENRICK.

Dhi'ii loov'or
Sa'i'iq loik for'nis withs wo
woof ful bal'id
Meed tu his mis'tri's ai'brau.
Dhen, a sould'sir
Ful ov streezh'oodhz, send
beerd loik as paerd,
Dzel'es ov on'ir sod'n send
kwik in kwer'ril
Silk'iq dhi'i bab'ler repytee'shen
Iv'n in dhi'ii kæn'onz maouth.
A'nd dhen dhi dzhast'is
In feer rund bel'i with guud
keep'n laind,
Widh oiz sivr' send beerd ov
foor'mil kot,
Ful of woiz saaz send mod'irn
in'stinschez,
A'nd soo hii' pleez his paert.
Dhi'ii skst' eedzh shifts
In tu dhi'ii liin send slip'erd pant-eoluo,
Widh spek'tiklz an nooz, send
pouth'n said,
Hiz juouth ful nooz wel seevd, ee
world tuu woid
For his shrowk shaqk, send his
big men'li vois,
Tarn'iq segen' tu tahool'd'ish
treb'l, paips
A'nd wis'lz in his sound. Laest
siin ov aal,
Dhaet endz dhi's streezhzh invent-
ful mis'tari

Is sek'end tahool'd'ishnes send
miir obli'vron,
Sanz tiith, sanz oiz, sanz teest,
sanz ev'ri thiq.
Notes on the Proceeding Specimens.

1. This is the first sound Buchanan gives, but he adds that (esai‘q) is a better pronunciation.
2. Kenrick says (with) or (wihth), hence the first must be regarded as the pronunciation he prefers.
3. Kenrick says (too) or (ta), by the latter possibly meaning (to).
4. Kenrick gives (oeth) as the singular, but says nothing of the change of the sound of ath in the plural. He notes the change in the plural of youth, but not in those of half, wolf.
5. "(Biird), and sometimes, but I think wrongly (bord)."—Kenrick.
6. Kenrick marks h mute in honest, but not in honour. This is probably the misprint of a Roman H for an italic H.
7. Kenrick has neglected to mark the pronunciation of this word.
8. Kenrick merely says: "from the adjective," and hence leaves it in doubt whether he said (sikst) or (siksth).
9. The initial (z) is retained, as Kenrick has not marked itmute.
10. Kenrick writes: "Toward, Towards," and adds: "This word is not usually pronounced as one syllable." But then immediately writes "Towards," which should imply one syllable having the vowel in no.
11. Kenrick writes WH, but as he has nowhere explained what he means by this combination, and as almost all the words beginning with wh are spelled WH, where the H indicates that it is silent, it has been so assumed here.
12. "Or (abl•v•on)."—Kenrick.

JOSUA STEELE'S VOWEL SYSTEM, 1775.

Joshua Steele was an ingenious orthoepist, who, with much success, endeavoured to write down speech in respect to accent, quantity, emphasis, pause and force. It did not enter into his scheme to represent quality, but in the preface to his work he makes the following remarks, already partially quoted (supra p. 980, note 1, col. 1), for the recognition of the French u in English, and worth preserving in their connection.

The complete title of the work is: Prosodia Rationalis; or, an Essay towards Establishing the Melody and Measure of Speech, to be expressed and perpetuated by Peculiar Symbols. The second edition amended and enlarged. 4to. pp. xviii. 243. London, 1779. With dedication to Sir John Pringle, Bart., President of the Royal Society, from Joshua Steele, the author, dated Margaret Street, Carendish Square, Sept. 25, 1775. It is in the form of remarks on "the musical part of a very curious and ingenious work lately published at Edinburgh, on The Origin and Progress of Language," and correspondence with the author of the same, who is not named, but only called "his l—p." A transcription of some of his examples of writing the melody of speech is given in my paper on Accent and Emphasis, art. 20, n. 1, Philol. Trans. 1873-4, p. 129. The following extract is from the preface of Steele's work, pp. viii–xiii.

The puzzling obscurity relative to the melody and measure of speech, which has hitherto existed between modern critics and ancient grammarians, has been chiefly owing to a want of terms and characters, sufficient to distinguish clearly the several properties or accidents belonging to language; such as, accent, emphasis, quantity, pause, and force; instead of which free terms, they have generally made use of two only, accent and quantity, with some loose hints concerning pauses, but without any clear and sufficient rules for their use and admeasurement; so that the definitions required for distinguishing between the expressions of force (or loudness) and emphasis, with their several degrees, were worse than lost; their difference being tacitly felt, though not explained or reduced to rule, was the cause of confounding all the rest.

In like manner, there still exists another defect in literal language of a similar kind; that is, there are in nature, neither more, nor less, than seven vowel sounds, besides diphthongs; for which seven sounds, the principal nations in Europe use only five characters (for the y has, with us, no sound distinct from the i), and this defect throws the orthography and pronunciation of the whole into uncertainty and confusion.
In order to distinguish what are vowels and what are not, let this be the definition of a vowel sound; *vocalecit*, a simple sound capable of being continued invariably the same for a long time (for example, as long as the breath lasts), without any change of the organs; that is, without any movement of the throat, tongue, lips, or jaws. Mr. Melville Bell, to whose kindness I am indebted for the knowledge and use of this curious book, apparently had this passage in view when he wrote (Fine Spelt, p. 71): "A 'Vowel' is a syllabic sound moulded by a definite and momentarily fixed, or tense, configuration of the free channel of the mouth, and creating no oral sibilation or friction in its emission. A vowel without a 'fixed' configuration loses its syllabic effect, and becomes a 'glide'; and a 'glide' with sibilation or friction in the oral channel becomes a 'consonant.' Consonants, like glides, are merely transitional sounds; but their configurations may be 'held' so as to receive syllabic impulse, in which case a consonant without a vowel has the effect of a syllable. All vowels make syllables." Both definitions miss the distinctive character of vowels, given supra p. 61, and now capable of further discrimination, by Donders's and Merkel's recognition of a constant pitch for each vowel which modifies the *timbre* of the vowel at other pitches.

But a *diphthong* sound is made by blending two *vowel sounds*, by a very quick pronunciation, into one.

So that to try, according to the foregoing definition, to continue a diphthong sound, the voice most commonly changes immediately from the first vowel sound of which the diphthong is composed, by a small movement in some of the organs, to the sound of the vowel which makes the latter part of the said diphthong, the sound of the first vowel being heard only for one instant. For example, to make this experiment on the English sound of *u*, as in the word *use*, which is really a *diphthong* composed of these two English sounds *u* and *oo*; the voice begins on the sound *u*, but instantly dwindles into, and ends in, *oo*. [Presumably (iu).]

The other English sound of *u*, as in the words *ugly, undone, but, out*, is composed of the English sounds *au* and *oo*; but they require to be pronounced so extremely short and close together that, in the endeavour to prolong the sound for this experiment, the voice will be in a continual confused struggle between the two component sounds, without making either of them, or any other sound, distinct; so that the true English sound of this diphthong can never be expressed but by the aid of a short energetic aspiration, something like a short cough, which makes it very difficult to our Southern neighbours in Europe. [Here he seems to confuse a diphthong, in which there is a real succession of vowel sounds and a connecting glide (supra p. 51), with the attempt to pronounce two vowels simultaneously. Hence this sound of *u* should rather be written (*au*) with the link (*)& p. 11, than (*au*), which is a diphthong into which we have seen that many orthoepists analyse *ou*, certainly a very different sound from any value ever given to *u*. Now (*au*), if we omit the labial character of both vowels, as there is certainly nothing labial in *u*, gives nearly (*a*), which can scarcely differ from the sound (*u*), which lies between them, as may be seen best by the diagrams on p. 14. Hence we must take this sound to be (*a*), which still exists in very wide use.]

To try the like experiment on the English sound of *r* or *y*, as *r* in the first person, and in the words *my, by, idly, and fire* (both of which letters are the marks of one and the same *diphthong sound* composed of the English sounds *au* and *er*), the voice begins on the sound *au*, and immediately changes to *er*, on which it continues and ends. [Presumably (ai), as defined also by Sheridan. It is curious that Steele has altogether omitted to notice *oy*, and hence escaped falling under the necessity of distinguishing by, *boy*, for example. Possibly he would have written (*bai*, *baai*), supra p. 107, l. 4 from bottom of text. He was presumably an Irishman.]

The English sound of *e*, in the words *met, let, men, get*, is a diphthong composed of the vocal sounds *a* and *e* (being the second and third vowels in the following arrangement), and pronounced very short. [Here again his diphthong is used for a link, and the result seems meant for (*ae*), and although this should give (ae), it is possible he meant (a), see diagrams p. 14. He does not seem to have been
Diphthong sounds in English.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>in French as the words.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ai = I, aine, here, life, ride, spy, fly (a long sound) = (ai)</td>
<td>en, grande.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ae = met, let, get, men (a short sound) = (a*e, x)</td>
<td>Paris, habit, pardon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iw = you, use, new, due, few (a long sound) = (tan)</td>
<td>ses, et.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ow = aue, organ, alone, alone (a short sound) = (au)</td>
<td>Pará, habit, ris, dit, il.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>au = tune, two, rule, tool, do = (uu)</td>
<td>soldat, cotes, offrir.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u = super, supreme, rare in (credibility)</td>
<td>ou, vous, jour, jaloux.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>du, plus, une.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The letters and sounds, which in modern languages pass under the names of diphthongs, are of such different kinds, that they cannot properly be known by any definition I have seen: for, according to my sense, the greatest part of them are not diphthongs. Therefore, that I may not be misunderstood, I will define a proper diphthong to be made in speech, by the blending of two vowel sounds so intimately into one, that the ear shall hardly be able to distinguish more than one uniform sound; though, if produced for a longer time than usual, it will be found to continue in a sound different from that on which it began, or from its diphthong sound. [This shows a perfect confusion between linking two sounds into one, and gliding on from one sound on to another.]

And therefore the vowels, which are joined to make diphthongs in English, are pronounced much shorter, when so joined, than as single vowels: for if the vowel sounds, of which they are composed, especially the initials, are pronounced so as to be easily and distinctly heard separately, they cease to be diphthongs, and become distinct syllables.

Though the grammarians have divided the vowels into three classes; long, short, and doubtful; I am of opinion, that every one of the seven has both a longer and shorter sound: as a is long in all, and short in lock and oe (lack and oc) = (aa, a ?).

A is long in arm, and short in sat = (aa, a ?).

E is long in may and make, and short in nation = (oe, e ?).

I is long in be, and short in it = (ii, i ?).

O is longer in hole than in open [often (op-n) dialectically]; long in corrode, short in corrosive [which Ledard accentu corróisse supra p. 1048, c. 1, l. 5 from bottom.] = (oo, o ?).

O is long in fool, short (by comparison) in foolish = (uu, u ?).

U is long in tune and plus, and short in super and du = (iu, y ?).
But the shortest sounds of o, oe, and u are long in comparison with the short sounds of the four first vowels [that is, are medial].

The French, the Scotch, and the Welsh, use all these vowel sounds in their common pronunciation; but the English seldom or never sound the u in the French tone (which I have set down as the last in the foregoing list, and which, I believe, was the sound of the Greek ο, ου, οῦ), except in the more refined tone of the court, where it begins to obtain in a few words.

I have been told the most correct Italians use only five vowel sounds, omitting the first and seventh, or the a and the u. Perhaps the Romans did the same: for it appears by the words which they borrowed from the Greeks in latter times, that they were at a loss how to write the u and the v in Latin letters.

As the Greeks had all the seven marks, it is to be presumed that at some period they must have used them to express so many different sounds. But having had the opportunity of conversing with a learned modern Greek, I find, though they still use all the seven marks, they are very far from making the distinction among their sounds which nature admits of, and which a perfect language requires: but all nations are continually changing both their language and their pronunciation; the that people, who have marks for seven vowels, which are according to nature the competent number, are the least excusable in suffering any change, whereby the proper distinction is lost.

§ 2. Two American Orthoepists of the Eighteenth Century.

i. BENJAMIN FRANKLIN'S PHONETIC WRITING, 1768.

Dr. Franklin's scheme of phonetic writing (supra p. 48), though hasty and unrevised, is too interesting to be omitted. His correspondence with Miss Stephenson contains a common sense, practical view of the necessity and usefulness of some phonetic scheme, and gives short convincing answers to the objections usually urged against it. The spelling would have required careful reconsideration, which it evidently never received. But in the following transcript it is followed exactly. As a specimen of the English pronunciation of the earlier part, although written after the middle, of the xviii th century, it is of sufficient importance to justify the insertion of the paper at length in this place. The symbols are, as usual, replaced by their palaeotypic equivalents, and for convenience of printing the following table given by Franklin is somewhat differently arranged, although the matter is unaltered.

Table of the Reformed Alphabet.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Names</th>
<th>Manner of Pronouncing the Sounds</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(e)</td>
<td>old. The first vowel naturally, and deepest sound; requires only to open the mouth and breathe through it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a)</td>
<td>John, jolly; aul, ball. The next requiring the mouth opened a little more, or hollower.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(e)</td>
<td>man, can. The next, a little more.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(e)</td>
<td>men, lend, name, lane. The next requires the tongue to be a little more elevated.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(i)</td>
<td>did, sin, deed, seen. The next still more.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(u)</td>
<td>tool, fool, rule. The next requires the lips to be gathered up, leaving a small opening.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a)</td>
<td>sun, an; as in ambrage, anto, etc., and as in er. The next a very short vowel, the sound of which we should express in our present letters, thus wh; a short, and not very strong aspiration.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(h)</td>
<td>hunter, happy, high. A stronger or more forcible aspiration.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(g)</td>
<td>give, gather. The first consonant; being formed by the root of the tongue; this is the present hard g.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(ki) *keep, kick.* A kindred sound; a little more acute; to be used instead of hard c.

(ish) [sh] *ship, wish.* A new letter wanted in our language; our sh, separately taken, not being the proper elements of the sound.

(iq) [ng] *sing, among.* A new letter wanted for the same reason. These are formed back in the mouth.

(end) *end.* Formed more forward in the mouth; the tip of the tongue to the roof of the mouth.

(art) *art.* The same; the tip of the tongue a little loose or separate from the roof of the mouth, and vibrating.

(teeth) *teeth.* The tip of the tongue more forward; touching, and then leaving, the roof.

(ded) *ded.* The same; touching a little fuller.

(ell, tell) *The same; touching just about the gums of the upper teeth.*

(e) *essence.* This sound is formed by the breath passing between the moist end of the tongue and the upper teeth.

(es) *es* *wages.* The same; a little denser and duller.

(eth) [th] *think.* The tongue under, and a little behind, the upper teeth; touching them, but so as to let the breath pass between.

(eth) [d] *thy.* The same; a little fuller.

(ef) *effect.* Formed by the lower lip against the upper teeth.

(ev) *ever.* The same; fuller and duller.

(b) *been.* The lips full together, and opened as the air passes out.

(pi) *peep.* The same; but a thinner sound.

(emb) *ember.* The closing of the lips, while the e is sounding.

**Remarks** [by Franklin, on the above table].

(e) *to (uw).* It is endeavoured to give the alphabet a more natural order; beginning first with the simple sounds formed by the breath, with none or very little help of tongue, teeth, and lips, and produced chiefly in the windpipe.

(g, k). Then coming forward to those, formed by the roof of the tongue next to the windpipe.

(r, n, t, d). Then to those, formed more forward, by the forepart of the tongue against the roof of the mouth.

(l, s, x). Then those, formed still more forward in the mouth, by the tip of the tongue applied first to the roots of the upper teeth.

(th, dh). Then to those, formed by the tip of the tongue applied to the ends or edges of the upper teeth.

(f, v). Then to those, formed still more forward, by the under lip applied to the upper teeth.

(b, p). Then to those, formed yet more forward, by the upper and under lip opening to let out the sounding breath.

(m). And lastly, ending with the shutting up of the mouth, or closing the lips while any vowel is sounding.

In this alphabet c is omitted as unnecessary; k supplying its hard sound, and s the soft; k also supplies well the place of s [evidently a misprint for g], and with an s added in the place of x: g and x are therefore omitted. The vowel u being sounded as oy (nu) makes the o unnecessary. The y, where used simply, is supplied by i, and where as a diphthong [Eu spelled in the original], by two vowels: that letter is therefore omitted as useless. The jod j is also omitted, its sound being supplied by the new letter (sh) ish, which serves other purposes, assisting in the formation of other sounds;—thus the (sh) with a (d) before it gives the sound of the jod j and soft g as in "James, January, giant, gentle" (sheems, daheums, daheems, daheentsel, daheentsel); with a (t) before it, it gives the sound of ch, as in "cherry, chip" (chahri, chahip); and with a (z) before it, the French sound of the jod j, as in "jamais" (zahme). [Dr. Franklin’s knowledge of the French sound must have been very inexact.] Thus the g has no longer two different sounds, which occasioned confusion, but is, as every letter ought to be, confined to one. The same is to be observed in all the letters, vowels, and consonants, that wherever they are met with, or in whatever company, their sound is always the same. It is also intended, that there be no superfluous letters used in spelling; i.e. no letter that is not sounded; and this alphabet, by six new letters (meaning
(a, a, sh, q, th, dh) ], provides that there be no distinct sounds in the language, without letters to express them. As to the difference between short and long vowels, it is naturally expressed by a single vowel where short, a double one where long; as for "mend" write (mend), but for "remain'd" write (remcen'd); for "did" write (did), but for "deed" write (diid), etc.

What in our common alphabet is supposed the third vowel, i, as we sound it, is as a dipthong, consisting of two of our vowels joined; (e) as sounded in "unto" and (i) in its true sound. Any one will be sensible of this who sounds those two vowels (a i) quick after each other; the sound begins (a) and ends (ii). The true sound of the (i) is that we now give to e in the words "deed, keep." [Here the editor observes: "The copy, from which this is printed, ends in the same abrupt way with the above, followed by a considerable blank space; so that more perhaps was intended to be added by our author. B. V."]

EXAMPLES.

So¹ hwen sâm Endshel, bai divain kamænd,
Uídh raiziq tempests sheeks e giilt Lænd;
(Satsh sez áv leet or peel Británíñe paëst,
Kælm and sirín ni draivs dhi fiurias blest;
And, pliz'd dh' álmaitís árderz tu perfórm,
Raidís in dhi Huerluind and dairekts dhi Stårn.

¹ Dr. Franklin is not consistent in marking the long and short vowels. His peculiarities and errors are here all reproduced. Sir William Jones (Works, 4to. ed. 1799, i. 205), after giving his analysis of sound for the purpose of transliterating the Indian languages, adds: "Agreeably to the preceding analysis of letters, if I were to adopt a new mode of English orthography, I should write Addison’s description of the angel in the following manner, distinguishing the simple breathing or first element, which we cannot invariably omit, by a perpendicular line above our first or second vowel:

So hwen sm énjel, bai divaincámand,
Widh raisiùn tempests sheëcs a giilt land,
Sch az áv lét òr pél Britanya pást,
Câlm and sirín ni draivz dhi fyùras blást,
And pliz’d dh’ álmaitíz árderz tu perfórm,
Raidís in dhi Huerluind and dairekts dhi Stárnl.

This mode of writing poetry would be the touchstone of bad rhymes, which the eye as well as the ear would instantly detect; as in the first couplet of this description, and even in the last, according to the common pronunciation of perform.

The following is probably the meaning to be attached to Jones’s symbols, leaving his errors as they stand, but supplying the (a) occasionally omitted in accordance with Sanscrit custom, and not inserting accents. It is very possible that though he wrote signs equivalent to (a, i, ee, r), he actually said (æ, ï, ee, æ).

(Soo hwen sâm eendzheol, bai divain kamaand,
Widh raisiq tempests sheeks a giilt land,
Satsh az áv leet oor peel Britanýa paast,
Kælm and sirín ni draivs dhi fuurias bleast,
And, plizd dh-áalmaitíz áarders
tu perfóorm,
Raidis in the Huerluind and dairekts dhi Staarn.)
So dhi piur limpid striim, huen faul with steens
av roshiq Tarents send disendiq Beens,
Usrks itself klirr; send ez it ren fifeins,
Til bei digriis, dhe folioq mire shoins,
Rifikals itaih flaur dhas an its bardor groz,
And ez lu hev'n in its seer Bezem shoz.

Correspondence between Miss Stephenson and Dr. Franklin.

Diir Sar,
Kenigsten, September 26, 1768.

Oi hiev trenskreb'd iur ndsbet, &c., huith ai think moit bi av
sorvis tu dhoz, nu uish te aukiir an sekuret pronsniishan, if
dhat kuld bi fiks'd; bot i i meni inkaviniiniensies, ez uel ez dif-
kaeltis, dhat uul 1 sambad dhi biriquq iur letters and arthagraf inu
kamon ixe. Aal aur etimaloshiz uuld be last, kanikuteuli u
kuld nat assarteen dhi miiq av meni uardo; dhi distikshen tu,
buituin uardo av difsrand miiniq send similair saund uuld bi dis-
traad, send Aal dhi buks aroid riten uuld bi 2 iusles, onles u liviq
roiter publish nu iishans. In sart ai biliv ui mest let piipil
spel an in dcheer old uc, send (ez u foidt it iisest) dhi dii seem
ourselves. With ease and with sincerity I can, in the old way,
subscribe myself, Dear Sir, Your faithful and affectionate Servant,

Dr. Franklin.

M. S.

Answer to Miss S ● ● ● ●

Diir Maedsem;

dhi abdsheshkan in meek to rekifoiq aur ndsbet, dhas it
uul bi sambad widh inkaviniinisies send dif-
kaltiz, iz e naturael uen; far it aluez akers huen ei refar-

Probably the difference between
Franklin and Jones was more apparent
than real. In perform, however,
Franklin evidently adopted the
pronunciation which Jones disliked. On
Jones’s sensitiveness to rhyme see
supra p. 866, note, where a line has
been unfortunately omitted. For the
sentence beginning on l. 7, col. 2, of that
note, read: “The Seven Fountains
of 642 lines has only afford-Lord. The
Palace of Fortune of 506 lines has
only shone-sun, and stood-blood.”

The passage selected as an example
by both Franklin and Jones is from
Addison’s Campaign, lines 287–291;
and is parodied thus in Pope’s Dunciad,
3, 261–264:

Immortal Rich! how calm he sits at ease
Mid snows of paper, and fierce hail of pease;
And proud his Mistress’ orders to perform
Rides in the whirlwind and directs the storm.

1 Probably meant for (wul), It is
one of the inconveniences of the use of
(i, u) for (e, w), together with (i, u)
for the long vowels, as in Franklin’s
scheme, that ye, soo (iii, wu) must be
written (ii, uu) or (iii, unu). The
latter form I have never seen employed.
Hence there is always an ambiguity in
such words.

2 The words (distraad, and Aal dhi
buks aroid riten uuld bi) are omitted
in the copy of this letter in Franklin’s
works, vol. 2, p. 361, and are here
restored from the quotations of Miss
Stephenson’s words in Dr. Franklin’s
reply, pp. 364–5, so that they contain
his spelling rather than hers.

3 There are several letters preserved
in Franklin’s works addressed to Miss
Stephenson or Stevenson. One dated
17th May, 1760, begins: “I send my
good girl the books I mentioned to her
last night,” and gives advice in reading,
shewing that she was then very young,
but that Franklin had been in
the habit of talking with her about litera-
ture and language.
meshen iz proposed; nuedher in rilidshan, governement, laz, and iven daun aez lo aez rods send nuil kerishiz. dhi tru kuestshan dhen, is nat nuedher dheer uil bi no difikeltiz at inkavniensiz, bet nuedher dhi difikeltiz me nat bi sormaunted; and nuedher dhi kanviniensiz uil nat, an dhi nuel, bi gretar dhan dih inkavniensiz. In dhis kes, dhi difikeltiz er onli in dih biginiqu av dhi prektis: huen dhé er uans overkam, dhi advantedshes er laestiq.—To oihor uo ar mi, nu spel uel in dhi prezent mod, ei imesadin dhi difikalti av tshendiq 2 dhat mod far dhi nu, iz nat so gret, bet dhat ui moit perfektli git over it in a uiiqs roitiq. Ae to dhea hu du nat spel uel, if dhi tu difikeltiz er kampérd, viz., dhat av titshiq dhem tru speliiq in dhi prezent mod, send dhat av titshiq dhem dhi nu selfabet send dhi nu speliiq seekardiq to it, si sem kan-fident dhat dhi letar uuld bi byi 3 fier dhi liist. dhe natarei fal into dhi nu meded sredread, aez matsh aez dhi imperfekshen av dher selfabet uil edmit av; dheer prezent bad speliiq iz onli bad, bikar kantreeri to dhi prezent bad ruls: ondeh dhi nu ruls it uuld bi gad,—dhi difikalti av lormiq to spel uel in dhi olde uel iz so gret, dhat fin aetén it; thuauzend send thuauzend roitiq an to to edah, udhaut ever biiq ebil to aekual it. 4’Tiz, bissidz, e difikalti kantuinieli inkriisiq, ez dhi saund greduelii veriz mor send mor fram dhi speliiq; send to faranez 4 it meks dhi loroiq to pronans aur laucedah, ez riten in aur buks, aelmast imposibil.

Nau aez to dhi inkavniensiz imeshen.—dhi farst iz, dhat aal aur etimalodhish uuld bi last, kansikuentli ui kuld nat asertimeh dhi miiniq av meni uords.—etimalodhish er aet present veri onserteen; bet aetsch aez dhe er, dhi old buks uuld stil prizary dhem, send etimalodhish 4 uuld dheer foind dhem. Uords in dhi kors av tyim, 6 thendesh dher miiniqs, aez uel aez dher speliiq send pronansiehasen; send ui du nat luk to etimalodshi far dher prezent miiniqs. If ei shuld kal e men e Neev send e Vilien, mi uuld miordli bi saatiafoid withi moi teliq xim, dhat uon av dhi uords oridshineli signifioid onli e leed ar sorryet; send dhi adhar, sen oendar pluemen, at dhi inhabitant av e vilosh. It iz fram prezent iusedsh onli, dhi miiniq av uords iz to bi determined.

1 This word seems to have exercised the Doctor very much, this is the third orthography in a few lines. He meant (weth-dar) of course.
2 Meaning (thesendenkq) changing.
3 Franklin's character for (a) is y, and consequently his printer easily confuses it with y; (byi) is an error for (bsi). Several of the errors here copied may be due to his printer, and cannot be corrected by the original MS.
4 "Dr. Franklin used to lay some little stress on this circumstance, when he occasionally spoke on the subject.
5 A dictionary, formed on this model, would have been serviceable to him, he said, even as an American;" because, from the want of public examples of pronunciation in his own country, it was often difficult to learn the proper sound of certain words, which occurred very frequently in our English writings, and which of course every American very well understood as to their meaning. B. V."—Note to Dr. F.'s Works, vol. 2, p. 363.
6 Meaning, probably etymologists (etimalodshists) in his spelling.
7 Meaning (toim) time. See above, note 3.
8 The (w) and the (th) are both alps. He meant (uidh) in his spelling.
Iur sekánd inkanviniens iz, dhët dhi distinkshen bituini uërds av diférënt miiniq and simi ler saund uuld bi distráisiid.—Dhët distinkshen iz alredí distráisiid in pronaunsiq dhem; ñœnd ui rilei an dhi sens álón av dhi sentens to ñësärteën, nuitäh av dhi seversal uërds, simi ler saund, ui intend. If dhi iz ñësíssehent in dhi rëspi diti av diskors, it uil bi mutsh mër so in riten sentenses, nuitäh mô bi red lezshurliñ, ñœnd ñëtendëd to mór përتكëlikëri in kes av díisifiktì, dhën ui kën ñëtend to o pëst sentens, nuïl eスピker iz hërïiñ 1 es sêlaq with nu uëns.

Iur thërd inkanviniens iz, dhët aal dhi buks zëlredí riten uuld bi iusle.—Dhis inkanviniens uuld onli këm an greadusel, in ës kors av edshës. Íu ñënd ai, ñënd ëðhìr nau liviq ridors, uuld mërdli farget dhi ius av dhem. Piipil uuld long lorn to riid dhi old rëitiq, dho dëh prëktist dhi nu.—Ænd dhi inkanviniens is naat gëstre, dhën nusek kes aktuëli mësënd in së simi ler kes, in Iteli. Farmeriitsa its inhabitsenta aal spok and rot Lëtifin: aë dhi leqoedah thëndshëd, dhi spëliq fatol'd it. It iz tru dhët èt present, e miir enlæn'èt Italiën knat 2 riid dhi Lëtifin buks; dho dhe er stil red ñënd ëndastud bai meni. Bet, if dhi spëliq mëd nevor bin thëndshëd, hi uuld nau ney fàund it metsh mór difikoltì to riid and ryit 3 òz ën laqoedah; far riten uërds uuld ney mëd no rîlëshët to saundës, dhe uuld onli ney stëd far thiqs; so dhët if hi uuld ekspres in rëitiq dhi ëdïa in nez, nuen hi saundës dhi uërds Vescovo, hi mist ius dhi letër Episcòpus.

—In shart, huëstever dhi difikoltìz ñënd inkanviniensiz nau er, dhe uil bi mër ñizli sàrmantuëd nau, dhan hirëstef; ñënd ñëm taim ër ëðhìr, it ëmët bi døn; at aur rëitiq ul bikäm dhi ñëm uïdhi dhi Thalinix, aë to dhi difikaltì av larniq and iuiziq it. Ænd it uuld zëlredí nev bin sëtsh, if ëi mëd kantinuëd dhi Saksòn spëliq and rëitiq, iuzed bei oür forfadhers. ëi ñëm, mai ñëir frind, ûrs ëfekshënetli, B. Franklin.

Londën, Kreven-strëit, Sept. 28, 1768.

ii. NOAH WEBSTER'S REMARKS ON AMERICAN ENGLISH.

Noah Webster's English Dictionary has so recently become popular in England that we can scarcely look upon him as belonging to the xviiith th century. But having been born in Connecticut in 1758, his associations with English pronunciation in America are referable to a period of English pronunciation in England belonging quite to the beginning of the xviiith, if not even to the latter half of the xvith th century. The recent editions of the Dictionary all shew a "revised" pronunciation, so that the historical character of the work in this respect is destroyed. The following extracts from a special and little known work by the same author are valuable for our purpose, as they convey much information on the archaisms which are at least then prevalent in America, and distinguish in many cases between American and English pronunciation.

1 Either (nörœiñq) meaning (nörœiñq) or (nörœiñq) meaning (nërœiñq).
2 Probably (kasat) cannot.
3 Meaning (rørte) rîwte, see p. 1062, n.3.
Title. Dissertations on the English Language: with notes, historical and critical. To which is added, by way of Appendix, an Essay on a Reformed Mode of Spelling, with Dr. Franklin's Arguments on that Subject. By Noah Webster, Jun., Esquire. Printed at Boston for the Author, 1789. 8vo., pp. xvi., 410. Press-mark at British Museum, 825 g. 27. Dedicated "to his Excellency Benjamin Franklin, Esq., LL.D., F.R.S., late President of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania," Hartford.

In Franklin's Works (London, 1806, vol. 2, p. 351), under date 26 Dec. 1789, there is a letter from Franklin to Webster, acknowledging and praising this book, and drawing attention to the following Americanisms as having been adopted subsequently to 1723. Improved for employed or used, as "a country house many years improved as a tavern; a country gentleman for more than thirty years improved as a justice of the peace." "A verb from the substantive notice. I should not have noticed this, were it not that the gentleman, etc. Also another verb from the substantive advocate: The gentleman who advocates or who has advocated that motive, etc. Another from the substantive progress, the most awkward and abominable of the three: the committee having progressed, resolved to adjourn. The word opposed, though not a new word, I find used in a new manner, as, the gentlemen who are opposed to this measure, to which I have also myself always been opposed. If," continues Franklin, addressing Webster, "you should happen to be of my opinion with respect to these innovations, you will use your authority in reproving them." The words are still all in use in America; and to notice, to advocate, and opposed are common in England, where even to progress is heard. The point of interest is that in the use as well as in the pronunciation of words, elderly people are being continually offended by innovations which they look upon as deteriorations, but which constantly prevail in spite of such denunciations.

In the following paragraphs all is Webster's writing, except the passages between brackets and in paleotype. The pages of the original are also inserted in brackets as they arise.

[Note at back of contents, p. xvi.]

The sounds of the vowels, marked or referred to in the second and third dissertations, are according to the Key in the First Part of the Institute. Thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>First sound,</th>
<th>late, feet</th>
<th>night, note, tune, sky</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Second hat,</td>
<td>let,</td>
<td>tin,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third law,</td>
<td></td>
<td>fraud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fourth ask,</td>
<td></td>
<td>father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fifth not,</td>
<td></td>
<td>what</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sixth prove,</td>
<td></td>
<td>room</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[p. 83] Thus i in fit has the same quality of sound as ee in feet... The other vowels have also their short or abrupt sounds; a in late [p. 84] has its short sound in let; a in sort has its short sound in carry; a in fall has its short sound in folly; oo in fool its short sound in full. O is sometimes shortened in common parlance, as in codd; but the distinction between o in codd and codd seems to be accidental or caused by the final consonant, and not sufficiently settled or important to require a separate consideration. . . . [Here we have the usual difficulties (ii, i) or (ii, t) ? (aa, a) or (aa, a) ? (aa, a) or (aa, o); (uu, u) or (uu, u)? Perhaps codd was (kolt), not (kolt), in the pronunciation referred to. This point will be again alluded to when touching on present American English, Chap. XI. § 1.]

The letters, e, u, and y are usually classed among the vowels; but the first or long sound of each requires, in pronunciation, two positions of the organs of speech, or rather a transition from the position necessary to form one simple sound, to the position necessary to form another simple sound. We begin the sound of s nearly with the same aperture of the glottis, [a mere error arising from necessary ignorance of the mechanism of speech, the glottis being closed for all vowels,] as we do the broad a or aw. The aperture however is not quite so great. We rapidly close the mouth to the position where
N. WEBSTER ON AMERICAN ENGLISH. 1065

ounce ee, and there stop the
?). This letter is therefore a
is not strictly a vowel; nor
it is commonly represented,
[p. 86] of a and oo. We do
a the sound in the position
of oo, and there close the sound.
however be observed that when
ners i, u, are followed by a con-
tinue two sounds of the diphong
earlier distinguishable. We do
ight, hear the sound of oo;
sound of oo in oede. The con-
expresses the organs and closes
1 of the word so suddenly, that
an distinguish but a simple
and notwithstanding
ers are diphongs, when con-
ry themselves, yet in combina-
t consonants, they are often
simple sounds or vowels.
ly indicate an insufficient
alysis. The diphongs
shape only much shorter in
, that is, had the second
and the connecting glide much
providing a compressed effect.
, which is now really (kidub),
ong second element, may have
ixed into (kyb), by the "link-
its elements as (i=n=y) very
imilarly ight may have reached
(a=) very nearly. See
emarks on long u near the end
tracts, infra p. 1069.
short sound of i and y is merely

The sound of u in tune is a
vowel, which has no affinity
other sound in the language.
s be (y) ? Compare Steele's
657, and Kenrick, p. 1062,

and of oi or oy is diphongal,
of the third or broad a and
have then the old difficulty in
long i from oo, both being
) (aa). p. 86]. The sound
ow is also diphongal, com-
of third a and oo. The sound
does not require quite so great
ure of the mouth as broad a;
mion is more natural, and the
on requires less exertion (au?).
] The vowels therefore in

English are all heard in the following
words: late, half, hall, feet, pool, notes,
tur, sight, truth. The five first have
short sounds or duplicates, which may
be heard in let, hat, hot, fit, pull; and
the letters i and u are but accidentally
vowels. The pure primitive vowels in
English are therefore seven.

The diphongs may be heard in the
following words: lie or def, due,
voice or joy, round or now. To these
we may add as in persuade; and per-
haps the combinations of ow and the
vowels, in cell, will, etc.

[p. 92 Webster remarks that i has
its first sound in bind, find, mind, kind,
blind, grind. But wind has the second
short sound of i. Then in a footnote,
p. 93, he adds:] On the stage, it is
sometimes pronounced with i long, either
for the sake of rhyme, or in order to be
heard. Mr. Sheridan marks it both
ways; yet in common discourse he pro-
nounces it with i short, as do the nation
in general.

[Cambridge, danger, and perhaps
manger. Also angel, ancient have (ae).]
In this all the standard authors [p. 94]
agree, except Kenrick and Burn, who
mark a in ancient both long and short.
The English pronunciation is followed
in the middle and southern states [of
America]; but the eastern universities
have restored these words to the
analogy of the language, and give a its
second sound (e). It is presumed that
no reason can be given for making these
words exceptions to the general rule,
but practice; and this is far from being
universal, there being many of the best
speakers in America, who give a in the
words mentioned the same sound as in
anguish, annals, angelic, antiquity.

In the word chamber, a has its fourth
sound (aa). It is necessary to remark
this, as [p. 95] there are many people
in America who give a its first sound
(ee), which is contrary to analogy and
to all the English authorities. [Mr.
White, supra p. 968, c. 1, in a note on
LL 6, 1, 5 (150, 22), says: "The isola-
tion of the Englishmen of New England,
and their consequent protection from
exterior influences, caused changes in
pronunciation, as well as in idiom, to
take place more slowly among them
than among their brethren who re-
ained in the mother-country; and
the orthoepy for which the worthy
pedant contends, is not very far re-
moved from that of the grandparents
and great-grandfathers of the present generation in the more sequestered parts of the eastern states. The scholars among these, as well as those who had received only that common-school education which no Yankee is allowed to lack, did not, for instance, in Holofernesian phrase, speak could and would fine, but pronounced all the consonants, could and would; they said sword, not sore’d; they pronounced ‘have’ to rhyme with ‘rave,’ not haw, —‘jest,’ which used to be written jest, jest to rhyme with ‘yeast,’—’pert,’ which of old was spelled pearl, peri: and in compound words they said for instance ‘clean-ly,’ not clen-ly, and, correctly, ‘an-gel,’ ‘cham-ber,’ ‘dan-ger,’ not angeli, cham-ber, dan-ger. Their accents yet linger in the ears of some of us, and make the words of Shakespeare’s pedagogue not altogether strange.” As regards chamber see Moore’s rhyme: amber chamber, suprà p. 589, col. 1.

[p. 98] I consider these terminations tion, sion, cion, cial, cian, as single syllables.

[p. 103] In the eastern states there is a practice prevailing among the body of the people of prolonging the sound of i in the termination ice. In such words as motive, relative, etc., the people, excepting the more polished part, give its first sound (ai?) This is a local practice, opposed to the general [p. 104] pronunciation of English on both sides of the Atlantic. . . . [In footnote to p. 104] The final s must be considered as the cause of this vulgar dialect. It is wished that some bold genius would dare to be right, and spell this class of words without e, motiv. . . .

[p. 105] In the middle states . . . many people pronounce practice, prejudice with i long. I know of no authority for this beyond the limits of two or three states. Another very common error, among the yeomanry of America, and particularly in New England, is the pronouncing of e before r, like a; as marcy for mercy. This mistake must have originated principally in the name of the letter r, which, in most of our school-books, is called ar. This single mistake has spread a false pronunciation of several hundred words among millions of people. [In a footnote] To remedy the evil in some degree, this letter is named er, in the Institute.

In a few instances this pronunciation is become general among polite speakers, as clerks, sergeant, etc. [in text] To avoid this disagreeable singularity, some fine speakers have run into another extremes, by pronouncing e before r, like a, swarve. This is an error. The true sound of the short e, as in let, is the correct and elegant pronunciation of this letter in all words of this class. [But (mar-si) can now only be heard in Scotland.]

[p. 106] There is a vulgar singularity in the pronunciation of the eastern people, which is very incorrect, and disagreeable to strangers, that of prefixing the sound of i short or e, before the dipthong ou; as know, pouwer or pouwer. This fault usually occurs after p, c hard, or those other consonants which are formed near the seat of re in the mouth. . . . But the most awkward countryman pronounces round, ground, etc., with tolerably propriety. [Webster then remarks on the New England drawl, and attributes it to its “political institutions”]

[p. 108, note, he speaks of] the surprising similarity between the idioms of the New England people and those of Chaucer, Shakspeare, Congreve, etc., who wrote in the true English style.

[p. 109, he speaks of] the very modern pronunciation of kind, sky, guide, etc., in which we hear the short e before i, keind, or kyine, sky, etc. [he compares it to the eastern know, owe, and adds:] Yet, strange as it may seem, it is the elegant pronunciation of the fashionable people both in England and America [but he strongly disapproves of it].

[p. 110] Some of the southern people, particularly in Virginia, almost omit the sound of r, as in worse, there. In the best English pronunciation the sound of r is much softer than in some of the neighbouring languages, particularly the Irish and Spanish, and probably much softer than in the ancient Greek. . . . [This omission of the r, or its degradation to (a, a’), is still very prevalent in America as in England, if we may judge from Yankee books of drollery, but its prevalence in Webster’s time indicates that it was at least well known in England in the xvth century. See suprà p. 974.]

It is a custom very prevalent in the middle states, even among some well-bred people, to pronounce off, soft, drop,
with the sound of $s$, aff, saft, rep. [p. 111] This seems to be a local dialect; and cannot be imitated by any person who under-
stands English. [In a note on page, p. 383, he adds:] The dia-
lect of the Scotch Irish. [In an note to the second edition, 1697, we still meet with, rat, tap, God in oaths, and Tam in a name; God is in the School for letters, and may be heard still, and in all the-toolbar districts of the Scotch Irish. [In an note to the second edition, 1697, we still meet with, rat, tap, God in oaths, and Tam in a name; God is in the School for letters, and may be heard still, and in all the-toolbar districts of the Scotch Irish.]

[p. 114] The words shall, quality, qualify, quandary, quadrant, are differently pronounced by good speakers. Some give a broad sound as shol, quality, and others its second sound as in hat. With respect to the four first almost all the standard writers [who in a footnote are named as Kenrick, Sheridan, Burn, Perry and Scott] agree to pronounce a short as in hat, and this is [p. 115] the stage pronunciation. It is correct, for it is more agreeable to the analogy of the language; that being the proper sound of the English a which is heard in hat or bar. [Hence Webster ought to have said (hat) and not (net), like Kenrick.]

With respect to the two last, authors differ; some give the first (ei), some the second (æ), and others the fifth sound (o). They all pretend to give us the court pronunciation, and as they differ so widely, we must suppose that eminent speakers differ in practice. In such a case, we can hardly hesitate a moment to call in analogy to decide the question, and give a in all these words, as also in quash, its second sound (æ). [In a footnote he observes:] The distinction in the pronunciation of a in quality when it signifies the property of some body (æ), and when it is used for high rank (o), appears to me without foundation in rule or practice.

[p. 116] The words either, neither, decere, conceit, receipt, are generally pronounced by the eastern people either, neither, decere, conceit, receipt. These are errors; all the standard authors agree to give ei in these words the sound of ee. This is the practice in England, in the middle and southern States.

[p. 116] Importance is by a few people pronounced impr'tance, with the first sound of o (oo). . . . It seems however to be affectation, for the standard writers and general practice are opposed to it.

Deci-sive for deci-sive is mere affectation.

Resin for raisin is very prevalent in two or three principal towns in America.

Leisure is sometimes pronounced
toeure and sometimes leahure; the latter is the [p. 117] most general pronunciation in America.

Dictionary has been usually pronounced dictionary.

One author of eminence pronounces defile in three syllables def-i-les. In this he is singular; . . . all the other authorities are against him.

With respect to oblige, authorities differ. The standard writers give us both oblige and oblige, and it is impossible to determine on which side the weight of authority lies.

[p. 118] Some people very erroneously pronounce chaise, sh in the singular and shase in the plural. [The pronunciation (poo she) for poes chaise was familiar to me in London fifty years ago.]

Our modern fashionable speakers accent European on the last syllable but one. This innovation has happened within a few years. [p. 119] Analogy requires European and this is supported by as good authorities as the other. [Footnote p. 118] Hymenaeus and hymeneal are, by some writers, accented on the last syllable but one, but erroneously; other authorities preserve the analogy.

[p. 119] Rome is very frequently pronounced Room, and that by people of every class. The authors I have consulted give no light upon this word except Perry, who directs to that pronunciation. The practice however is by no means general in America. There are many good speakers who give o its first sound (oo). It seems very absurd to give o its first sound (oo) in Romanish, Romans, and pronounce it oo in Rome, the radical word.

[p. 120] In the pronunciation of arch in many compound words, people are not uniform. The disputed words are archangel, archetype, architecture, architrave, archives. . . . The sound of ch in chart is likewise disputed.

[p. 121] There are many people who omit the aspirate in most words which begin with wh, as white, whip, etc., which they pronounce wise, wip, etc. To such it is necessary to observe that in the pure English pronunciation both in Great Britain and New England, for it is exactly the same in both, A is not silent in a single word beginning with wh. In this point our standard authors differ; two of them aspirating the whole of these words, and three mark-
[p. 125] In the middle and southern states, force, pierce, tierce, are pronounced fierce, pierce, tierce. To convince the people of the impropriety of this pronunciation, it might be sufficient to inform them, that it is not fashionable on the English theater. [p. 126] The standard English pronunciation now is force, pierce, tierce [which is now, 1817, unknown in the South of England; see supra p. 105, n. 1], and it is universal in New England.

The English pronounce leap, lep; and that in the present tense as well as the past. Some of our American horsemen have learnt the practice; but among other people it is almost unknown.

In the fashionable world, heard is pronounced herd orourd. This was almost unknown in America till the commencement of the late war [that of Independence], and how long it has been [p. 127] the practice in England I cannot determine. . . . That heard was not formerly the pronunciation, is probable from this circumstance; the Americans were strangers to it when they came from England, and the body of the people are so to this day. To most people in this country the English pronunciation appears like [p. 128] affectation, and is adopted only in the capital towns. [It is implied that the Americans say heard, like Dr. Johnson, supra p. 624, note, c. 2.]

Beard is sometimes, but erroneously, pronounced beard. General practice, both in England and America, requires that e should be pronounced as in wer, and I know of no rule opposed to the practice.

Deaf is generally pronounced deaf. It is the universal practice in the eastern states, and it is general in the middle and southern; though some have adopted the English pronunciation deaf. The latter is evidently a corruption.

[p. 131] Gold is differently pronounced by good speakers. [He decides for (gould) in preference to (gould).]

[p. 123] Similar reasons and equally forcible are opposed to the modern pronunciation of sound [as (wound)]; he decides for (wound). p. 134] There is but a small part even of the well-bred people in this country, who have yet adopted the English mode[(wound)].

[p. 136] Skeptic for sceptic is mere pedantry. [He apparently refers only to the spelling, but as he instances the spelling scene, scepter, he perhaps said (sep tehr).]

[p. 137] Sauce with the fourth sound of a (as), is accounted vulgar; yet this is the ancient, the correct and most general pronunciation. The ow of the North Britons is much affected of late; sauce, hownt, ownt; yet the true sound is that of aunt, aunt, and a change can produce no sensible advantage.

[He decides in favour of accenting advertisement, chastisement on the last syllable but one, and acceptable, admirable, disputable, comparable on the last but two, and says, p. 141.] The people at large say admireable, disputable, compared, and it would be difficult to lead them from this easy and natural pronunciation, to embrace that forced one of admirable, etc. The people are right, and, in this particular, will ever have it to boast of, that among the unlearned is found the purity of English pronunciation. [He admits reputable as an exception. He decides for accedent, p. 143.]

[p. 143] Immediate is so difficult, that every person who attempts to pronounce it in that manner will fall into immediate. Thus commodious, comedian, tragedian, are very politely pronounced combuous, comezian, tragezian [which he pronounces, and requires -dz- to form a distinct syllable].

[On pp. 147-179, he has a disquisition on the pronunciation of d, t, and s before w, as (dzsh, tsh, sh), to which he is strongly opposed. The argument goes to show that it was then common in England and not in America. But the only parts which it is necessary to quote are the following. After citing Wallis's account of long w (supra p. 171), he says on his p. 182:] This is precisely the idea I have ever had of the English w; except that I cannot allow the sound to be perfectly simple. If we attend to the manner in which we begin the sound of w in flute, abuse, truth, we shall observe that the tongue is not pressed to the mouth so closely as in pronouncing s; the aperture of the organs is not so small; and I presume that good speakers, and am confident that most people, do not pronounce these words fluete, abjoure, troth. Neither do they pronounce them float, abjoore, trooth; but with a sound formed by
an easy natural aperture of the mouth, between *iu* and *oo*; which is the true English sound. This sound, however, obscured by affectation in the metropolis of Great Britain and [p. 152] the capital towns in America, is still preserved by the body of the people in both countries. There are a million descendants of the Saxons in this country who retain the sound of *u* in all cases, precisely according to Wallis’s definition. Ask any plain countryman, whose pronunciation has not been exposed to corruption by mingling with foreigners, how he pronounces the letters *t, r, w, th*, and he will not sound *w* like *ew*, nor *oo*, but will express the real primitive English *u*. Nay, if people wish to make an accurate trial, let them direct any child of seven years old, who has had no previous instruction respecting the matter, to pronounce the words *suit, tumult, due*, etc., and they will thus ascertain the true sound of the letter. Children pronounce *w* in the most natural manner; whereas the sound of *iu* requires a considerable effort, and that of *oo*, a forced position of the lips. Illiterate persons therefore pronounce the genuine English *w* much better than those who have attempted to shape their pronunciation according to the modern polite practice. [p. 189] In modern times, we have, in many words, blended the sound of *w* with that of *oo*, or rather use them promiscuously. It is indifferent, as to the pronunciation, whether we write *fuel* or *fewel*. And yet in this word, as also in *new, brew*, etc., we do not hear the sound of *e* except among the Virginians, who affect to pronounce it distinctly, *ne-ew, ne-oo, fe-oo*. This affectation is not of modern date, for Wallis mentions it in his time and reprobates it [supra p. 139].

[It would be difficult to imagine the sound from the above description. Years ago the sound was a source of great difficulty to me, because Americans refused to consider *w* as (*iu*) or (*ru*). I have not been able to study the sound sufficiently, but it sometimes seems to be (*ew*), at others (*yu*) or (*ru*). See supra p. 989, n. 1. Webster says in a footnote, p. 127:] The company that purchased New England was, indeed, called the *Plymouth Company*, being composed principally of persons belonging to the County of Devon. But many of the principal settlers in these states came from London and its vicinity; some from the middle counties, the ancient kingdom of Mercia; and a few from the northern counties. [And he adds:] There is not the least affinity between the languages of New England and the specimens of the Devonshire dialect given in the English Magazines. [But this sound of *u* seems to be in favour of a West of England origin; as it is not pure xviith century. The next point of importance is, p. 156:] But another inconsistency in the modern practice is the introducing an *o* before the second sound of *u* in *tum*; or rather changing the preceding consonant; for in *nature*, *rapture*, and hundreds of other words, *t* is changed into *th*; and yet no person pretends that *w* in these words has its dipthongal sound. . . . [p. 157] I believe no person ever pretended that this sound of *w* contains the sound of *o* or *y*, . . . and I challenge the advocates of the practice to produce a reason for pronouncing *nathur*, *raptahur*, *cop- tahur*, which will not extend to authorize not only *tahum, tahurn* for *tum, turn*, but also *fa胎al* for *fetal* and *immortal*. Nay the latter pronunciation is actually heard among some very respectable imitators of fashion; and is frequent [p. 158] among the illiterate, in those states where the *thu*’s are most fashionable. . . . I am sensible that some writers of novels and plays have ridiculed the common pronunciation of *creatour* and *natur* by introducing these and similar words into low characters, and spelling them *creater, mater*, [which he considers a mistake, because the sound is *w* and not *-r* final, even when written *a, e, i, o*; adding, p. 159:] Liar, elder, factor are pronounced *leyur, eider, factur*, and this is the true sound of *w* in *createur, natur*, *rapture*, *legislature*, etc. [See supra p. 973, under *U.E.*]
§ 3. Noteworthy Pronunciations and Rhymes of the Eighteenth Century, collected from the Expert Orthographer 1704, Dyche 1710, Buchanan 1760, Franklin 1768, and Sheridan 1780, and various poets.

Noteworthy Pronunciations of the Eighteenth Century.

To form a better notion of the melting of the pronunciation current in the xviiith century into that of the xviiiith, which is the direct source of the pronunciation now in use, I have collected many noteworthy pronunciations from the writers above named.

1) The Expert Orthographer, 1704, exhibits an early form of the genuine xviiiith century pronunciation, which partly was an anticipation of what became current fifty years later, and partly retained the old forms. The marked peculiarity is in the words containing as, which were forced into (ii) beyond what afterwards received the sanction of use. Not too much value is to be attributed to this writer as representing the general pronunciation of the period. At most he bears the same relation to Jones, that Hart did to Smith in the xvith century. But there is this difference, that Hart was a travelled, educated man, and the Orthographer was evidently a third-rate English teacher, unused to educated society.

2) Dyche, 1710, is of but very limited use, as he merely describes the sounds in the accented syllables of a few words, and does not symbolize them with sufficient accuracy. The sounds here given are therefore rather guesses than transcripts in several instances.

3) Buchanan, 1766, was not only a Scotchman, but had many Scotch proclivities, which render his vocabulary suspicious in parts. Thus, it cannot be supposed that the English language had short (i) and not (s), in competition and similar words, which is a thoroughly Scotch peculiarity, or that any but a Scotchman called drunken (druk-n). There seems reason to suppose that many, perhaps most, perhaps all, of Buchanan’s short o’s, here marked as (o), were pronounced by him as (o), thus post could hardly have been (poest), although it could not be marked otherwise in accordance with his notation, as this pronunciation will not harmonize at all with (punst, poest) given by others, whereas (poest) would only be a Scotch pronunciation of (poest). Nevertheless, the completeness and early date of this attempt to “establish a standard for an elegant and uniform pronunciation of the English language,” has rendered it necessary to go through the whole, and select such words as on any account seemed worthy of preservation.

4) Franklin, 1768, has only left us the fragment printed in the preceding section. A few words have here been selected, and their orthography has been corrected so as to represent what Franklin apparently meant to convey.

5) Sheridan, 1780, commences a series of pronouncing dictionaries, which will here be carefully passed over, but his near approach to Buchanan and Franklin, and his peculiarities, which must represent some pronunciations current during that period, dashed
though they be with his own orthoepistical fancies, rendered him the proper termination of these researches. All the words taken from Buchanan have therefore been compared with Sheridan. Kenrick's peculiarities can be sufficiently judged from his descriptions of the vowels, given above. Hence it has not been thought necessary to add his pronunciations to Sheridan's, with which they were so nearly contemporary.

Lediard's were collected subsequently to the completion of this index, and have not been added, they are however so arranged on pp. 1040–9, that they can be easily referred to.

The letters O, D, B, F, S, placed after the pronunciations, refer to these authorities in order. The transcript has been made after much consideration, but there are some doubtful points. It is probable that the (o) assigned to the Orthographist and Dyche, did not differ from Sheridan's (a). It is only Buchanan who seems to make a difference between (o) and (a), and, as we have seen, this may have arisen from his saying (o) and (a).

A

amber sem-br B, sem-bor S
amenable sem-in-bal B, sem-in-nal S
amiable sem-ij-bal B, sem-ij-bal S
anmesty sem-sit B, sem-nest S
among sem-oq B, S
amour sem-oor B, sem-oor S
anarch sem-erk B, sem-erk S
angel sem-dzhil B, sem-dzhel S, sem-
dzhal S
anoint sem-int B, sem-int B, sem-aunt S
anoyer sem-yer B, sem-yer S
ant sem-t B, S
anti sem-tik B, S
antique sem-tik B, sem-tik S
anxious sem-kjesh B, sem-kjesh S
any sem'i B, S
aerial sem-orit B, sem-orit S
apostle sem-pel B, sem-pel S
appoint sem-pint B, sem-pint S
apparel sem-dorit B, sem-dorit S
approve sem-pr B, sem-pr B, S
April sem-prail B, sem-prail S
apron sem-par B, sem-par S, sem-pran S
aquatic sem-kstik B, S
arable sem-tik C, sem-tal S
arch sem-tah B, S
architect sem-kitekt B, D, sem-kitekt S
arce er B, eer F, ear S
arcce sem-ce B, S
arm sem B, S
armada sem-mee'day B, S
around sem-nal B, sem-nal S
Asia sem-ise B
ask sem B, S
askans sem-kans B, sem-kans S
asent sem-ent B, sem-ent S
ase sem B, S
asthma sem-ma D, sem-ma S
asylum sem-lom B, sem-lom S
athletic sem-li-tik B, sem-li-tik S
borage bor-ridah  B, S
border bor-dar B, bar-dar S
bore bore  B, S
born barn B, baarn S
borne buurn O, born S
bouregh bou-ro  B, bar-o S
bougem bou-gem B, baouem F, bouum S
bough bow B, bow S
bought boat O F, bat B, baat S
boulb boil  B, boil S
bourn born B, buurn S
bouse bowe  B, bouse S
boue bow B, bau S
bowl bowl O, (globe) boul, (vessel) boul D, boul B, bou S
boy boi B, baai S
branch braa-nah O, braa-neah B, breenah S
brass brase B, S
brazier breez-air B, breen-air S
bravo bravo B, breevoo S
break briik O, E, S
breakfast brek-fest O, brek-fest B, brak-fest S
breaches brock-teers  britsh-iz B, S
Bristol Bros-to O, D
broad brood, braad S
brood brookeed B, brookeed S
broil broil O, broil B, brail S
brooch bruutah B, S
broth broth B, braath S
brought broot O F, brat B, braat S
bruise bruix O, bruux B, S
bustle bust S, B, S, S
bustle bustel B S
busui bui S, B
bushy bushy B, baarn S, S
build bield O, B, S
bucy boi B, bui S
burny barr-o  B, bar-o S
burglary burg-leeer B, bargleer S
burnal burnal D, ber-iil B, bar-iel S
bury biri D, ber-i B, bar-i S
bush bush B, S
bustle bustel B, S
bustle bustel B, S
bustle bustel B, S
bushy bushy B, S
butter buth-ur B, buth-ur S

C

cabal kebbaal B, kebal S
cadaverous kadasveaas B, kadasveers S
cadet kee-dit B, keedat S
cadil kediil B, keedi S
Calais kel-iz D
calculate kel-kiuleet B, kel-kiuleet S
calderon kel-dron B, kaal-dron S
calf kaaf O, keef B, S
caliber kel-inbir B, kelii-bir S
calk kaak B, S
call kaal D, B, S
calm kaam O, keem B, kalm F, keem S
chart kee\nt S
charte tahe\ntir B, tahe\ntor S
cheem kee\n B, kee\n S
tahe\ntin B, tahte\n S
chastiment tahe\nta\n S
char\nna tahe\ntir B, tahe\ntor S
char\nal tahe\nta\n S
charcoal taher-kol B, taher-kool S
Cherubim Tahr-\n S
chere\ner shervellir B, shervellir S
che\nt ahu B, tah\n S
chico\na tahkeen B, shikeen S
chic\ner tahkeenir S, shikeenir S
chic\n tah\n B, tah\n S
Chinese Tahani\n F
chirp tah\r B, tahx S
chiste tah\x S, shi\x S
tah\\x B, tahkol\x S
choir kwa\r B, kow B, kw\x S
cho\r al\r B, kal\ S
cho\\x S
chord kard B, ka\d S
chorister k\r-stor O, D, k\ristir B, k\r-stor S
chorus kor\ S, kou\ S
tough tah\ S
Christ Kra\ B
christen kri\n B, kri\n S
-ctal=shel O
ci=ahen O
cient=\nt O
cious=\n O
eire\it ser\it O, sir-\it B, sm-\it S
citron sit\n B, sit\n B, S
civet sir\it B, S
civil sir\ B, S
civilly sir\ B, sir\ S
clar\ k\r B, k\r S
Claude k\ld D
clean\ly kli\li B, kli\li S
dean\ klei\ B, kl\ng S
ger klerk B, kl\r B
climb kl\n B, D, S
close kloo B, S
close\ kloo\ B, kloo\ S
cloth klo\ B, kla\th S
clot\ klo\ B, S
cloth klo\ B, S
cloth klo\ B, S
clo\l gist\ B, gist\ S
cocks\n kak\n B, kak\n S
cord k\n B, kool\ S
col\nor\l D, korn\ B, korn\ S
coly k\n B, k\n S, k\n S
k\l B, k\l S
k\l B, k\l S
k\l B, k\l S
k\l B, k\l S
catt kolt B, kolt S
caller kalt'ir B, kolt'ar S
columbine kal'umboin O, kal'umboin B, kal'umboin S
cum kuum O, koom D, B, S
combat kam'best O, kom'bit B, kam'best S
comfort kam'fort O, B, S
command kamaand O, kommaend' B, kamaend F, kommaend' S
committee kantzitil B, kom'zi S
compass kampa'zon B, kampen'zon S
company kam'pini B, kam'peni S
compass kampa'zin B, kam'pes S
competition kompitish'en B, kampitish'en S
complacency komplai'si B, kamplais'ience S
compliance komplai'sens' B, kamplais'sens' S
complete komplit' O, B, kampliit' S
completion komplish'an B, kampliip'ian S
componeys kompona'i B, kamplais'i S
complaisance komplai'sens' B, kamplais'sens' S
complete komplit' O, B, kampliit' S
completion komplish'an B, kampliip'ian S
compose kompoonz B, kampoonz S
conceit kon'siit' O, B, kana'it' S
concoct kon'koj B, kaq'k'aj S
conceit kon'siit' B, kana'is' S
conclude konklud' B, kanka'liud' S
condign kondin' B, kan'dain' S
conduit kon'dit' O, D, B, kan'dwit' S
coney kan B, kon' B
conge kang'dizhi B, koon'dizhi S
consequences kandzhi'rii B, kandzhi'rii S
consc i kan'ik B, kan'ik S
conjecture kandzhok'tar B, kandzhak'tar S
conjure v.n. kandzhar D, B, S
conquer kon'ker D, kook'wir B, kaq'ker S
conscious kain'shins B, kana'shens S
consciousness kain'shens' B, kana'shens' S
constable kon'stabl B, kon'stabl S
constituents kon'struu B, kan'ster S
constitude koirtrait' B, kan'trait' S
cooperatives koon'sertz B, kan'vansernt S
converts kon'ters B, kan'ternt S
converses kon'ters' B, kan'ters' S
coquettish kok'et B, kook'et S
corn karn B, kairn S
coroner kroach'er D, koronir B, kor'anar S
corps korps B, kor B
corse kors B, kors S
cost kast B, S
cotton koton B, kain S
coven cov'zen B, koven'zen S
covi cov'ki B, kovi S
coward kow'ird B, kowird S
cowardice kowirdes B, kowirdes S
Cowper Kuu par D
coy koi B, kai S
cogness koo'nis B, kaai'nis S
cough kouth B, kout S
cough kof D, B, kaf S
could kud B, kud S
couter kout'ar B, kaul'tar S
country kun'tri B, kun'tri S
couple kopl B, S
course koors B, F, S
court kuurt' O, koot B, S
courtroom korteens' O, kortis'en B, kortis'en S
cousin kai'n B, kaiz'n S
creation krii'tor O, krii'tor B, krii'tar S
Crete Krit O
crew kriu B, kru S
croney krone' B, kroon'i S
croup krup B, krup S
crouped kraped' B, krouped' S
crude kriud B, kruud S
cruise kriuz B, krouz S
cuckold kak'sold B, S
cuckow kack'uu B, kuku' S
eucumber kan'kumber O, kain'kembir B,
kain'kaumser S
euvious kai'ures B, kai'ures S
euvaiser kai'uesir B, S
culture kot'tur B, kolt'ar S
cupboard kep'boord B, kab'ord S
czar sar B, zmeer S

damn dem B, S
damnel dem'ael D, dem'sil B, dem'sil S
dance dans B, S
danger dem'zher B, dem'en'zar S
daughter daa'tor D, daa'tar B, daa'tar S
def diif O, def B, S
deanery diin'rii B, din'eri S
debauch debaasht B, S
debauchees deboshii B, deboshii S,
debooshii' S

debenture diben'tor B, diibam'ther S
debt det D, B, dut S
decade dik'eed B, dek'ed S
decis decis'it' O, B, S
decision dis'jzen B, diiz'shen S
devise disen'v B, diisi'siv S
design deen D, B, S
delay del'adah B, del'udah S
dernier dern'ir B, dern'zeer S
desert dez'bart dez'vart B, dez'vart S
deserve dise'vrix' B, dis'iavix' S
designed disen' B, diz'aasid' S
despair disiop'tik B, despai'tik S
destroyed distroyed' B, distroyed' F,
distroyed' S
devil dev'il D, B, S
devious de'viis B, di'vooz S
diamond da'mond B, da'moond S
different dīfr̩nt B, d̩f'ern̩t S
dioceas̩m di-o-ses'un B, dal̩m-ess'en S
diphthong̩n d̩f-th̩q B, d̩pf-th̩q S
d̩rge dor-duh B, d̩rduh B, d̩rduh B
disol̩m dis-siz'n B, dis-z̩n S
dis-crip̩n dis-crip̩n B, dis-crip̩n S
discomfit dis-kom-fit B, dis-kom-fit S
disconverse dis-kon'ver's B, dis-kon'ver's S
dissappear dis-səp-ər B, dis-səp-ər B

dishevelled dis-hə-vəld B, dis-hevəld S
diverse d̩i-ver's B, d̩i-ver's S
divorce d̩vər's O, d̩vo're B, d̩vo're B

dool d̩l B, d̩ol S
doolful d̩l'f̩l B, d̩ol'f̩l S
dół Błt B, dół S

door dor B, O, B, S

drama drəm'a B, drə-me S

draught d̩r̩t O, d̩rt B, drau̠t S
droll d̩l B, d̩l S
drollery d̩rəl ri B, d̩rol'-ri S
drought d̩rt B, drau̠t S

droughty d̩r̩t' B, drau̠t' B

drunken ḏṟkn B, ḏṟk'n B

drunkenness ḏṟk'nəs B, ḏṟk'-nəs S
dwarf ḏwər B, S

e

E

(ε, Ί) as in xith century, except in the words cited

ebon e'Ban S
ebon'y i'bi B
eden li'den O

Edinburgh Ed'inbor̩ D

effigies ef'i-żez B, e'fii-z̩z S
effort ef'art O, e'fɔrt B, e'fɔrt S
effrontery ef'ron-tri B, e'froʊn-teeri S

egoatism i'go-sətiz B, i'gətizm S

ei = i in vein, either, key, conveɪy (ii) ? D
eighth eθth B, eθth S

either i'dhər O, oi ḏh B, F, i'dhər S
eleve'n ileven O

encore e'koʊər B, a'koʊər S
eendavour i'ndi-howr 0, en'ədəvər B, en'ədəvər B

engross ingróss O, ɪnɡrəʊss B, ɪnɡrəʊss B

enough enəf' O, D, B, ənəf' S

enou̠v enəv B, ənəu̠v S

empress a'mpress: B

enroll en'rol B, in'rol S

eviron inva'ryən O, invai'ryən S

ere i'r O, S

eremite er'mət B, ər'əmat S

eschatol es'kætəl B, es-ka'təl S

eschar es'ker B, es'ker S

escheew es'kwi ə B, es'kwə B

espalier es'pal-iər B, es'pal-iər S

even iv'n 0, B, S

executor esk'kwiətər ə B, egz'kwiətər S

executor esk'kwiətər ə B

exhaust ek'səəst B, ek'səəst S

exhorr egzart' B, egz'kwiət S

exit eg'zit B, ek'sit S

extreme ek'stərm O, ekstərm B

eye oir B, eer S

F

fabric fe'brək B, fe'brək S

faclion fe'klən B, fe'klən S

falcon fa'klən B, fa'klən S

farther fer'dər B, fəu'dfər S

farthing fa'θərding B, fəu'fdhig S

fasten fəsten' N B, fəsten' S

fatal fet'əl B, fet'səl S

father fəu'θər B, fəu'θər S

fathom fəθəm B, fəθəm S

fatigue fə'ti-gə B, fətəg'ə S

fault fəlt B, fəlt S

foodary f'ədləri O, f'ədləri B, fəu'dəri S

foote fətə B, fətə B, fətə S

foolt fəlt B, fəlt S

few fəu B, F, S

fucked fək'd B, S

fire fər B, fər S

first fərst B, S

flag fλg'ən B, fλg'ən S

fee fii 0, B, S

flood floyd 0, B

flue flu B, flu S

fook fluk B, fluk S

foast fəst B, foast S

foliage fəl'i-dah B, fəl'i-dah S

folio fəl'i B, fəl'ləo S

folk fək B, foak S

foot fəut B, fəut S

force fəorz B, fəorz S

ford fərd B, fərd S

forge fərdəzh O, fərdəzh B, fərdəzh S

fork fərk B, fərk S

form fərm B, fərm S

forth fərt B, foart S

forth fərt B, foart S

four fəur B, S

fourth fəorth O, fəorth B, S

frailage frel'ədah B, frel'dah S

fragrant freg'ənt B, freg'ənt S

frequent freq'wənt B, freq'wənt S

friend frend O, frend D, B, S

front frɔnt B, frɔnt S

fruit fruət B, S

full fəul B, S

fusosome fəso'səm B, S

furniture fə'ni-tər B, fə'ni-tər S

future fəu'tər B, fəu'tər S
G

gallent adj. gel-int B, gel-vent S
gallent n. gellent- B, S

gallaces gelae B, S
gool (goal in O) dzebel O, B, S
gop gape B, S
gape gapep B, S
garden garddn D, garderdin B, S
gauge geedzh D, gaadab B, geedzh S
gentian dzen-shin B, dzen-shen B
George zhhardsh B, zhhardzh S

Gent Grant D

ghost gusut O, gosut B, S
gibbous dzhib-ces B, gib-ces S
gill dashel B, S
gils giz B, S
girl gerl B, gerl S
glude gibl B, O, S
glide glid B, O
glue gud B, S

gnat met D, B, S
gnaw nau B, D, B, S
gold guuld B, S
gone gan D, B, gan S
goop gweap O, goop B, gawip S
goose gudzh O, guudzh S

Gough Gof D
gourd guurd O, guurd B, guurd S
govern gav-erin B, gav-eran S
government gav-irmint B, gav-ermint S
grand grand B, grand S
grandeur greadndar B, green-dsher S
grange greenzh D, S
grant grant B, S
graz graz B, S
great griit O, greet B, S
great great B, great S

Grouper gro-per B, gro-per S
group groupup B, S

Gravel gravel-qi O, gravel-qi B, gravel qi S

Gwerden gwer-den O, gwarden S
guttural gut-iurul B, gut-iurel S
gymnastic gynmas-sik B, dzhimnas-sik S

H

H—mante in honour, honourable, herb, heir, honest, humble, D
habitual heebitiul B, habituel S
hafh heet B, heet S
half haaf O, haaf B, S
haliepeny heep-ee B, heepenii S
halleluyah haaliuluzhes B, haaleeluwan S
handkerchief hand-kurthsh B, haap- kurtshf S
handel hand-nil B, C
harlequin har-leekin B, har-leekin S
haat haest D, B, S
head hees-tn D, B, S

haunch (hanch in O), haanah O, B, heentah S
haunt haunt B, heunt haunt S
hauboy hoo-boi B, hoo-bai S
haarken haark-n O, haarkkn B, S
heart heart O, heart B, S
heaven hevn O, D
height heet O, B, hait S
heinous heen纳斯 B, hine纳斯 S
heir eer O, B, S

hemorrhoids em-croidz B, hem-ooroidz S

her her B, S
herb erb D, B, herb S
herbage er-bidz B, her-bidz S,
herbal er Bil B, her-beel S
here hiir O, B, S
heritable er-tzil B, her-tzil S
hero hirgo B, hir-go S
heroine hiroin B, hirooin S
heroism hiroizm B, her-ooizm S
heron hir on B, hern S
heterogenecal het-drogeniel O, het-dro- dzhin-iel B, het-drodzhin-iel S

high hai D, B, hai S
hoard (hord in O), hard O, hoord B, S
Holborn Hoo-born O, D
hold hould B, hoold S
honest on-ist B, an-ist S
honey honi B, honi S
honour onvir B, anor S
host host B, hoost B
hostler ost-lir B, astor S
hough hof D, hak S
housewife hawitf B, haw-wif S
household havel O, Havil B, havil S
hover haver O, haver B, havar S
huge huidsh B, huidah S
humble am-bl B, am bl B, om bl S
humor iumar B, S
huza nazee B, S
hyena haien B, hajiin-ne S

I

idiot id-vzt B, id-vzt S
impugn impaq B, impian S
inciting inizi B, inini S
indict inait B, inait S
indictment inaitment D
injure in-dzhar B, S
inspires inpaperz O, inpaperz B, in- spairz S
instead instid B, insted S
invalid adj. invald id B, S
invalid n. invallid B, S
inveigh invce O, invir B, invce S
inveigle inviigl B, invegl S
tron sivrn O, sirn B, sivrn S
is is B, S

Isaac izzak D
pronomi...acy of xviii cent.  Chap. x. § 3.

Isle orl B, all S
issue is in B, is'hu S
isthmus is'tmas B, is'mas S

J
James Dzhiimz O
jaunt dzhiwent B, dzhaent S
japan dzheepen' B, dzheepen' S
jeopardy dzheper'di O, dzhep-irdi B, dzheper'di S
jewel dzhuul' B, S
John Dzhoon J
join dzhoin O, dzhoin B, dzhan S
joint dzhoint O, dzhoint B, dzhan't S
jointure dzhoinet'ar B, dzhaain'ther S
jole, joll dzhoal B, dzhoal S
jolt dzhoalt B, dzhoolt S
jostle dzhas' B, S
juice dzhuus B, S
juncture dzhoaq'ar B, dzhaaq'ther S
June Dzhuun B, S
justle dzhoel' B, dzhas' S

K
kali kee'loi B, kee'li S
key kii O, B, S
kiin ki O, D, B, S
knave neer B, F, S
knoll nool naul O, naal S

L
lanch la'ansh O, la'ensh B, laentah S
language laq'widh B, laq'wedh' F, laq'gwidh S
lath leth B, laaeth S
landnam laa'dnam B, laa'nam S
laugh lief O, D, lieef B, lief S
laundry landry laen'dri B, laen'dri S
laurel laatl B, latl S
learning lee'en'q B, leen'q F, leen'q S
leeev levit B, levi S
lecture lek tar O, lek'tar B, lek'thar S
leeward li'ward B, li'ard S
leisure lee'zhar O, leez'ar B, lezh'ur F, liiz'har S
leopard lep'ard B, lep'ard B, lep'ard S
lessen (lessen in O) liisi' O, leisi' B, S
lessor (lessor in O) liisor O, lis'ar S
liken li'an B, S
lieutenant liuten'ent O, liuten'ent B, liuten'ent S
loath lath B, looth S
loathe looth B, S
loan loan' O, loan B, laain S
London Lon'en B
lost last B, last S
loath lof O, lak S
lustring liu'strieq B, liu'strieq S

M
machine ma'shiin' D, B, S
magazine maguza'in' O, B, S
malign meloin B, meloin' S
mailkin maal'kin B, maak'kin S
mail maax B, mel S
malemy mee'mas B, meem'ri S
manie mee'noak B, meen'ak S
mara meer O, meer B, S
marine mar'in' B, S
marschal mar'shal D, mar'shil B, mar'shal S
manger ma'ndzhar O, meend'zhar B, meend'zhar S
man tua men'ta B, men'tae S
many me'ni B, me ni S
marsheness meer'sh'lin S, meer'th'shin S
marriage mar'izh D, B, S
mash (mash in O) missh O, mesh B, S
mass maa S, B
meacock miik kok O, miik'kak S
medicine med'sin O, B, S
mediocrity mid'sok'riti B, meedzh'ka'ti S
memoir miimor' B, mee'mair mii'mwar S
mere mii' O, B, meer S
minature min'vester B, min'vther S
minister min'ster B, min'star S
minute adj. main't B, main't S
minute n. min'st B, min'st S
misery mi'zri B, mi'zar S
misprision mispriz'jon B, mispriz'han S
mistress mastris B, S
moil moil O, moil B, maal S
moiety moorti B, maa'viti S
Monday Mond'i B, Man'dee S
Monmouth Mon'moth D
monsieur mon'seur B
moor moor O, B, S
more moor O, moor, S
most muost O, mast B, moost B
mould mould B, mold S
moul mould B, moilt S
move may muuv O, muuv D, B, S
mou n. mou B, mau S
mushroom maesh'ruum B, maesh'ruum S

N
natural neet'uril B, natural F, neet'uril S
nature neet'ar O, neet'ar B, neet'thar S
nave nev'i B, neevi S
neighbor nee'bor O, B, S
neither nee'dher O, noi'dheir B, nei'dher S
new niu B, nuu F, nuu S
nuncio nen'sho B, nou'sho S
nuptial nop'eshal O, nop'shil B, nop'she
O
obli'dah· D, oblsidah· obli'dah· B
aidah· obli'dah· S
iblyk· B, oblik B
obain· O, B, abein· S
ak eke· xan B, akeke· xan S
D, B, AV S
A, AF S
O, oil B, aal S
wit· sient· ment O, oint· mint B, sient· ment S
wens B, wans S
wan D, wan B, wun F, wan S
wen· wail B, wair· aid S
w wens· B, wans· S
son B, S
n'li B, oom· li S
ard· edil B, aard· edel S
wzel B, urzel B, uorzel S
vir B, aair· ar S
vras B, oos· S

P
paam O, peaem B, paem S
paal· zii B, paal· zii S
ment paer· liment D, per· limint
maer· liment S
'pest B, F, S
pe'tient B, pet· ent S
pe'tentii· B, petentii· S
seem B, S
se per· fit D, per· fet B, per· fect F,
s'ect S
story pe· rem· tori B, per· mantori S
tion per· fek· shon D, B, per· fak· shon S
sly per· fikli B, per· fikli S
s pa· form· B, F, pa· form· S
ig per· iwig B, per· iwig S
per· dzhah B, S
se per· ver· B, per· ver· S
stem per· ver· B, per· ver· S
pest· B, pest· S
pit· sel B, pzt· sel S
pit· ward B, poe· teard S
s' fa· leqk S, s' leqk S
soh Feero D
ophy fil· sof B, fil· as· fi S
soh· flim D, flm B, S
a ton· floo· his· ton B, floo· his· ton S
so· tiz B, fil· a· s S
pe· jiz B, pije· z B
pik· tor B, pik· tar B, pik· shar S
vir B, S
piers O, per· piers B, per· S
n B, pin· S
ple· keerd B, ple· keerd S
lecht B, S
lii O, B, S
plau B, plau S
point O, point B, paaint S
poison poiz· an O, poiz· an B, paal· zin S
police pol· iis B, pol· iis S
doll pawl· Ol B, pool· B, S
pomegranate poom· gran· et· B, pomegran· et S
pommeel paam· el D, paam· el B, S
pomp pamp B, S
poniard poind· ierd B, pan· yerd S
poo· poor O, puur B, S
porch poort· ah B, S
porpoise po· poiz· por· pas B, paap· pas S
port puurt O, port B, poort S
post puust O, post B, poest B
posture post· iur B, pst· ahor S
short pad· hir B, pad· her S
poultry poal· tis O, poal· tis B, pool· tis S
pour pau· O
precise prais· B, priais· S
premier prem· ir B, prem· yiir S
presence prais· iins B, prais· ins S
priety pret· B, prit· S
process pracs· B, pracs· S
profile proof· fil· B, proof· fil· S
prologue prolog· O, B, pral· og S
prove prav· pau· O, prav· D, B, S
prove pro· O, proal S
prude pruad B, praud S
paalm saam· O, saem· B, S
pit· zan tizan· B, tizan· S
puding pud· din B, pud· din S
puisene pu· izn B, piuni· S
pumice piu· mes B, S
puir piur B, S
pursue pursiu· B, S
pursuivant pars· ivent B, pars· ivent S
push push· B, S
put pat B, put S
quadrangle kwed· req· gl B, kwed· req· gl S
quadrant kwed· rint B, kwe· rint S
quadrille kwed· rill D, kerd· ril S
quadruped kwed· riped B, S
quaff kwaf B, S
quality kwai· tis B, kwai· tis, kwai· tis
persons of high rank, S
qualm kwaam· O, kwam· B, kwam· S
quandary kwend· eeri B, kwande· eeri S
quantity kwain· tit B, kwain· titi S
quantity kwain· ton· B, S
quarrell kwair· ill B, kwair· ill S
quarry kwair· B, kwai· S
quart kwaart B, S
quarter kwaart B, kwart· B
quash kwaash B, kwash S
quarto kwim· to B, kwarent· to S
quattrin kwaat· tren B, kwat· trin S
quay kii O, kwee B, koe S
quesan kwin B, kween S
quesen kwin B, S
question kwest'ian B, kwees'tahan F, kwes'tahan S
quire kair B, kwair S
gwof koif B, kwawif S
gwot kait B, kwawit S
gwoth kwot B, koot S

R
ragout reeguu B, reeguu S
railery reel'eri B, rel'ari S
raisin reez'n O, ree'sin B, reez'n S
rant reas'B, rent S
rapier rese'piir B, rees'piir S
rapine reep'pin B, reep'in S
rapture rep'tiir B, rep'tahar S
ratio res'ho B, reesh'oo S
reason reez'an B, rii'zn S
receipt res'pekt: resiit B, riisit S, riisit S
recipe res'i B, res'ippee S
reign reen O, B, S
rein reen O, B, S
renard reen'ard B, ren'ard S
rendezvous ren'dyooz B, ran'deevoo S
verse riis'ar O, reer B
reserved riis'er'ad riis'er'ad B, riiz'er'd S
resin reez'zin B, S
resource ris'ours B, riis'uurs S
revert rivert B, rivert S
ribbon rib'bin B, rib'ben B, rib'in S
rigging rig'in B, rig'ig S
roquefort rak'foort B, rak'foo S
roll roll B, raul O, raul B, rool S
romance roonnans B, S
Rome Room Rom O, Roum B
romion ro'mjan B, ran'jan S
root roust O
rouge roudzh O, rouilh B, ruuzh S
rough rof O, D, B, S
ruel riul B, ruul S
ruse ruiz B
ruttle reutl B, S
ruth rath B, ruuth S

S
saffron sa'frin O, D, B, safran S
salmon sa'ammon O, saem'an D, B, S
salt saalt B, S
sale saav O, saevey B, savey S
sausage sau'sidh B, sus idzh S
scaling skal'd B, D, S
scarce skers O, skers B, skers S
scath sketh B, sketh S
shone shin O, B, S
sceptic skip'tik D, B, skip'tik S
schedule sed'juil B, sedzh'ool S
scheme skiem O, B, S
schism sizm D, B, S

scoff skof B, skaf S
scoold skould B, skoold S
scotch scoothsk tah B, skatuh S
scrivener skriv'ner O
scroll skrool skroul O, skroul B, skrool S
scourge skar'd B, scoor'dah B, skardah S
scrutineer skruutoor B, skruutoor S
sea si O, B, S
seamstress siim'stre B, sema'stre S
source sors B
seize siz O, B, S
sen'sous sen'sooes B, sen'shooes S
serene sir'in B, F
serving san'dzhint B, san'dzhent S
serving san'verint san'verint B, san'vent S
sever sirv'r B, sirv'ar S
shoe shin did sho O, sho does shin B, S
show shor B, siu'ar waiter, shor
watersourse, sauor one who sees S
shall shail B, shelt S
shaun (shalm in O), shaam O, B, S
shepherd she'ped B, she'ped S
sherd sheerd B, sher'd S
show shiu did sho O, sho does sho B, S
shire shiir B, O, B, shair S
shirt shart B, S
shoe shoo B, S
shorn shurum O, sharn B, shairn S
short shart B, shairt S
should shuud B, shud S
shoulder shauld'ar O, shaul'dar B, shool'dar S
shrew shrew O, shrew B, shruu S
sigh saith, better sol' B, bain S
sick sik B, sikh S
sign sa'n O, B, bain G
signor si'mnor D
signory sen'sory B, si'noori S
sin sin B, sin S
since sins B, S
sitrocco siar'ko B, sirak'oo S
sirrah saar O, sar' B, sar'me S
sirup sir'ap B, sar'ap S
sixth sitk' B, sikth S
skeleton (skelet'oon in D), skel'tan D, skel'tan B, skel'tan S
slander slaen'dar B, slen'dar S
slant slaut B, slant S
sleight slait B, slait S
slough slof B, sloe S
slowen slov'en B, sloev'n S
smouldering smoul'deirig B, smool'dereig S
sojourn sood'zharn B, S
sold soold B, soold S
soldier sa'd'r B, sa'dar S
soldier soold'ar B, soold'ar S
sonata soone'st B, soone'st S
soot sot B, D, B, S
sootiness soote'nis B, soote'nis S
sooty soot' B, suut' S
soul sool B, S
CHAP. X. § 3. PRONOUNCING VOCABULARY OF XVIII CENT. 1079

O

oblige obli‘dzh· D, oblsidh· obli‘dzh· B
oblsidh· obli‘dzh· S
obicque oblik· B, obblak S
obscure ob‘sin· O, B, abs‘in· S
occasion ak‘ee·jon A, ak‘ee·zhen S
of ov D, B, av S
off of C, af S
oil a‘il 0, oil B, a‘il S
ointment o·mint·ment O, o·mint·ment B, a·mint·ment S
once wens B, wans S
one on won·D, wan B, won P, wan S
one-eyed won·ai·d· B, wan‘a·id S
menus wen·nis B, wan‘nis S
onion on·ion B, S
only on‘i· B, oon‘i S
dread ard·vil B, aar‘dzel S
ouzel ou·zel 0, ou·zel B, uu·zel S
eyer o·yer B, a·yer S
eyes o·yes B, o·yes S

P

calm paam O, peeám B, peem S
calay paali‘zi B, pa‘ali·zi S
parliament peer·liment D, peer·liment B, peer·liment S
peculiar pe·st B, F, S
potent pe·tint B, pe·tant S
potentia pe·tenti‘i B, pe·tenti‘i S
poise pezeth B, S
perfect por‘fik D, per·fet B, per·fekt F, per·fikt S
peremptory perem·tori B, per·mentori S
perfection perfecdot‘hon D, per·fek‘hon S
perfectly per·fuli B, per·fulki S
perform per·form·B, F, per·faarm· S
perwig per·wig B, per·wig S
perjure per·dhar·B, S
perserve perser‘ver B, perser‘ver S
perserve pervert pervert B, pervert· S
pestle pest·B, pest·S
petal pet·el B, pet·el S
petard pit·erd B, peet·er·dard S
phalanx fae‘ek S, fee·leaqk S
Pharaoh Pe‘er·D
philosophy filos‘foi B, filas‘afi S
phlegm filim D, lem B, S
phlogiston floog‘iz·ton B, floog‘iz·ton S
phthisia tiz·iz S, fit·haz‘i S
piace piace‘e B, pie·ze‘e S
picture pi·kt·or O, pikt·zar B, pi·kt·zar· S
pier pier B, S
pierce pi‘er O, pers pi‘er B, pers S
pin pin B, pin S
place pleck·er·dz· B, pleck·er·dz· S
plaint pleet· S
plait plili O, B, S
plough plou B, plou S

point point O, point B, paaint S
poison po‘izn O, po‘izn B, pa‘aint S
police polis‘ B, poolis· S
pool pool O, pool B, S
pomgranate pomgran·et O, pomgran·et B, pamgran·et S
pommel pame‘l D, pam·il B, S
pomp pamp B, S
poniard po‘iard B, pan‘iard S
poor poor O, puur B, S
poreh poerh· B, S
porpoise por‘poiz por‘pois B, paarp‘pois S
port puurt O, port B, poort S
posture post‘iur B, paar‘shar S
pother pad·hur B, pad·hor S
poulter pei‘ts O, poul‘ts B, pool‘ts S
poultry po‘ltry O, poul‘tri B, pool‘tri S
pour puur O
precise priss‘iz B, prii‘ais· S
premier prem iir B, prem·iir S
presience priss‘iins B, priss‘hans S
pretty pret‘i B, prii· S
process pros‘es B, pras‘es S
profile proof·sial· B, prooff·sial· S
prologue prolog·O B, pral·og S
prove pruv·O O, pruv D, B, S
proul proul B, praul S
prude pruid B, pruad S
psalm psalm O, psesem B, S
pissan tis‘en B, tiz‘en· S
pudding pud‘in B, pud·i· S
puiane pi‘uz·n B, pi‘uni S
punise pi‘u·nis B, S
pure puer O, piur B, S
purely pur‘n‘i B, S
purnewant par·sivant B, par·sivant S
push push B, S
put pat B, put S

Q

quadrange kweedreq‘g‘l B, kweedreq‘g S
quadrant kweedrant B, kweedrant S
quadriple kweed‘ri B, kwaed·ri· S
quadrupe kweed·ripe B, S
quaff kwaf B, S
quality kwel‘iti B, kweel·iti, kwel‘iti
persons of high rank, S
qualm kwam·O O, kwam·B, kwam· S
quarry kwan‘deeri B, kwaend·er· S
quantity kwam·titi B, kwam·titi S
quantum kwam·tan B, S
quarrel kwar·il B, kwair· S
quarry kwair· B, kwair· S
quart kwart B, S
quarter kwart B, kwart S
quash kwash B, kwash S
quarto kwor· to B, kwomartoo S
quatre kwat·reen B, kwat·r·tin S
quay kii O, kwee B, kee S
quesan kwin B, kwean S
queson kwin B, S
question kwest'sjan B, kweest'dahan F,
kwase'tahan S
quire kair B, kwair S
quoif koir B, kwai'if S
quoi koit B, kwai'it S
quoth kweth B, kooth S

R
ragout reeguu' B, reeguu' S
raillery ree'lair B, re'er'ei S
raisin reez'en O, rezain B, ree'zan S
rant rezent B, reent S
rapier res'piir B, res'piir S
rapine res'pa'n B, res'pa'n S
rapture res'pa'liir B, res'pa'thar S
ratio res'h'a B, re's'how S
reason res'zon B, riiz'en S
receipt res'pekt' S, res'let' O, riisit' B, riisit' S
resipe res'ipi B, res'ipee S
reign reen O, B, S
rein reen O, B, S
renew ren'ziir B, ren'er' S
rendeous ren'divooz B, raun'deevon S
ree rair O, reer B
reserved res'ziir'id res'er'vid B, res'zer'd S
resin res'zin B, S
resource res'zoor' S, riisooor' S
revert rivert' B, rivert' B, rivert' S
ribband rib'bin D, rib'ben B, rib'bin S
rigging rig'gin B, rig'giq S
ruguleau rak'loo B, rak'loo S
roll tool roul O, raul B, tool S
romance roam'manz' B, S
Rome Ruum Ram O, Ruum B
ronion roon'ooan B, ron'jan S
root ruost O
rousc raudzh O, raudsh B, ruoosh S
rough raf O, D, B S
rule riul B, ruul S
ruce rieu B
ruital rael B, S
ruth rath B, ruuth S

S
saffron saf'sarn O, D, B, saaf'sran S
salmon sa'm'man O, sem'an D, B, S
salt salt B, S
salve saav O, seev B, selv S
sausage sau'sgo B, sau'vee D, S
sould skool'd B, D, B
scare skers O, skers B, skers S
schoth sketh, B, sketch S
scene sien O, B, S
sceptic skeept'ik D, B, skeet'ik S
schedule sek'ool B, sek'dhooal S
scheme shriem O, B, S
scarf skof B, skaf S
scold scould B, scold S
scoot skoot'ah skoot'ah B, skat'ah S
scourere skru'sernar O
scroll skrool skroul O, skroul B, skrool S
scourge skardzh O, skordah B, skardsh S
scourer skru'toer B, skru'toor' S
sea sii O, B, S
seawater sii'me stree B, sem'istree S
scarcce scrac B
seize siiz O, B, S
sensuous sens'sooz B, sen'shuas S
serene sirin' B, F
seargent serzd'hint B, serz'dhaen S
servant serv'viit serv'vin't B, serv'vent S
severe sivir' O, B, S
sew siud did swo O, soo does sew B, S
sewer shoot B, siu'er wait'er, shoot S
sewer shoot B, siu'er wait'er, shoot S
watercourse, soor or one who sees S
skate shal'lt B, shelt S
shallun (shalm in O), shaml B, O, B
shepherd shep'ird B, shep'erd S
sherd sheerd B, sheerd S
shoe shin did show O, shoe does show B, S
shire shir B, O, shair S
shirt shart B, S
shoe shoo B, S
shorn shuurn O, sharn B, shaarn S
short shart B, shaart S
should shuud B, shud S
shoulder shoul'dar O, should'er B,
shool'dar S
shrew shriu O, shriu B, shru S
sigh soith, better sai B, saim S
sick sik B, sikh S
sign sain D, B, sain B
signs sainnir D
signify sen'ziir B, sinnooor' S
sin sin B, sin S
since sins B, S
sirroco sirrok'oo B, sirak'oo S
sirrah sirra O, sarre B, saroore S
sirup sir'up B, sarup S
sixth skast B, skasth S
skeloton (skele'ton in D), skel'etan D,
skel'tan B, skel'ton S
slender skeem'andar B, skeem'dar S
slant slant B, slant S
slight slait B, slait S
slowg slof B, sloo B
sloven slovin B, sloewn S
smoulder smould'leen B, smool'dleen S
sojourn soo'dhiearn B, S
sold sould B, sould S
soldier sad'ar B, sad'er S
soldier sould'ar B, soo'dhiearn S
sonate sonee'te B, soneee'te S
soot sot B, D, B
sootiness sat'ee'nis B, sat'ee'nis S
soothy sot'i B, suu'ti S
soul soul B, S
PRONOUNCING VOCABULARY OF XVIII CENT.  CHAP. X. § 3.

tulip tuilip B, tehu-ulip S
tumid tiu’mid B, tehu’mid S
tumour tiu’mor B, tehuu’mor S
tumult tiu’malt B, tehuu’malt S
tune tuin B, tehuun S
tutor tiu’tor B, tehuu’tor S
tyrant tair’tant B, tair’rent S
twelfth month twel’month B, twel’month S
twelfepence twel’pins B, twel’pins S
twelvepenny twel’pins B, twel’pins S
twogence to’pins B, to’pins S
typify tair’ifi B, tip’ifi S
tyrannize tair’renaiiz B, tar’renaiiz S
tyrannous tair’renou B, tar’renou S
tyburn ty’burn B, tar’ren S

U
union iun jn B, S
unlearned an’leernd B, anlernd F, anlernd S
untrue an’tru B, S
uphold a’hold B, ahold S
usquebawsh oki’baa B, askweboe S
usual iu’sil B, iu’zil S
usurer iu’zor B, iu’zar B
usuious iu’zious B, iu’zious S
usuury iu’zari B, iu’zarri S

V
vacuous ve’cious B, ve’cious S
valet ve’l B, ve’l val’ S
Vaughan Va’nn D
vein veen O, B, S
venton ven’ton O, D, ven’ton S
verdict verd’ikt D, verd’it B, verd’ik S
verjuice ver’dzhuus B, ver’dzhuus S
vermicei’i ver’mici’i B, ver’mici’i S
vicious vi’shaas B, S
virtualler vi’l’ar D, vi’lar B, vi’lar S
victuals vi’t’lz D, B, S
village vi’lash B, vi’lash F, vi’lash S
villain vi in B, vi’en F, vi’en S
virile var‘il B, var’il S
virtuosity var’il’iti B
virtue vi’tiu B, vert’huu S
coscount vai’kaunt B, vai’kaunt S
voyage voor’idh B, vaai’idh S

W
wabble wab’l B, wab’l S
wad wad B, wad S
waf waf B, S
waffle waaf’tidh B, waaf’tidh S
wainscot wes’kot O, weens’kot B, weens’kot S
walk waak B, S
walkop waal’op B, waloop S
wallow Wel’oo B, Wal’oo S
walnut waal’nat B, S
wann wem B, S
wand wend B, wand S
wander waand’oer B, wand’ar S
want waa’t B, Want S
wanton waant’oer B, waant’ar S
war waar O, B, S
ward waa’rd O, B, S
warm waarm O, B, S
warn waarr O, B, S
warrant waarr’nt B, war’ent S
warren waarr’en O, waarr’en B, war’ren S
wash was B, waa’ B, waa S
wash waash B, wash S
wasp wasp B, wasp S
wash waast B, was S
waste wost D, B, S
watch wat’ha B, waa’th B, waat’ha S
water waa’tor O, D, waarr’it B, waast’or S
wattle waatl B, waatl S
weapon wi’pin O, B, wip’n S
wear waa’r O, B, S
Wednesday Weend’ee D, Wenz’di B, Wenz’dee S
weight weuk O, B, S
were wair O, war B, war S
where wheer O, B, S
whistle whil B, S
who huu B, S
whole whol B, F, hool S
whom hoom B, S
where hoo O, B, huur S
whose huuze B, S
why whi B, hwaai S
windpipe wind’pai B, wind’pai S
windlass wind’las B, wind’las S
windmill wind’mil B, wind’mil S
withhold with’hold B, with’hold S
wool woul B, S
wolf wuuf B, wulf S
woman wam’en O, wam’een B, wam’en S
womb woom D, wuum B, S
women wim’en B, S
won won B, waa’n S
wont won’t B, wunt S
wuu wuu B, S
word woor’d B, woor’d S
work woork wark O, wark it, S
world woorld woorld O, world B, S
worn woorm woorm O, woorm B, S
worry woor’i O, wor’i B, S
worship worship’ B, orship B, S
worst woorst worst O, woorst B, waa’t S
worsted woorsted woorsted O, woor’stid B, wus’tid S
worth woor’th B, S
worth woorth worth O, B, S
would wuud B, uul F, woud S
wound woun’d O, B, wou’nd S
CHAP. X. § 3. RHYMES OF THE XVIIIth CENTURY.

yeik selk B, stokk S
yeoman samyen O, samyen B, samyen S
yew s, sia S
yield sild B, S
yolk selk B, stokk S
yul sull B
zealot zii'lot O, zol'ot B, zul'ot S
zenith zin'ith B, zii'nith S

SELECT RHYMES OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

The following rhymes from poets of the xviii th century have been collected from Walker and Prof. Haldeman (supra p. 1035). The names and dates of the writers are:

Beattie 1735—1803  |  Falconer 1730—1769  |  Lyttelton 1709—1773
Broome 1689—1746  |  Fenton 1683—1730  |  E. Moore 1712—1757
Churchill 1731—1764  |  Gay 1688—1732  |  Pope 1688—1744
Cotton 1707—1788  |  Gifford 1767—1826  |  Smollett 1721—1771
Cowper 1717—1800  |  Goldsmith 1728—1774  |  Somerville 1692—1742
Crawall d. 1752  |  Gray 1716—1771  |  Tickell 1686—1740
Darwin 1731—1802  |  Hoole 1727—1803  |  Warton 1728—1790
Essex d. 1730  |  Johnson 1709—1781  |  Watts 1674—1748

It must not be forgotten that these writers were greatly influenced by the pronunciation of the xvirth century, in which some of them were born, and to which their parents all probably belonged, and hence they might be apt to consider those rhymes which would have been correct in their parents' mouths even more correct than others which they now permitted themselves. It was a century of transition for ea in especial, and probably also for a, the first travelling from (ee) to (ii), and the second from (sea) to (ee). “Glorious John” Dryden, who died at the beginning of the century, was looked upon as a model of versification until Pope gained the ascendant, but Pope was certainly materially influenced by Dryden’s usages. Bearing this in mind, we must expect the rhymes to present nearly the same character as those in the preceding century, and our examination of Tennyson and Moore (pp. 858-862) shows how potent the influence of the xviii th century writers still remains.

The arrangement is therefore the same as for Dryden, p. 1034, and the xvirth century, supra p. 1036. The numbers point out the same groups as in those cases.

1. Car war, Pope. regards rewards, Gay. far war, Darwin. afar war, Falconer. star war, Beattie. care war, Pope. square war, Darwin. are war, Cowper. safe laugh, Pope. glass place, Pope. mast plac'd, Pope. take track, Pope. past waste, Pope—would probably never have been used, had they not been an heritage from the preceding century. But Pope may have had an antique pronunciation.
2. As ai and a long had both become (ee), these rhymes need not be noticed.
3. Wear star, Pope. plain man, Pope. remain’d land, Pope. air star, Pope. far air, Johnson. appear regular, Pope. err singular, Pope—must also seek their justification in the usages of the xvirth century. The pronunciation of the preceding or succeeding century only renders the rhymes worse.
4. Waves receives, Pope; take speak, Pope; shade mead, Pope; race peace, E. Moore; were now perfect rhymes, and past feast, E. Moore, was apparently justified on the authority of the preceding, although it had long ceased to have its old meaning (sea, ce), and had
become (a, eo) or (a, ii). Obey tea, Pope; away sea, Pope; convey sea, Warton; fail’d reveal’d, Gay; display sea, Gay; airs, ears, Gray; sphere bear, Pope; sphere there, Pope; ear repair there, Pope; were all perfect, although the (ii) sound had begun to be acknowledged for (ea, e). But: there transfer, Fenton; here refer, Pope; were fear, Eusden; steer character, Pope; field held, Pope; were remnants of the xviiith century usage. Heath death, Pope; death heath, Beattie; dreat feast, Pope; break neck, Pope; yet complete, Cotton; decay’d fled, Lyttelton; were all rhymes of a long and short vowel (ee, e); and: feel mill, Pope; ship deep, Falconer; rhymes of long and short (ii, i), doing duty for (ii, i). Perhaps: receives gives, Pope; steals hills, Warton; were (ee, i) standing for (ee, e), and: stretch beech, Gray, was a confusion of the two last cases.

5. No instances of (a, i) have been collected; but they were no doubt sufficiently common.

6. With: high pillory, Somerville; fry jealousy, Pope; buy dispensary, Pope; sky company, Pope; we may class: eyes rise precipice, Pope; rise precipice, Pope; wise inconsistencies, Pope; delight wit, Pope; revive live, Pope. But: winds finds, Crossell, is justified by the still persistent “poetic” pronunciation of wind as (waɪnd). We of course find also: free liberty, Pope, and many such instances.

7. Joined mankind, Pope; refrain’d join’d, Tickell. join divine, Pope. join line, Pope, Churchill, Falconer. shine join, Beattie. thine join, Lyttelton. join thine, Gifford. soil smile, Falconer. guile toil, Smollett. smile toil, Johnson. smiles toils, Hook. These were in accordance with received pronunciation, but: vice destroys, Pope, seems to be a liberty. Weight height, Pope, Falconer, was regular as (weɪt, nekt).

8. Such rhymes as: none own, Pope, which was perfect, or else (oo, ou), seem to have led poets to use: known town, Gay; brow grow, Pope; brow woe, Crossell; wows woe, Pope; power store, Beattie; own town, Pope; adores pow’rs, Pope, although they were (oo, ou) at best. We have also (oo, o) treated as if it were a rhyme of a long and short vowel, in: sun upon none, Pope; lost boast, Pope; show’d trod, Pope; gross moss, Pope; coast tossed, Falconer; thought wrote, Browne. Also the old rhymes of (oo, uu) depending upon the still older (oo, oo) in: took spoke, Pope; boor door, Goldsmith; and even: assure door, Watts. The usual confusions, likewise an old tradition, occur in: blood wood, Pope; blood good, Pope; stood blood, Falconer, Pope; mood flood, Warton; wood blood, Gay; wood blood, Darwin; brood flood, Cotton. And to the same tradition is perhaps due the rhymes of come with (oo) or (uu): home come, Pope; doom come, Pope; dome come, Pope; come room, Pope; come tomb, Warton; bloom come, Gifford. The following rhymes were perfect: doom Rome, Pope; tomb Rome, Darwin; gone stone, Crossell; house yous, Pope. Perhaps: house sous, Churchill—where sous is the French (so)—was only meant to be absurd; still it may have been in use as a slang term at the time.

9. No instances of (eu, iu) or (iu, uu) have been noted, but the latter were not all uncommon.

10. Groves loves, Pope. grove love, Johnson. rove love, Smollett. grove above, Gay. throne begun, Pope. moves doves, Pope. prove love, Pope. fool dull, Pope. These seem to have held their ground from pure convenience, as did also: flung along, Pope; long tongue, Pope; songs tongues, Watts. Full rule, Pope, is only a short and a long vowel rhyme (u, uu).

11. The influence of (r) is apparent in: horse course, Pope; sort court, Pope; board lord, Pope; resort court, Pope; borne return, Pope; worn turn, Pope. But in: observe stave, Pope; desert heart, Pope; ermine charming, Gay; we have also a xviiith century tradition.

12. Nature creature, Gay; nature satire, Gay, Gray; fault thought, Pope; were perfect rhymes (nee ter kree ter secter, faat that). and perhaps in: call equivocal. Pope, the last word was pronounced with (ka) for the occasion, at any rate such rhymes were an ancient tradition, as they were common in Spenser. Even: still suitable, Pope, is half justifiable, as the -blos here is only a -bil obscured. But could: capital nice, Pope, have ever rhymed as (kripəs, naiz) or as (krepəs, mii)? Of course: eye grave, Warton, was a mere license, and: arms warns, Goldsmith, was perhaps meant for an assuance.
CHAPTER XI.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE PRONUNCIATION OF ENGLISH DURING THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

§ 1. Educated English Pronunciation.

On referring to Chapter I., pp. 18 and 19, the reader will see that in thus endeavouring to give an account of the Pronunciation of English at different periods, I have been throughout thoroughly aware that there was at no time any approach to a uniform pronunciation. On referring again to p. 408, it will be seen that my attempts were really limited to discovering the value of the letters employed, which I believed to be pretty uniform within the boundaries of England. This value of the letters seems to have been based on the ecclesiastical pronunciation of Latin, and considering that Latin letters were introduced by priests, and that priests were long the only scribes (shewn by our modern use of the word clerk), such a conclusion has some a priori probability. In Chap. VI. it will be seen that the actual diversity of pronunciation gradually overpowered orthography, which, after the successful phonetic effort of the xvith century in introducing the distinctions oe, ea and oo, oa, subsided into tradition and printing-office habits. In Scotland indeed an approach to systematic orthography developed itself at the conclusion of the xvth century, and this thenceforth distinctly separates the Scotch from the English orthography.¹

¹ Suprà p. 410, n. 3, and Mr. Murray’s Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland (1873, 8vo., pp. 251), p. 52, where he says that on “comparing the older extracts from the Brus, preserved by Wintown with the later MS. of 1489,” we find “ai ay, ei ey, yi, oi oy, ui, oui, for the old a, e, i, o, u, ou, Aes. d, ð, t, ð, w.” And he attributes this to “a defective pronunciation of the diphthongs ai, ei, oi, etc., whereby the second vowel was practically lost, and the combination treated as simple long ð, ð,” referring to a similar custom in Gaelic, and “even where the second vowel is audible, it is not with a distinct i sound as in Eng. ay, oil, . . . . . but rather an obscure vocal glide, like the ð in the words drawer, layer, weighed, sayth, seat, prayer, and so easily disappearing altogether. The same pronunciation appears to have been given in central and north-eastern Scotland to the Aes, and French diphthongs,” thus awâ-ðh for away, râ-en for rain, choes for choice, etc., “imperfect diphthongs” which “still characterise the Scotch dialects.” Then “ay, oi, ei, being looked upon merely as ways of expressing long a, e, i, they began to be extended to all words with long vowels, where there had been no original diphthong. . . . Hence the alternative forms mad made maid mayd mayde, tas tase tais tays, etc., found often in the same page of works belonging to the transition period.” No reader of this work should fail to study Mr. Murray’s, to which frequent reference must be made in the present chapter. The diphthongal theory here intimated will come again under consideration, when reviewing the dialectal relations of the vowels, in § 2, No. 6, iv. below; but as the other dialects were not literary after the fifteenth century, they did not influence orthography.
Orthoepists as a rule ignore all this. It would have been impossible to learn from Hart that \textit{ai} had any other sound in his day than (ee), and yet we know from other sources that (ee) was not even the commonest pronunciation of \textit{ai} at that time. The Expert Orthographist allowed only four words in \textit{ea} to have the sound of (ee). No doubt he considered such a sound in other words to shew ignorance or vulgarity; for the "polite" sounds of a past generation are the \textit{bêtes noires} of the present. Who at present, with any claims to "edication," would "jine" in praising the "pints of a picter"? But certainly there was a time when "edjuction, joyn, poyns, pichther," would have sounded equally strange.

Moreover in past times we are obliged to be content with a very rough approximation to the sounds uttered. When in the xviiith century I write (e), it is possible that speakers may have rather, or may have occasionally, said (e, e, u). My (o) in the xviith century may have been (o, o), my (a) in the xviiith may have been (e, o), and so on. But at the present day, with the language in the air around us, surely it must be easy to determine what is said? It is not at all easy. There is first required a power, not acquired without considerable training, of appreciating utterance different from one's own. It is indeed remarkable how unconscious the greater number of persons appear to be that any one in ordinary society pronounces differently from themselves. If there is something very uncommon, it may strike them that the speaker spoke "strangely" or "curiously," that "there was something odd about his pronunciation," but to point to the singularity, to determine in what respects the new sound differs from their own, baffles most people, even literary men, even provincial glossarists, who apply themselves to write down these strange sounds for others to imitate. At any rate there has been hitherto evinced a general helplessness, both of conception and expression, that shews how much special education is necessary before we can hope for real success in appreciating diversities of utterance.

But this overcome, the mere observation is beset with difficulties. The only safe method is to listen to the natural speaking of some one who does not know that he is observed.\footnote{This rule is laid down by Klostock, Ueber die deutsche Rechtschreibung, Fragmenten über Spracho und Dichtkunst, 1779, reprinted in his works, and the passage is so curious that I here transcribe it in the author's own orthography, employing italics for his underlined letters: "Ich habe, noch lange Herumhören, gefunden, dass \textit{e u s o n à u} (oder, wi man schreiben solte e ü, ä ü; himson her nach) \textit{L e u t e f o n l ä u t e n i c h u n t e r s c h i e d e n s e i. W ü r m i n d i s e m P u n k t e, oder in andern nachunterschen wil, muss nicht fragen: Wi man dis oder jenes ausprech? Sondern är mus zuhören, wi man es ausprech, wen man nichts davon weis, dass darauf echt gegaben wird." Klostock's \textit{Sämtliche Werke}, herausgegeben von A. L. Back und A. R. C. Spindler. \textit{Leipzig}, 1880, vol. 14, p. 151.} If possible the pronunciation should be immediately recorded in some phonetical system intelligible to the listener, as in palaeotype, and the name of the speaker and date should be annexed. This is most conveniently done during the delivery of sermons or lectures. The only objection
to this course is that a preacher or lecturer knows that his style of speech is liable to be criticized, and he may therefore indulge in rather a theoretical than a natural delivery. This is especially the case with professed orthoepists, whose pronunciation will necessarily labour under the suspicion of artificiality. And again this plan is of course only possible with educated speakers, who are mostly fanciful in their pronunciation. It is never safe to ask such people how they pronounce a given word. Not only are they immediately tempted to "correct" their usual pronunciation, to tell the questioner how they think the word ought to be pronounced, and perhaps to deny that they ever pronounced it otherwise;¹ but the fact of the removal of the word from its context, from its notional and phonetic relation to preceding and following sounds, alters the feeling of the speaker, so that he has as much difficulty in uttering the word naturally, as a witness has in signing his name, when solemnly told to sign in his usual handwriting. Both forget what is their usual habit, because they have long ceased to be conscious of the required efforts in speaking and writing, as in any other ordinary exertion of the muscles. I have myself found it extremely difficult to reproduce, for my own observation, the sounds I myself ordinarily utter; and yet I have undergone some training in this respect for many years. Uneducated persons, from whom we thus endeavour to elicit dialectal sounds, are simply puzzled, and seldom give anything on which reliance can be placed.

Observations on such sounds are extremely difficult to make. It is only persons of phonetic training who have lived long among the people, and spoken their language naturally, such as Mr. Murray for Scotch, that have had a chance of acquiring a correct conception of the sounds by hearing them unadulterated, and even then there is danger of their not having been able to throw off their former habits enough to thoroughly appreciate the received English sounds with which they would compare them.² When a stranger goes among the country people, they immediately begin to "speak fine,"

¹ A dear old friend of mine called me to task many years ago for saying (lek'-ta-ha), she had "never heard" (that's the usual phrase, and this lady, who was far from being pedantic, spoke with perfect sincerity, though in obvious error) "any educated person use such a pronunciation; she always said (lek'-ta-ur or herself). Of course, as we were talking of lectures, in the next sentence she forgot all about orthoepy, and went on calmly and unemotionally talking of (lek'-ta-ha) herself. This one out of many instances is recorded, because it made a great impression on me at the time.

² Hence one of the great difficulties of key-words. Each pronounces them according to his own habit, and thus frequently confounds sounds essentially distinct. This has been a source of great difficulty to myself when endeavouring to collect information respecting English dialects, and is one of the impediments in the way of using a uniform spelling, as glossary, for dialectal purposes. Collecting country words is looked upon as an amusement, not as laying a brick in the temple of science; and, curiously enough, an accurate appreciation of their sounds is one of the last things thought of, and one which few glossarists give themselves any trouble about. Yet it requires great care and much practice, and its neglect renders the glossaries themselves records of unknown words, as for the extinct Forth and Bargy dialect.
or in some way accommodate their pronunciation to his, in order to be intelligible, or grow shy and monosyllabic. An attempt to note their utterances would drive many to silence. It is seldom an investigator is so fortunate as Mr. Nicolas Wyer, whose Dorset experiences I shall have to record. I endeavoured on one occasion to learn something by accompanying a gentleman, resident near Totness in Devonshire, while he was speaking to his own workmen, and listening with all my ears to their replies, noting them from memory immediately on my return to the house. But this is obviously a fragmentary, although a comparatively safe, method, and consumes much time. The usual and quickest, but not the safest plan, is to catch a person of education, as a clergyman or surgeon, who has had free intercourse with natives, or else a native born, and collect the sounds from his lips. In the first case, however, they are diluted by false impressions, as when one learns French pronunciation from a German. In the second they are apt to be faded memories, much spoiled by exposure to the light of received pronunciations. It is for these reasons perhaps that we seldom find every word in a dialectal specimen written phonetically. Many of the little words, which failed to attract attention, are passed over, and of those written phonetically only the most striking parts are indicated, and the writer seeks to deviate (like Mr. Barnes in his second series of Dorset poems) as little as possible from the usual orthography. This is all very well for one who knows the dialect already. For an outsider it is merely tantalising or misleading.

But, even with phonetic training, and willing and competent teachers, it is difficult to hear the sounds really uttered, if only a short time is at command. We know, by the frequent mishearing of names, or of unexpected words, although every sound in them is perfectly familiar, how extremely troublesome it is to catch new combinations of old sounds. When both sounds and combinations are strange, as in a dialect or foreign language, this difficulty is materially increased. The sounds of language are very fleeting. Each element occupies a very minito part of a second. Many elements are much hurried over, and all are altered by combination expression, pitch, intonation, emotion, age, sex, national formation. We hear as much by general effect, rather than by the study of individual elements, as we often read a manuscript rather by the look of words than by the forms of their letters. Hence if the language is unknown, both spoken and written words become unintelligible. The ear must have lived among the sounds, to know them instantaneously at the most hurried encounter, to be able to fact, "three-fourths to nine-tenths o the words are old friends" to the ey of an Englishman; but if he gets the Scotchman to read, "not more than three words in a hundred would be the same as the English words which they are identified in spelling." Numerous corroborations will occur hereafter.
eliminate individualities and know generalities. One of the great
dangers that we run in attempting to give a strange pronunciation,
is to confuse the particular habit of the individual with the general
habit of the district which he represents. Every speaker has in-
dividualities, and it is only by an intimate acquaintance with the
habits of many speakers that we can discover what were indi-
vidualities in our first instructor. Not only has age and sex much
influence, but the very feeling of the moment sways the speaker.
We want to find not so much what he does say, as what it is his
intention to say, and that of course implies long familiarity, to be
gained only by observation. (See especially the previous remarks
on pp. 626–629.)

The difficulties of determining the exact generic pronunciation of
any language or dialect at any time, the knowledge indeed that
from individual to individual there are great specific varieties, by
comparing which alone can the generic character be properly
evolved, must make us content with a rather indefinite degree of
approximation. It is not too much to say that most phonetic
writing is a rude symbolisation of sound. It answers its end if it
suffices to distinguish dialects, and to enable the reader to pronounce
in such a way that the instructed listener shall be able to determine
the dialect which the speaker means to imitate. Hence, really, only
broad generic differences can be symbolised by an outsider. But
the speakers themselves feel, rather than accurately understand, the
errors committed in this imitation, are aware of differences, although
they can seldom name them, which distinguish sub-dialects, villages,
cliqués, individuals. And these differences are as philologically
important, as, geographically, the streamlets which, trickling down
the mountain-side, subsequently develope into rivers. It is only by
a strict investigation of the nature of fine distinctions that we can
account for the existence of broad distinctions. Hence phonologists
occasionally endeavour to symbolise even the smallest. Their
success hitherto has not been too great. But they have at any rate
produced weapons which few can wield. Hereafter, perhaps, when
phonetic training is part of school education,—as it should be, and
as it must be, if we wish to develope linguists or public speakers, or
even decent private readers,—cars will be sharpened, and distinc-
tions about which we now hesitate will become clear. Then we
may learn to separate the compound speech-sounds heard into their
constituents, as surely as the conductor of a band can detect the
work of each instrument in a crashing chord. In the mean time we
must do something, however little, vague, and unsatisfactory it may
appear, or the foundations of our science will never be laid.

My object in the present section is to examine, so far as I can in
a small compass, the pronunciation at present used by educated
English speakers, without attempting to decide what is "correct."
That I have not even a notion of how to determine a standard
pronunciation, I have already shewn at length (pp. 624–630). But
such a determination is really of no interest to the present inquiry.
We merely wish to know what are the sounds which educated
English men and women really use when they speak their native language. Considering that Mr. Melville Bell has noted sounds with greater accuracy than any previous writer, I shall take first the 26 words in which he condenses "the English Alphabet of Visible Speech, expressed in the Names of Numbers and Objects," and carefully examine them, not for the purpose of determining the values of the letters (supra pp. 567–580), or the expression of the sounds (supra pp. 593–606), although the tables of these already given should be constantly consulted, but of determining, so far as possible, the actual sounds used in speaking English, and the method of putting those sounds together. Properly speaking these lists should also be supplemented by another, containing those words which are variously pronounced, but to give this at full would be almost to write a pronouncing dictionary. I shall, however, furnish a few lists of varieties which I have actually heard and noted, and some passages carefully palaeotype'd after Mr. M. Bell, Prof. Haldeman, Mr. Sweet and myself. After this consideration of educated, or artificial, literary speech, I will in the next section take up that of uneducated or natural or organic local speech, known as English dialectal pronunciation. Although my notes on this part of my subject may appear almost too full, yet they are really both imperfect and brief, considering that dialectal speech is of the utmost importance to a proper conception of the historical development of English pronunciation, just as an examination of the existing remains of those zoologic genera which descend from one geological period to another, serves to shew the real development of life on our globe.

The object of the following examination is to determine as precisely as possible the phonetic elements of received English pronunciation (23, b), and I shall for brevity constantly refer to the preceding pages where they have been already incidentally noted and explained, and shall adopt the style of reference employed in the indices. A number followed by the letters a, b, c, d, signifies the first, second, third, or fourth quarter of the corresponding page; the addition of ab, ba; bc, cb; cd, dc, indicating lines near the divisions of those quarters. If the letter is accented, the second column is referred to. Thus (23, b) means, page 23, second quarter, and (51, d') page 51, fourth quarter, second column.

**An Examination of Mr. Melville Bell's Twenty-six Key-words to English Speech-sounds, and of the Relations of those Sounds.**

**Summary of Contents.**

1. **One.** (w w3 u4), relations of (w bb), Prof. March's (w), Welsh w, Latin v. (v n), Welsh y, Dutch u, French eu, German ö, (n), English and continental (t t, d d, n), Sanscrit cerebrals or coronals, and dentals. (d d, n, nnh). Synthesis (wau).

2. **Two.** (t t, uu, u u u u aw). Synthesis (u uu, t uu, tfuu, tduu, tduu).

3. **Three.** (th, th th, thh). Trilled and untrilled r (r, r, r, r, r), (i i i i i i i i i i i i i i i i i i i).

4. **Four.** (t th ph). Diphthongs with (i, i, i, e e e e e e e e e e e e e e e e e e), (i uu e e e e e e e e e e).

5. **Five.** Diphthongs of (oi) class. (o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o).

6. **Six.** Diphthongs of (oi) class. (o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o
The (oi) series (ai, éi, úi, ói óí oí). (vi, f) relations to (uh, ph), German and Dutch uh, as f, (v), Hungarian u, f. Sanscrit e. Synthesis (oi, v, f). English final (of, -za, -dthth, -shah), German initial (z). Synthesis (sakas).

6. Sir. (sh, sh, t, st, s) Spanish x, x, Basque z, (z) Dutch z, (k k). Synthesis (sakas).

7. Sém. (s e e e, o o e, e e e e) Spanish x, n, n, 'l m 'n z). Synthesis (søyñ).

8. Éight. (e e e e, e ée ée éee e) Dutch e e; when (e) tends to (e). Final mutes (t ters t' t' tç.). Glides (a, e, s, e, t, n, l). Synthesis (o e, j, e, t, e, s).

9. Book. (p b, t d, k g, p ii b ii, pii bii bii mii bii, b b b b). Dutch rule for p b (w n). (k g) labialised (kg wu, tw aw, kuch guch), palatalised (kj g, tj dj), and labio-palatalised (ñ g j, jü jü). Synthesis (jö jö jö jö jö).

10. Watch. (a a, c a a). Diphthong (a) and German Diphthongs. (sh, sh, sh, dzh, sh, s). Mr. Goodwin's (kj, gj). Sanscrit e ch, j jh, ç sh, Italian ce, ge, Polish cz. Synthesis (w c t s)


13. Tongues. (q g, a, a ag, ag, aag og g goog tqq gq q g gq g q g gq g). French nasals. Synthesis (t < o > g q-s).

14. Whip. (wh). Mr. M. Bell's "rudimental symbols," surpà p. 15, 9a, 5a, 9b, 9h, 9e, 9l and 9m, 9e + 9m, 10f and 5l, 10e and 10d; material of speech ('th t'h t'h h'h), Vowels, Glottids, (i : a i a i g l n . . ., n n h h h h). Glides slurs breaks ( < <). Sanscrit aspiration, ùshman, soshman, anùshman, jìh, vîmûliya, upapùmûniya, spiritus as-per, spiritus lenis, visarjantya. Japanese syllabary. English aspirate. Sanscrit at. English hisses and buzzes. Generated (b rh mb nh), conversion of Sanscrit m, n into visarjantya, (1-lb-t, 1-l-d-t, sinhha sinh), German initial s (as-). English final z (-sz). Anglo-saxon hw hr hl hm hm. English where = (wh, phw, whw), opinions of Professors Haldeman, March, Whitney. No (fr thh shh shz-) in English, so that (whw) would be anomalous. "Parasitic utterances." Varieties of wheat (uui, uuih, uuih, uuih, whii, whii, whii, whii, whii, whii, whii, whii, whii, whii, fitt). Usage variable (p), length of final consonants, Mr. Sweet's rule. Synthesis (wh < i > p < h).

15. Lamp. (l l h nh nh). Confusion of (d, l, r), Egyptian, Chinese, Japanese (h?), Sanscrit erti, erti, and ri ri. (e e, sh a). Dutch s, Hungarian s, Danish e (a). Variable English in as sh as sh as sh as sh as sh as sh as sh as sh as sh.

16. Onions. (j zh, gjh kjh, gjm kjh), Brücke's, Merkel's, and Lepesi's theories. Relation of (w) to diphthongs. Analysis (o > n-nj j < u > n-s). (n, n, n, n).


18. Cart. (k kj, a a). Synthesis (k < a > t).

19. Tent. (ntuht). Synthesis (t < e > n-t)'


21. Dog. (d, g, g). Synthesis.

22. Monkey. (m, e, q q h, k, i). Synthesis (m < o > q-k < i).


R
ragout reeguu’ B, reeguu’ S
railaery ree’ lir B, reel’ri S
rainin reez’n O, reez’in B, reez’n S
rant rient O, rient S
rapier ree’ piir B, ree’piir S
rapine ree’pin B, rep’n S
rapure rep’tiir B, rep’tahar S
ratio rash’o B, ree’ sho S
reason ree’ zan B, rii’z S
receipt reesect’ reesit’ O, rii’set’ B, rii’sit’ S
recipe res’ipi B, res’ipee S
reign reen O, B, S
rein reen O, B, S
remerd reemerd’ B, reem’e’d S
rendeous ren’divuz B, ran’dee vu S
ree’ riir O, reer B
reserved riserv’ed riserv’id B, riizerv’d S
resin reez’n B, S
resource risuur’ B, risuurs’ S
resert rivert’ rivert’ B, rivert’ S
ribband ribbin D, ribban B, ribbin S
rigging rig’in B, rig’iir S
roguelour rak’ooloo B, rak’ooloo S
roll rool raul O, rawl B, rool S
romance roomene’ B, S
Rome Ruum Ram O, Ruum B
ronson ran’zan B, ran’zan S
root ruust O
rouge raudth O, roodth B, ruuzh S
rough rof O, D, B, S
rule riul B, ruul S
rusc riuiz B
rustle ruel B, S
ruuth rath B, ruuth S

S
saffron saf’ran O, D, B, saf’ran S
salmon sa’am’oon O, sam’oon D, B, S
salt skaalt B, S
salve saav’ O, seevy B, salvy S
sausage saw’izdah B, sus izd S
sould skaald D, B, S
sorce skers O, skeers B, skers S
scath sketh B, sketh S
scene siin O, B, S
sceptic skeptik D, B, skeptik S
schedule sed’iul B, sedzhruul S
schema skiiim O, B, S
schem sixm D, B, S
scoff skof B, skaf S
scoold skoold B, skoold S
scotch skooth skoth B, skoth S
serialer skrijv’er O
scroll skrool skrol O, skrol B, skrol S
source skardzh O, skooradh B, skordah S
scrutinar skriutoor B, skin-toor’ S
sea sii O, B, S
seamstress siim’stri S, sem’stri S
sence sense B
seize siiiz O, B, S
senentious sen’seuse B, sen’shues S
serene sirin’ B, E
sergeant sair’dzhant B, saar’dzhant B
servant serv’tant serv’ant B, serv’tant S
severe sivir’ O, B, S
sew siiw did sow O, siiw does siiw B, S
sewer shoor B, si’wer water, shut
watercourse, soor’ oor’ one who sews S
shall shal’t S, shelt S
sham (shalm in O), shaam O, B, S
shepherd she’p’erd B, she’p’erd S
sherd sheerd B, sherd S
shew shiiu did show O, shoo does show B, S
shire shir O, B, shair S
shirt shart B, S
shoe shoeu B, S
shorn shuurn O, sharn B, shaarn S
short shart B, shaart S
shout shoo B, shud S
should shoo’d B, shuld S
shower shoo’dar O, should’ir B, show’iir S
shrew shruiu O, shriu B, shruu S
sigh sooth, better sol B, sain S
sick sik B, sik S
sign sain D, B, sain B
simior siim’iir D
sigious sour’iir B, sin’iort S
sin sib B, sin S
since sins B, S
sirracco sir’rakao B, sir’koo S
sirrah saar’ae O, saar’ B, sare S
sirnap sirnap B, sarap S
sixth sikst B, sikst S
skeleton (skeletoun in D), skel’ton D,
skel’ton B, skel’ton S
slander sleun’der B, spleen’der S
slant sleen’t B, slant S
sleight slait B, slait S
sloath slof B, slau S
slowen slow’in B, slow’n S
smouldering smaul’dirin’ B, smool’dar’i B
sojourn soordzhourn B, S
soulould B, soul S
sold sold B, sold S
soldier saul’dir B, saul’dar S
soldier sold’jir B, sail’dhar S
sonata san’oot’e S, soone’t S
soot sat D, B, S
sosteness soti’r’inn B, soti’inn S
sooty sot’i B, sur’ti S
soul sool B, S
1. (w)—continued.

by the busking breath. The difference here seems to be in the form of the lips at their nearest approach, the English being nearly oo, and the German nearer ö. To me the English w, as I make it, is one of the easiest of letters, and the German one of the hardest to make after oo, as in the German attempts at English oo'" [9].

On these careful observations I would remark, [1] that the fact of the Welshman having constantly heard English (w) rather disqualifies him for a test. See also [5] at end.

[2] The direction given to a German to begin with (u) and go on to a gentle (bb), that is to call see (u, bb)—for, see (419, e)—is merely a contrivance to make him raise the back of his tongue properly, (u = bb), or the simultaneous utterance of these two sounds being almost exactly (w), compare (762, d). Compare also Lediard (1047, e). The old Greek οὐδέ for Latin v consonant ought to point out the same thing. But here doubts arise into which I cannot now enter. That this German should be heard by American students to say (w) rather than (v) upsets the (v) theory of Brücke by a crucial test.

[3] This direction is the reverse of the former, and makes (bb) = (w—u), or (w) with the tongue depressed, a good short-hand rule, though I find "(v) without touching the teeth" easier, and it is also more correct.

[4] Any one who reads Salesbury on I consonant (764, c), will see that such an opinion is untenable.

[5] My theory was that Latin V, I, when before a vowel were (u, i), forming a diphthong with a following vowel on which lay the force, as (u, ié, be; íe, ië), etc.—for this notation see (419, c)—or consonants as I called them, as long as VV, II, did not occur in writing, but that the introduction of these in place of VO, and simple I, shewed the development of a consonant form (in the modern sense), and I took those later consonants to be (bh, s), rather than (w, s), in consequence of the large field of (bb) in comparison to (w). Prof. March’s doubt as to whether his own w is not my diphthongising oo, precisely the natural Welsh sound as I conceive, renders his identification of the Welshman’s pronunciation with his own, no proof that the Welshman really said (w).

[6] This direction should give (wy), or (dy). I hear the French sound as (di), without any intermediate (y), and with the force on (u), shown by the frequent form (â di) or (â di) with a sharp whispered or voiceless (i). Henceforth I use (’u) for whispered (u), see (10, d), the vocal chords nearly touching each other, and (’u) for voiceless (u), the vocal chords as wide apart as for ordinary breathing, and so on for other vowels. All these distinctions will be fully considered below No. 14, (wh).

[7] This should give (u—wj—i), where (w) means (w), with the tongue as for (i), instead of as for (u). I believe, however, that it is meant for (uw), where (w) is so gradually formed from (u) by constriction, that two syllables are not felt. There would be the slightest possible difference between (uw) and (u), but I have not yet observed or noted either of these sounds among Englishmen or Americans,—by no means a proof of their non-occurrence.

[8] If a clear (u) could be heard through the (w) position, (w) would be (u); to me this is not possible; (w) is a buzz, more like (s), which has a central passage, than (v), which has a divided passage, but still distinctly a buzz, from want of a proper resonance chamber, the aperture being constricted. In both (w, bb) I feel the lips vibrate much more strongly than for (u).

[9] As a gradual constriction, (uw) is easy enough, but it has no syllabic effect, that is, no distinctly appreciable glide, like (bbh). The opening (wu) is more syllabic, but (bhu) is still more so, owing to the greater change; (yw, wy) are more difficult to me than (ybh, byh). But (šw, šw, šw) are syllabic, with ‘stopped’ vowels, and hence quite distinct from (šu, šu, šu), and not very difficult to my organs. Still even here (rbh, ebh, abh) are easier to me. Of course (iv, ev, ev), which are frightfully difficult to a German, are perfectly easy, as in to live, heavy, have.

In a review by Mr. D. R. Goodwin on Dr. R. G. Latham’s English Language (North American Review, No. 154, Jan. 1852), which I shall have again occasion to cite, I find the following (p. 8), which gives another American observation on (s, w) comparable to Prof. March’s, and which I cite as the
only remark of a similar character which I have found: "The semi-vowels (lène) may be described as a sort of fulcrum or pivot of articulation, in passing from the English e (or i) short to any closely subjoined vowel-sound, in the case of y; and from s or oo to any such vowel-sound in the case of w. Thus in yarn, wait, we may give first the full sounds ee'-tern, oo'-it, where, between the initial vowel-sound ee, oo, and the following vowel-sounds, the organs pass through a certain momentary but definite position, which gives the character of a consonant-sound, and which we have denominated a fulcrum or pivot. If now the vowel part, the ee- or oo-sound be reduced to a minimum, and be begun immediately, upon this pivot or fulcrum, and pronounced yard, wait, we shall have the y and w representing sounds of a proper consonant character.

By the expression "semi-vowels (lène)," and by afterwards saying that they have only a "momentary" position, Mr. Goodwin excludes the constant characteristics (x, w), and hence we must suppose certain mutes and sonants, that is, explodents of the same character as (g, b) in the position of (j, u), with the aperture quite closed. Now the first of these explodents answer almost precisely to (kj, gj), introduced in No. 10, (sh), and slightly different from (kj, gj), as will be there explained at length. These sounds, however, are difficult to keep from (t, sh, d, sh), as will there be shown, and it is notorious that (x) after (t, d) or (k, g) generates such sounds. The lip-explodent, however, cannot be clearly kept from (b) itself. Mr. Goodwin surely did not mean (gj, b) to be his "lènesemi-vowels."

A less degree of contact must be assumed, and writing (gj, b), for these theoretical sounds, according to the principle explained in No. 7, (s, x), Mr. Goodwin’s explanation seems to give y, w = (igj), (ubr).

English (w) is to me a buzz, with small central lip aperture, back of tongue raised, and with the muscles of the lips not held so tightly as for (bh), so that the expelled voice can easily inflate both upper and lower lip beyond the teeth, which are kept well apart and do not at all stop the passage of the breath. The well-known confusion of w, v, perhaps arises from (bh), but

1. (w)—continued.

is esteemed odiously vulgar (186, ò), and will be considered hereafter.

(x, ò). The habits of English speakers vary with respect to (x, ò), and no one would be remar ked for pronouncing either in a syllable under accent or force. But to my ear, (x) has often a thick, deep effect, naturally unpleasant to one accustomed to (ò), which, probably, to the other speakers is fully as unpleasantly thin and high. The position of the tongue for (ò) is much higher, and its form flatter, than for (x), in which the tongue lies in precisely the same position as for (ò, o, o), as roughly shewn in the diagram (14, ò). The (ò) position of the tongue is the most neutral and colourless of all, but, leaving a much narrower channel than for (x, a, ò, ò), produces a finer and more delicate sound. I usually assume the sound heard to be (ò), unless the effect of (x) is very marked. There seems to be no significance attached to the distinction (ò, x). These vowels in syllables under force are, among European nations, said to be exclusively English, Scotch, and Welsh. According to Dutch writers (Donders and Land), who are both acquainted with English), the English is different from the Dutch short us, which is (òò) or (ò), as is French eu and German ò, and not (x), as wrongly stated (236, òò). The English sound is not labialised at all, although it has sprung from a labial (u, ò), and there is great confusion in the way in which (w, ò) are used at the present day (175, ò). The intermediate sound between (ò) and (ò) or (ò) seems to be (òò) or (ò), pronounced with lips as open as for (ò), a sound which to unaccustomed ears hovers between (ò, o, ò, a), but is said to be prevalent in the north of England. The Welsh (y) is sometimes (x), but this sound is not universal in Wales, p. 763. The sound (òò) is heard only in such phrases as "as a good un, little un"; of course it is not an abbreviation of (won), but an independent, and older formation, unaffected by a prefixed (òò). Being unemphatic, Mr. Bell would also consider it as (òò) or (òò), instead of his emphatic (xò). The sound of such unemphatic syllables will be considered hereafter.
1. (n).

The tip of the tongue for received English (t, d, l, n) is not so advanced towards the teeth or gums, as for the continental sound. In my own pronunciation (n) is not even gingival, that is, the tip of the tongue does not even reach the upper gums. Mr. J. G. Thompson, of the Madras Civil Service, in his lithographed pamphlet, "An unpointed Phonetic Alphabet based upon Lepsius' Standard Alphabet, but easier to read and write and less likely to be mistaken, cheaper to cast, compose, correct and distribute, and less liable to accident" (Mangalore, 1869, pp. 64), distinguishes four classes of t, d, l, n. 1) Linguat, which, from his diagram, are apparently palaeotype (tj, dj, lj, nj), to which I shall have to return in Nos. 10 and 16 below. 2) Palatal, which by the diagram are are (r, dr, l, n), and which I believe correspond more correctly to the English sounds as I pronounce them, the tip of the tongue being laid against "the very crown of the palatal arch" except that I touch the palate with the upper and not the under part of the tip, so that the tongue is not at all inverted. The inversion of the tongue, as shown in the diagram, seems to be due merely to roughness of drawing. "The palatal t," says Mr. Thompson, p. 31, "is pronounced by pressing the tip of the tongue vertically against the crown of the palatal arch so as to close every passage for the breath," which however is not possible unless the sides of the tongue also press against the palate and side molars, "and then withdrawing it with considerable force, while the breath is forcibly expelled." These are the so-called "cerebrals," and the (r, d) are the four-dotted Indian ற, ட.

3) Gingival, in which the tip of the tongue touches the gums, and which he recognizes as the English t, d. 4) Dental, where the tip of the tongue is put against the teeth, is the continental t, and the Indian two-dotted t. The gingival sounds of t and d," says Mr. Thompson on p. 23, "seem to be peculiar to English. Lepsius quotes the t in town as an example of the dental t: and this is a common mistake of foreigners, and one of the greatest obstacles in the way of their acquiring the pronunciation of English.

Singularly enough the same mistake has been made by Wilson in his Sanskrit Grammar. But Forbes has perceived the truth. On such a point, however, the evidence of the natives of India is worth more than that of any Englishman, and in almost every word they represent our t and d by the palatal [cerebral] letters of their alphabets. Thus in a Telugu advertisement in the Fort St. George Gazette, the words Devonshire Julia Edward Act commander appear as (dīvanshisor dīhullinonworda sakru komaawerdur).

In advertisements from the same paper from another office, the words government and private secretary appear in Telugu as (govarmmdn, praveer sekkireer), and in Tamil as (gowarnmdn, puaiiverru sekkireer). That the English t is not a dental letter anybody may convince himself by pronouncing a continental or Indian word in which a dental t occurs, and immediately giving the same sound to the t in town letter boat." But we have not to go abroad for this purpose. The dental t before r is very common in our own northern dialects.

In my palaeotype I erroneously used (t, .d, .l, .n) for dentals, as giving greater force, and thickness to the vowels. I have however employed (tt, dt, lt, nt) occasionally. This inconvenient notation, involving the mutilation of a type, I propose to replace by (t, .d, .l, .n), where the turned grave (') preceding a letter shows it has to be taken more forward. We have then (tj, r, t, t) for this series, and there is also the Arabic (t), which is difficult to define, but which Thompson classes as a lingual (ij), together with thick Gaelic t, of which I know nothing. This is from an English point of view. A foreigner would consider our (t, d) as retracted. The English (t, .d, .l, .n) are peculiarly light, and do not thicken the sound of the following or preceding vowel at all. I doubt whether this thickening effect (ð4, a) is really due to the peculiar position of the tongue and the glide thus formed. I am inclined to think that it must be accompanied by a peculiar action of the throat. Thus practically I find myself able to produce almost similar effects with the English retracted (t), by the muscular actions involuntarily resulting.
from a proper mental intention when gliding on to the vowel.

As this page was passing through the press (12th August, 1873), Mr. K. G. Gupta, a native of Bengal, well acquainted with Sanskrit after the Benares school, had the kindness to give me oral exemplification of the Indian sounds. Mr. Murray was also fortunately present. I shall have occasion to recur to the information I then received as to the modern Indian pronunciation of Sanscrit, which, though probably considerably different from the ancient, is certainly its true descendant. Mr. Gupta, who has resided a considerable time in England and speaks English perfectly, had just returned from Paris. He distinctly recognized his own mindhanya or cerebral ꞌd, ꞌ entrepreneurs true English sounds, and his own dental, or as he considers them “soft,” ꞌt, ꞌd, as the true French sounds. To some Indians, then, the distinction, Indian ꞌn) and English ꞌd), is inappreciable. If palaeotype were introduced in a foreign book, certainly ꞌ n) would be used for the English and Indian cerebrais, and ꞌ(d) for the dentals. But it is strictly necessary in a work intended for English people to make the distinction between the usual English ꞌd) and foreign dental ꞌd) clear to the eye. Foreigners will observe that for ꞌd) the tip of the tongue touches the crown of the palate, and hence these letters will be called coronal, and for ꞌd) the tongue is brought absolutely against the teeth, and hence they are dental. In all the foreign words hitherto introduced, in which ꞌd) have been written, ꞌd) must be understood. The use of ꞌd) was an anglicism which will be avoided hereafter, except as an abbreviation, after due explanation. The ordinary speaker of received English is altogether ignorant of the sounds ꞌd), and when he hears them confuses them with his own ꞌd). Many Englishmen who have resided for years in India never learn to appreciate the difference. Yet in a Calcutta newspaper, (The Englishman, 10th May, 1873, p. 4, col. 2, in an article quoted from the Friend of India, of 8th May,) we read: “If any one says the English cerebrais are like enough to the Indian dentals, to repre-

sent them, let him remember the words Magistrate and Superintendent written in Bengali. Moreover a man who confuses dentals and cerebrais in Bengali, says stick when he means koth, easy when he means unseen, and is unable to distinguish a lease from a leaf, a canun from a hat, fair from market-price, and pea-cock from the branch of a tree.” And the only English dentals which Mr. Gupta admits are ꞌth, ꞌdh), for which the tip of the tongue is in the same position as it is for his ꞌ(d), the sole difference consisting in the tightness of closure, formed by the sides of the tongue. The description of ꞌn) on pp. 4 and 9 as ꞌt, ꞌd,) or ꞌ(d) with an inverted tongue,” is incorrect for Sanscrit ꞌn) and must be omitted. This definition arose from Bopp’s stating that “they are pronounced by bending the tongue far back and bringing it against the palate” (indem man die Spitze der Zunge weit zurückbiegt und den Gaumen setzt, Grä. der Sana. Spr. in kürz. Pass. 2nd ed. 1846, p. 16), and Mr. Gupta distinctly repudiated inversion. But ꞌn) may be retained as special signs for the Indian cerebrais, until their identification with the English coronals has been generally acknowledged. Mr. M. O. Mookerjee (1102, j) qualified his identification of ꞌa) with ꞌa) by a saving “almost.” Possibly the Indian sounds may be retracted ꞌd).

As to ꞌn) Mr. Gupta said that no distinction is now made in pronunciation except in connection with following consonants. In Pāpini’s name, for example, both ꞌs are alike ꞌn); no distinction between ꞌn) being heard in India. The nasal resonance would be the same, but it is possible to make the glides on to and from vowels sensibly different. We must conclude that the ancients felt a difference, or they would not have used two letters, although this and other distinctions have been lost in modern speech.

In the ꞌa) there is a complete closure by the tongue, so that the lips may be either open or shut, and there is complete resonance in the nose. Compare the effect of a person saying one with or without “a cold in the head,” that is, with incomplete and complete nasal resonance, as: (wed, wan). The nasal resonance is prolonged to the last, so that there is no approach to (wed,
1. (\text{a})—continued.

\textit{west, west). The voice is also prolonged to the last, and does not dwindle off to (nh) as (woonh). The (a) is often very long, but there is not usually a decrease and increase of force, giving the effect of reduplication, as (\text{wamn}), see (62, a).}

(\text{wem). The method of synthesis must be observed. The labiality of the (w) should not affect the following vowel, changing (a) into (oh), or (a) into (e), even as a gliding intermediate sound, though carelessness in this respect may be one cause of the generation of (wem), through (womn, wem, wom), if indeed (on) were not original. Hence the lips have to be sharply opened, and the buzz of the (w) scarcely audible, except of course for certain rhetorical effects. The (e) is short, but may be of modal length; if it were prolonged, it would give the effect of \textit{wowm} (wam), although there must be no trill; indeed (wem, womn) are not uncommon cockneyisms. The prolongation is thrown on to the glide to (n), which is the same as that to (d), and on to the (n) itself. The uvula does not act to open the passage to the nose till (\text{e}) is quite finished. Any nasalising of the vowel, as (\text{wam}), is quite abnormal, although occasionally heard, but not among educated English speakers.}

2. TWO, (\text{tun}).

(\text{t}. The tip of the tongue against the crown of the palate, see (1096, c).}

(\text{uu). The throat not widened, a clear flute-like sound, with no approach to (oo) in it. It may be short, however, as well as long, and should not end with a whisper (\text{'u}), or hiss (\text{′\text{u}}), or consonant (w, wh), as in Icelandic (648, a). But it may end with much diminishing force. With some perhaps it tends to (\text{uun}). Mr. Sweet tells me that he has detected himself in saying (\text{tunw}). In Danish he says there is a slight final hiss after (t, uu), thus (uhn, uwh), see his paper on Danish (Thulel. Trans. 1873-4, p. 165). Perhaps the Danish sounds are rather (\text{thn, uuwh}).}

3. THREE, (\text{thrii}, but (\text{thrii}, thryg) are perhaps more commonly heard.

(\text{th). The tongue is brought fully against the teeth, so that (\text{th})
would be the proper sign; but this will be used for the variant produced by thrusting the tongue between the upper and lower teeth, instead of simply pressing it against the upper teeth. We do not say (thth) initially, as some Germans think. We use that combination finally in eighth (eighth)—quite a modern word, the old form being eight (eet)—and on sounding it the speaker will feel his tongue glide forward from palate to teeth. Compare also successive words, as "bread that is cut thin." Initially (thth) would be necessary and not difficult. In Greek τό is common medi ally, originally perhaps (τόου) and afterwards (thth). The hiss is sharp, but weak compared to (s). It is easily confused with (t), and is actually so confused dialectically.

(r). Mr. Bell distinguishes English (r) as untrilled, as, in fact, a buzz, which may be written (r), "the point of the tongue contracting the oral passage between it and the upper gum" ( Visible Speech, p. 82). But so far as I have noticed, r before a vowel is always trilled (196, b), unless there is an organic defect or bad habit in the speaker, not at all an unusual occurrence, and then some other trill, of the lip, uvula, or cartilaginous glottis, is substituted. The effect of a trill is that of a beat in music, a continually repeated "make and break" of sound, the different effect of the different trills resulting from the glides thus produced. See the phonautographic curves of the different trills in F. C. Donders, De Physiologie der Spraakkleneken (Utrecht, 1876, pp. 24), p. 19. It is of course possible to produce a central hiss or buzz in the (r) position without interrupting the sound by a trill, and the result is different from (s, z). There is, however, some difficulty to those accustomed to trill, in keeping the loose tip of the tongue stiff enough not to trill. When this is accomplished, there is another difficulty, in keeping the front of the tongue far enough from the palate not to produce (s, z), and yet not so far as to give simple (s). This untrilled (r), which will henceforth be marked (r), when buzzed, and (r, b) when hissed, has therefore a great tendency to fall into (s), or some such indistinct sound. Mr. Bell always writes (r) in English, representing trilled (r) by (r, b). Hence my transcription of his character in 3g, or that in col. 3, line 6, p. 15, was erroneous. The English (r) is in the (t) position, but a dental (r) also occurs. This (r) is recognized in the Peak of Derbyshire by Mr. Hallam, as will appear below. In Sanscrit Mr. Gupta (1096, a) found that no r occurred after coronals, (1096, c), and in pronouncing the dental (d, d) before the trill, he decided that the tongue remained forward, so that his Sanscrit trill was (r). The older grammarians differ, and only a few classes r as a coronal (cerebral), (Whitney, Athar. T. Prati, p. 29.) There is, however, also a recognized retracted Indian (r), which Mr. Gupta pronounced to me, the root being drawn back and the whole front half of the tongue "flopping" rather than trilling. There are doubtless many other tongue trills. In Scotch, and also in Italian, the trill is strong (r).

(ii). This bright primary sound is, I find on careful observation, not so common in English as I had once thought it to be. Men with deep bass voices find it difficult to produce. The wide (i) seems much more usual, and is especially frequent after (r). For (r, i) see (68, a, 83, ds. 106, ac. 106, s, d. 544, c). I have found such combinations as the following, in which (i, ii) follow each other, useful in drawing attention to the difference; the (i) should be much prolonged in practising them. "Let baby be, with ugly glee, the glassy sea, worthy thee, a wintry tree, thy enemy me, they chiefly die, a bulky key," also "of a verity (veriti) 'tis very tea (veritii); a trusting trustee (trusti trustiti)." There is sometimes a tendency to correct the error and say (ii), which may be the first step from (ii) to (i) (473, c), although a different origin for this change will hereafter be assigned (see § 2, No. 6, iv). There seems to be no generally recognized tendency to hiss out such a final (ii), thus (thrithii), as a French final (ii) is occasionally hissed, or to close with such a hiss (iiiiii), or with a consonant (iiiiii, iiijh). But such sounds may occur as individualities.

(thrii). In synthesis, the (th) is
very brief, but the change in sound as the tongue is retracted to (r) perceptible.
The voice is laid on at the moment the
(r) position has been assumed, and
is heard throughout the rattle of (r).
We never say (thrriii), by running the
his on to the trill, or (ththriii), by
putting on the voice before the tongue
leaves the teeth.

4. FOUR, Bell's (fo:r), or
(for), see below, my (foo), but (foo,
foo) are also heard from educated
people. I have even heard (fas:wa)
from an educated gentleman, whether
archaic, provincial, or puristic, I
do not know.

(f). The lower lip is firmly
pressed against the teeth, so that the
his is strong and sharp, not unlike (th),
indeed so like that when pronounced
by themselves, as in spelling by sounds,
it is difficult to distinguish (? and (th)
at a little distance. Hence (saif, saith)
are both heard for sigh (213, d), and
(? (th) are confused in several words
dialectally. Of course people with no
upper teeth either use the hard gum or
say (ph), the regular Hungarian sound of
f. Compare remarks on Icelandic f
(642, c) and modern Greek φ (518, b).

(oo). This is the sound I use
when the word is under force. It is a
diphthong, the letter (a) representing as
I now think (196, 6c) one of the indistinct
sounds (w, w, α, o, o), with a
liberty, seldom exercised unless a vowel
follows, to add the trilled (r) of No. 3.
My own belief is that in these
diphthongal sounds I use (9), but I may
say (w). I think that I never say (z,
α). For non-diphthongal (a), see Nos.
12 and 25. For diphthongal (a), Mr.
Malville Bell uses a new sign, called a
"point-glide" (197, a), so that what I
have transcribed (oo) might be more
truly rendered (6r), the accent on (6)
pointing out the diphthongal nature of the
combination, and thus reducing (r)
from a consonant to a pure glide; but
his son, Mr. Graham Bell, in teaching
dead-nutes, has more recently adopted
a notation which is tantamount, in his
orthography, to my (6o), using (') as
really a helpless indication of obscure
vocality.

There are four of these (a) diph-

thongs in English, in ear, air, oar, oor
(57, d. 198, b to 199, a. 200, d to
202, a), which are, I believe, in the
pronunciation of strict speakers (iī, ee, oo,
ūu, uo), that is, (iī', eē', oō', uū') when
not before a vowel, and (iī'r, eē'r, oō'r,
ūu'r) always before, and admisssibly not
before, a vowel. The diphthong theore-
atically indicated by the acute accent
mark is quite perfect. There is no
tendency to form two syllables, as a
general rule. But I have heard (ho:yz,
koo:zai) from old people, see (Guova)
(725, c). Smart says (Dict. art. 64,
note) that there is no difference in
London between payer and pair. To
me the sounds are (peyz, pez), and the
use of the first for the second, which I
sometimes hear, appears to me to be
an archaism. Instead of (oo:u) or
(oo), however, it is extremely com-
mon to hear (AA) or (AA', AA) if the
speaker is very "correct" (95, a, d. 197,
a. 246, ab. 575, ed. 603, a'). This (oo)
is the only recognized combination in
which (oo) remains in modern English,
but it is rapidly disappearing. A few
use it in (doog, oo:fa), see (94, d.
602, e6), but here it is more often
(oo, oo, AA), and is intended for (9).

Donders identifies (9) in this com-
bination with the glottal r (9), see
(8, 6), saying (op. cit. p. 20): "The
sound of (9) is easy to produce.
Sing as deep a note as possible, and then try
to sing a deeper one. The voice will be
replaced by a peculiar cracking
noise (erakan gedied)." After noticing
its relation to the Arabic ain (a), he
says: "Thick voices are inclined to
use it as a vowel. Others connect it
or alterate it with the voice, giving a
tone of laerymose sentimentality, and,
when the mouth is closed, it is heard
as a mournful moan. It is also used
as a trill. Brücke considers it to be
the trill of the Low Saxons. I heard
it thus used in the London dialect in
a peculiar manner: horse was pronounced
simply as oes but with the moaning
voice (9), which gives a little trilling
effect to the consonant." But Land
(Uver Uitspraak en Spelling, Amster-
dam, 1870) says: "r is very soft both in
Frisian and English; at the beginning
of a syllable it seems to consist of one
single stroke of the tongue, and before
an explosive consonant, after a long
vowel (boord, paer, compare English
bird, park), it sounds to my ear as if
4. (ooa)—continued.

there were no stroke of the tongue at all, but in its place the indeterminate vowel ō 12 (œ), or, as others pronounce, a guttural expedit, spiritus lenis. For the last it may be pleaded that in singing the English use the full r, which is the only one used in Scotland, Ireland and Wales. Whether the meaning r is heard with the vowel, in place of an r after it,—as Donners remarks of the low London horse,—in the Friesian dialect, deserves investigation in loco." This glottal (r) occurs in Danish. See Mr. Sweet's valuable paper on Danish Pronunciation (Trans. of Philological Society for 1873-4, part 1, p. 109) where he also thinks that I have misunderstood the quotation from B. Jonson (200, e), in considering that he alluded to (a) as the sound in the middle as well as at the end of words, and considers that Jonson may have alluded to the difference between trilled (r) and untrilled (r). I had merely thought that Jonson's illustrations were imperfect, and that he had given no case of middle r, unless the middle r in rarer were doubled, as at present (reraa) or (ree-rra). This, however, seems impossible to determine, as Jonson's voice is hushed.

In rapid speaking four becomes quite (fa), and in "four or five," we have most frequently (fa-ta-fə-və) or even (fa-ta-fe-va).

5. FIVE, Bell's (faiv), my (faiv).

(f). See No. 4.

(e). See (107, be to 109, a, and 234, ob), for the various theories of the sound of this diphthong in English; and (287, c to 291, c) for the Scotch sounds; and (295, c) for the Dutch (i, c). After much attention to the habits of English speakers, I believe the last element to be really (i), not (l), although I have generally written (ai). This must be regarded as rather a rough symbolisation, the mark of stress not being inserted. In the present chapter, where very accurate analysis is aimed at, I shall almost invariably employ the manner of marking diphthongs already explained (419, c), so that every diphthong or triphthong will have the acute accent on or after (according to typographical convenience) the element which bears the stress, and the adjacent elements glide on to or from that element. Hence Mr. Melville Bell's "glides" p. 15, 5c, 5l, are represented by (i, u), simply with an acute on the adjoining letter, so that (ai, əi) precisely transliterate his symbols. But Mr. Bell's "glides" leave it in doubt whether the second element is (i, u) or (i, ə), and these, with many more niceties, are perfectly indicated by the present notation.

The first element of the long i as I speak, seems to be (o); but when I try to lengthen it for analysis, I seem to take (ah), which has the same position of the tongue, but a wider opening behind. I certainly do not say (oai, di). I occasionally and but rarely hear (ai) from educated people, and have never noticed (di) from them. As a greybeard, I am constantly asked by children in Kensington Gardens, to tell them the "time." From them I frequently hear (ai, əi), and I have heard the last from educated women. Irishmen may say (di, oh'i), but I have not been able to analyze the sound. It seems to me that Irishmen have a peculiar method of "widening," or enlarging the pharynx, etc., which gives a remarkable effect to some vowels. Indicating this by an inferior (i), the Irish sound appears to me (əai). This is, however, a matter of local or individual habit, requiring considerable study to
6. \((o'\i')\)—continued.

Certain satisfactorily. English singers say \((\text{a'\i})\), and in singing to a long note seem to sing \((\text{a'\i\~n\~n\i\~s\;\i})\), the chief stress resting on \((\text{a'\i})\) and chief length on \((\text{a'\i\~n\~n\i\~s\;\i})\), with \((\text{i}'\i)\) and the glide up to it very short. The sound in English is hence indeterminate, but those who have learned Greek generally distinguish two values, high and low. The high is \(\text{a}\), one of the forms \((\text{o'\i', \text{ahi, w'i'}})\); the low is \(\text{a}\), one of the forms \((\text{a'\i, di})\). The words \(\text{eye}, \text{eye}\) are now so distinguished \((\text{o'\i', \text{a}})\), but the pun on "the nose and the eyes,—the nose and the eyes," sufficiently shows that the distinction need not be insisted on now, as Shakespeare's pun on \(I, \text{eye}, \text{eyes}\) (112, \(b\,c\)) shows that he also heard them much alike. There are other diphthongs approaching this, with final \((\text{y})\) or \((\text{a})\), but I have not observed them as varieties of \((\text{ai})\) in English, \((\text{ey}'\text{y})\) occurs in Dutch \(\text{kemp}\), and \((\text{eh}'\text{y})\) in Dutch \(\text{aais} (\text{Decorium, Phys. d. Spr. pp}\, 15, 16; \text{see also Land, op. cit.})\), correcting my appreciation as \((\text{ey}'\text{y})\) on \(233, d\). Observe the Norfolk \(\text{ey}'\text{y})\) in \(135, c\). Diphthongisation confounds originally perfectly distinct vowels. When \((i)\) once admits an antecedent deeper sound, we get the series \((\text{i}, \text{e}, \text{i}, \text{ai}, \text{e'i}, \text{ai}, \text{a}, \text{a})\), till \((i)\) has disappeared. And by varying \((i)\) into \((y)\) there is a tendency to pass to \((w)\) and hence get into variants of \((\text{ai})\), while by broadening \((a)\) to \((e)\) we are at once brought into the \((\text{di}, \text{oh'\i}, \text{o'\i}, \text{i'\i})\) series, which also comes from \((\text{di}, \text{ai}, \text{e}, \text{i}, \text{oi}, \text{i}, \text{oi}, \text{o'\i})\). All these changes, actually observed in practice, are of great philological interest. Their proper bearing cannot be properly appreciated without studying our dialectal vowel relations. Mr. Bell has not introduced an example of the last or \((\text{oi})\) series among his key-words. It is by no means widely known in the \((\text{oi})\) form. In older English we had two forms \((\text{oh', di})\). The former regularly became \((\text{oi})\) in the \(xvii\)th century, and remains in one or other of the many forms of this diphthong vulgarly and in several dialects. The second generally appears dialectally as \((\text{oi}, \text{o'\i, a'\i})\), but is occasionally assimilated as \((\text{ai})\).

Now by a converse assimilation, educated English, orthographically misled no doubt, has, within the last hundred years, reduced all the original \((\text{oi})\) set of \((\text{o'\i, a'\i})\) sounds to \((\text{o'\i, a'\i})\), which is far worse than the derided Irish, or provincial pronunciation of \(\text{i}\) as one of this series, because the educated pronunciation is simply an orthographically superinduced mis-pronunciation, and the other is an organic development: yet one is upheld and the other ridiculed. Educated ignorance is always absurd.

\((v)\). The buzz of \((f)\). It is remarkable that though this sound is so easy and common in English, French, and Italian, it should generally be found difficult. The observations of Merkle (Phys. d. mensch Spr. pp. 211-12) show that although he knew \((f)\), he had no proper conception of \((v)\), which Bruecke and Lepusus claim for German \(w\). He says: "\((f)\) cannot as such be vocalised or combined with vibrations of the vocal chords; the organs are obliged, in the attempt, to assume an intermediate position between that of \((ph)\) and that of \((f)\), and to separate so far that they can occasion no sensible noise (erhabenches Geräusch). When then sonant breath is driven through them, we hear a sound, which is scarcely at all (fast gar nicht) distinct from \((bb)\), but for which the lips are not exactly opposed, the under lip being somewhat retracted under the upper lip," and hence he does not distinguish \((v)\) by a separate sign. But all Englishmen can press the lower lip firmly against the upper teeth and buzz, that is, produce the effect of a mixture of vocalised and unvocalised breath. The way in which \((v)\) can shade into \((bb)\) is remarkable (549, a, d. 518, b, d'). With reference to the remark on Sanscrit \(v\) on p. 518, the following citation from Prof. Whitney (Atharva-Veda Prâtiçâkhya, text, translation and notes, New Haven, U.S., 1872, p. 26) is important: "The Vâj. Pr. . . . defines the same sounds, [the \(v\)-series, \(u, e\)] as produced upon the lip and by the lip, and then adds further that in the utterance of \(v\) the tips of the teeth are employed: the same specification as to \(v\) is made by the Tâitt. Pr. (its commentator explaining that in the utterance of that letter the points of the upper teeth are placed on the edge of the lower lips)... The descriptions of \(v\) given by the two Prâtiçâkhyas of the Yajur Veda, as well as that offered by the Paninice scheme (which declares its organs of
utterance to be the teeth and lips), leave no room to doubt that at their period the \( e \) had already generally lost its original and proper value as English \( o \)—as which alone it has any right to be called a semivowel, and to rank with \( y \)—and, doubtless passing through the intermediate stage of the German \( o \), had acquired the precise pronunciation of English \( e \)." That is, Prof. Whitney assumes, the series: 1. vowel (\( u \)), with back of tongue raised and resonant lip opening; 2. (\( w \)), with back of tongue raised and non-resonant, restricted lip opening; 3. (\( bh \)), with back of tongue lowered, and similar (not identical) lip opening; 4. (\( v \)), with lower lip against upper teeth, increasing the buzz materially. On making the series (\( u-w-bh-v \)) in one breath, the motion of the organs will become apparent, and though the sounds are constantly confused, yet it will be felt in the vibratory motions of the lips themselves that there is a material difference. On 9th July, 1873, having an opportunity of observing the pronunciation of Mr. M. O. Mockerojy, a native Bengalee gentleman, and not detecting any of the characteristic buzz of a (\( v \)), arising from the division of the stream of air by the teeth, I asked him whether he actually touched his teeth, and he said: "very little." Now (\( v \)) with faint dental contact is scarcely separable from (\( bh \)) without any dental contact. Hence the misty borderland between these two sounds. "There is no certainty in the accounts we have of English \( e \) and German \( o \) occurring in exotic languages, for when either is mentioned we have no proof that the observer knew the difference." (Prof. S. S. Haldeman, Analytic Orthography, art. 462.) It came like a revelation upon Mr. Kovacs, an Hungarian, when he found he had to use his teeth for English (\( v \)). I had observed he had a difficulty with (\( e c a l \)), which from his lips sounded to English ears as (\( will \)), being really (\( bh \)\( i h \)). When he first attempted to say (\( vi i \)), he produced (\( bh \)\( di \)\( h i \)), making the buzz by bringing his tongue, instead of his lower lip, against the upper teeth. I asked him to make inquiries among his fellow-countrymen, and he assured me that none of them used the teeth for (\( f, v \), that is, all said (\( ph, bh \)). Yet Mr. Kovacs had been long enough in England to preach publicly English. And Lepsius makes Magy (\( f, v \), and not (\( ph, bh \)) (Standard Alphabet, p. 220). These facts support Prof. Haldeman's dictum: have seldom heard a German able to distinguish (\( w, y \)). When Prof. M. Muller (whose (\( r \) is also uvular) is lecturing, I find much difficulty in distinguishing words and verbs, although I have been many years in England, perfectly conversant with the language and has attended much to phonetics. Prof. Haldeman says he can "distinguish across a room, whether a speech of German uses the German (\( w \) or English (\( v \), provided the voice is familiar (Anal. Orth., p. 93, n.). See about German professor (1893, he). In (\( v, f \) both occur. Dr. Gehle seemed pronounce (\( u, w \), as (\( y, v, e \), the Land (ibid. p. 30) says Dutch "(\( f, v \) are not formed with both lips, (\( w \) with the under lip and upper teeth, a have consequently a peculiar character for the ear, and for both reasons should be separated from the (\( p \)-series. The explosive consonants"—Blossewom implies a perfect closure of the oral passage, a species of (\( b \), palaeotype (\( b \)). "formed in the same place, is (\( v \) usual (\( wa \) at the beginning of a syllable also usual in High German (ook in Hoogduitse gebruiklijk), and is consequently distinguished from the mentioned labial (\( v, w \) both by its mode and mode of articulation. The Dutch language possesses, as well as English, a murmuring or buzzzi (\( r w e c h n d \) (\( w \), which is nothing but with a stronger closure (\( s t e k e, v w a a n w e n g \) than the vowel. The sound occurs exclusively after a (\( v, a n \), (\( h u, a n, r o w w e n = r o u, w e n = c w e n \) = (\( c w e n \), (\( r u v, w e n \) apparently, "must be distinguished from our usual (\( v, w \) (\( w, \) (\( w, \) the latter). A low (\( pl a t t e s \) pronunciation only knows the labio-dens (\( w \)." Now this explosive (\( n \)) is Brucc theoretical (\( b \), see (\( b, a \), described as having the closure (\( V e r s c h l i c h \) effected, not as in the usual (\( w \) both lips, but with the lower lip on upper teeth (Grundzüge, p. 34). Brucc (\( b i d s \) makes German (\( v \) = (\( Hence, Land's definition having puzze me, I applied to Prof. Donders, who a private letter, dated 11th Nov. 18 says: "Dutch (\( v, f \) agree perfec
with English \(v\) and \(f\)," which Englishmen are accustomed to consider identical with French \(v\) and \(f\), and hence what follows is puzzling: "In French \(v\) I think I perceive a little approximation to German \(w\); the lips perhaps approach one another rather more, and the upper teeth do not so determinately rest on the lip (in the Fransche \(v\) meer if eene kleine toenadering tot de Duitsche \(w\) te herkennen: de lippen naderen elkander misschien iets meer, en niet zoo bepaalld rusten de tanden der oppekaak op de lippen). Our \(w\) agrees exactly with the German. At the end of words in \(euv\), \(teuw\), the \(v\) makes it approach nearer to English \(w\). . . . . I have been much surprised as yourself at Land's opinion that \(w\) can be the labio-dental expidient. At the conclusion he seems to refer exclusively to the low (platte) pronunciation. But I have not met with it, even there. I doubt whether this labio-dental expidient occurs at all. When intentionally (met opzet) used, it sounds to me like an impure (onziver) \(b\) or \(p\)."

We have here a clear distinction between \((f, v, bh, w, u)\), as all occurring in one and the same language, by an observer of European reputation.

While this page was passing through the press, I had the interview already mentioned with Mr. Gupta (1096, a). I was particularly anxious to ascertain his views respecting Sanscrit \(v\). He made decidedly an English \(v\) with a faint pressure of the lower lip against the teeth, and did not seem to know that a \(v\) sound could be otherwise produced. On my pronouncing to him first \((vii, vee, vas, voo, vuu)\), and next \((bhij, bhee, bhaa, buoo, buuu)\), the first with faint and the second with strong buzz, so as to imitate the first, as a strong \((bh)\) buzz is generally much weaker than any \((v)\) buzz, he decidedly recognized the former and not the latter for the Sanscrit sound. But then came two curious pieces of information, first that Sanscrit \(v\) after a consonant is always called \((w)\), and secondly, that in Bengalee \((b)\) is said for both \(b\) and \(v\) Sanscrit. The manner, however, in which he pronounced \(v\) and \(y\) after consonants gave, to my ear, the effect of stressless \((u, i)\) diphthongising with the following vowel, as (anuswara) rather than (anuswafsara). Instead then of an interchange of \((v, w)\), there \(w\), to me (and I am anxious to express this as an individual opinion, which it would require very much longer and more varied experience to raise to the rank of a conviction), rather a reversion to the original vowel \((u)\). We have already seen the great difficulties in separating \((u, w)\), supra No. 1, and we shall have several occasions again to refer to the effects of \((u)\), both on a preceding and following consonant, which appear to me identical in nature with those of \((i)\) and \((y)\), see No. 9, below, and § 2, No. 6, iv. The controversy is not likely to be readily settled. England, possessing \((w, z)\), will use them for both consonants and stressless diphthongising vowels. Germany, possessing \((bh, z)\) or \((v, z)\), will only use the latter \((v)\) in this way, leaving the vowel \((u)\) for the former. France, Italy, and Spain, having only vowels, will naturally use them only. Spanish \((bh)\) is always thought of as \((b)\), and hence would not be used. We thus get English \(kwa\) \(kya\), German \(kwa\) \(kja\), French \(kwa\) \(kja\), Italian and Spanish \(kwa\), \(kia\), for the same sounds \((ku\ k\i)\, or many shades of sounds up to \([kwa\ kja]\). Initially Spanish use \(kus\) and Italians \(ua\).

But I hope that attention will be directed beyond national habits of writing or speaking, and real usages will be ultimately determined. It is to me probable that there will be thus discovered an unconsciously simultaneous usage of \((ku\ k\a\ kwa, ki\ kja)\, with perhaps intermediate forms, and a gradation of \(wa\ bha\ va, ja\ gjha\), passing imperceptibly into each other through different degrees of consonantal buzz. As a mere practical rule \((a\ i\a)\ is convenient, till the forms \((u\-\u, i\-i)\, indistinguishable from \(uu, ii)\, would have to be reached on the one hand, and \((vu, gihi)\ on the other. The Bengalee confusion of \(v, b\) Sanscrit, seems almost to negative the existence of the \((v)\) pronunciation of Sanscrit \(v\), before the Bengalee variety arose. Confusions of \((b, v)\) seem to occur in English dialects, but are very rare; \((b, bh)\ are often confused, as in Spanish, German, Hebrew; the confusion of \((b, w)\) is quite possible, but not so easy. The Bengalee custom, therefore, to me seems to indicate an original \((bh)\) rather than \((w)\) consonant, at the time the Devanägari alphabet was invented. The use of pre-alpha-
The bietic streamless diphthongising (u-) I consider highly probable. The wide philological bearing of this distinction must excuse the length of these remarks.

(fusi). For the synthesis, the initial (f) hiss is short, and the voice does not begin till it finishes, so that (fusi) is not heard. This must be clearly understood, as we have (zii) in German for sie, usually received as (zii); and we shall find that in whip, some hear (whsip), it is not the English habit in any words beginning with (f, th, s, sh) to interpose (dh, s, sh) by prematurely laying on the voice, or before the latter to emit a whisper by beginning with an open glosis, and thus deferring the laying on of the voice. Although it is possible that initial (v, s) may have been generated from (f, s) in Somersetshire, and previously in Dan Michel’s dialect, by some such anticipation of the voice, followed afterwards by omission of the hiss (which of course was never written when the buzz was apparent), yet, as a rule, Englishmen avoid all deferred or premature laying on of voice, resulting from the open or closed glottis, and in this respect differ from German. We never intentionally say (hrui, hlui, mnui, nnui), although we have seen that Cooper (544, d) and Ledardi (180, c) conceivably that rows was called (mnui), and shall find a trace of this remaining in the Cumberleland dialect. This makes (whwi, zhii) suspicious. On the whole of this subject see No. 14 below. The case is, however, very different with final (v, z, dh, zh). The prolongation of the buzz is apparently disagreeable to our organs, and hence we drop the buzz before separating them, thus merging the buzz into a hiss unless a vowel follows, on to which the voice can be continued, or a consonant, which naturally shortens the preceding one. Thus in (foi’si) the voice begins at the moment the hiss of (f) ceases, and before the position for (a) is fully assumed, it glides on to (a), glides off (a) on to (i), glides from (i) on to (v), continues through (v), and then, if the word is final, ceases, by the opening of the glottis before the (v) position is changed, producing (i), thus (foi’v). A following vowel, as in flee and six (foi’m-si’i), pre-
6. (a)—continued.

tuning the s sharply, and being very careful to keep its position in oes, I think we hear (gesse, kest, ase), and after a little practice we may even say (kesse), which will not rhyme to (gesse). This will be more distinct when we say (ketse), the tip of the tongue then coming very close indeed to the back of the front teeth, while in (keste) it is behind the back of the upper gum (1096, e), and in (gesse) it may lie behind and between the teeth, or really press against the lower gums, the hiss being between the hard palate and the middle of the tongue. If we hiss a tone, without quite whistling, with the lips pressed closed, the difference of pitch by the mere motion of the tongue, we shall find great varieties in the position of the tongue, and that the pitch is highest when the tip of the tongue is forward and near the gums. We shall find also that the tongue can be retracted considerably without destroying the (a) effect, provided the breath be not allowed to resound in the hollow behind the tongue, which immediately produces the effect of (ah), and that the central aperture be not checked or divided, the former giving (a) and the latter a hisp, nearly (th). I think there has been some error about the Spanish s on (802, d, 4, ah), and that it is not (a), as there stated, and as Mr. Melville Bell, who has been in Spain, makes it (Visible Speech, p. 93); but that it is (a), using (a) as on (11, o), that is, a divided (a), with perhaps only a slight central check, produced by bring the tip of the tongue very gently against the gum. In this case the buzz would be (ah). Prince Louis Lachen Bonaparte says that the true Castilian s is the Basque s; and as he pronounced this s to me, it sounded like a retracted (a) with a rattle of moisture. The Andalusian s is, he says, perfect. The (a) sound of s, s is not acknowledged in Spain (802, a) at all, although heard in Spanish America. See further in No. 10, (sh).

Note also the drunken tendency to confuse (s) with (sh) in England, clearly indicating the greater ease of (sh) to organs which can produce it at all. To an Islander, Veislaman, Dutchman, Spaniard, Greek, (sh) presents great difficulties. Note in upper German, the parent of the literary high German, not only the tendency to initial (sp, sh), where (sp, st) only are written, as well as the spoken and written (shl, shr, sham, shin, shh), but the final (-sht) written -st, which constantly crops up in vulgar German, and is almost as great a social sin in Germany as a "dropped sitch" in England. Note also that in English (shl, sham, shin, shw) do not occur, although (al, am, sn, sw) are common, and that (shr-) offers difficulties to many English speakers, notably at Srewsbury in Shropshire. Note also that (sp-, st-) are lazily pronounced (shp-, sht-) by Neapolitans. Note that (sh) seems to be a derived sound in the greater part of Europe, although existing in Sanscrit, but is frequent in Slavonic languages. In Hungarian (sh) is so much commoner than (a), that the simple s is used for (sh), and the combination as for (a); while x, xz are (tz, zh). The (zh) is a very rare form in Europe, and has been only recently developed in English. In Bengalee all three Sanscrit letters, f, ph, sh, s are confused in reading as (sh), while in vulgar speech simple (s) is used for (s), so that, strangely enough, this dialect has no (s) at all.

(k). The back of the tongue is very nearly in the (u) position, but rises so as to close the passage. It is not at all in the (i) or (y) position, but if an (aa) follows in English, many speakers habitually raise the tongue to the (i) instead of the (u) position, producing (k), almost (k *). See (206, a). This sound is still much heard in cart, quart, sky, kind, etc., but is antiquated (600, d, 206, c). There is not the same tendency when (i, i) follow or precede. This insertion of (i) before an (a) sound is very prevalent dialectally. See the theory in § 2, No. 6, iv.
6. \(\text{siks}\).

\(\text{siks}\). Keep the hiss \(\text{s}\) quite clear of the voice, begin the voice the instant that the \(\text{s}\) hiss ceases, glide on to \(\text{i}\), and dwelling very briefly on the vowel (its extreme shortness is characteristic), glide rapidly on to the \(\text{k}\), so as to shut off the voice with a kind of thump, opening the glottis at the same time, but allow no pause, and glide on to the hiss of \(\text{s}\) immediately. The glides from \(\text{e}\) to \(\text{k}\) and \(\text{k}\) to \(\text{s}\), make the kind of check audible, and distinguish \(\text{siks}\) clearly from \(\text{sk}, \text{sip}\). It is quite possible, but not customary in English, to make \(\text{ka}, \text{ka}\) initial, \(\text{xeros}, \text{Zakysios}\), not \(\text{ka}, \text{kysios}\). Similarly \(\text{p}, \text{t}\) never begin syllables in English, except by a glide, thus \(\text{praaxis}\) gives \(\text{pra-xi-sis}\), in which \(\text{k}\) has one glide from \(\text{s}\) and another on to \(\text{s}\), the syllable dividing between them.

7. SEVEN, Bell's \(\text{se-vnn}\), my \(\text{se-v'\text{n}}\).

\(\text{s}\). See No. 6, \(\text{s}\).

\(\text{e, e}\). These vowels differ in the height of the tongue. Mr. M. Bell determined my pronunciation (106, \(\text{e}\)) to be \(\text{e}\), and considered it abnormally high, believing the usual sound to be \(\text{s}\). Mr. Murray has the same opinion. Both agree that my \(\text{e}\) is the sound in \text{fair} (\text{fear}), and that it differs from \text{fail} (\text{feil}), any presumed diphthongal character of the latter being disregarded, as \(\text{i}\) does from \(\text{i}\). Mr. Bell gives \text{elt} as \(\text{e'l}\) English, \(\text{z'el}\) Scotch, and makes French \text{vin} = \(\text{vim}\).

The latter to my ear is nearer \(\text{vem}\), but the French have no \(\text{a}\), and hence \(\text{n}\) is their nearest non-nasal. It is possible or even probable that my ear is deceived by my own practice, but I certainly know, from long residence in the countries, the German \(\text{ai}\) in \text{sprache} (\text{sprench}\), the Italian \(\text{e}\) aperto in \text{bene} (\text{bome}), the French \(\text{e}\) in \text{bete} (\text{bost}) and occasionally (\text{bot}), and all these sounds appear to me much deeper than any usually uttered by educated Southern Englishmen. Since the difference was pointed out, I have paid much attention to such speakers, and my own impression is that \(\text{e}\) is much commoner than \(\text{e}\). I certainly occasionally recognize \(\text{n}\), but it always strikes me as unpleasant. The three sounds \(\text{e, e,}\) form a series, and if the usual English \(\text{e}\) short is deeper than my \(\text{e}\), it is not so deep as the foreign sound just described. Mr. Murray (Dialect of S. Scotland, pp. 106, note 2, a 239) has felt obliged to introduce \(\text{e}\) signs, for which he uses acute and grave accents (\(\text{é, é}\)), but as the acute accent has been used in palaeotype to give the element under force in diphthongs as \(\text{di, u}\), some other notation is requisite. Mr. M. Bell (Visa. Sp. p. 7) after describing his 36 vowels, says: "Other faintly different shades of vowel sound are possible; as for instance from giving a greater or less t ordinary or symmetrical degree of modification. Even these delicate varieties may be perfectly expressed by the modifiers [as a certain set of] Bell's symbols are called, because the 'modify' the meaning of the symbols which they are subjoined, the four principal 'modifiers' being called] close, open, 'inner,' 'outer,' or by the 'link' (other) symbols; but such compound letters can never be required in the writing of languages, except to show the curious minute accuracy with which these physiological symbols may be applied. Mr. Bell (ibid. p. 65) had defined close and open signs, which, those on p. 15 supra, col. 9, lines 5, as follows: 'The sign of closeness applied to any of the preceding consonants denotes a narrower aperture with increased sharpness of sibilation and percussiveness on leaving configuration; and the sign of openness denotes a widened aperture with consequent dullness of sibilation a lessened percussion. Thus in for (ph) with closeness a narrow thread of breath issues through the narrow crevice between the lips—as blowing to cool; and in forming [with openness] the breath flows through the wide orifice with the efflux of a sigh on the lips. The latter effect is interjectionally expressive of fairness or want of air.'" Mr. Bell identified my \(\text{a}\) and \(\text{a}\) with his signs 'closeness' and 'openness' respectively, but I meant and used them for signs increased and diminished force, independently of aperture: and hence the transcription of his signs on p. 1 column 9, lines 5 and 5, by my \(\text{a}\) \(\text{a}\) \(\text{a}\) \(\text{a}\) \(\text{a}\) is incorrect. The 'inner' and 'outer' or the signs on supr. p. 15, col. 9, his
7. (a, ɔ)—continued.

Using a superior (′) and inferior (ˌ) for Mr. Murray's acute and grave, we may read his note thus (ibid. p. 106): "As pronounced in the South of Scotland, it [the vowel in wait, say] is certainly opener than the French or English ɔ (ɔ). But it is nearer to this (ɔ) than to any other of the six front vowels (i i, e e, a a). A long and careful observation of the sounds of English and Scottish dialects, and collation with those of the Standard English, has convinced me that, in order to shew their precise values and relations, it would be necessary to make a more minute division of the vowel scale "than in Visible Speech (supra p. 15)." Then, accepting the above notation for higher and lower or closer and opener, he says: "The Eng. ɔ in wait being then (ɔ), the South Sc. would be (ɔ); the close sound common in Edinburgh would be (ɔ). The S. Sc. sound in breeze would probably be rather (d) than (f), as we are obliged to make it when only using the three vowels. The Sc. y in byll, byt, would probably be (e) rather than (e), explaining how the diphthong ey/ey) seems closer than aiy/aiy). Which it ought not to be if y in byt (bet) were the exact 'wide' of ɔ in bait. In the round [labialised] vowels also, the very close o used in Edinburgh, which, compared with my a, seems almost (u), would probably be (ɔ), and the South Sc. so might be (d) rather than (f). It need scarcely be said that no single language or dialect does ever in practical use distinguish such fine shades; few idioms even find the three positions distinct enough; none certainly distinguish the six sounds formed by the 'primaries' and 'widest' of any series (except as accidental varieties due to the character of the following consonant, or to the presence or absence of accent—never to distinguish words). It is only in comparing different languages or dialects that we find the exact quality given to particular vowels in one, intermediate between certain vowels in another, the one set of sounds grouping themselves, so to say, alongside of and around, but not quite coinciding with the other set." I quote these words to fully endorse them, and again shew the difficulty of phonetic writing. In particular the deeper (u), which may be (ɔ) with an (o) position of the lips, or (u) as we shall write,
7. (e, e)—continued.

or an (o) with a higher tongue, that is (o'), is a sound fully appreciated by northern dialectal speakers as distinct from (e), and sounds to my ears much more distinct from it, than (e, e) from (e, o).

To return to (e, e, x). If any of those English speakers whom I hear say (e) do really take a ‘lower’ sound, it is rather (e) than (x); or if they are considered to take (e), then the foreign sound is (x) or even (x). Prince L. L. Bonaparte separates the very open è of some French grammarians in accès, from the Italian e aperto, and makes it the ‘wide’ of the latter. He identifies (x) with the Italian sound, but not (e) with the French sound, so that (e) would be the more correct representative of the latter. The distinction of three (e)-sounds, (e, e, x) I find convenient, and I generally use (e) when I cannot satisfactorily determine the sound to be (e) or (x), that is (e) may often be considered as (e) or (e).

I think the tendency of educated pronunciation, which affects thinness, is towards (e) rather than (x), and I should put down (e) as the regular Spanish and Welsh pronunciations of e, neither language having apparently (e, x). In Italian, (e) is replaced by (e, x); but I consider (e) to have been the old Latin e, though the Latin e may have been (e). In French I think the open è is rather (e) than (x), except under force or emphasis, when, as just shown, (e) may occur, but (x) is always the intention. The substitution of (e) for (e) is like that of (ah) for (a), which is also going on in the Paris of to-day. In the French conjunction et, now always (e), the vowel was once (x), a sound now reserved for est.

(sev'n). The glides from (s) to (v) are as in (soviv). But (v) glides on to vocal (n), so that in all cases there is a transitional vowel-sound heard between the buzz (v) and the nasal resonance (n).

8. EIGHT, Bell’s (cít), my (set).

(ee). We now come to a hotly-disputed point of English pronunciation. I differ entirely from Mr. Bell in the habit of educated southern Englishmen. The diphthong (ei), or rather (ei) and even (ai), I have heard, and especially from Essex people, but certainly the compression of the first element is unusual, and at most (ei) can be insisted on. I have had occasion to refer to this diphthongal pronunciation frequently. See (77, d. 74, b. 106, a. 191, a. 234, a. 542, b. 596 d. 597, a). The sound is insisted on by Smart, who says, “The English alphabetic accent a, in the mouth of a well-educated Londoner, is not exactly the sound which a French mouth utters either in fès or in fêtes, being not so
narrow as the former, nor so broad as the latter. Moreover, it is not quite simple, but finishes more slenderly than it begins, tapering, so to speak, towards the sound" of e in me (294, d). The two French words being (fees, faut), this would make the English (œi) or (œ[i]), and this I do not all at recognize. The first element at least sounds to me (œ), and is generally distinctly recognizable by its length. There are, however, Londoners, or persons living in London, who dispute the possibility of prolonging (œ), and who certainly immediately glide away towards (e). Dr. Rush (Philosophy of the Human Voice, Philadelphia, 1827, p. 40), who was a careful observer, says: “When the letter e, as heard in the word day, is pronounced simply as an alphabetic element, and with the duration which it has in that word, two sounds are heard continuously successive. The first has the well-known characteristic of this letter; and issues from the organs with a certain degree of fullness. The last is the element e heard in ee, and is a gradually diminishing sound.” It is curious, however, that Prof. Haldeman (Analytic Orthography, Art. 391) does not notice this diphthong, but makes “the English ay in pay, paid, day, weigh, ale, rage,” to be "short in weight, hate, acre, Amos, Abram, ape, plague, spade," and identifies it with German au, réh, jé, planét, mér, mér (more, but neither tidings has ë), ëdél, ëhre, jëdôdëch,” and with Italian “e chiuso.” He writes eight as (e), or (et). Still there is no doubt that French teachers have a great difficulty with most English pupils, in regard to this letter, and complain of their (boote) being called (bouwté), etc., but the audibility of this (ë) differs with different speakers, and even with different words for the same speaker.

Mr. Murray puts me quite out of court on this point, for in my paleoetypic rendering of the Hundredth Psalm he has changed my (œ, oo) into (œi, òou), saying ( Dial. of S. Scot. p. 138, note): “I have ventured to differ from Mr. Ellis's transcription only so far as to write the long â and ê (œi, ow), as they are always pronounced in the south, and as I seem to hear them from Mr. Ellis himself, although he considers them theoretically as only (œ, oo).” That is, according to his observations, whatever be my own subjective impression of my utterance, his subjective impression on hearing me say: name, aid, age, always, praise, gates, take, make; oh! so, know, approach, is the same as that which he derives from his own utterance of (néœm, ësid, ëvidh, ëalœœis, proœœis, gœœœis, tœœœis, mœœœ; òou! òòou, òouw, òorœœthah). Now I have resided three years in Dresden, where long e is uniformly (œ), and not (œœ), and none of my teachers found that I drifted into (œi). I am also able to prolong an (œ) without change, as long as my breath will last. I am not only familiar with hearing (éœt) and even (éet), but I know precisely what movements are requisite to produce them, and I have very carefully and frequently examined my pronunciation of this letter. I am inclined to ascribe Mr. Murray’s impression that I always say (œi, òou) to his own South Scotch use of (œœ, œœ), which are ‘lower’ sounds than mine, sounds indeed which I recognize to be strictly different from mine, and not to correspond to any vowels that I am acquainted with practically. Mr. Murray cites both syllables of French aide as having a ‘higher’ form than the South Scotch; but Féline makes the first at the “open ê” (as), thus (ade). He says also that “the chief difference” of the Scotch from the English “lies in the fact that it [the Sc.] is a garrulous sound not gliding or closing into œ, like the English—at least the English of the south; thus, English day > œ. Scotch day-ay. This vowel is not recognized as ‘stopped in English,’ but observe Haldeman’s éœt, “the vowel in wait, main, being as long as in way, may. In Scotch it occurs long and stopped, as in wayr, bæythe, wæy, wæit, tœit (weer, beedh, wee, wert, tel), the two last words being carefully distinguished from the English wait, tœit, (weet, teel) and wœœt, tell, but pronounced like the French éœt.” (Murray, p. 106.)

Now before I compare my own observations on my own and other educated southern pronunciation, with those of such an accomplished northern phonetician as Mr. Murray, I would draw attention to a similar difference of opinion among Dutchmen respecting their own pronunciation. Prof. Donders (op. cit.) uses the vowel series ï, æ, æœ, ø,
of which i, a, appear to be (i, u, a), though the last may be (a), and e is either (o) or (e), probably the latter. His examples are Dutch bitter for i, beer for €, vorsten kòst bòd for eo, and baar for a. When he comes to the diphthongs, he gives ee, which must be (ei) or (ei), and probably the latter, to the Dutch vowels in leeg, leed, leek, leeg, etc., "with short imperfect i; (not in liter, in which only o is heard), with less imperfect i in hé, mé, and with perfect i in deù’s for dead hje," and makes Mie have the diphthong ei (x{i}). Land (Over Uitspraak en Spelling), writing with especial reference to Donders, has three e’s, e 1 = e, e 2 = e, and e 3 not in Donders, and e 1 not in Donders. These three e’s are clearly (u, e, e), for although the two first are not well distinguished by the French e 1 = pré, e 2 = fréne, tete, the third e 3 is made = pré, etc. Now of these he says (p. 17): "e 3 . With us (bij ons) regularly long before r (beer, meer), where in the pronunciation of others there is an after-sound of i (waar bij anderen een i naklinkt) in order to attain the e 3 of the low speech (ten einde den plat uitgesproken e 3 te bereiken). In the dialect of Gelders, e 3 is a separate vowel, playing its own part; with us [at Amsterdam] it is only found under the influence of r. " This precisely like English (er) in fair. "Our short i has also entirely passed over into e 3 : tid, mis, gebit; wherein the Limburgers alone seem not to follow us," as in South Scotch. Then he proceeds to say: "e 3 is, with us always long: steen, meer, leed, hé, mé; never before an r, because e 3 is then substituted. In English and low Dutch (plate Holland) e 3 is replaced by é, or even é, with the variants mentioned by Donders under ei; and it is then even heard before r, where the sound is broadened into oi in the Leyden meint for mynheer. I have heard the after-sound of i corrupted into jù, as gêfjù [in place of gëfjù], that is (gëfjù) for (gëfjù). Then going to the diphthongs, he says (p. 22): "e 3 in Donders, with short e: kri, heiden. In low speech (in plate spraak) corrupted to ai (in Amsterdam) or e 3 . In the last case the i is sometimes very short in closed syllables, or entirely disappears, almost met for med.—e 3 , with short e, written ij and y by
8. (oe)—continued.

is very difficult to say what sound is produced; an effect shown by (⟨j⟩). I admit, however, that in speaking English, and especially in such words as pay, may, say, before a pause, my (oe) is not uniform, but alters in the direction of (⟨i⟩). It is, however, necessary to distinguish these sounds of this alteration, as Donders has done. In the case of a following pause, it is the most marked; but if a vowel or consonant follows rapidly, as play or pay, pay me now, I do not hear this "vanish" at all. I think also that I am inclined to this vanish before (⟨t, d, n⟩) in eight, weight, plate, paid, pain, but not so decidedly nor so regularly as in the former case. I am not conscious of the vanish before (⟨p, b, m; k, g⟩). I think that generally the vanish vanishes when the utterance is rapid, as in burnt, aerial. So far as I have yet observed, my usage is much the same as that of other educated speakers, from whom I rarely hear anything like a real (⟨ei⟩), and this I attempted to note by (⟨ey⟩) or (⟨ej⟩), where (oe) glides into "palatalised vowel" of some sort. Still there are speakers in whom it is marked, and especially when an ay has to be emphatic or well-appalled, which practically brings it before a pause. I think that the reason why French teachers find such difficulty with English pupils is that the pupils altogether lengthen the vowels too much. I deprecate much Mr. Melville Bell's insisting on (⟨ei⟩) universally as a point of orthoepy, making the sound approach to one of the diphthongal i's, for such a pronunciation is so rare as always to be remarkable and generally remarked. An Essex man told me (Dec. 1872) that he was known everywhere by what—as I heard him—were his eyes. It turned out to be his pronunciation of long a. "But," said he, "I can't hear it; I can't make out the difference at all." Again, Mr. Brundeth, a county magistrate, informed me that on officially visiting the pauper schools at Anerley, near London, he found that fully half the boys made so difference between ā and ā, and could not even hear the difference when such words as they, thy, were correctly pronounced to them. According to Mr. Murray, mūtāō nōmine dē mi fābula narrārētur!

8. (t).

(t). See No. 1, (m), and No. 2, (t). When (p, t, k) are final, and before a pause, so that they are not immediately followed by a vowel on to which the voice can glide, or by a consonant, the (p, t, k) are made more audible by gliding them on to some unvocalised breath, written (p', t', k'), on (10, δ, 56, 6), and whether this is already in the mouth, or is driven through the larynx, is indifferent; the latter is most audible, and will often assume the form of (pʰ, tʰ, kʰ). There may be a pause of silence between the glide on to (t) and this windrush, and this pause apparently lengthens the mute. It is not usual to note this added (⟨t⟩) or (⟨k⟩). It is not a French habit. French speakers either omit the final mute entirely, or add a mute e (⟨je⟩). Using > to represent the glide to, and < the glide from a mute, the following cases have to be noted in English, remembering that for English mutes the glottis is always closed.

Initial, pea, tea, key = (p < ii, t < ii, k < ii);

Medial after the force accent, peeping, eating, looking = (p < ii > p < i, iii > t < iq, lli > k < iq).

Medial, preceding but not following a vowel under the force accent, repay, pretend, accuse = (rip < ee'j; prit < en'd; sk < iu:za).

Medial, preceding a consonant on to which it does not glide, that is, with which it cannot form an initial combination, adopted, pitfall, active = (adwe > pt < i ed; pri> tfaal; e> k < iv).

Medial, doubled, a case of the last, distinguished however by a sensible pause marked (⟨j⟩), oap-pin, boot-tree, book-case = (kwe > pjp < in, buu> tj- t < ri; bu > k < ee'ja).

Final, before a pause, cap, boot, book = (kwe > p < i', buu > t < t', bu > k < t'), otherwise it is treated as medial, but may be emphatically doubled, as (kwe > pjp < i', buu > tj < t', bu > k < k'.)

These differences are not usually distinguished in phonetic writing, and from their regularity seldom require to be noticed. But irregularities must be marked, as (kwe > t) or (kett) to show the absence of the second glide (kwe > t < t'). Mr. Sweet's remarks on Danish syllabication (Philol. Trans. 1873-4, pp. 94-112) must be carefully
8. (ct, ē'jt)—continued.

Considered by all who would enter upon these phonetic mysteries, which are far from having been yet fully revealed.

(ct, ē'jt). The vowel begins at once, in properly spoken English, and is not preceded by any whisper. The whole organs are placed in the proper position for (c'), and the glottis is closed ready for voice, firmly, but not so tightly that the chords must be forced under by explosion. The vowel thus commences with a clean edge, so to speak, noted thus (c'), and here called the “clear attack” or “glottid,” but by teachers of singing the “shock of the glottis.” But if there is an air-tight closure which has to be forced open, we have the “check attack” or “glottid,” or “catch of the glottis,” the Arabic hamza, noted thus (c'), which is considered as a defect in English speech, though common in German. It is, however, not unfrequent to hear vowels commenced with a “gradual attack” or “glottid,” during which breath shades through whisper into voice, and the precise commencement of the vowel cannot be readily determined, and this may possibly have been the Greek “spiritus lenis,” which will be noted thus (c'). In singing this produces “breathiness.” It is not recognized in speech, but is possibly one of the causes of so-called aspiration and non-aspiration, and of the difficulty felt by so many English speakers in determining whether a vowel is aspirated or not. It is mere carelessness of utterance. But here it may be noted that these “glottides” or “attacks” may also be “releases,” that is, a vowel may end as well as begin “clearly,” as (tun), which is the regular English form, or with the check or “catch,” as (tun), as frequently in Danish before a subsequent consonant, or gradually, as (tun). Now this graduation consists, initially, in beginning the vowel with the glottis open, closing it rapidly, during which the edges of the vocal chords approach very closely before contact, producing first the effect of whisper, and then of voice, so that we have “tun, ēnte, tēnt.” In ending we should get in reverse order, ēnte, ēnte, ēnte. This is what is meant by the notation (te'), or (tun). Now if there be a little longer pause on the pure voiceless sounds, so that the (“tun” or (“tune”) becomes sensible, is clear that (tun, ēnte) will appear begin or end with a sound like (t) and (tun, ēnte) with a sound like (wh). This seems to be the origin of c’ Danish terminalion (zh, wh), who the initial forms generate the aspirate or an approach to them, differing the manner considered in No. 14, (zh) How far these terminations are used in English, I am unable to say. The is often so much loss of force that is difficult to observe. But certain distinct (zh, wh) final are not frequent in received pronunciation; and distinct (zh, wh) initial would be sent at once as a vulgarly intruded aspira. In No. 14, (wh), where the wh subject will be systematically considered it will be seen that this final (t) represents the Sanscrit visarga.

After the vowel is commenced, it continued a very short time, and glides either on to (t), as already explained, or to (t). But if it glides on to (t) does not do so till its energy is not diminished, so that, in received pronunciation, (ē'j) never approaches character of a close diphthong, as i ffr, or (ē'), in which the (ē') is short and the force is continued to the (t), which may be lengthened and then die away. In (ē'j) the diphthong is the first, and the glide on to is scarcely audible, being absorbed i the glide on to (t). Also, as a b vowel, the (ē') or (ē'j) must have a very short glide on to (t). Ind Prof. Haldeman’s short (ē) has character of a long vowel, by the shi ness and weakness of its glide on to: whereas a really “stopped” (ē) come strongly and firmly on to which would be “lengthened,” (ē't). It is more by the mode which vowels glide on to follow consonants, than by the actual len of the vowels, considered independs of their glides, that the feeling length of vowels in closed sylla arises in English pronunciation. Mr. Sweet’s rule in No. 14, (p).

9. BOOK, (buk).

(b). The relations of m or voiceless (b, d, g) to sonant voiced (p, t, k) should be well

...
9. (b)—continued.

stood. In English (p, t, d, b) the voice begins in the clear attack (d) at the moment the closure is released. In (b, t, d, g, g) the voice begins in the same way, before the closure is released, but for so short a time that the voice may be said to begin as the contact is released. Now Germans, when they really distinguish (p, b), etc., begin the voice in (ph, th, k, k), with a gradual attack, giving a kiss; and they allow the voice to sound through the (b), etc., before the release of the closure, which may be written ('bi, 'di, 'gi). The breath not being able to escape blows out the neck like a turkey-cock's, and hence is called a blow-out-sound or Blasblaat by German phoneticians, which we may translate infatus. It is not possible to continue this infatus long without allowing breath to escape by the nose; but to produce a real (m, n, q) after (b, d, 'g), is not possible without producing a loud thud by the withdrawal of the uvula from the back of the pharynx, requiring a strong muscular effort, because the compressed air in the mouth forces the uvula into very close contact with the pharynx. It is probable then that ('bi, 'dii, 'gii), do not occur monosyllabically. But it is quite easy to begin with the nasal resonance, and at the cut-off, by the uvula, which has air on both sides, and hence can act freely. Hence (mb, nd, qg) are easy, and have generated the sounds of (b, d, g) in modern Greek. Some phoneticians (I have forgotten to note the passages) even make (b, d, g) necessarily nasal. They are not so in English. But there is often a semi-nasal (b, d, g) occasioned by insufficient nasal resonance, arising from catarrh, when the speaker intends (m, n, q), but cannot perfect them, see (1096, d'), and one of these, (b), in perhaps a slightly different form, is an element of Westmoreland and Cumberland speech. It is possible entirely to cut off the voice before proceeding to the vowel, without creating the impression of a new syllable, hence (mp, nd, qg) are possible, and seem actually to occur together with (mb, nd, qg) in some South African languages. In English initial (b, d, g), however, nothing of this infatus or nasality is customary. In middle Germany, where the distinc-


tions (p, t, d) are practically unknown, comparatively few being able to say (pti, thi, dhi), recourse is had to what Brücke and M. Bell consider as whispering instead of voicing, using ('bi, 'di, 'gi) only. Merkel, however, who is a native of Upper Saxony, where the sounds are indigenous, denies this, and asserts that he really says ('pi, 'ti) implosively. See (1097, d').

Observe that ('kii) is not common in Saxon, because (kni, gkhi, ghk) are heard. Perhaps also true (g) is heard initially; I do not feel sure. But certainly (k, g) are always distinguished initially, and (b, d, t) are always confused initially, in Saxon.

When (b, d, g) are medial between two vowels, there is in English a complete passage of the voice through them, without any sensible sustention of the sounds, as baby, moody, plucky (bes > b < s, niit > d < s, plair > g < i), and there seems to be no slackening of the closure, and consequently no buzz, the sound being produced entirely by internal condensation of the air. In German, however, such (b, g) readily pass into (bh, gh), as schreiben, tage = (shri-bhen, taa-giu), of which the first is not, but the second is, received. But for (d), or rather (dh), nothing of the kind occurs, neither (d, g) nor (dh) being developed. On the other hand, medial (d, dh), a coronal and a dental, but more often (d, dh), interchange dialectically in English. In Spanish (b, bh) are not distinguished even initially. That similar habits prevailed in Semitic languages we know by their alphabets, ל ו. ל being (b, d, dh, g gh) according to circumstances. The English received pronunciation is therefore peculiarly neat, and more like French and Italian in this respect.

Final (b, d, g), before a pause, are intentionally the same as when initial, the voice ending as the closure begins, or not being sensibly sustained during the closure; but the glide up to the consonant being continued into the closure, gives the vowel an appearance of greater length. Sometimes, however, the voice is sensibly prolonged during closure, and as this is uncomfortable, the closure is relaxed before the voice ceases, and we have effects like (beeb, diid, greg), or (beeb, diid, d, greg), which are often pain-
9. (b)—continued.

fully evident in public speakers. I frequently noticed these sounds in the declaration of the late Mr. Macready. It is often greatly exaggerated in provincial tragedianism. It is, however, so far as I have observed, not customary to drop the voice before releasing contact, and then to open upon a windrush, as (beep, diid, geej). This would, I think, produce to an English ear too much of the effect of simple (beep, diid, geej), which would be unintelligible. It seems however probable that this is the history of the German and Dutch habit of always taking these finals as mute. In Dutch indeed this is slightly controlled by the action of the following consonant. This action is quite unknown in English, except in such a word as cupboard = (kobad), but deserves to be noted as occurring in so closely related a language. The Dutch rule according to Donders (op. cit. p. 23), which is corroborated by Land (op. cit. p. 31), is as follows:

"With the exception of the nasals, when two consonants come together, however different their character, both must be voiced, or both voiceless. Whenever in two syllables or words spoken separately, one would be voiced and the other voiceless, one must be altered to agree with the other, according to the following rules."

1). "Before voiced b and d, every consonant is voiced, as, zeebpak, opdoen, strijkbout [this is the only way in which (g) can occur in Dutch], stief-broeder, daarbij, stífdouker, misdaad, hagedoorn, etc. [where p, k, j, r, s, g = (b, g, v, r, z, gh)]. But sometimes remains, as: 't ligt daar, pronounced 't licht te daar [compare Orrim's bart tiss (491, bc), bart tegg (491, c)]."

2). "Voiced w, v, s, g, j, l, and r lose their voice after every preceding consonant, except r. We pronounce: vroestrouw, buurtsrouw, -stiefsoon, voorsoon, -afchroond, voorgrond, -loogjongen (gy voiceless), vooyaar (oj voiced), etc. [where tf, rj, -fs, rz, -feh, rgh, -ph, rj], the original Dutch letters being, tr, rj, -fs, rz, -fs, rj, -p, rj, rj, respectively."

3). "Before the nasals all consonants except r are or become voiceless. [This rule is questioned by Land.]"

9. (b)—continued.

"After a nasal each consonant preserves its own character."

Land remarks, that the first rule does not hold in English, where Bradford and platform, backbone and bugbear are differently treated; and that according to the same rule every final consonant in Dutch is pronounced voiceless, as bet, broet, ik kep, ik meeh; but that it is different in English, where back and bag, hat and had, cup and cut, are carefully distinguished; and so, he adds, in Frisian we hear breed, and not broet.

In English the difference between such combinations as the following is felt to be so great that we instinctively wonder at any ears being dull enough to confuse them, unaware how very dull our own ears are to distinctions which other nations feel with equal acuteness: pip bit; pat paw; bat bed; buck peg, buck bug; sip do; tub dog; duck dog; give me the bag do, and him a bag too, and then give it us back do, and his back too. A German or a Dutchman would flounder helplessly and hopelessly in those quicksands.

(u). This vowel differs from (u), as (i) from (i), and just as an Englishman finds (bit) very difficult and (bit) easy, so (bak) is to him easy, and the Scotchman's (bak) so difficult, that he puts it down as a blank, heard in Yorkshire. Distinguish also English pull (pul) and French pues (pul) from each other, and from wool (pul), heard for pulli in Shropshire. The throat is widened for (u). The well-marked (o) or (o), already mentioned (1107, e), must be borne in mind. To a southern Englishman (bak, bak) are riddles; at least, very think, fat, clumsy pronunciations of his (bak), which, to a Scot, is itself a thick, fat, clumsy pronunciation of (bak). Redundancy of pronunciation has entirely local value. It is easy to pronounce (e) without rounding the lips, and this must be the way that a cuckoo gets out his cry, or a parrot says (pua), as I distinctly heard one call out the other day (4th May, 1873). It seems as if we produced the roundness by contracting the arches of the soft palate at the entrance to the mouth. This mode of "rounding" I propose to mark by (\textdagger), thus (p\textdagger u), implying..."
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9. (u)—continued.

that (pu) are imitated in this manner, the lips remaining open. See (1116, b).

(k). The back of the tongue is raised to contact with the soft palate so much in the position of (u) that the glide is short, sharp, and but little marked. The relation of the gutturals (k, g) to (un, au) renders the labialisations (ku, gw) easy and common (208, c), and there is no difficulty in disposing the back of the tongue for (u), while the tip is in the (t, d) position. Hence (tw, dw) are also easy (209, e). Prof. Whitney, whose phonetic appreciation is acute, and who has much studied pronunciation, regards these "labial modifications of vowels and consonants" to be "a special weakness" on my part and Mr. Bell's. "With one who can hold the initial consonant sound of dwell, for example, to be not a w with a d prefixed, but a labially modified d, we should not expect to agree in an analysis of the wh sound" (Oriental and Linguistic Studies, New York, 1873, p. 271). I was, however, never satisfied with the analysis (twist, dwell). The passage from (i) to (w) created a glide which I could not recognize as usual. I tried (twist, dwell), which are easier, but then I missed the characteristic (w) effect; it was not till I had studied my English Sound. Bell's Visible Speech, and finding him classify (w) as a mixed gutturalised labial, and consequently (gw) as a mixed labialised guttural, that the explanation occurred to me, which is simply that "wherever the position of a consonant can be practically assumed at the same time as the positions for (i, u), they are so assumed by speakers to whom these combinations are easy." This brought palatalisations and labialisations under the same category. As we have (kj, gj, tj, dj, lj, nj), and might have (pj, bj), which apparently occur in Russian, so we might have (kw, gw, tw, dw, lw, nw), and even (pw, bw), which are related to (p, b) much as (kj, gj) are to (k, g). I found (ku, gw, tw, dw) the most satisfactory explanations to me of English sounds; and I seemed to recognize them in French quois, toi, dois (kwa, twa, dwa), and similarly loi, noiz, roi (lwa, nwa, rwa). It was satisfactory to me that Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte, who

must certainly be allowed to understand French pronunciation, adopted these views, added to my list foi, choiz, joi, (zua, zua, zwa), and completed the conception by admitting palato-labialisations, arising from attempting to combine (y), or (i, u) simultaneously, with consonants, as in lui, nuit, sui, chuissant, juin, which would have to be written (luji, nuji, suji, shujitaza, shujiza). As in French (lj, nj) are said to be mouillé, so he terms (iou, au), etc., veloutée, and (iuji, nuij), etc., faitée. Theoretically the existence of such combinations as (lj, iou, iuji), etc., is perfectly conceivable and executable. The only question is, are they used in such words? This is a matter of observation. Prof. Whitney observes (twist, dwell); I observe in myself, at least, (twist, dwell). Mr. Bell writes (tw, dw), and also (kw), although he admits (kuch), the Scotch quh which bears the same relation to (kw) as (kh) to (k). The simple character of (kw) may have prevented the qu from making "position" in Latin; but the initial character of (kw), like that of a mute and a liquid, may have had a similar effect. We have (gw) in guano (gwaño). Sometimes there is both palatalisation or labialisation of the consonant and an inserted vowel. Thus the old-fashioned cart, regard, sky, are seldom pure (kja't, regjia'n'd, skje't), but often (kja'a, regjia'n'd, skje'a), and it is possible that quill, quell, quanity, may be occasionally (kquil, kkuel, kkw'ntiti), but I have not noted it. On the other hand, Italian quale, quanto, questo, sound to me rather (ku'a'te, ku'a'te, kue'ste), than (kwa') or (kwa'—), etc. The same is probably the case in Spanish enantio, etc. But I doubt a real (kwa') anywhere. One great source of difference between German and English quell seems to arise from the two German consonants, thus (kbbzl).

(bak). The voice begins in (b), and is carried through (w) to (k), where it is sharply and suddenly cut off. For the effect of (k) final see No. 8, (i).

10. WATCH, Bell's (watch), my (watch).
10. (A, o).
(A, o): With Mr. Bell, I used to consider that we represented (wa), rather than (wo), and I have previously given (wøa), as the pronunciation (56, a). But on further observation I think that (wa) is not so common as (wo), and that when (wa) is used, the (A) is apt to become of medial length, so that the unpleasant drawing effect (waata, th) results, where I introduce a new method of marking the length of a vowel in palaeotype. Hitherto I have only used (a, aa) for short and long, and (aaa) for protracted. As this is not enough for theoretical purposes, I propose to use (a, a, a, aa, aa, aaa) as a scale of six, very short, short, medial, long, very long, protracted. This superior vowel must not be used after another vowel of a different form, as that would militate against the notation (e) on (1107, d), so that if we wished to write short (o) followed by very short (t), we must write (et), according to the usual notation. The short vowel-sound in wøata is almost invariably (o) in England, but the medial sound is perhaps common in America. The difference between (A) and (o) is very slight, and both are nearly peculiar to English. Practically (A) belongs to the (a) group, and (o) to the (o) group. Foreigners hear (A) as (a) or (o), and (o) as (o) or (o). The differences are, however, important. The vowels (A, o) differ from (o, o) strictly by the depression of the back of the tongue, which, in the diagram (14, o, No. 7), is not given low enough for my pronunciation. But (A) differs from (o) by a slight "rounding," the corners of the lips being brought a little together for (A) (14, a, No. 12), whereas for (o) they are quite apart. Also according to Mr. Bell, (A) is a primary and (a) with (o) are "wide" vowels. I must own that (A) feels to me when speaking "wider" than (o), that is, to be pro-
nounced with an opener pharynx. Still the concinnity of the vowel system points to the other arrangement, as shown on p. 14, and I am probably wrong. The various degrees of opening of the lips in rounding should be observed, the three degrees, p. 14, diagram Nos. 10, 11, 12, being in English reserved for (u, o, A). But in Danish we have varieties. Thus Mr. Sweet observes (Philological Trans. 1873-4, p. 102): "In Danish the two

10. (A, o)—continued.
lower articulations (o, A), while preserving the same tongue position as English and most other languages;" [that is, those of diagram Nos. 4, 6, a] have undergone what may be called "lippenverschiebung," [lip-prolaction, may be an admissible translation, pro-
laction being nearest to verschlebung], "(o) being pronounced with the labial-
isation or 'rounding' of (u), and (A) with that of (o), (u) itself remaining
unchanged." [I propose to write this effect thus (o), the principal form giving the position of the tongue, and the subscripted that of the lips. Note the different meaning ascribed to the superior (o) or a sound between (o) and (u), but apparently more like (o), given on (1107, d), and note also the fourth kind of rounding just symbolised by (o) on (1114, d)]. "This abnormal rounding gives a peculiar cavernous effect to the vowels, and makes it difficult, especially for a foreigner, to distinguish them accurately." See (799, d). Prime Louis Lucien Bonaparte seemed to me to imitate the cavernosity by protruding the lips in a funnel shape, which we may write (11, o), so that he made Swedish o and a to be (o, y). Mr. Sweet says the Swedes and Norwegians use (u) for (u), "which in Norwegian had the additional peculiarity of being unilaterally rounded, at least in some dialects," and would therefore be (u) "In Swedish this (o) has been moved up nearly into the place of the (u), but in Norwegian it is formed as in Danish. The consequence is that the Norwegians are quite unable to pronounce the (u) in foreign languages." (ibid.) In some Yorkshire people I have observed a tendency to pronounce (A) in the di-
rection of (o), so that the effect hovered between (o) and (A), and for that reason might be written (A). Southerners accuse them of saying (o), for (A), all cause. It is possible that this sound is properly (A). It deserves investigation, if only from the Scandinavian relations of Yorkshire.

We may note generally that (A) is an extremely difficult vowel for foreigners, and it is seldom reached. Even Scotch-
men are apt to confuse it with (e). But conversely Englishmen confuse even foreign (A) with (A). The Ger-
man (a) is so confidently considered as (A), that (A) is known among

English orthoepists as the German A!
10. (A, o)—continued.

Again the broad (oo) of our dialects is by dialectal writers almost always written as, meaning (Aa); and the Italian, (o), in syllables where it is taken as long, is called (Aa), as (nAa, bwAa, dO), for (no, bu'desh), no, bu’mo. Italians themselves say (aa) rather than (oo) for English (Aa). Both vowels (Aa, o), with the true lip rounding, are, as already observed, almost peculiarly English. I have reason to doubt whether (Aa) is really heard in India, or Persia, or Austria, which are the only places, beside England, where, so far as I know, it may be at home.

Hence also the diphthong (Aa, o) is rare out of England. For its English origin from (oo, oo) see (131, a, 270, s. 1101, e). The Danish og is written (oo) by Mr. Sweet (ibid. p. 107), but this means (oo). This, however, to my ears, is the nearest foreign diphthong to our (oo). The German ow I am accustomed to call (oo) myself, and perhaps in the North of Germany it fully reaches that sound. I think, however, that (oo) would be a more correct representation of the North German sound. For the Middle German I hear (oo, oy). Rapp does not properly distinguish (o, o), and in Italian does not distinguish close and open o. Hence although he makes the English short o to be his o, I shall transcribe it (o), as I believe he pronounces it. He says: (Phys. d. Spr. 4, 19): “Theory has been greatly troubled with German ow. Feeling the inconvenience of confusing ow with oi (oi) in Middle Germany, theoreticians thought that with ai, ow, they could associate an analogous ai (ay), which however does not readily unite with them, even when really pronounced, as indeed is commonly the case, only as oo, ox, o, ka, ko, ko. On the other hand, the Northern, Dutch, and low German (oi, o) presented itself, as at least intentionally different from (oi), and as (o) was no German sound [Rapp identifies it with French de me que], it was advanced to oe of (oo oe), so that there resulted a diphthongal triad ai oe oi (oi au oé), which is completely identical with the English and also the old Latin ae, ou, ae, and of which we can at least say that they are the three most convenient diphthongs for the organs of speech. Later on, the want of the intermediate sound in oe (oe) was felt, and to avoid this objection, a rather difficult but not ill-sounding diphthong os (oy) was theoretically acknowledged, and although an extremely artificial sound, pretty well satisfied all requirements. Those provinces that possess (oi o) are the real causes of establishing (oy) as os (oy), whereas those that acknowledge a-diphthongs only will always incline to the low Saxon oi (oi). The diphthongs are always affected by a following nasal, so that when radical ow ow ow are not called (a, in, an a, in), for which last (oi) would be preferable, they come out as (om, en, om, em), and any theory will find it difficult to produce (nwyn froynd) with sensible (y) without an appearance of affectation. . . . German theoreticians who are so learned in scripture (Schriftgelehrte) that they insist on having a heard in ow, and e in ei (not an e in ow also, or, for the sake of a, e, o, an o perhaps!), are, thank heaven! so rare, that we need not speak of them.” Breücke (uber eine neue Methode der phonetischen Transcription, Wien, 1866, p. 63), transcribes biwome, neswe, eriweumum etc. by characters equivalent to (bwy-me neyw-sa, u)-tray-mes-n), where (e) indicates an “imperfectly formed e,” that is, a, he, a Saxon, adopts the theoretical (ey). As Englishmen’s views of the identity of German ow with their own oy are generally very ill based, I thought it better to give the views of German phoneticians on the subject. But the arguments of Rapp seem to leave out of consideration the organic development of language without any reference to writing, so that he lays himself open to the very “learning in scripture” which he ridicules.

(t). This is a medial (>t<), see No. 8 (t).

(sh, sh). For the distinction of (s,sh) and (sh,sh) see No. 6 (s). This advanced (sh) may be distinctly heard in saying watch with a very protracted hise (wask, sh, sh); and after a little practice it is possible to say (sh) without the crutch of (t). Mr. Sweet says he is inclined to accept this analysis. Prof. Haldeman says that instead of advancing (sh) to (sh), he retracts (t) to (t t), which comes to the same thing.
relation of (kj, tj) to (ah) will require revision, if (ab) and not (tah) is the original derivative from (k). In quite recent English (tah) has been developed from (ti) before (i), as in the terminations -twise, in nature (arbeitah).

To the absence of an independent (ah) may perhaps be attributed the persistence with which (tah) initial, being only (t < ah), is considered a simple letter, and ch or tch final in such, much, crutch, which is ( > t < ah), has been taken to be the result of prep-fixing (t) to the former simple sound. To the same cause I attribute the dispute as to the final sounds in such, lunch, launch, drench, which some analyze as (ah), and others as (tah).

Now the position of the tongue for the (t) being the same as that for (t), the full analysis may be (n-uh-nb-h), or (n-uh-nb-tb-h), or simply (n-uh-nb-tb-h) or (n-uh-at). But in the plural o'clock, I myself use a distinct (t), thus, (i)n(t, shes), and to my ear (i)n(ush, shes) is unusual. Mr. Bell uses (nτhsh).

The sound (tah), as I hear it, is the Hungarian (t), the Polish (t), and 24th Russian letter. As I pronounce Polish zs, the 26th Russian letter, I seem to prolong (ah) or (sh), and for an instant touch the palate with the tip of the tongue in the middle of the hiss, checking it momentarily and producing two hiss-glides, thus (ah > t < ah), or (sh < t < ah), for the (t) is probably (t).

The Germans write the sound (schu). That (ch) in English cheese has a prefixed (t), may be felt very distinctly by pronouncing (tsh), (tsh), (tsha), (tsh), (tsh), (tsh), with great rapidity, when the best of the tongue against the palate will be felt as markedly as in rapid (ti, te, ta, to, tu). It is convenient also to practise (sh, she, sh, sha, she, shu), and (sh, she, sh, sha, she, shu).

Notwithstanding the confidence I feel in the diphthongal nature of (ca) in cheese as (=c), yet strong opinions of a different nature are entertained. Prince L. L. Bonaparte can hear no difference between English ch in cheese and Italian c, and this he considers to be the simple (sh), a continuant, which he can prolong indefinitely, and which, when so prolonged, suggests a (t) throughout. On the other hand Mr. Goodwin (1093, d'), no mean observer, considers ch in chest and j in jest to be
10. (sh, zh)—continued.

explodents, which I will mark by the new characters (kj, gj), the latter written as an unaccented j crossed; see (1094, c). These are the real explodents corresponding to (zh, j), or Mr. Bell's 2a, 2l, on p. 15, which he too hastily confused with my (tj, dj). Observe that in (t, d) the tip, and in (k, g) the back, of the tongue touches the palate; then for (tj, dj), without removing the tip, bring the middle of the tongue against the palate, and for (kj, gj), without removing the back, also bring the middle of the tongue against the palate. Hence for (tj, dj) the front two-thirds, and for (kj, gj) the back two-thirds, of the tongue touch the palate. But for (kj, gj) only the middle third of the tongue touches the palate, thus producing a real explodent, which, as Mr. Neol pointed out to me, is the sound indicated by Mr. Bell's Visible Speech symbol. To succeed in pronouncing them at first, keep the tip of the tongue down by burying it below the lower gums; and to prevent the back of the tongue from rising to the (k) position, think of (t), which of course cannot be pronounced when the tip of the tongue is kept down. Make the effect of (kja) perfectly sharp, by beginning with a closed glottis (1097, b), and come quietly on to the vowel without any escape of unvocalised breath. A little practice is necessary to avoid (kj, gj) on the one hand, and (tsh, dzh) on the other, but the sound has a philological value which makes it worth while understanding. These (kj, gj) are Mr. Goodwin's c, j, in the following remarks (ibid. p. 9):

"C (sh in chin) is manifestly a simple elementary consonant, and a lene. It is produced by placing a certain portion of the tongue near the tip, but not the tip itself, against a certain part of the palate, and, after pressure, suddenly withdrawing it with a violent emission of breath. It has no t-sound in its composition, for neither the tip of the tongue nor the teeth are used in its production. Neither does it end in an at-sound, for, in that case, it could be prolonged ad libitum, which the true e (zh English) cannot be. Moreover, it does not begin with any one sound, and end with another, but is the same simple sound throughout its whole extent. It may be shown by a similar experi-

ment, and proof, that j is a simple elementary sound. It bears the same relation to e (kj) that t, gsh, h, or any other lene sonant to its corresponding lene surd." That the true sh cannot be prolonged ad libitum, no other writer, so far as I am aware, has asserted, except in the sense that its prolongation, like that of all diphthongs, differs from its commencement. In connection with these remarks of Mr. Goodwin, it seems best to cite what he says about (sh, zh), to which I must prefix his curious remark on aspirates, a subject which will have to be especially considered in No. 14. (wh). He says (ibid. p. 8):

"Each of the aspirates might have been represented by a single character; but, as h represents a simple breathing or aspiration, and as all the aspirates are similarly combined with such a breathing, and those of sh, kh, ch used in English are generally so represented, we have chosen to represent them all as combined with h. We do not mean by this to intimate that the sound of h is added to the respective lene—for in that case the aspirates would not be simple sounds—but that it is combined with them throughout their whole extent. They are simple, therefore, under our definition; and if in any sense compound, they are so by a sort of chemical composition, in distinction from a mechanical aggregate or mixture. Kh, for example, is not equal to k + h, but to k×h. This we consider a true aspiration; while the sound of h, added after a consonant, no more renders that consonant a true aspirate, than it does the following consonant or vowel. We do not doubt there are such aspirates (so called) in other languages, as in the Sanscrit, for example; but we here speak of the strict propriety of the term."

[p. 9]. "Sh is not the aspirate of t, that is, it is not related to s as th to t, gsh to p, etc., as any one may ascertain by a simple experiment of pronunciation. S is more dental than palatal, sh is not dental at all. But sh is related to e (kj) precisely as any other aspirate to its lene; that is, if you place the organs as if to produce e (kj), but instead of bringing them into perfect contact, retain a slight passage between for the constant egress of the breath, modifying it, as it goes out, by this specific ap-
10. (sh, sh)—continued.

proximation of the organs to a state of contact, you will have a perfect sh. 
zh is plainly related to ū, as sh to ć (kū).”

[This is incorrect, the result is (šh).]

“The s and z, as sibilants, are peculiar, but in respect of the organs employed in their articulation, they furnish a transition between the palatal s (ķj), etc., and the dental s t, etc.; and in respect to the mode of their articulation, they are to be reckoned among the aspirates rather than the lenes. Their lenes would be a certain unpronounceable medium between e (ķj) and t and between j (gj) and a respectively.”

The systematic terms, lenes et aspiratae, should be discarded, as they tend to produce great confusion, and the precise mode of generating each individual sound should be studied, as we study individuals in natural history, before we attempt to classify them, except provisionally. The grammarians’ provisional and extremely imperfect classification of lenes et aspiratae has been long antiquated.

When Mr. Gupta visited me (1906, a), I was astonished to find that his pronunciation of š was not the (šh dšh) usually laid down in books as the modern pronunciation, nor the (ķj gj) usually theoretically supposed to be the ancient sounds, but exactly and unmistakably (ķj gj) as just described. This must be also the real ancient sound, and it solves every difficulty. In Mr. Gupta’s pronunciation (ķj) was as pure and unmixied with any hiss as an English (k). The post-aspirated forms will be considered in No. 14, (wh).

Corresponding to these (ķj gj) there must be of course a nasal (qj), which however only occurs immediately before them, and is hence a generated sound, just as (q) itself in Sanscrit; but it is certainly not (nj) as usually assumed, for the point of the tongue does not touch the palate; nor (qj), corresponding to (ķj gj), for the back of the tongue never reaches the (k)-position. The Sanscrit explosives now become perfectly intelligible. ă the usual (k) with the back of the tongue only, and neither the middle nor the tip, in contact with the palate. ă the present (ķj), with the middle of the tongue only, and neither the back nor the tip, in contact with the palate. ă with the tip of the tongue only, and neither the back nor middle, in contact with the palate, and not the teeth, written (r), for one of the forms (r t), that is either retracted or coronal, not gingival nor dental, nor citra-dental (†t). ř with the tip of the tongue only against the teeth only, not against the palate. The sides of the tongue in all cases have to complete the closure. The series may then be completed thus:

(x) back of retracted tongue against extreme back of palate.
(kos) back of tongue against palate.
(kos) back and middle of tongue against it.
(kos) middle of tongue against it.
(t) middle and tip of tongue against it.
(ţ t ţ) tip of tongue against palate in various places from furthest back to crown or base of gums.
(ţ) tip of tongue against upper teeth.
(ţ) tip of tongue against both upper and lower teeth, but not protruded.
(ţţ) tip of tongue protruded between upper and lower teeth.
(ţ) lower tip against upper teeth.
(p) lower tip against upper lip.
(p) lower lip against upper lip.

Now each of these can give rise to a hiss by a slight relaxation of the contact. Hence we get a theoretical (xh) from (x); the well-known (kh) from (k), the German cäh in aeh; the equally well-known (kjh) from (ķj), the German cäh in sick; the English (jh) = (kjh) from (ķj), of which presently; the English (sh) is the nearest if not the exact hiss of the English (t), as will be noticed presently, (th) the hiss of dental (ţ). National habits will here interfere. The Sanscrit has only a generated (kh), as will be shown in No. 14, (wh), and hence it does not appear in writing. The (kjh) or (jh) however existed distinctly and had a sign ă. Now if modern Germans, as we shall see in No. 16, (2), actually confuse (kjh, Jh), we cannot suppose that their ancestors, the old emigrants from the Aryan land, did better, and from (kjh) the step to (k) on the one hand and (sh) on the other is easy. How easily (sh) comes from (jh) we know in English, and Mr. Goodwin has himself exemplified it by making (kjhb) = (sh) instead of (jhb), just as in India (jh) has sunk absolutely into (sh). Lepsius makes the sound of ř theoretically = (şh), (Standard Alphabet, p. 71), which he identifies with Polish ę, a sound I hear as (ę). But Mr. Gupta hears me
10. (sh, sh)—continued.

Difference in present usage between घ and न, both are equally (sh). But both occur as ungendered distinct forms in Sanscrit, where they are unmistakably referred to घ। There is probably no doubt therefore that घ was, and still represents, (sh). Now we have already shewn on comparing (s, sh) in (1104, 2) that the latter is retracted, as compared with the former. And in the same way (r) is retracted as regards (t). In languages having no (th) — as in German for example — (s) or (s), for the two cases are not distinguished, is taken to be, and actually results as, the hiss of (t). It is thus that high German श्च (s, s) has probably actually resulted from (t). In the same way घ was in Sanscrit referred to घ। As a matter of course therefore घ (sh) or (sh) was referred to घ (r). In modern Bengalee, as we have seen (1105, b'), all three sounds घ घ घ are confused as (sh). That घ घ (sh, s) were not exhibited together as surd and sonant, may be due to the fact that there were no (sh, s) as sonants to घ। The Sanscrit series of speech-sounds, like those of all other nations, was but fragmentary.

Considerable objection has been taken to Mr. Melville Bell's classification of (s, sh), by which, in the arrangement on p. 15, 25 and 35, the (s) is apparently allied to (s), and the (sh) to (t). So strongly have speakers felt the relation of (s) to (t), and of (sh) to (th), that, as I have been informed (by Miss Hull, of 102, Warwick Gardens, Kensington, who successfully teaches deaf and dumb girls to speak and read from the lips, and, employing for that purpose Mr. Bell's Visible Speech symbols, went in 1873 to Boston, in America, to study Mr. Graham Bell's method of using it in teaching at the deaf and dumb institutions there), Mr. G. Bell has found it best to transpose these symbols, giving to the symbol 25 the meaning (sh), and to the symbol 35 the meaning (s). But Mr. Melville Bell's symbols are both 'mixed,' and imply merely that the (s) character in the position of the tongue predominates in (s) by the elevation of the middle of the tongue, and the (t) character of the same in (sh), by the depression of the middle of the tongue. This is clearly shown by his diagrams (Visible Speech, p. 53) and his description (ibid. p 52), viz.: "6. (a) Front-Mixed. The Front [middle] and Point [tip] of the Tongue both raised, so as to bring the convex surface of the tongue close to the front [crown] of the palatal arch, and the point of the tongue, at the same time, close to the upper gum. — 7. (sh) Points-Mixed. The Point [tip] and the Front [middle] of the Tongue both raised— the latter in a less degree than for symbol 6. (a)—bringing the front [middle] surface of the tongue near to the rim [?] of the palatal arch." The characters both imply (sh* r h), but for (s) the greater proximity of the middle of the tongue to the (t)-position determined both its position and its sign. The recent variation, by Mr. Graham Bell, in the application of these symbols, shews how difficult it is to select any form of symbolism depending on classification. Different points strike different minds as best adapted for characteristics. As in botany and zoology genera and families are constantly being remodelled, we cannot be surprised at the difficulties and disagreements which have notoriously arisen in a matter so little understood and requiring so much training (almost securing bias) to observe and appreciate, as speech-sounds. Still greater exception would probably be taken to Mr. Bell's classing (th) under (sh), and (th), which he identifies with Welsh ll (lh), under (r h), because we naturally identify (th) with the teeth, and overlook the position of the middle of the tongue. The columns 2 and 3, in Mr. Bell's table, p. 14, should, according to these recent changes in palatocype, be symbolised as follows, in order, from line a to line m:

2. voiceless sh s lh th kj qh

voiced r a li dh gj qj

3. voiceless r h sh lh rh t nh

voiced r z sh d n

If (th, sh) really represent the Welsh ll and its Manx voiced form, they are identical with the symbols (lh /lh), see (766, c, d), where the voiceless form (lh) is incorrectly stated to occur in Manx.

(wɔt, sh). The voice, set on in (w), continues with a glide on to (a), and then with a sharp and very sensible glide on to (t), where it is cut off or...
stopped, and the glottis closed; the glottis is, however, immediately opened wide for unvocalised breath, and a hiss-glide is formed on to (\textit{sh}), through which the hiss may be continued indefinitely, and as a rule the position for (\textit{sh}) is held as long as the breath is audible, so that it does not glide off into anything else. This may be written (\textit{w} + t < \textit{sh}). But in cheese we have (t < \textit{sh} < i > e > a), without the glide on to (t), and hence the (t) is less felt than in the other case.

11. \textbf{SAW}, (\textit{saw}).

(s). For (s) see No. 6, (s).

(a). For (\textit{sa}) see No. 10, (A, o). We have here only the continued sound. Dr. Rush says (\textit{op. cit.} p. 61), "\textit{A}-we has for its radical, the peculiar sound of a in \textit{ewe}; and for its vanish, a short and obscure sound of the monothong (sic) c-r-r." That is, he would pronounce \textit{saw} (\textit{saa, w, saa}), which would give the effect of adding an \textit{r}. It is quite true that Londoners have a difficulty in distinguishing \textit{saw} \textit{soe}, \textit{lau loe}, \textit{mae more}, generally saying only (\textit{saa, laa, maam}) for (\textit{saa soo, laa loo, maa moo}), and that the principal difference to them is that the first words may not, and the last words must, have an epenthetical (r) before a vowel. It is therefore best to avoid this "vanish," and say (\textit{saa}) without relaxing the position for (\textit{sa}). But really, as will hereafter appear, (\textit{saa}, \textit{erj}, oo\textit{v}) are phenomena of precisely the same kind, (\textit{\S} 2, No. 6, iv.) We also find (musmaas, pepaas) in the same way. The only objection is to the interposition of a trilled \textit{r}, as \textit{saw-r-ing} (\textit{saa-riq}). But the Basques interpose a "euphonic" \textit{r} in the same way, and if we could only persuade grammarians to call the Cockney interposition of (r) "euphonic" also, the custom, which is a living reality, however unsavoury now, would be at once disinfected.

(\textit{saa}). The glide from (s) to (\textit{sa}) is of the same nature as in (\textit{skis}), No. 6.

12. \textbf{FATHERS}, Bell's (\textit{fe-dhus}), my (\textit{fe-dhuss}).

(\textit{f}). See No. 4, (\textit{f}).

(\textit{z}, \textit{c}). See No. 7, (\textit{c}, \textit{z}).

(dh). This is the buzz of (\textit{th}), see No. 3, (\textit{th}). There is no initial (d), as Germans imagine, in English (\textit{dhen}), which would require the un-English dental (\textit{ddhen}). The final (-ddh) does not occur, but we have (-ddh) in \textit{breathed, bathed, swathed, tithe} = (bridhيد, bərhəd, swərhəd, tərhəd), in pronouncing which the retraction of the tongue from (dh) to (d) may be distinctly felt. And (d dh) constantly concur in successive words, as and \textit{the}, see (1098, a).

(\textit{w}, \textit{x}). On (\textit{r}, \textit{x}) see No. 3, (r), and No. 4, (a). Mr. M. Bell has peculiar theories about unaccented vowels, which will be better discussed in some special examples, given hereafter. The (\textit{u}) only occurs in English in unaccented syllables, and it may be questioned whether the real sound in these syllables is not (\textit{u}). It is the same, or nearly so (for the exact shades of such obscurities are difficult to seize), as the obscure final -\textit{e} in German and Dutch. When French \textit{e meu} is pronounced, I seem to hear (\textit{a}) rather than (\textit{u}) or (\textit{æ}), and there is a schism on this point among the French themselves. See also (648, 6).

(\textit{zg}). See No. 5, (\textit{foir}), on this after-sound of (\textit{a}), which is generally very clearly developed, especially in singing psalms, where it becomes disagreeably prominent. This final (\textit{a}) should be very lightly touched, as a mere relief from the unpleasant buzz (\textit{a}).

(\textit{fe-dhuss}). The word begins with an unvocalised hiss which is continued as long as the (\textit{f}) position is held, so that the vocal chords must not be brought together till that position is released. The glide on to (\textit{e}) may take place through the gradual closure of the glottis, and hence may be partly voiceless, but the voice is now continued, without break, on to (\textit{e}). There is an interruption to its smoothness by the buzzing of (dh), but, unless there is a trill superadded to (\textit{a}),—which is admissible, but unusual,—the voice is heard as an obscure vowel (\textit{e}) or (\textit{a}) through (\textit{a}). The result is (\textit{fe} < \textit{dh} < \textit{e} > \textit{a}).
membranes, and of secretions, that the resonance is necessarily very complicated. It is safest for Englishmen who cannot pronounce the French nasals to use (q) for (a). On (67, c) I accidentally misstated Mr. Bell’s analysis, which is properly an, on, un, vin = (a, o, a, u, a, v, a). Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte’s is (a, o, a, a, o, a). M. E’douard Paris seems to analyze (a, a, a, o, a, a) in the Introduction to his “St. Matthieu en Picard Amienois” (London, 1863, translated for Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte). In fact it is not possible to analyse these sounds perfectly, because the mere detachment of the uvula from the back of the pharynx alters the shape of the resonance chamber for the nasal vowel, and the addition of nasality effectually disguises its quality. By very carefully performed and recorded experiments with the phonograph and König’s manometric flames (see Poggendorff’s Annalen, vol. 146) on vowels sung at the same pitch, with and without different nasalisations, it may be possible to discover the alteration of the quality produced by nasalisation, but even this is problematical, and, so far as I know, no experiments have hitherto been made in this direction. At present our connection of oral to nasal vowels is purely a matter of aural appreciation, and will probably differ for the same speaker from observer to observer. The form (a) would mean, that, with the exception of the uvula, the organs are disposed as for (a), and that the uvula is so widely detached from the pharynx as to allow a perfectly free passage of vocalised breath through the nose as well as through the mouth. The form (a) gives the same position, with the exception of the uvula, which is, I think, only slightly detached from the pharynx, so that the nasal passage is not so free as the oral, and hence the oral vowel is so distinctly nasal because that probably Frenchmen would not recognize (a) as intended for (a). Both (a) and (a) are oral nasal vowels, but the name is best applied to the second, while the first may be called a nasalised oral vowel. Between (a) and (a) no nasality, and (a) with perfect ori-nasality, there are many degrees; but, as before said, we have not yet succeeded in analysing them, although the different degrees in which the nasal

13. (q)—continued.
12. (fothres)—continued.
The syllable divides somewhere during (dh). The vowel (e) being short, the whole glide from (e) to (dh), and the whole continuance of the buzz till the glide from (dh), would generally be reckoned to belong to the first syllable. This is merely fanciful. The interruption to vocality by the buzz makes two groups (f < e >) and (c > x-e), between which there is an extra-syllabic buzz of sensible duration, and if it were exaggerated in length, we should have the effect of three groups. Practically, two groups only being felt, the length of (dh) is divided at pleasure between them, and is, I believe actually at times differently divided by means of a relaxation of force or slur —, to be described in No. 14, (wh), according to the momentary feeling of the speaker.

13. TONGS, Bell’s (toqz), my (toqa).
(t). See No. 2, (t).
(c). See No. 10, (A, c).

(q). This bears the same relation to (n), as (g) to (d). It is simply (g) with a complete nasal resonance, and thus differs from (g), with incomplete resonance, although in both the uvula is free from the pharynx, but whether to an equal extent has not been determined. The (q) is common in German, Italian, and modern Greek, and was clearly present in Latin and ancient Greek, though it has never received a distinct symbol in these languages, as it has in Sanscrit. But in these languages it is merely a euphonic alteration of (n) generated by a following (k) or (g). It is quite unknown in French, where it seems to Englishmen to have been transformed into a French nasality of the vowel, (a) bearing to (a) about the same relation as (q) to (a). But the real differences which distinguish French Portuguese, dialectal German, American English. Gaelic, Hindi, and perhaps other undescribed nasality, have not yet been determined, so that all analysis is provisional. Mr. Gupta (1096, a) pronounced the Sanscrit “necessary anusvāra” as (q), and not as a mark of nasisation (a). The nasal passages are so complicated and full of tremulous
13. (q)—continued.

passage is opened by the uvula is of course one important element, producing an effect comparable to that of the different ‘roundings’ of the vowels by the lips, see No. 10 (A, o). But in (aq) we have first a purely oral vowel, followed by a glide (a > q), which may pass through some form of nasality, but can never reach either (a) or (aa), because the oral passage is gradually obstructed more and more by the back of the tongue, till finally, all passage through the mouth being cut off by the (k) contact of the back of the tongue and soft palate, the voice issues in (q) entirely through the nose. These distinctions, pure oral (a), nasalized oral (n), orio-nasal (ax), pure oral (a) + a glide which is partly nasal, and imperfectly oral + pure nasal (q), should be carefully borne in mind. It will then be seen that the English (aq, eq, aq, veq) and the German (ag, og, eq, bheq) are very imperfect approximations to the French an, on, un, vin, but are intelligible simply because (q) not existing in French, there are no other sounds which they could represent. It is remarkable that in received English no vowel occurs long before (q), so that even (ooq) is rather difficult to our organs. In America, however, (q) is often (ooq) or (aaj), as (laq, snoq) or (laiq, saaq). And in Icelandic the vowel before (q) is always intentionally long (sai, h, d').

Mr. Goodwin is peculiar in his analysis of (q), his ng. He says (ibid. p. 10), "Ng represents a simple, elementary, and a liquid sound, combining a nasal and a palatal character, or intermediate between the two, being produced on the endeavour to pronounce an n, by pressing the middle of the tongue against the palate. Nhg (or ng), the so-called French nasal, is related to ng as any other aspirate to its lene: that is, it is accompanied with an emission of breath, while the organs are in near approximation to the specific contact which characterizes ng." The description of (a) is of course entirely incorrect. The description of (q), however, does not answer to the English (q), but to the probable Sans. (q), which Englishmen confuse with (nj). The French, having no (q), confuse it with their own (nj). I have also known Fr (nj) pronounced (qj) in England. There is therefore no certainty respecting (q, qj, qj, nj) in accounts of foreign sounds. The confusion is quite similar to that of (w, bh, v). In English (q), which has generally been generated by the action of a letter of the k-series on a preceding n, never occurs initially, so that English people find it difficult to make it glide on to a following vowel, as (gas, qii, qu), which are found in some African and other languages. Hence when final, it is simply prolonged, as (ioq), the strength of the voice dying off, and it seldom becomes voiceless (loqgh), because there is no inconvenience in prolonging the nasality. But sometimes the nasality is dropped, and then simple (q) results, as (ioq), which is treated as a usual final sonant, and may become (loq'g). This cannot be reckoned as a received form, although it may be historical. On the other hand, the voice is occasionally dropped with the nasality, and the result is (loq'k'), which is reckoned vulgar, as in (thr'k') for (thik'), though common in German (192, d).

We have, however, a final (-iq), in the participles, which certainly does not arise from a previous (k) form. The confusion of the (q, -nd) participial forms is very old; it may possibly have arisen from confusing the participle and verbal noun or gerund, for many of our dialects ignore this (-q) altogether, and use (-n) as a termination for both, "not pronouncing the g," as glossarists assume, although Southern Scotch dialects distinguish them by vowels. (-an) participle. (-in) for gerund (Murray, ibid. p. 211). Similarly, (no thin, no thern, na thin) are not uncommon vulgarisms for nothing (na-thin). Yankee and Irish English prefer the participle in -in. In the Forth and Berxy extinct English, ng and n seem to have been occasionally confused.

When (q) is medial, the difficulty is overcome in two ways. First, the glide of (q) on to the vowel is altogether omitted, by beginning the vowel with a glottid (i); or by slurring or relaxing the force of the voice on (q), so that the glide becomes inaudible. The clear (i) or catch (i) are, I think, uncommon either in English or German under such circumstances, but the release or slurr (-) is, I think, the rule. Thus singer, longing, are (siriq=2, loq=ir), not (siriq=2, lo q=ri), and still less (siriq=2, loq=ir). Secondly, the nasality is
ultimately omitted, and the resulting
(g) glides easily on to the vowel, as in
finger, longer (fi'qgar, lo'qgar), where
(-) glides into (g) with the same ease as
(q) into (p) in usual.
When (q) is medial, and a hiss, not a
buzz, follows, if we attempt to make
the glide on to the hiss, some speakers
actually drop the nasality and the
voice, developing (k), which glides on
easily, as in strength, length (streikth,
leikth). This is not necessary. Although
(qb) could no more make an initial
combination than (sth), there could be a
non-nasal glide from (q) to (th),
which resembles the glide from (g) or
from (w) to (th), thus (q' > th). Or
else the (q) may end suddenly, and
there may be a hiss-glide on to (th),
thus (q' > th). I think that this last is
more frequently said. But the transition
from the guttural (q) to the dental
(θk) being violent, many speakers,
especially of the older class, and Irish-
men, bridge over the difficulty by changing
(q) into (w), thus (threth, leith). A third hypothesis is possible.
The voiceless breath may be introduced
during the (q), or in place of the (q),
thus (streig-qh-th) or (strewth).
I have not myself observed either. Mr.
Bell probably advocates the last, for he
writes (mürqhk'). This belongs to a
theory considered in No. 16. I think
(streig, sw-qhwas, mokk, wikt) repre-
sent my own pronunciation of streng,
serious, monk, winked. When a voiced
 consonant follows, there seems no
tendency to introduce (g), thus tongue,
swaged are (toqgs, wqgld), not (tqgs,
wgld), which would be difficult to
English organs. An attempt to pro-
nounce them would probably result in
(tqgs, wqgd').

See No. 12, (fe'dhaz).

14. WHIP, (whip), variants
(whip, wp).

(wh). See Gill’s recognition of
(wh), on (185, b), the observations on
sng, hft, hrt, bht, bho, on (513, ab), and
Icelandic (643, d), and on (5 in general
(221, d). So much controversy exists
upon the points thus raised that it is
worth while recurring to them. My
(wh) was identified with Mr. Bell’s
symbol, p. 16, col. 5, line 7, with some
hesitation, by Mr. Bell himself. But
my own impression is that Mr. Bell has
no sign precisely corresponding to what
I mean by (wh). In my original paper
on Palaeotype (Philol. Trans. 1887,
part 2, p. 16) I defined (wh) as “the
aspirate or jerk of the voice, not neces-
sarily accompanied by a whisper, which
could not be pronounced in certain
post-aspirated consonants, as the Sanscrit
वन, व, (bh, dh, gh), and similar
combinations in the Irish brogue.
When the whisper is uttered, the effect
should be represented strictly by (wh).”
Now most persons who have used my
palaeotype confuse (w, h), and I have
certainly not been careful to distinguish
them under ordinary circumstances.
For the exact understanding, however,
of such difficulties as have been raised
respecting (wh), etc., it is necessary to
enter into somewhat minute explana-
tions. Referring to Mr. Bell’s symbols,
supra p. 15, by simple number and
letter as 58, “the symbol in column 5,
line 7,” the following are Mr. Bell’s
own explanations (The Organic Rela-
tions of the Rudimental Symbols,”
Visible Speech, pp. 46–49).

2a. “When the glottis and the super-
glottal passage are perfectly open, the
breath creates no sound in its emission.
A moderate degree of expulsiveness to
render the ‘aspiration’ audible is im-
plicated in 2a. ‘The symbol is pictorial
of the expanded breath-channel in the
throat.’ This I have written (w') on
p. 16, the exact meaning of which will
be explained presently, and (w'h) is the
full sign.

5a. “When the glottis is contracted
to a narrow chink, the breath in passing
sets the edge of the orifice—the ‘vocal
ligaments’—in vibration, and creates
sonorous voice.” This vocalising con-
dition of the glottis is pictured in the
symbol.” This I mark (') on p. 15.
The description, however, is inaccurate.
If there is any ‘chink,’ there is no
‘voice,’ but only ‘whisper.’ See No.
8, (ct). Distinguish between ‘open
glottis,’ through which passes staticus or
voiceless breath (b'), which may or may
not be audible; 'chink glottis' when the edges of the chords are brought almost but not quite in contact, producing whisper (h); and 'closed glottis,' the edges of the chords being absolutely in contact to be forced asunder by the breath, closing by their own elasticity, and thus producing that series of 'puffs' which result in 'voice,' (h). Different from all these is the supra-glottal impulsion ('h), No. 9, (b).

9h. "When the glottis is open, and the super-glottal passage is contracted, the breath creates in the latter the nonsonorous rustling or friction which is called 'whisper.' The relative expansion of the throat-channel for 9a and 9h is pictured in the symbols," I have marked these (\(\ast\)) on p. 156. My symbol for 'whisper' is 'f' or voicelessness—voice. Hence (f) is used for whispered (f), and (i) is whispered (i). To indicate voicelessness, prefix (\(\ast\)) to a whispered, or (\(\ast\)) to a voiced letter. Thus (\(\ast\)f) = (f), and (\(\ast\)i) is the mere flatus through the (i) position, scarcely distinguishable from (jh), while (\(\ast\)u) will be the mere flatus through the (u) position, scarcely distinguishable from (wh), see No. 2 (uu), and No. 3 ii."

Now Mr. Bell goes on to say: "The organic effect of 9h will be understood by whispering a 'voiced consonant' such as r. The result is clearly different from the sound of the non-voiced consonant of corresponding oral formation f. For the former (v), the fricative of the breath is audible from the throat, through the oral configuration; for the latter, (f), the breath-friction is audible only from the lip." I think that this account is imperfect, whisper being glottal and not pharyngeal. There is a glottal wheeze (h), which is produced by driving the voice sharply through the cartilaginous glottis, between the arytenoid cartilages, and not between the vocal chords, and Mr. Bell inclined to mark this as 9a + 10h, that is, as a prolongation of the present sound. At another time he wrote it 9h + 9g, or with the mark of trill added to this sign. Now there is such a trilling effect possible by means of moisture, and some observers do consider (h) as an arytenoid glottal trill rather than a wheeze. If voice accompanies, the result is either the Danish glottal (r) or the Arabic ain (\(\alpha\)), and the latter is perhaps only (r), the strong pronunciation of the form is confirmed in this view by th of Mr. Sweet finding (r) very like (\(\alpha\)), and by the usual derivat\(\alpha\) from the Semitic ain.

9a. "The symbol 9a is a com of 9b and 5a, and denotes whisper voice heard simultaneously,—a murmur modified by breath-frict the super-glottal passage."

I u this as (\(\ast\)) on p. 15, but on my previous definition of whisper this does not properly express the fact described. Whisper, however, there is so si vocalisation, arising from intern puffing, and so much apparent exun intermittent flatus, that the effect felt as a mixture of voice and flatus has the upper hand, and the whole effect is generally weak in buzzing, that we have a powerful with apparent intermingled which, however, I think merely by inharmonic proper tones due obstructed resonant chamber, an ultimate analysis rather noise, beating harmonics, than real flat

9e. "The symbol 9e picture combined edges of the glottis, a notes the 'catch' of the breath is heard (with violence of percuss in a cough. The linguistic effect is softer, but distinctly percussive an aspiration or a vocal sound of the 'catch.'" The form of these 9e gives a wrong impression of position of the vocal chords, posse tightly together, along whole length of their opposed (and not kniced in the middle of the symbol seems to show) so requires considerable effort to be them by an expiration. The close for a time, air tight, as in 'hold breath.' Hence the breath expensively, either as flatus or voi write it (\(\ast\)).

9f and 9m. "The symbols 9m, by themselves, refer to the place of the mouth as affected by the (\(\ast\)) or open (\(\ast\)) position of the vowel. Following other symbols, 9f is configurative compression, with fluent percussion on leaving the articulation, and 9m denotes config openness or organic laxity. Th 9a + 9f. An exhaustive snap from upward pressure of the diaph— wheeze.
"9e + 9f. A gentle inaudible aspiration."

"9e + 9f. Glottal closure with dis- 
tension of the larynx from pressure in 
the confined breath, and percussive 
emission on opening the passage; - a 
cough."

As will be seen by referring to (1106, 
3). I formerly marked 9f on p. 15 as (\), 
considered merely as representing 
force, which is supposed to be continuous, 
and 9e as (\'), considered as repre- 
senting weakness, also supposed con- 
tinuous. These do not quite represent 
Mr. Bell's symbols. His 9e + 9f is 
hardly ("h'"), but very nearly so. His 
9e + 9a = 9e = ("h'"), because there 
is no jerk at all here, and ("h") 
is the nearest symbol for almost im- 
novable status. Again his 9e + 9f 
could not be (\'), because this alone, 
without sign of status, whisper or voice, 
has no meaning, but ("h") is not un- 
like it. Using the signs (\), as pro- 
posed on (1107, b); we may, however, 
write 9e + 9f = ("h") (\'), though I think 
("h") better for the effect intended, 
9e + 9a = ("h") or ("h'"), and 9e + 9f 
= ("h") or ("h'"). 

"10f and 5f. Whisper and voice 
may be produced by air going inwards 
(10f) or by breath coming out (5f)."

Here I think Mr. Bell has made a slip. 
No 'voice' certainly, and no 'whisper' 
in the sense of (1126, 6), can be pro- 
ced by inspiration. I have written (\) 
for 10f, and Mr. Bell first gave 9b 
and afterwards 5f for my (\), but he must 
have been wrong in both cases. He 
proceeds to say: "All symbols except 
10f and 10e imply emission." [Hence 
no special symbol for 5f was required.] 
The symbol 5f is used to denote a 
transitional emission from the symbol- 
ized configuration in passing from one 
position to another." [This seems to 
mean 'glide' in my sense, denoted by 
> or <] . "The effect is different 
from the throat aspiration 9e. Thus 
from the 'shut' position of the glottis 
9e, we may either open sharply upon 
an utterance of voice 9a + 5a" [my 
("h")], or "we may cease the pressure 
of the 'catch' by interpolating a 'breath 
glide' 9a + 5f + 5a." Now this 
could not be ("h'"), for this jerk would 
increase instead of "easing off" the 
pressure. In another place, quoted 
previously, he calls this 5f "an aspirated 
status." It would be of course possible 
to interpose status, between the catch (\) 
and the voice ('b), thus ('b'\'), and 
when a real vowel is used the series 
(\'a + a), hereafter abridged to (\'a), 
may be easier than (\a), without any 
interposed status, for the explosion may 
force the vocal chords so far apart that 
status escapes before they can be reduced 
to the vocal position, and as they would 
recoil to it suddenly the effect (\'a + a) 
would be different from (\'a + a) 
or (\a), which seems hardly possible. 
Still I own not to have caught the 
meaning of this symbol 5f thoroughly, 
and I regret that I was led to identify it 
with my own (\). Mr. Graham Bell 
has used it at the end of words, when 
writing for deaf-mutes, to indicate what 
Mr. M. Bell calls the 'recoil' mentioned 
in the next citation, thus 8f - 3e + 5f 
is used for my ('e'). This would 
confirm my supposition that 5f is 
not really different from (\, since 
(\) is at full (\b - 4 < \b). It remains 
therefore that Mr. M. Bell has no 
Visible Speech symbol for my (\), al- 
though I think his 9f, my (\), comes 
nearest to it, the difference being that 
(\) resembles impact or is momentary, 
and (\) resembles pressure or is con- 
tinuous.  

"10e. The symbol 10e signifies that 
the organic separation or recoil from 
any symbolized position — which is 
always implied in final elements when 
the 'stop' is not written—does not 
take place. Thus 9e + 10e is an un- 
finished 'catch,' in forming which the 
impulse ceases with the closure of 
the glottis." But no effect would be heard 
if the glottis were kept closed. We 
must allow a single puff to escape at 
least to show the 'catch,' and then we 
must shut up directly to shew the 'stop.' 
Thus in place of 9e + 10e, or (\) in my 
symbols, which would have absolutely 
no sound, I must have ("h") or ("h'"), 
often heard in a short checked convul- 
sive cough. 

"The effect of organic 'stop' is 
implied between elements in verbal 
combinations, such as th in outline, td 
in outdo, etc.; where, necessarily, the 
t is not finished by an organic recoil, 
as it would be at the end of a word. 
In these cases of course the 'stop' does 
not require to be written." In practi- 
cal phonetic writing much is not 
marked which must make its appearance 
in delicate phonetic discussions, and
14. (wh)—continued.

which is often of supreme philological importance. Thus (outllaa, outdun) are enough for many purposes; but if we are writing strictly, they are not nearly enough. We require (\textsuperscript{9}s\textsuperscript{w} > t\textsuperscript{j} < \textsuperscript{9}s\textsuperscript{t}; \textsuperscript{0}s\textsuperscript{w} > t\textsuperscript{j} < uu\textsuperscript{t}), where \textsuperscript{9}s\textsuperscript{w} is the break explained in the next paragraph. The diphthongal glide is indicated by the accent shewing the element with principal force. The glides generally need not be written if the rule is laid down that there is always a glide between combined symbols. But then we must write (\textsuperscript{9}s\textsuperscript{t}l\textsuperscript{a}, \textsuperscript{0}s\textsuperscript{t}d\textsuperscript{u}), and we should thus lose the effect of combination into one word; so that (\textsuperscript{9}s\textsuperscript{a}t\textsuperscript{j}l\textsuperscript{a}, \textsuperscript{0}s\textsuperscript{a}t\textsuperscript{j}d\textsuperscript{u}) become the full forms. Generally (\textsuperscript{9}s\textsuperscript{a}t\textsuperscript{j}l\textsuperscript{a}, \textsuperscript{0}s\textsuperscript{a}t\textsuperscript{j}d\textsuperscript{u}) are enough. The 'recoll' should always be written when intended to be distinctly pronounced, as (\textsuperscript{9}s\textsuperscript{w}t\textsuperscript{j}l\textsuperscript{a}, \textsuperscript{0}s\textsuperscript{w}t\textsuperscript{j}d\textsuperscript{u}).

"10c. In verbal combinations of elementary sound, each element is inseparably joined to the succeeding one." This refers to the inter-gliding, but is only true as a practical rule in writing. "When any element, except the last in a combination, is finished independently of what follows, the sign of 'hiatus' (10c) is used. Thus in analysis, or phonetically 'spelling' a syllable, we should say that 9s + 10c + 6s—interposing a break. The effect of 10c will be understood by pronouncing the word 'bedtime,' in which the s and t are not disjoined, in contrast with the separate pronunciation of the two words 'bed, time.' The symbol 5f is an aspirated hiatus; the symbol 10c is non-aspirated, —a more interval." I have hitherto marked this (.), but with the more accurate distinctions of glottids, something more is required, and I find (.), half of the second half of a parenthesis, a sort of exaggerated comma,—already introduced by anticipation (998, d),—the most convenient for this mere break, which may or may not be accompanied by a 'clear' glottid. In this case, (.) is opposed to (—).

After much thought and observation I have been led to the following views of these difficult, and yet, philologically, extremely important distinctions. I cannot consider my views complete, but I think that they will serve to form a basis for future work, and are more comprehensive than any yet sug-
14. (wh)—continued.

this last sound that we 'select' those musical tones which go to form the distinct 'qualities' of speech-sounds. When (h) simply is written, it indicates some obscure voice sound which we are unable distinctly to characterize.

In the above notations (h), as usual, is 'discursive,' and is in fact only used as a 'support' for the other signs, so that when other letters are present (h) is omitted if its absence will occasion no ambiguity. It will be doubled to express prolongation. Most alphabetic letters inherently imply flatus (h), or voice ('h), some imply clicking (th), but none imply inspiration ('), implosion ('h), or whisper ('h). Thus (f) implies flatus or ('h), and (v) implies voice or ('h).

Add voice to flatus or flatus to voice and the result is whisper; thus ('f) = ('v) is whispered (f) or (v). In speaking in a so-called whisper, (f) remains with flatus, and (v) becomes ('v). Similarly ('i', 'a', 'u') are whispered vowels.

Add flatus sign to whisper sign, and the result is made to symbolise flatus only. Thus ('f) = ('v) = (f) simply. And (i) 'a' 'u' are simple flatus through the vowel positions. The distinctions ('i', 'i', i), flatus, whisper, voice, in connection with the (i)-position are important. I do not symbolise position only, except in the mutes (p, t, k), as I find it more distinct to write the word 'position' at length, after the symbol of the sound uttered in that position, thus: the (p)-position.

At the end of a group of letters ('i') and ('i') are written for (h) and ('h), thus ('i'), ('e'), ('o'), ('w'), which stand for (w'h', 'e', 'o', 'w'). The diphthonge ('i', 'e', 'o', 'w'), already considered (1099, a'), when deprived of the permission to superadd a trilled ('r), so that (i) = either ('s) or ('s'r). Again (a', 'e') are the same as (w'h', 'e', 'h'), and figure the 'recoil.' When this recoil is a pure click, it should always be written as ('s), ('w'), for it is quite exceptional, although we sometimes hear the click first, and then flatus, especially after (k), as ('w').

The click sign added to the organ determines the click. Thus (g) = (t) or (t); (g) = (t); (l) = (t) or (k); (k) = (t) or (k); (g) = (x), see p. 11.

For the mutes (p, t, k), and sonants (h, d, g), (p) = ('b) = whisper, instead of voice, forced into the (p)-position. And (p) = imploded (p), which is readily confused with ('b) on the one hand and (p) on the other (1113, a').

The term 'mute' is used for (p, t, k), as they have actually no sound of their own, but only modify other sounds by position, giving rise to glides.

Vowels.

These are 'voice' modified by resonance chamber. Each has its own definite 'pitch,' and when sung at other pitches is modified by the action of that pitch, in a manner only recently understood, by the researches of Helmholz, Donders and Koenig, and not yet by any means fully observed or explained. Every variety of pitch and force really alters the character of any particular vowel, which is hence only to be recognized as a 'genus' having several 'species.' In all cases a vowel is a 'quality' of tone, the appreciation of which differs greatly individually and nationally. Further details are given in my paper on Accent and Emphasis (Philol. Trans. 1873-4, pp. 113-164). I here, for brevity, take the vowels for granted.

Glottides.

The modes of beginning, ending, and conjoining vowels, being principally due to actions of the glottis, will be termed 'glottides.' They comprise many effects not yet classed, and others known indefinitely as 'breathings, spiritus asper et lenis, aspiration,' etc.

(i) gradual glottis, (1112, b), so that (a) = ('a-a-a-a-a') flatus gradually falling into whisper, then this into voice, which returns back to whisper and flatus. With mutes, as (p), it shows that when the (p)-position is assumed and released, the glottis is open, as for (b), see (1097, a'). Much of what is called post-aspiration is really due to the gradual glottis. I think that what Mr. Sweet (Philol. Trans. 1873, p. 106) calls 'the aspiration of the voiceless stop' in Danish, and writes (kraat, tari, preeo, purpa), would be more truly represented by (kraat) or by (khat), where (b) is the flatus glottis, or the gradual glottis with greater prominence given to the flatus preceding or following the vowel, so that (ba) is rather ('a-a-a) than ('a-a-a).

(2) Clear glottis, (1112, b), the vocal chords are in the position for voice,
14. (wh) — continued.

which begins without any introductory flatus. This is the position for English mutes, thus (p, a) as distinct from (ppa) or (ppa).

(6) *Check* glottis, (1112, 4); there is an air-tight closure, which is forced asunder, and there may easily arise a puff of flatus before the chords vibrate properly, as (zh) abridged to (zh). Brucke attributes this position to the English mutes, thus (p, a); but I think he is in error, as the use of (zh) is not an English trick.

(6) Wheezing glottis. Here there is an escape of flatus, but it does not pass the open glottis, nor between the vocal chords, which are apparently tightly closed, but through the cartilaginous glottis beyond it. Czernak (Sitzungsberichte der k. Akademie der Wissenschaften, math. naturw. cl. vol. 29, No. 12, for 29 April, 1858, Wien, pp. 576–580) gives the result of actual observations with the laryngoscope on an Arab, corresponding with this description. Prof. F. W. Newman says (on p. 8 of Handbook of Modern Arabic, London, 1866; pp. 190): "Strong h is often heard from Irishmen. It is wheezing and guttural, with something of a w in it at the beginning of a word. The force of air in the throat is considerable, and is strangely prolonged when it ends a word, as (melik, rasā) 'good, he went.'"

(gh) Trilled wheeze. This differs from (6) solely in the production of interruptions or trills, by interposing some rattling mucous.

(g) Bleeot or ain. The Arabic  the same as (gh) with the accompanying of the voice, so that (gh) = "g." If this is taken very gently, the result seems to be (v) = (g), the Low Saxon glottal trill or quack, which can also be pronounced during a vowel. Any of these glottides can be uttered with various degrees of force, thus noted. *Medium* force requires no note.

(1) *sonorant*, is scarcely perceptible.

(2) *weak*, is decidedly below the medium.

(3) *strong*, is decidedly above the medium.

(4) *abrupt*, properly strong and clear, is almost explosive.

These force-signs denote continued pressure, as in the motion of an ordinary bellows. If, when blowing, the end of the nozzle is stopped, the air becomes condensed, and, on removing or detaching the stop, issues with explosion, of which (3) may be considered the general sign, (p, t, k) being much more moderate expulsions. No such signs however are sufficient for all purposes. For anything like a discriminating view of force I recommend a series of numbers written in a line below, and forming a scale, 8 being medial force, 1 just audible, and 9 greatest. By this means sudden changes of force during a syllable can be distinctly registered. For most purposes, however, the much less distinct musical signs pp, p, mf, f, ff, with crescendo and diminuendo, staccato and other signs, might be written in the line below.

(u) *Jerk*. This, like explosion, can be imitated with the bellows by sudden increase of pressure, followed by a decrease. It is not at all necessary that the increase of pressure should be great; it is only necessary that it should be sudden and not continued. This is the meaning of (u), and it is evidently not Mr. M. Bell's 6f. (1127, 4). When this jerk is accompanied by flatus, we have (u'v), which may be more conveniently abridged to (u) than to (u'), as heretofore, because (u'v) ought to mean the whispered vowel (u) commenced with a jerk (u), but (u'v) will mean a jerked flatus (u'v) gliding on to a vowel (u). Observe however that (u) simply, without any interposed flatus, is not only possible, but, I think (I do not feel sure), the more common English and, as will appear hereafter, modern Indian sound. (u) may also be combined with (th), as (u'h), which would shew distinct flatus jerked out before the vowel. I would distinguish between (u'h) = (u'h) and (u'ha) by using the latter only when the flatus is sharp and distinct. The former merely shews jerked flatus without distinguishing its prominence.

Glides, Slurs, Breaks.

> < Glide. When voice is continued through change of position, we have a voice *glide*. When flatus changes to voice, possibly through whisper, or conversely, we have a *mixed glide*. When flatus continues, we have a *flatus glide*. By placing the symbols of the two extreme sounds in juxtaposition, the glide is always im-
14. (wh)—continued.

pied. But it is sometimes convenient to mark it by > when the position changes to one closer, and by < when it changes to one opener (1111, 6), but by ( ) when the positions are equally open or close, as in maze = (m < oc > x-i), or (merza). The contracted form requires the introduction of such a sign as 

Break, for which, up to p. 998, I have generally used the clear glottid ( ), see (1128, a, od). Any glottid will form a break, as (aha, ahna, a<, a>a apa), but (as) simply breaks without indicating the precise mode in which the disconnection is effected.

~ Stutter. We may also produce the semblance of a break by diminishing force, without taking off the action of the voice at all. We might write (as,i) to shew this effect, or interpose ~, a star, which differs from > and from ( ) by implying a very brief diminution of force, and is therefore opposed to (as) the jerk. In music (as) corresponds to staccato, and ~ to legato.

Two vowels connected by a > or < glide form a diphthong, the glide being held longer than one of the extreme vowels, and the force increasing or diminishing throughout. This is shown by an acute accent placed over the vowel which has greatest force, as (i, in, it) or (i >, 1-u, i-6). See (419, c).

Two vowels slurred form an Italian diphthong, and the force is nearly even, as (i-0, mi-x-i), but they reckon as one syllable. In this case we may unite them and omit the acute, thus (io, mit). Employing the mode of representing force by a scale of numbers, we might write (a-i, 1-u, 6 6 3 6 4 3 2 i-d, i-0, mi-x-0), but this notation

is incomplete without proper indications of length and pitch, which may be effected by a second line of figures, from 1 to 9, placed above, 6 indicating medium length, accompanied either by such marks as (""') or (""...""'). as given on p. 12, shewing continued, rising or falling pitch, or by notes of the musical scale, indicating the commencing pitch of each vowel-
sound, as (a > i), which shews: by the middle line, that the vowel (a) glides on to (i) from an opener to a closer position, and has the stress; by the under line, that the force with which (a) is pronounced is to that with which (i) is pronounced as 5 to 2, but that the force of the voice gradually diminishes from the 5 to 2 through the glide, in which only the forces 4 and 3 are noted; by the upper line, that the lengths of the (a) glide and (i) are respectively 1, 2, 3, and that the voice continuously descends in pitch, by an unstated amount.

In violin music slurred notes are played to the same stroke of the bow; glissées notes have the finger slid down from one position to the other; detached notes have each a distinct bowing; staccato notes have the bow suddenly touched and raised. These will serve to distinguish ( ~ > ) n respectively.

We are now in a position to represent and appreciate the different theories of aspiration.

In Sanscrit there are five letters in a series, as (p, pu, b, bu, m), as I have hitherto written them. The Prāti-cakkhyas speak of these as first, second, third, fourth, and fifth or last. Now the Ath. Veda Pr. (Whitney's edition, p. 16) says: "The second and fourth of each series are aspirates," on which Prof. Whitney observes, "The term āshman, literally 'heat, hot vapour, steam,' is in the grammatical language applied to designate all those sounds which are produced by a rush of unintonated breath [flatus] through an open position of the mouth organs, or whose utterance has a certain similarity to the escape of steam through a pipe; they are the sibilants and aspirates or breathings. In the term sochma, 'aspirated mute,' and its correlative anāshman, 'unaspirated mute,' āshman is to be understood not in this specific sense, but in that of 'rush of air, expulsion of unintonated breath.'" This, however, is merely his own conjecture. There seems nothing in the explanation given of āshman to require flatus rather than voice. It is the explosive rush alone which comes into consideration. The native commentator on the passage quotes the words suṣhāndir āshmabāhīth referring to the "aspirates," which Prof. Whitney says, would be most naturally translated 'with their corresponding āshmane or spirants,' "but," says he, "this is hardly to be tolerated, since it would give us
14. (wh)—continued.

Whitney says (ibid. p. 66): "The pure aspiration k is a corresponding sound to all the sonant vowels, semivowels and nasals of the alphabet; that is to say, it is produced by an expansion of breath through the mouth organs in any of the positions in which those letters are uttered; it has no distinctive position of its own, but is determined in its mode of pronunciation by the letter with which it is most nearly connected." This makes his aspiration (which must not be confounded with Sanscrit k, or with any other person's k for the moment) to be my (kh), whether before or after a vowel, and does not involve the jerk (n) at all. The Tātī Pr. says of the visērjēnīya, "some regard it as having the same position with the preceding vowel." "This latter," observes Prof. Whitney thereupon (ibid. p. 21), "is the most significant hint which any of the Prātīcākhyas afford us respecting the phonetic value of the rather problematical visērjēnīya, indicating it as a mere uncharacterised breathing, a nasal k." It is, however, strictly characterised by being a distinct fatus through the position of the preceding voiced letter. From the usual Sanscrit sankhīd action this fatus is affected by the succeeding consonant, producing many curious effects, to be considered presently.

The Japanese arrange their syllabary in groups of five according to their five vowels, which sounded to me, from the mouth of a native, as (a, i, u, e, o). These consonants seem to affect aspirates and post-aspirates very differently. Thus I seemed to hear the whole syllabary thus, as it was most patiently explained to me by a Japanese gentleman, but great allowances must be made for a single hearing on my part:

1. (a) *i* *w* *e* *o*
2. (k) *k* *i* *k* *w* *ke* *ko*
3. (s) *e* *s* *e* *s* *so*
4. (t) *t* *e* *t* *e* *to*
5. (n) *n* *n* *n* *n* *no*
6. (n) *k* *h* *ph* *n* *h* *h* *h* *h* *h*
7. (m) *m* *m* *m* *m* *mo*
8. (j) *s* *e* *jo*
9. (h) *h* *h* *h* *h* *ho*
10. (w) *s* *w* *e* *o*
11. (g) *g* *j* *g* *j* *go*
12. (z) *s* *z* *s* *z* *so*
13. (d) *d* *j* *dz* *d* *de* *do*
14. (b) *b* *b* *b* *b* *bo*
15. (p) *p* *p* *p* *p* *pe* *po*
14. (wh)—continued.

The symbol (v) in line 9 means very short (i), on the principle of (1116, 66) followed by trilled (r). My teacher seemed unable to pronounce (r) with an entirely free tongue. He involuntarily struck the palate first, and although he seemed to remove the tongue immediately, he produced so much of an (l) effect, that the real (r), also very brieafly trilled, became obscured. This pause before trilling resembled the catch in harmonium reeds by which they refuse to speak when suddenly called on, unless there is a percussive action. The sound (r) is very remarkable for its numerous Oriental relations. The symbols (es, tes) in lines 3 and 4 are given with great hesitation, the (es) seemed to be prolonged and the vowel very short and indistinct, with a kind of hiss running through it; when the speaker prolonged the syllable, his lips came together, and he made a complete (esw) to finish with. Perhaps (eswu) might represent the sound, but I was unable at one sitting to understand it, notwithstanding the great patience of my instructor. But this is not the chief point of interest, for it only shews the action of the hiss (es) on a following (u). Of course all my coronal or gingival (t, d) may be erroneous. I was not on the look out for dental (t, d), and I can only say that if the letters were dental, the dentality was not strongly marked. The change of the aspirate in (nha kijhi phu neho no) is sufficiently remarkable. I will not guarantee (nha neho no) as against (na ne no), but there was no greater change. In (kijhi, phu) a consonant had taken the place of the simple aspirate, and in each case it was not the next related consonant, not (shhi, wu), but one step further advanced. The (phu) was very distinctly ascertained not to be (fu), as it is quietly written by Lepsius. My Japanese teacher had had so much difficulty in learning to say our (f) that he utterly disclaimed it. Now, why this change here only? On uttering the English words (es, wu), I experience no tendency to fall even into (shhi, wu). I do not seem to say (v"ii-ii, v"u-u) or (vshhi, vshhu), and certainly not with such force as to approach (shhi, wu). If I try for (shhi, wu), there seems to come a gentle puff of flatus before the vowel, which has no tendency to become a hiss. And I have not remarked this hissing tendency even in German Aier, Aúten. So far as I am concerned, so far as I seem to hear others speak (I speak with great diffidence, knowing the great liability to err owing to my 'personal equation'), I do not hear in the English aspirate a strong flatus, or any flatus through the vowel position, before the vowel. I am acutely sensitive to any 'dropping of an A.' But I do not hear (n"ii-ii, n"u-u) for (es, wu). I believe I say purely (uhi, wu), at any rate I find even an intentional (shhi, whu) to be somewhat of an effort, and (vshhi, vshhu) to be a great effort. Still I know that at least (shhi) exists, and very possibly (vshhi), and I shall therefore generally assume that writers on sound mean (shhi). But Mr. T. M. Bell's (66), which I have hitherto transliterated by (a),—meaning (shhi), and henceforth written (shhi),—is certainly sometimes simple ('h) or (i). Thus (Visible Speech, p. 60) he writes 'silent respiration' by 9a + 9m + 10f + 9a + 9a + 10f, which must be, I think, (vshhi, vshhu)=gentle, flatus, drawn inward, gentle, flatus prolonged (outwards). The 'outwards' is not written either by him or by me, the prolongation is shewn by doubling the h, and the sign gentleness is placed in a different order in my notation. 'Painful respiration' is written 9a + 10f + 10f + 9a + 9a + 9a + 10f, or (vshhi; AA), that is flatus, prolonged, inwards, catch, (outwards), wheeze prolonged, but perhaps the 9a should be ('h) and not (A), or simply ('h), see (1126, a). Thus his "nasal-guttural respiration," or 9a + 9a + 10f + 10f + 9a + 9a + 10f, seems to be ('shhi, 'shhu) strong flatus, prolonged, nasal, inwards, strong flatus, prolonged, nasal, (outwards).

To return to the Japanese, it would seem that the positions of (a, o, a) do not squeeze the uttered flatus sufficiently to produce a sensible frication or hiss, but the (i, u) positions do so. Hence (vshhi, vshhu) are ready to develope into (shhi, whu) or (kijhi, phu). Now in combining Sanscrit words in samhiitâ, we have necessarily as strong an action of any consonant position on a preceding flatus as in the Japanese vowels (i, u) that is, each consonant converts the flatus into its own continuant or spirant. Hence the final visarjanlya, which was probably merely (shhi), or a final flatus through the vowel position,
developed before (k, kj, t, p) respectively, the continuants (kh, sh, s, ph), see Whitney (ibid. p. 96). The first and last of these, (kh) or 
\textit{jih\textit{vamulyt}}, and (ph) or \textit{upadh\textit{manyla}}, are never heard in Sanscrit except when thus ‘generated,’ and hence, although
recognized under these names by the native grammarians, are not accommodated with separate signs. They are by no means peculiar in this respect, either in Sanscrit or other systems of writing. This seems conclusive as regards the value of \( \textit{\overline{\text{\textit{\beta}}}} \), for which (jh) answers in every respect, as a palatal hiss, as degenerating into (sh) (Whitney, \textit{ibid.} p. 23), and as corresponding to (k, s, kh, sh) in cognate languages. See (1120, 8) to (1121, 6). The status of the final \textit{visarjnya}, therefore, corresponds closely with status after mutes.

Now as to Sanscrit \( \textit{\overline{\text{\textit{\beta}}}} \), usually written \( \textit{h} \). The following are the native descriptions (Whitney, \textit{ibid.} p. 21). “Of the throat sounds, the lower part of the throat is the producing organ. That is to say, as the commentator goes on to explain, the upper part of the throat, as place of production, is approached by the lower part of the throat, as instrument of production. As the sounds constituting the class, he mentions \( a \), in its short, long, and protracted values, \( h \), and the \textit{visarjnya}.” The Rik Pr. classes \( h \) and the \textit{visarjnya} as chest-sounds; the Tütt. Pr. reckons only these two as throat-sounds, and adds, “some regard \( h \) as having the same position with the following vowel, and \textit{visarjnya} with the preceding vowel.” From the latter we previously deduced the value of \textit{visarjnya} as simply (\( \textit{\textbf{\textit{\textit{\beta}}}} \)). But \( h \) is not \textit{\textbf{\textit{\textit{\beta}}}}; it is voice, being classed by the native commentator (ib. p. 18) with the vowels, sonant mutes, and semi-vowels. This Prof. Whitney, taking \( h \) to be (\( \textit{\textbf{\textit{\textit{\beta}}} \)) in Sanscrit as well as in his own English (1132, a), calls a “striking anomaly.” It is certainly impossible that \( h \) should mean (\( \textit{\textbf{\textit{\textit{\beta}}} \)) and be a voiced sound. Prof. Whitney says that in the fullest account (that in the Tütt. Pr.) we read “that, while sound [voice] is produced in a closed throat, and simple breath [\textit{\textbf{\textit{\textit{\beta}}} \text{\textit{\textit{\textit{\beta}}}}}] in an open one, the \( h \)-tone is uttered in an intermediate condition; and that this \( h \)-tone is the emitted material in the consonant \( h \), and in ‘fourth’ mutes or

sonant aspirates.” And then Prof. Whitney adds: “I confess myself unable to derive any distinct idea from this description knowing no intermediate utterance between breath and sound, except the stridulous tone of the loud whisp which I cannot bring into any connection with an \( h \). The Rik Pr. declare both breath and sound [\textit{\textbf{\textit{\textit{\beta}}} \text{\textit{\textit{\textit{\beta}}}} and \textit{\textbf{\textit{\textit{\beta}}} \text{\textit{\textit{\textit{\beta}}}}}] to be present in the sonant aspirate and in \( h \), which could not possibly be true of the latter, unless it were composed, like the former, of two separate parts, a sonant and a sord; and this is impossible.” Now it is evident that the writers are attempting to describe something which they can only vaguely hint at, for the whole glottal action is evidently unknown to them, that they had only vague subjective feeling in place of actual observation to d with, and they were obliged to invent their language as they proceeded. I wonder is, not that they should be distinct, but that they should have been so much more distinct than the host of European grammarians and orthodoxists who succeeded them. N the last indication, which is so impossible to Prof. Whitney, corresponds closely enough to the sensations produced by a buzz, in which there is no obstruction, so that the tone is broken and the effect is felt as that of a mixture of breath and voice (1101, c). A sound of a whisper (‘\( h \)’), which really partakes of both characters (1123, c), would be too weak. The buzz rests from much interruption to the to producing many strong beats, as he in bass chords on an harmonium, the ‘natural’ voice (1123, d), appears to me then that the whole scription of the Tütt. Pr. can bear thus: “\( h \) is a glottal buzz.” There other, only one such sound, the bl (g), see (1130, c). This is fully glottal and can be uttered in the same p-sit as the following vowel. In fact the often uttered simultaneously with vowel, which we may indicate by writing the vowel with a small g below, t (\( \textit{\textbf{\textit{\textit{\beta}}} \text{\textit{\textit{\textit{\beta}}}} \)). Then by (ga) we properly m (\( \textit{\textbf{\textit{\textit{\beta}}} \text{\textit{\textit{\textit{\beta}}} + a} \)), which is the correct counter of (\( \textit{\textbf{\textit{\textit{\beta}}} \text{\textit{\textit{\textit{\beta}}} = (“a” + a} \)). It may also this case be nasalised, explaining rule, “After \( h \) is inserted a mute before a nasal mute” (Whitney, i p 66), so that \textit{brahma} would be perl
14. (wh)—continued.

so that the sonant, begun with voice, exploded as voiceless, which might be written *gkhā* = (g-khā) or nearly (g-khā). “When this was not the case, the ̀ was fully separated from the mute, as in syllabic division, e.g. *pig-hāna*, ad-ha, ab-hi, and even finally as *bag-̀h.*” These cases are both easy, as (ad-)'(ghā, bag)'(h). But Rumpelt adds: “Be this as it may, I doubt whether the pronunciation of this Indian scholar gives the universal rule, but think it may result from a deterioration which is not universal in the east,” and he prefers (g)'(ghā), which is of course possible, but totally opposed to the native commentators just cited, who make the aspiration sonant.

The above identification of the ancient Sanscrit ̀ with the Semitic (g) is quite new. Prof. Whitney (op. cit. p. 18) suggests the Arabic (grh), but this is formed with the uvula, tongue and palate, and the Sanscrit ̀ must be glottal. The same objection applies to (gh), which Bopp adopted, and to which I leaned before reading the native explanations just cited. That (g) should be confused with (grh) is natural. Even in Denmark the (z) is imitated by (r), and (r, r) = (sc, sg). In the Septuagint we constantly find γ for υ, and γ was then probably (gh) as now. Sometimes the Greeks omit it, and it is generally supposed that the letter υ represented both sounds (g, grh), but this is not at all phonetically necessary. Consequently an historical (g) (g), which is the etymological descent of Sanscrit ̀ in almost all cases (Whitney, ib. p. 18), should degenerate into (c) by the omission of the (g), is what this hypothesis would lead us to anticipate. Sanscrit ̀ corresponds with Latin ̀, g, c, Greek χ, ρ, k. Lithuanian ̀, ̀, g, = (zh, sh, g). Gothic ̀, g, old high German ̀, and Persian (sh, s, krh), which are also explicable by (g) through the (grh) relation. Although this (g) value of Sn. ̀ is thus seen to answer every required condition, yet the extreme difficulty which English people feel in appreciating (g) leads me to recommend them the use of the easy (sc) in its place, where no flatu at all is uttered, thus distinguishing kā as (khā, gua), surd and sonant.

Since writing the above I had the
14. (wh)—continued.

opportunity, already mentioned (1102, 8), of examining the pronunciation of Mr. M. O. Mookerjee. So far as I could observe, his ʃ was a pure jerk (ʃ), not very strong and unaccompanied by any bias. The "first" ʃ (k) was thoroughly English (k, s), without any tendency to (kʃ) that I could detect. In the "second" ʃ I heard generally (kʃ), sometimes (kʰa), but scarcely ever (kʰa), unless perhaps he was particularly anxious to make me hear the sound. The "third" ʃ was indistinguishable from English (ɡa), there was none of the German inflection (ˈɡa), or implosion (ˈkəs). The "fourth" ʃ seemed simply (ɡn), that is in pronouncing (ɡa) the vowel was brought out with a little more force. Most Englishmen would have considered his (kʃ, ɡn) as mere foreign "corruptions" of (k, ɡa). There was nothing in them that they had not heard from foreigners, and from Irishmen constantly. The sound was not (ɡa), but of course (ɡn) might very easily become a refinement of such a sound. The point however which struck me was, that the old Indian ʃ, which the native commentators classed with the sonants, was still a sonant, to the extent of not being a surd, with not even a buzz or trill about it, but merely a method of jerking out the following vowel. My instructor volunteered that when he said ʃ he only pronounced the following vowel "a little more strongly," and he mentioned, in order to repudiate it, the late Prof. Goldstücker's pronunciation (ɡʰn), of his own accord, that is, without anything said by me to lead up to his observation. It appears then that the recommendation I have given to call ʃ (kʰa ɡn) accords so closely with one native gentleman's pronunciation that when I thus pronounced to him he acknowledged the sounds. I did not take the case of a final ʃ, as in (braχma), and hence this information was incomplete.

It was in order to complete the information I had received from Mr. Mookerjee, and to contrast it with the usages of others, that I obtained the assistance of Mr. Gupta (1906, 4), who was pointed out to me by Prof. Childers, of the India Office Library, as the person from whom I could obtain the most trustworthy native assistance in London, and I am greatly indebted to Mr. Gupta for the patience and care with which he sought to meet my wishes. Of course it would be advisable to hear very much more than it was possible to condense into an hour's observation, and also to hear different readers of equal information read the same words. But as phonetic observations upon cultivated native Sanscrit pronunciation at the present day, made by persons who have studied the theory of speech-sounds, are certainly rare, I think it will be advisable in this place to reproduce the notes I made at the moment, as a basis for future observations. I have already had to refer three times to the information then obtained (1906, 6, 1103, 6, 1200, 4), but it will be convenient to repeat the notes in their proper place. The method adopted was to present certain combinations in Sanscrit characters, prepared beforehand, and, by hearing them repeatedly pronounced, to note the sounds in palaeotype, making a few hasty observations, which were expanded immediately after Mr. Gupta's departure, while my recollection of the conversation that had passed was quite fresh. I shall now print the Sanscrit and palaeotype, with nearly a verbatim reproduction of those notes, which I regard as documents, and hence bracket all subsequent additions.

Modern Indian Pronunciation of Sanscrit.

ʃ (a) ʃ (aa) ʃ (i) ʃ (ii) ʃ (u)
ʃ (uu). Observe the pairs (a as, i ii, u uu). [The short vowels were distinctly of a different quality from the long. The two first were not (a, ʃa), as usually laid down. The Scoth (a) and English (i, u) were very marked.]
ʃ occasionally (ˈri) when pronounced separately, but otherwise (ˈri), not (ˈari). [Also not (ˈari). Dentality not noticed.]
ʃ (ˈri, ri) under the same circumstances.
ʃ (iri) when pronounced separately, but ʃ (kiʃ) [exactly like the English word chip], not (kiʃ). [In this (iri) the (i) seemed to me more evident and the (r) less evident than in the Japanese (ɾ), so that the result might
be rather written (fr). But as the sound never occurs except as the name of a letter, very little weight is attachable to this observation.

(sc) so called, but it does not occur separately.

(sm) or even (as), distinctly very open [and this was still clearer in combination].

(ak), occasionally (di), and when pronounced separately, fully (a-i) [with the Italian looseness and slur].

(ou) quite open, nearly (a) in connected words [no approach to (oo, soo)].

(ai) or (dm, a—u) as for (ai).

[In neither (ai) nor (au) was there a further prolongation of the first element than is natural to a stalled combination, in comparison to the English type (ai).]

(k,aa) quite English [that is, with closed glottis; not as in German].

(kha), it seemed to be merely the open glottis (k), but occasionally (khi) might be heard. [It was distinctly not (kha) or (khi)aa, and totally different from k in the celebrated iakhorn.]

(ggu) English [no German inflexion (1113, 8)].

(gruu), with stronger vowel, distinctly not (g'ruu, g'hiu), which was derided. [The sound may be heard from many an Irishman saying goos. The vowel seemed to be jerked out quietly with the (a) which is natural to me. The form (g'uu) would seem to imply a greater continuity of pressure, and (g,uu) too much abruptness. Neither does (g'uu) with the sign of closeness (1127, 8) appear correct. The result was identical with Mr. Mookerjee's. It appears, then, that the conjecture respecting the pronunciation of g gu as (bnt dnu gu)—where I ought of course to have written (dmu)—which first led me theoretically to the assumption of a pure jerk (x) as the basis of post-aspiration (1125, 8), is entirely confirmed by the actually observed practice of two native Bengalee gentlemen.]

(f). Not used initially, this f is merely (q), and is used final for

(wh)—continued.

necessary (anassekara). [Mr. Gupta did not seem able to say (q), and hence the combination was not pronounced.]

(ckoo), Bell's 2r (15, 8), distinctly an explodent, no hiss at all, not (u). [See (1120, c).]

but in this letter a hiss occurred (kryhoo), and hence the resemblance to English (ksh) was very close, in fact (ksh) was near enough. [The close squeezing of (k) when opened on an open glottis, as (khi), necessarily engenders (kh), and the resulting (kh)h comes so close in effect to English (ksh), that the two sounds are readily confused, and I have no doubt that I confused them at the time, as (k) was not a familiar sound to me.]

(gsha) decidedly an explodent, and not (d,sh), nor (sh) simply.

(g'haa) for (gsha); the intention was always (gsha), but (g'haa) was occasionally said; some speakers, according to Mr. Gupta, make the sound closer than others. [This was his expression when I pointed out to him the insertion of (x'), but observe that even then no (nh)—that is, no satura—was introduced. The combination is rare, but (gsha) is quite as easy as (gsha), after a very little practice.]

(nj), very close as in closest French, but not (na) at all, only used before (kg, g.). [I heard (nj), but this may have been an error of ear for (q)].

(t,aa), simple English (t), no inversion of tongue at all, see (1096, 8).

(t,aa), pure dental (t), tongue against teeth, French t; the only English dentals, according to Mr. Gupta, are (th, dh). [These (t, t) were pronounced with vowels, thus (taa, tii, tuu, tu), in rapid alternation, till the distinction became as clear as between (sh, th).]

(t'aaa) or (t'shaa), (t'aa) or (t'shaa). [These were written in a different order to the last pair, and rapidly alternated, to shew the distinction.]

(draa), (draa).

(naa), before a dental (n) is heard, and the sound is perhaps always (n).

(naa), before a cerebral (n) is heard, before a vowel (a) are both (n), not distinguished (1096, 8).
14. (wh)—continued.

The (p, ii), quite English, जी (pī, pīhī).

बू (bun), बू (bûnu) distinct, no approach to (b'uhu).

मी (mi), English.

के (see), English (ज).

र (ree) or (ree). After a dental र is dental, the tongue not being drawn back, as (t, r). Mr. Gupta could not recall a word where र stands after a cerebral. [Initially Mr. Gupta had always an apparent tendency to insert (a) or (‘h) before (र), thus (a, r); this arose perhaps from some voice escaping before the beat of the trill became evident. The Prātiṣṭhākhyas require a (‘h) to be inserted distinctly between (र) and a following spirant (श, श, s, श) and more briefly between (र) and any other following consonant. I did not observe this, which is, however, common in European speech when there is a trill. I have frequently not noticed the dentality of (र), probably from not knowing it well.]

के (lee), English [that is, I did not detect any special dentality, as (i)].

के (see), but often (के) [that is, with very moderate dentality], and apparently very like (bh, b) occasionally, in Bengalee always (b). See (1103, c). After a consonant के is quite (w) or rather (s-) diphthongising with the following vowel, and I find के becomes a similar diphthongising (i-) under the same circumstances.

भी (shii), no distinction whatever made between भ भ, they are different letters having the same sound; occasionally भ seems more retracted, but the distinction is now quite lost. See (1120, s).

भी (iii), English. In conversational Bengalee often ( bh), not (ubh). [The last fact was ascertained by special questioning, as I anticipated hearing (ubh), on account of the hiss, and the old के see relations.]

हा (hā). When Mr. Gupta was emphatic, (a’th) crept out; but it was always a very mild sound and the intention was evidently to emit no flats. It was in no respect an (ubh) which could have grown from a (kh). In conversation uneducated Bengalee leave it out altogether. [A remarkable fact in connection with our own frequent omission of घ, and its powerlessness to save a vowel from elision in older English as well as Greek and Latin, and its disappearance in modern Greek and Romance.]

This pronunciation is after Benares and not Bengalee custom. [In addition to the above pronunciations of simple syllables, I tried a few actual words, which will illustrate the Sanscrit phonetic synthesis; but this is so peculiar and important, and was so totally unanticipated by me, that instead of a few examples at the end of an hour’s instruction, a long study should be devoted to it. Some of the following observations, however, appear to be new.]

प्रातिष्ठाक्य (pratishthaikī), the स occasioned an anticipation of (i) in the preceding syllable, and the स became (kī), that is, nearly (क्रहा). [We have here an instance of the anticipation of a following vowel by absolutely inserting it audibly in the preceding syllable, just as a note of a following chord is often anticipated to form a dissonance in the preceding chord, whereas in the German umlaut the following vowel merely grades the preceding in a peculiar manner. Next we see the change of (a) to (i) after a consonant, this vowel however diphthongising with the following. The action of (kī) on this vowel necessarily produces (“i), which is scarcely separable from (zh). In fact a written (saakṣa) becomes a spoken (saikṣa), the hiss after the (k), which arises from commencing with an open glotta, being converted by the following (i), used for (i), into the true palatal (zh), by the same action which determined the native rule: “vaiṣārjanīya, before a surd consonant, becomes of like position with the following sound” (Whitney, ibid. p. 96). As I was totally unprepared for this complicated action, I was much impressed by it, and ascertained the correctness of my analysis by several repetitions. On inquiring respecting the position of the accent, the answer was: No accent beyond the quantity, no other accent known. Mr. Gupta knew that accents were written in the Vedas, but he knew nothing of the Vedas, or of the meaning of their
14. (wb)—continued.

He read by quantity strictly (making a very marked distinction between short and long vowels. In speaking English Mr. Gupta seemed never to place the accent wrongly, as I have heard Indians not unfrequently do, who spoke English otherwise very well. He must have therefore sufficiently understood my question. The next words are from Bopp's Nalus, lib. i. sloka 3, and the Latin translation added is Bopp's).

1. religiousus (bra'muñ,naijo), (bra' ) followed by a silence, not (a), not (ah), not (i). (The (i) is a sudden check to the sound, a dead pull up; but it did not seem to be done with a jerk, although it imitated the jerk and replaced it. It was not (c), there was hence no such effect as (bra'ti), already described (1125, a), indeed the ज, although written as interposed with the म, instead of allowing the nasality of the (m) to be anticipated on the vowel, completely separated the vowel from the (m). If any nasality was anticipated, I failed to notice it. But there were so many other curiosities in the word, that I might have readily overlooked so slight a difference as that between (a a). The silence after (i) produced the effect of lengthening the first syllable, although in itself this syllable was extremely short. I regret that I had marked no case like अपाधामिसिया, where a post-aspirated media comes before a sonant consonant.

I can only conjecture by analogy that the effect of the post-aspirate would be merely to check or shorten the preceding consonant, introducing a pause, and that the word might consequently be called आपाधामिसिया. It is well known that ध before a pause becomes (a). The latter part of the word is given on the analogy of what follows. The next sounds shew remarkable effects, and I had the word repeated many times to note them. The Sanscrit letters indicate only (ma, na), all else is generated. The labiality of (m) generated either an (u) or (o) sound upon the coming (a); (o) being as we know the labialisation of (a), it would be most natural, but as Indian organs are not accustomed to any short (o, o) sound, but are used to short (e), it is probable that (u) was really uttered, although I received it as (u). It was very transient, but unmistakably touched. Then came (a) short with the force, and followed, as in the last case, by an (i) anticipated from the ज (a) in the next syllable. Result so far, (maui, which is probably more correct than (maui). Representing a short vowel, the whole triphthong was short and glided on to the (n), on which weight was laid. Now however ensued an action of the ज (a), converted into (i) after a consonant as usual, and this displayed itself by converting (n) into (nj), as it sounded to me, but (q) may have been the sound of course, as a palatal generated by the palatal. By this introduction sufficient time was gained for lengthening the syllable, and then the voice fell rapidly and briefly on the (i), and passed on to a long broad sustained (oo), producing the singular result (bra'muñ,naijo), as it may perhaps be written.)

वेदविष्णु छूटो Védorùm-jnàrus, heros, (vee,davít kyyu,roo). I think (tky) was (tky) meant for (kky), after the Italian model. Mr. Gupta complained of the separation of the words, the छूट for छूट causing him to hesitate. There was no real doubling of (ky), but the first seemed to be a coronal (t), and not the dental (s), which would have been impossible as the substitute for a palatal. The lengthening of the syllable (rty) by the doubled consonant was very clear.)

The quantities were brought out beautifully.

निष्केर्ष व Nischadhis (nishadhrroe-shu). [The long vowel quite distinctly marked, no glide of (sha) on to (da), the (dree) given very quietly, but quite distinct from (dee), and with no approach to (shudhi).]

महृदीपि: terrae-dominus (marinipà-ti). Observe the visarga at the end distinct. [The effect of (ti) was clearly (ti'i) or nearly (tib), but very short and quick, just touched. and hence not so strong as would be implied by writing (tiib). The medial (a) was quite different from (ah). The first six words that follow are from the 5th sloka of Nalus.]

तत्रि 'वा' सोद्र विद्विṣें ita quoque fuit in Vedarbhisa (ta,taí vaas niid
marked European correlative of this combined Sanscrit action, to which we have very little corresponding in English. In all languages there are many synthetically generated sounds which are not marked in the alphabet. Thus I noticed a generated (z) in Mr. Magudson’s Icelandic (547, ab), and a generated (lh, mh, nh) after or before mutes (545. d, 546. e). In Sanscrit we have already noticed (1322, a) a generated (kh, ph) from Prof. Whitney, and other generated sounds from Mr. Gupta’s pronunciation. The rules for the conversion of Sanscrit m, n, before surd mutes, into visarjanlya (Whitney, ibid. pp. 84, 85), seem to me to speak of this insertion of a generated (mh, nh) as (m-mh-p, n-nh-t) for (m-bh, n-h) = (m-mh, n-nh). “It is sufficiently evident,” says Prof. Whitney (ibid. p. 86), “that this insertion of a sibilant after a final s, before a surd mute, is no proper phonetical process: the combination of the nasal and following non-nasal is perfectly natural and easy, without the aid of a transition sound, nor can any physical explanation be given of the thrusting in between of a sibilant which only encumbers the conjunction,” and consequently he resorts to an historical development, which of course may have been the real process adopted. But it does not follow that the insertion may not be perfectly natural. The difficulty, not from the passage of a nasal into a non-nasal, but from voice to voicelessness. Now to us such a passage as (tiit) is easy enough, and most of us say simply (t < ii > t'). But it is easily imaginable that the glides must be mixed in some persons’ mouths as (t < “ii-ii-ii-ii” > t < “b’ > b’) or (tjiht’), where the change from voicelessness to voice takes place in the position of the voiced letter. In this case such a combination as (felt, lemp, tent, thik) would be impossible, or at least disagreeable to his organs, which demand (fel-lh-t, lemp-mh-p, ten-nh-t, thiq-gh-k). But the murmurs (l, m, n, q) have at least no acknowledged hiss. Now in Dutch these are acknowledged, though not written, as (lh, rh) developed by a sankhis action of a following voiceless letter (114, 0), to which I draw particular attention, as it is the most

Returning to English sounds I may notice the following information received from Prof. Haldeman: “About the year 1860, the lower classes of New York developed the form b’ hoy from boy. It came to Philadelphia, and I heard it as far south as Washington, but there it acquired a vowel, say bohoy. This sound is rather an enforced than an aspirate b, and is due to energetic speech, like German pf for p. In questions between Greek and Sanscrit, I believe that p is older than pf, sf and f, and f often newer than p, h, and k, k’h, kh, k’h, have the same relations. It is a curious fact, that in India itself g’ha1, fruit, has fallen into fa1 dialectically—if the sound is not really the labial ph.” Query, was this lower-class New York sound (bho’i), and was it adopted from the Irish (bho’i) who abound there?

The English language has the following pairs of mutes and sonants (p b, t d, k g), occasionally but not intentionally passing into (ph bh, th dh, sh dh) and, as I think, (wh w, sh s). But the murmurs (l, m, n, q) have at least no acknowledged hiss. Now in Dutch these are acknowledged, though not written, as (lh, rh) developed by a sankis action of a following voiceless letter (114, 0), to which I draw particular attention, as it is the most

14. (wh)—continued.

vi’darbanesuu). [The dentality of (r) not observed.]

धृष्ठि भृमपराश्र्यम्: Bhimsa ti’

[Tradition of (r) not observed; the (q) distinct.]

धार्मिक: officium—gnarus (dnarmā-

[Sloka 7–]

[Slaka 11. This concludes the observations on Mr. Gupta’s pronunciation.]

Returning to English sounds I may notice the following information received from Prof. Haldeman: “About the year 1860, the lower classes of New York developed the form b’ hoy from boy. It came to Philadelphia, and I heard it as far south as Washington, but there it acquired a vowel, say bohoy. This sound is rather an enforced than an aspirate b, and is due to energetic speech, like German pf for p. In questions between Greek and Sanscrit, I believe that p is older than pf, sf and f, and f often newer than p, h, and k, k’h, kh, k’h, have the same relations. It is a curious fact, that in India itself g’hay, fruit, has fallen into fa1 dialectically—if the sound is not really the labial ph.” Query, was this lower-class New York sound (bho’i), and was it adopted from the Irish (bho’i) who abound there?

The English language has the following pairs of mutes and sonants (p b, t d, k g), occasionally but not intentionally passing into (ph bh, th dh, sh dh) and, as I think, (wh w, sh s). But the murmurs (l, m, n, q) have at least no acknowledged hiss. Now in Dutch these are acknowledged, though not written, as (lh, rh) developed by a sankiš action of a following voiceless letter (114, 0), to which I draw particular attention, as it is the most
and says expressly (English Visible Speech for the Million, p. 15): “The abrupt non-vocal articulation of the ‘liquid’ l, m, n, ng, when before non-vocal consonants, is exhibited in the pricking of such words as felt, lamp, lend, think, etc. In deliberate pronunciation, the voiceless l, m, etc., receive an initial trace of vocality from the preceding vowels;” that is, he admits (l, m, b), etc., “but if an attempt be made to prolong the ‘liquid,’ without altering its vernacular effect, the characteristic voicelessness of the latter will be demonstrated to the ear. The peculiarity of ‘foreign’ pronunciation of these English syllables arises simply from the undue vocality which is given to the l, m, etc.” I do not know to what particular ‘foreign’ pronunciation he was alluding, but I do not recognize a predominance of (lb) as English. It is possible that (el-lb’-t), etc., may be said, but I have no more difficulty in saying (elt) than in saying (est), that is, I can run the vocality on to the voiceless mute, and then cut it suddenly off, without any interposition of the hiss (lb). A distinct and much more a predominant pronunciation of (lb), etc., is something new to me. But in listening in 1870 to the English public speaking of Keshub Chunder Sen, a Bengalee gentleman, of considerable education, founder of the Brahmo Samaj or Indian theistic church, I was struck by the way in which he conveyed the vocality of his (l, m, n) into the following consonant, when it should have been quite voiceless, and then having given a faint indication of the vocal effect, passed on to voicelessness, during that consonant. This was more apparent when the following consonant was a hiss. His since was (sin-l-s-a), his felt was (fel-d-t), the effect of which to an English ear was to create a confusion between since and sins, felt and fall. Now this was the more remarkable, because of our own habit of calling sins (sinsa), see (547, b) and (1104, c), so that it would certainly be more English to call since (sinnah) than (sinza). But the point to be noticed here is the sikarjanlya or (sh) effect produced, the real change from voicelessness to voice and conversely, in the same position. We might write (sinjal, singh) for (sin nh-s, sinz-s). The introduction of whisper before or after voice is not confined to vowels, but may occur with any voiced consonants, and different ears will recognize the effect of the same pronunciation differently, according to the attention which education or habit has led them to give to the voiced or voiceless parts respectively. A German says (zissiz-zun) for sie chen, and (axil axil) for sich! sich!, but he only knows and teaches that he says (zissun, zii! zii!). An Englishman says (briddhas), but believes he says (briddha), and if a voiced letter follows he does so. But he never says (thdhseh) as a German would, if he could. German is very deficient in correspondence of voiced and voiceless letters. Even if we admit initial and medial (ph b, th d, th g), we find only final (p, t, k) or at most (bp, d, gk). Then to German (f) there is no (v), except in the north of Germany, and even there the (v) for (bh) arises so differently that there is no feeling of pairing, and hence (vii) for (bhi) would be strange. And in those parts of Germany where (bh) is certainly pronounced, (ph) is only generated, and not even acknowledged, except by phonologists, in graham-(p-philu), so that (phbhi) could not occur. The Germans have (sh) but no (zh), and (tsh) but no (dzh). They have (kh, ksh), but only medial and final, except in the syllable -chen, and some generated -seh. Their (gh, gjh) are only medial. They know nothing of (lh, rh, nh, qh), and hence there is no tendency to any sikarjanlya consonant effect, except in initial (as-). In English we have certainly, before a pause. (as, -dthh) frequently, and (vif) occasionally, but as (zh) is never final, we have no (zh, sh). The consonantal diphthong in judge, however, often yields (dzhod zh sh), which Germans, at best, pronounce (tshodt sh), and a very curious effect they produce, making the (ad) extremely short. In the case of (l, m, n, q) we prolong them indefinitely as vocal, and so, I think, do Germans, with the exception of (q), which becomes (qk') very often in Germany.

We are now prepared to consider the very difficult Ags. huc, hr, hi, hm, hn, with the Old Norse hi, hv, see (513, a), (544, a). Prof. Whitney, after defining h as (sh). see (1132, a), continues (Asth. V. Pr. p. 66): “Thus the h’s of ha, of hi, of hu, and those heard before the
14. (wh)—continued.

semi-vowels $w$ and $y$ in the English words *when* and *eye*, for instance, are all different in position, corresponding in each case with the following vowel or semi-vowel. $H$ is usually initial in a word or syllable, and is governed by the letter which succeeds, and not by that which precedes it." He therefore says, and bears from such American English speakers as do not omit the voiceless part altogether, (thas, *thii*, *thuu*, *thween*, *thiid*), and he is apparently so convinced that all English speakers agree with himself and those whom he has both heard and noted, that he says elsewhere (Oriental and Linguistic Studies, p. 251) that Prof. Max Müller's "definition of the *wh* in *when*, etc., as a simple whispered counterpart of *w* in *ween*, instead of a *w* with a prefixed aspiration, is, we think, clearly false." When Prof. Max Müller, as a German, addresses the opinions of Mr. M. Bell, and myself, as English phonologists who agreed with him, Prof. Whitney replied (*ibid*. p. 271): "The true phonetic value of the *wh*, as is well known to all who have studied English phonology, is greatly contrived; we happen to have a strong conviction on one side, which we take every convenient opportunity of expressing, without intending disrespect to those who differ from us.

And then, alluding to me, he says, "We feel less scruple about disagreeing with him as to this particular point, inasmuch as he (and Bell as well) has what we cannot but regard as a special weakness in respect to labial modifications of vowels and consonants. With one who can hold the initial consonant sound of *dwell*, for example, to be not a *w* with a prefixed, but a slightly modified $d$, we should not expect to agree in an analysis of the *wh* sound." On (*dce* see (1115.6)), where the last sentence was quoted without its context. The cases of (*wh*, *dce*) are not quite parallel, but this is of small importance. Prof. Whitney's *wh* = my (*hw*) = my (*wh-w*). Now, of course, Prof. Whitney is an incontrovertible authority as to the *w* in which he pronounces, and wishes others to pronounce, the initial sounds of his own name, but that he should find it necessary to "take every convenient opportunity of expressing" his own "strong conviction" respecting the correctness of his analysis, shows me that he must have met with many who disap}{

14. (wh)—continued.

pected it. Possibly he is often called ("W'tm"), as he certainly would be generally in London, and that must be as annoying as for *Smith* to be called ("Z'mis"), as he would certainly be in France. That, however, (*bwill*) = ("w'll") is an acknowledged theoretical American pronunciation, the uncorroborated assertion of Prof. Whitney would be sufficient to establish. And it is not uncorroborated.

Prof. S. S. Haldeman, of Chickies, Columbia, Pennsylvania, U.S., says (Analytic Orthography, p. 101): "Latin V has a surd aspirate in English *wh*, which is always followed by V *way*, as in *when* = (*wh'wen*), which is not (*when*), as some suppose, nor is it *hwen*, as *hden* is not *then*. Unfortunately, this sound is departing. We heard *way* for *whig*, the first time in July, 1848, and not infrequently since. When this condition is established between *when* *where*; *which*; *what*; *whew*; *wheel*; the language will have ceased to be a refined one. The sound probably belongs to Welsh, provincial Danish, and ancient Greek." And in a note received while this was being prepared for press he observes: "If *when* is not my *wh*-s-n but *wh*-s-n, it approaches *fan*, as *wh*-s-ch approaches *fich*." [precisely, and so we get Aberdeen (*f*) for initial (*wh*), and have got our received final (*f*) in *laugh* *dowf*.] I think those who say *w-*s-n drop *wh* and do not drop the aspirate merely. Similarly if *hew* is *h*- (*sh-u*) but (*sh-u*), then it approaches (*sh-u*). " Query, are not Lancashire *hoo* and Leods *shoo* both meaning *she*, both derived from *hoo* aga., the one through (*shoo* *shoo* *shoo*), (*shoo*) regular dialectal changes, and the other through (*shoo* *shoo* *shoo* *shoo*)? The peculiar dialectal pronunciations will be discussed hereafter. The usual theory gives *hoo* to *hoo*, and *she* to *shoo*. But she could also come from *hoo* through (*shoo* *shoo* *she* *she*). The vowel changes will be justified hereafter. The form *ghe* occurs in Orrin (488. *d*), and *ghe*, *ge* in Genesis and Exodus (467. *d*). Prof. Haldeman adds: "I have known an intelligent lecturer on grammar to assert that in *when*, etc., the *w* proceeds the *w*—meaning a true A. I then proposed that he should set his mouth for the initial of *when*. Now
14. (wh)—continued.

my whose." Of course he failed, and
omitted the labial nature of the initial. I
have a cognate experiment upon about
the only point where we do not agree.
I say, "Set the mouth for the initial of
was, let it stand while you are imagining
the syllab ewe, but relax at its final
dimensions and not the lips. The
result is a closer sound than that of
oars or full." 'See the mouth for the
vowel of oars or full, then imagine the
organs relaxed upon the last element of
oars or full, when a closure of the organs
will be felt.' I admit your glide, but a
slide that proceeds to a consonant, and
might proceed from o to b. The glide
is present in oars and cease, but it cannot
turn them into monosyllables. These
last remarks relate to my theory of
diphthongs, and the experiment is to
show that the last element is conso-
nantal. So it is, in the pronunciation
of several English persons, but that is
not sufficient for a general theory of
diphthongs. The last examples, oars and
cease, are met by my elai—
theory.

Prof. F. A. March, of Easont, Pennsyl-
vania, in a private letter to
Mrs. March, 1872,—already cited (1092,
c),—has most obligingly entered into
so much detail that I think it will be
interesting and useful to quote his re-
marks as length. He says: "You call
my wA (wh + w). I suppose you call
my A (wh) because I have set my or-
gans for (w) when I issue it. I
suspect something wrong here, and fear that
I have misled you as to the sound.
When I say As, I set the organs for
as (ii) and issue surd breath; to say
As, I set for a (aa) and issue surd
breath, and for other combina-
tions. [That is, he says ("ii", "aa"
initially, or (hi), (has) conjointly.]"No separate characters are used to
indicate these settings." [Hesp
takes Earymasa !] "I do not then
see why wA is not the proper nota-
tion for my wA." [If always in-
dicated (th), then wA would indicate
(jh) = (w-h), which is Prof. March's
wA,—but not mine.] "When I com-
pare Aes and Aes = when, it seems to
me that the initial surd sound before
the lip movement in Aes is identical."
[If (w) differs from (u), as I believe,
then (jhw) differs from (jhu), the first
giving (wh-w), the second ("u-u."]
I have this moment stopped writing,
and tried the experiment of saying who
as, pronouncing it as one word with
the accent on as, and the o as with
slight sonority. I find a person of good
ear and some skilled attention takes it
for wheaset, and thinks it correctly ut-
tered, though often repeated." [This
depends upon habit. Now there are
very various ways of uttering these
words, and I fear that in the set
(ju:uit), even when allowed to dege-
negrate into mere (xu:uit) is not at all
like Prof. March's wheaset = (whwuit),
but of course his (ju:uit) would differ
from (whwuit) only as (ni) from (wii),
and the existence of this difference for
at least 300 years, since the time of Sir
Thos. Smith (185, s), has been a matter
of dispute in England.] "This seems to
me to indicate that in our pronunciation
the initial sound is A as in Aas, and
that the following sound is very like
your diphthongal 00" [that is, (u)
forming a diphthong with a following
vowel which has the chief stress.
Here I omit a passage on etymology,
subsequently referred to.] "I cannot
but think that phonetically, as cer-
tainly etymologically, Ang.-Sax.
and New England Aas's are labialised A's,
standing parallel with Lat. qu. [Here
Prof. March actually adopts as an argu-
ment an idea of my own, that qa =
(kw) and not (kw), which Prof. Whitney
deduced as a reason for disagreeing
with me!] "I think it likely that these
remarks are wholly needless; but I find
that I can issue breath through organs
set for w, in such a way that it will
have from the first a plain labial modi-
fication, so that I should call it wA.
The sound I do make for wA is not
that, I think; but, as I have tried to
expound it, like A. Perhaps, I do not
really set my organs for your w."

Another American phonetic authority
propounds a slight difference. Mr.
Goodwin (op. cit. p. 10) says: "As to
w, it has generally been maintained
by modern English grammarians that
it is pronounced Aas (i.e. Aas), as it was
written by the Anglo-Saxons. But we
doubt not that if a man will observe
carefully for himself how, and with
what difference, he pronounces wA and
whit, he will be satisfied that the A is
really pronounced neither before nor
after the w, but in the same sort of
constant combination with it, which
characterizes any other aspirate as con-
ected with its lene. Whether the A,
therefore, should be printed before or
after the w, is a matter of indifference,
14. (wh)—continued.

except so far as consistency in the notation of a given alphabet is concerned. WH is certainly the most consistent with the rest of the English alphabet." This seems to favour (whit) rather than (ḫwît).

It seems to me that the difficulty has arisen from want of discriminating symbols. Now that it is quite possible to distinguish (ẖuît, ẖhuît, ẖẖuît, ġhuit, ẖwit, ẖhuit, ẖwiit = ẖhuît, wiit), we may inquire in any particular case what is said. It is very probable, most probable, that in a case where accurate attention has been little paid, and where even symbolisation failed, great diversities exist, both traditionally and educationally, and that these should differ. Now it is certainly curious that three such competent American observers as Professors Whitney, Haldeman, and March, should practically agree in (wh·wiit) = (ẖwïit); and that two practised English observers like Mr. Melville Bell and myself should agree in (whïit). I have myself heard (wh-w) from Americans, and know that it differs from my own (wh-). Our Scotch friends called qubat (kəbat), not (k̪hwaːt), and in Aberdeen we have (fat), or perhaps (fære), see (188, § 580, c). Now this last (fat) is as easy to say as (fære), which no one would think of calling (fære), except perhaps in the Somersetshire district, where this may be the real sound that generated (fære), see (1104, g). But such combinations as (fër, thdhr-, är, shh-) are as English as (hl-, mmn-, etc.), etc., and hence I think that the analogy of our language is in favour of (whïit, ẖhu)=wheat, how. It is true, I call the last word (ẖhu), which certainly approaches (ẖhu, but may be an individuality, but the word is not common; and when it is used, the sound flutters between (ẖhu) and (ẖhu). And similarly for human, humour, etc.

What ought we to say is another question. Should the Anglo-Saxon hw lead us to (wh-w-) in all cases? Prof. March, who is a potent authority in Anglo-Saxon, says, in passage omitted on (1143, b''), from the letter there cited: "Is it not true that this initial h is a weakening of a guttural aspirate ch, which again is a shifting from a mute k, and that the labial v, w, w is a parasitic utterance, which has here and there attached itself to the true root letter? Sansk. ẖu-, Lith. ḫu-, Slav. ẖw-.

14. (wh)—continued.

kaw, Lat. quo-, Goth. hwa-, A. Sax. hwa-, Engl. who." We enter now on a great question, the discussion of which would lead us very far, namely on "parasitic utterances," where a new sound intrudes itself. This new sound in the case of vowels is generally (i, u), which shows itself often by a mere palatalisation or labialisation of the preceding consonant, and sometimes ousted the consonant altogether, compare Lat. homo, Ital. old huomo, new uomo. Sometimes the intruder is (a) before (i, u), which through (ai, au) sometimes pass to distinctly different vowels, as (e, o), and sometimes dropping the old original vowels altogether, yield up their lives to the intruder, as in Yorkshire (a) for huss, ags. ẖu. All of this will naturally present itself later on, § 2, No. 6, i.v. It would be too far to go to Sanscrit kā- or Latin quo- as an authority for the pronunciation of English who. It is enough to go to ags. ẖūd, and observe that what on this theory we must regard as an intrusive parasitic v has in this case quite absorbed the d. If ags. was (whwa), English is (ẖu) or (ẖhu), or rather both.

Let us rather observe what has happened in old spellings, and we find how of the xiiith and xiiiith centuries becoming who in the xivth, which may be due to a change from (wh-w-) to (wh-), or may simply be due to a revision of orthography, the sound remaining unchanged. In the latter case the h was placed after to show that the sound was one, not two, precisely as in the case of ãh, sch. But we also find at a very early date simple ñ, continually in Robert of Gloucester, sometimes in Layamon. The old ñ, ñr, ñs, sank to l, r, m very rapidly. I see no means of determining whether the sounds were originally (khw, kh®, kh₁, khr, km, kbn) or (hw, hr, bl, hr, tm, th) = (wh, sh, lhl, rh, mhm, mbn) or (wh, lh, rh, mh, nh). Plausible arguments and analogies will apply to all of them. The modern (w, l, r, m, n) could descend from any one of them. But on the whole I am most tempted to believe that (wh, gh, lh, rh, mh, nh) existed at so very early a time, that I feel unable to go higher. As a matter of, say, habit, I use (wh, lh, r, m, n) at present. If asked what is the sound of wh in wheat, I reply, that I say (wh), others say (whw), and by far the
14. (wh)—continued.

The number of educated people in London say (w). These speakers are usually intelligible to each other. Perhaps the (wh) and (whw) people say mark the (w), and think that "the dropped." Perhaps the (w) may think the (wh) and (whw) folk have an old northern pronunciation, but generally they will not notice the matter. We (wh) and (whw) people might agree together for hours without finding out that there was any difference between their habits. How many Englishmen, or even Germans, know that Germans habitually call sich (sich) and not (sii)? How many Englishmen know that they habitually call emphatic is (iz) and not (iz) before a pause? Who is to blame whom? In such a matter, at least, we must own that "Whatever is, is right."—*whatever'iz, iz'iz*t*, as I repeat the words.

In these very excursive remarks the subject of aspiration is far from being exhausted, but as regards *wh* itself, it has been considered sufficiently. It constantly occurs *finally* in older English, as a form of *w*, perhaps at one time for (*kh*), or (*kw*), of which it is an easier form, the back of the tongue being not quite so high, and hence the friction less harsh, in (wh). Now this (wh) falls into (u), or drops away entirely, or becomes (*f*). Does not this look like (-kwh, -wh, -ph, -f) on the one hand, and (-kwh, -wh, -w, -u) on the other? I do not see a place for (-wwh) = (-wh), or *w* with *vizar*. This observation points to the pure bias (wh) in all cases, rather than the mixed (whw) in one case, and the pure (wh) in the other. But these are points for the older pronunciations. To gather present usage, we shall have to watch speakers very carefully.

(ii). See No. 3, (ii), and No. 6, (i).

(p). The lips shut firmly, and the glottis closed airtight. If the glottis is in the voice position, the voice will sound producing (b), see (1103, a). In this case, where (p) is final, the effect is described (1111, d*).

(whip). The glide (wh< i) is similar in its nature to the glide (s< i), see (1106, a). The glide (i< p) is similar to the glide (i< k), *ibid*. And the (p) glides off into pure flatus (h) before a pause. Thus (whip) = (wh< i< p< h) before a pause.

With regard to the length of the glide (i< p) and such like, the following remarks of Mr. Sweet are very important (Philolog. Trans. 1873-4, p. 110): "In Danish all final consonants are short without exception. In English their quantity varies, the general rule being that they are long after a short, short after a long vowel; *tall* (tall), *bin* (bran), *tale* (tell), *been* (but). Compare English *farewell* (fæərwɔl*) with Danish *farvel* (færvəl*). Liquids and nasals coming before another consonant follow the same laws in both languages: they are long before voice, short before breath consonants: (this was first noticed in Danish by E. Jessen; see his Dansk Sprogbeskr., p. 21. He has also noticed (in the T. f. Ph. ii.) the length of the E. final voice stops, treated of below, which I first discovered from comparing the E. and Norse sounds: *ham* (ham), *hammar* (hammar). *ved* (val), *vedlig* (vedlig), *ville* (våle); *bild* (bild), *build* (bild), *built* (built*). [It is possible that the different lengths of (l. l.) in such words as (bild, bilt) led Mr. Bell to his distinction (bild, bilt), see (1141, a).] “The short final stops in Danish and Norwegian are important as bringing out very clearly a peculiar feature of English pronunciation, which has not hitherto been noticed. This is our tendency to lengthen the final stops. It is seen most clearly in the vocal stops. Compare E. *egg* (egg) with Norw. *egg* (eg). That the voiceless final stops are also long in E. is apparent from a comparison of Danish *kat*, *kat*, with E. *cat*, *hat* (kæt, hæt). In short we may say that short accented monosyllables do not exist in English. Either the vowel or the consonant must be long (tall, tell). In the ordinary London pronunciation, the quantity of originally short vowels seems to be perfectly indifferent, the only limitation being that a short vowel and a short consonant must not come together. No Englishman ever says (tall). He must either lengthen the consonant (tall), or else the vowel, in which case the consonant becomes short (tsal). I have often heard the latter from people of every rank, but chiefly among the vulgar."
14. (whip)—continued.

I wish to direct close attention to this original and acute observation. But the subject is, I think, far from exhausted. Mr. Sweet has not spoken of the *glide* between the vowel and the consonant. The very short (taxi) of which he speaks would, to an Englishman, sound like an ‘unfinished’ (tsull), and be most safely written (taxi:), and so pronounced would, if (taxi) occurred in our language, give the effect of a long vowel, as in (taxi), which we should have to write (taxi:). If we are speaking of the relative lengths of the parts of syllables, we can only properly indicate them by superimposed numbers, as already suggested (1181, d).

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 1 0 1 1 1 2 1 3 (t<2>1, t <2>1, t <2>1) we have perhaps the relations roughly indicated by (tsall) or (taxi:), (taxi:) and (taxi). Mr. Bell marks Scotch *sil* = (s1), did

2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 1 0 1 1 1 2 1 3 he mean (s1'h >1) or (s1'h >1)? For practical purposes I should prefer writing (taxi1, tel, taxi), and (taxi, taxi1, taxi:) for theoretical investigation, when the exactness of numbers is not necessary.

15. LAMP, Bell’s (læmhp), my (lamp).

(1). One of the divided consonants. The tip of the tongue in the (d)-position, but the sides free; whereas in (r) the sides are fixed in the (d)-position, but the tip is free to trill. Hence (d) is, so to speak, an attempt to pronounce (l) and (r) together, resulting in a complete stop, as (l) stops the central and (r) the side passages. If (lh), or flatus through the (l)-position, occurred either consciously or unconsciously in *at* in ags. (1141, *a*), it is quite lost now. Even if Mr. Bell is right in supposing (lh) to be generated now (1141, *a*), it must be touched very lightly indeed. The Welsh *u* (lh) differs from (lh), see (766, bc). In (766, *d*) it is wrongly said that (lh) occurs in Manx, whereas it is only the buzz of (lh) or (lh) which there occurs. Frenchmen do not admit that (lh) occurs in *table*, as stated in (766, *c*), but (lh) occurs both directly as *at*, and indirectly before (t) in Icelandic (644, *a*, 645, *d*).

To the curious relation (d)-position
interpret this as a continued (a) or (e), interrupted for a moment by two or three beats of a trill, produced by hitting the point of the tongue, which is clearly free for (o), so that we have only (e), but by no means quite so, for first we have no proper glides (e> r < e), the true r-position not being assumed, and secondly the feeling of a continued vowel made tremolo in the middle, as has become the fashion in singing, and, consequently, thirdly the trill would disappear, at least, the theoretical (r), the sound produced by a free-reed, is made libere, as in an harmonium, how the sound produced by a striking, as in the clarinet. It is remarkable that it acts to change (n) into (r), "within the limits of the same word" (Whitney, ibid. p. 174), which would confirm this view, making (oro) in fact a trill in comparison with (r). There seems to have been a difficulty with the Indians as well as the English pronunciation (r) trilled before any other consonant. I have heard German birth given as kérich. This is the use of (r) before a spirant, where the Indians seem to have required a more sensible insertion of a swrobahdi, "fraction or fragment of a vowel" (Whitney, ibid. p. 67), in short of Mr. Bell’s voice glide (h), than before other consonants. The Irish (wr-rk) is well known. Probably the process of speech changed Sanscrit (a,r) into (oro) and then into (r) only. The "guttural" classification of the (oro) may merely indicate the retraction of the root of the tongue consequent on its vowel instead of its dental character. The (r) may have been merely (ala), a continued (o) interrupted in the middle by a non-dental (l) or approximation to it, and probably with no sound of (r) in it at all. These sounds are perhaps best written (ro, lo), as the consonant part became predominant.

Mr. M. O. Mookerjee (see 1102, 6,) called (ri, ri (uri, urwi), with a very distinct (w), but he said that (ri, iri were simple (I, Iii). Both of these are apparently modern. But the (uri) at least shows that the sound consisted of some vowel, interrupted in what was perceptibly the middle of its duration by the beats of a trill. Mr. Gupta differed in this respect, (1136, d’ 1138, 6).
other day from an Irish labourer. In England, however, the long vowel has gone much further, even to (er) or (er). In a certain class of words there is even now great diversity of use (68a). Fulton and Knight (Dictionary, London, 1843) say: "A sounds (as) before rm, ln, ff, and see, as in bar car, bard garb, bard pard, lark park, harl (?) snarl, arm arm, barn darn, carp harp, art dart, barge large, carve starve, farce parsee, march parch; b'rm csm pslm pslm, c'lf h'lf, c'sve h'alve. This sound is contracted into (a) before ff, fl, as, sk, sp, st, (th) and new, as in: chaff staff, grait shaft, lose pass, ask bask, ap clasp, cast fast, bath lath path wrought, chance dance." Now in London I constantly hear (as) in all these words from educated speakers, the r in ar being entirely dropped. On the other hand, I have heard (m) in every one of the words also, and then, in the case of ar, either of (m) or (er) was said, the vowel being short. I have also heard (a) short in every one, (a'), (ar) being used. Again, in those words which have no r, I frequently hear (see), and more frequently (ah), both short and long, especially from ladies, and those who do not like broad sounds. Apparently this dread arises from the fear that if they said (asak, laaf), they would be accused of the vulgarity of inserting an r, and when arsk, larf, are written, they "look so very vulgar." Yet these speakers frequently drop the (k) and say (shat) for (asak'v). The tendency seems to be towards (baa, paak, baahm, saahm, naashf, tahshf, staf, behth lathb, raas, tshens d'ns), but the words vary so much from mouth to mouth, that any pronunciation would do, and short (a) would probably hit a mean to which no one would object. In a performance of King John, I heard Mrs. Charles Keen speak of "(kwaf) skin," with great emphasis, and Mr. Alfred Wigan immediately repeated it as "(kaaf) skin," with equal distinctness. Both were (I am sorry to use the past tense, though both are living off the stage) distinguished actors. Mr. Bell hears (aj) in port, but I do not know (a) as a southern English sound.

(m). The lips are closed as for (b), but the uvula is detached from the pharynx and there is perfect nasal resonance (1096, d*. 1123, d). As there is a perfectly open passage for the voice, there is no condensed air in the mouth. The hum of (m) is well known, and it is instructive to sing upon (m, n, q), with the mouth first closed throughout, and then open for (n, q). It will be found that the opening of the mouth makes no difference, and that the three sounds scarcely differ when the glides from and to vowels are omitted. When I had a phonic printing office, the letters (m, n, q) had to be frequently asked for, and such difficulty was found in distinguishing them when the same vowel was used for each, as (em, en, eq), that it became necessary to alter the vowels and call the letters (em, en, eq), after which no trouble was experienced. Compare the modern Indian confusion of (n, p), mentioned in (1096, c).

As to the use of (m) or (mb) or (m-bh) before (p) see (1141, a). The case is different when the following mute belongs to another organ. -mbl does not occur, but -mtl is frequent, as in attempt, and the tendency is to cut off the voice and close the nasal passage, before the lips are opened, so that (mp) or (mph) is generated. As to the length of the (m) in this case, see (1145, bc) It is I think usually short. When mb is written, as in lamb, the (b) is not heard, but (m) is long, as (lamm, le'm). Possibly at one time the nasality may have ceased before the voice, and thus real (lamb) may have been said, but I have not noticed such as a present usage. Compare (labb) on (1124, b). There is no tendency to develop an etphenetic (b) medially, compare timber, timber, longer = (lumz, li'mbz, lo'vgz). But between (m) and (r) both French and Spanish introduce (b), compare Latin numero, French and Spanish nombre. But in English dialects there is much tendency to omit any such (b), as Scotch nummer, and dialectal timer, hammer, for timber, chamber.

Initial (m) is always short, except rhetorically, expressing doubt, but final (m), after even a buzz, becomes syllabic, as schism, rhythm = (si'm, ri'thm). After l it is not syllabic, as l is either very short as in elm = (elm'), often vulgarly (el'm, el'um), or l quite disappears, as in elms = (el'mz). After r,
distinct sound by the side of (z).” But both of them really seem to me to exist in German. At least in Saxony, general, könige, beurse, sounded to my ear as (gibh)sauna, kwarjihjus, barqihjus; and I often heard (zamaat,a, kwarjihus, barqihus), especially the last, ridiculed by Iredeners. The sounds were therefore distinguished. Brücke (Grundzüge, p. 44) distinguishes palatal k = (k) and velar k = (k), and Arabic kaf = (k), with their sonants (g, g, o). Then, proceeding to the corresponding hisses, he has (k), “as in Recht and Licht” (ibid. p. 48), (k), “as Wache, Woche, Wacht,” where I may notice that the (k) frequently becomes (kh) after (u) in German, and (kh), which he believes is the γ of the modern Greeks, before a, o, ow, w. From what he says (ibid. p. 49), I am inclined to think that he confuses (kh) with (krh). Then he adds: “Allowing the voice to sound, we come to Jot, the I consonant of the Germans,” so that he makes German s = (gh). Similarly he finds the voiced (kh), or (gh), in Platt-Deutsch iuge = (lieh'ghes); it is quite common in Saxon, as in lauge = (laaghew). Finally, he makes (gh), the modern Greek γ, before a, o, w. Then (ibid. p. 70) he says, referring to the English sounds: “Produce (i) and narrow still further the space between the tongue and palate where it is already narrowest, you will obtain a Jot, because you will have reached the position of (gh). The vowel (i) does not become lost by so doing; we really hear both the vowel (i) and the consonant Jot at the same time.” This seems to me an impossibility. “The most suitable example is the English y, when consonantal. When an (i) follows, as in year, it is exactly the same as the German I consonant; but when another vowel follows, a light sound of (i) is heard before it, in educated pronunciation, which arises from raising the larynx, and consequently introducing the condition for (i).” Now I know that Englishmen in Saxony had the greatest difficulty in learning to say (k)jib, (gh), which could hardly have been the case if they were their own (kh, x). The antecedent (i) in you, yeast, yeacht, which he would of course call (igighun, iighast, iizat), remind me of Prof. March’s (iww), see (1092,
Brücke's identification of English *g*- with (*jgh*)- is on a par with his identification of English *w*- with (*ubb*), where, however, he says: "the vowel (u) and the consonant (bh) are really sounded at the same time," which is incorrect. But an attempt to pronounce (u*ubb*) will generate (w), and so an attempt to pronounce (i*gjh*) might generate (z), but I think this attempt would not be quite so successful.

I attribute this error to Brücke's Low Saxon habits of speech, to which real (gh) is unknown, so that he imagines (z) to be the buzz of (kjh), with which he is acquainted practically. Merkel, however, a Middle Saxon, had no business to be astonished (Phys. d. mensch. Spr. p. 178) that Leopoldus could find no hiss to (z), and had distinguished (kjh, gh). In Saxon I have not frequently heard ja called (shaes), where the speaker would have been posed had he been told to begin the word with sh in *sh*, because he would not have known to arrange his organs, and would probably at least have said (kjh*ide*), thinking of *chias*. Again (sas) is the received and more usual pronunciation of ja, though great varieties are heard in a word which often sinks into an interjection. But to be told to begin with a "soft g" would sorely try a Saxon's phonetic intelligence. I found in Saxon very distinct differences (th gh, kjh gh, sh z). Merkel calls (kjgh) *g molle*, and (ghj) = (z) voiced *g molle* (ibid. p. 183).

Merkel allows of a modification of *g molle* when it comes from (y) instead of (i). In fact, we may have (sw) = (wj), the consonant formed from (y), similar to (z) from (i) and (w) from (u). And we have similarly (ksh, kxgh, ghgh, gwh). The hiss of the English (z) is heard only in a few words, as *Hugh, how, human* (see 1144, c).

All these German confusions of (kjh, ghj) with (sh, z) depend upon the prior confusion of (kj, gj) with (k, gj), and receive their proper explanation so soon as these consonants are admitted; for which we are indebted in English books to the acuteness of the American Mr. Goodwin and the Englishman Mr. Melville Bell, although they have been long known in India (1120, c). The series (kj sh *i*; gj sh *i*), where the hyphens point out the diphthongising character of the vowels, shew the exact relation of (zh, z) to vowel and consonant. The labial series are much more complex, on account of the back of the tongue being raised for (w), giving it a labio-guttural character. They are, therefore, (kw, kw bh *u*; gw ghw w u). Helmholtz (Zonempfind., 3rd ed. p. 166) recognizes an (u), for which the tongue is quite depressed; this would be (Au), a much duller sound than (u). For this there we have the labial series (p ph *Au*; b bh *Au*). The (f, v) hisses do not enter into either of the latter series, as they have no corresponding vowels. The usual (b v u) and (b w u) Series are quite erroneous.

The whole history of (zh, z) is analogous to that of (wh, w), and we have the same varieties. On (186, c) I have elected to write (za, ai), whatever the orthoepists wrote. But it must be observed that real differences exist, that (iâ, iâ ja, ia) are all possible, and different, and that (ai aj, aj) are possible and different. Mr. Sweet says of Danish (Philos. Trans. 1873-4, p. 107): "The voice-stop (g) becomes (gh), and often undergoes further weakening, passing through (gch) into (w), which is frequently the case after back vowels, especially when labial, or (after palatal vowels) into (z). Thus are formed quasi-diphthongs, the only ones which the language possesses." This is extremely interesting in reference to the generation of (ai, au) in English from ages, age, awe. The only diphthongs the English possessed independently of the Normans came in the same way, and the rhyming of these (ai) diphthongs with Norman ai proves that the English pronounced the Norman in the English way, whatever was the Norman sound. The Danish examples which Mr. Sweet gives are instructive. Thus, en say, also written say and saw (saw), 'saw,' en vegn (vog-n); faer (faw, i) = Icelandic feir, en skor (skow) = Icelandic skor; et norn (naw, n) = Icelandic norn, en oem (aw, n); jugs (jas), en bygn (das, n), et jips (es), en højde (hôjda). One sees here an exact modern presentation of the way in which Orrin perceived the formation of English diphthongs 700 years ago (469, b). The very change of the common -ij into (iê) is paralleled by the colloquial Danish mig, sig, sig, steg, mogen, reg, boger = (maê, dæ,
16. (a)—continued.

Mr. Bell adds: "In identifying the second element of the Danish diphthongs with (i) and (w) I have been partly misled by the views of Danish phoneticians themselves; as far as my own impressions are concerned I must consider the matter as somewhat doubtful: these combinations may after all be true diphthongs with the second element rather closer than in other languages. If the glide is short, and the second element always short, instead of being long at pleasure, as in English, it becomes extremely difficult to determine whether it is (i) or (w).

The closeness of diphthongs consists, I think, 1) in the shortness of the first element, 2) in the shortness of the glide and its continuously decreasing or increasing force, 3) in the shortness of the second element, but this last has least share in producing the effect. The ' looseness ' or ' openness ' of diphthongs consists, 1) in the lengthening of the first element, especially when in connection with the lengthening of the second element, 2) in the first decreasing and secondly increasing force of the glide, which may amount to a slur (1131, b), and is, I think, then characteristic of the Italian diphthongs, whose existence is even denied by some writers. The actual forms of diphthongs, and the ' vanishes ' of vowels, or sounds into which they merge on prolongation in various languages, have to be studied almost ab initio. The two usual statements, that they consist of prefixed and affixed (i, u) or (w), are the roughest possible approximations. The ' glides ' of Mr. Melville Bell were mere evasions of the difficulty, and have been given up by his son, Mr. Graham Bell, and by the two persons in England who have most used his Visible Speech, Messrs. Sweet and Nicol. The investigation has considerable philological interest, from the Sanscrit treatment and resolution of diphthongs, down to the introduction of diphthongs into English. But we are only just beginning to appreciate the determinants of the phenomena heard.

(b). See No. 12, (az, a). The peculiarities of unaccented syllables will be considered afterwards.

17. BOAT, Bell's (bou), my (boot).
17. (b).
(b). See No. 9, (b).

(oo). The controversy respecting (ou, oo) is precisely similar to that about (ei, eo), see (1108, e'), and the same peculiarities are observable in Dutch (1109, d'). Thus Donders gives "ou in hō with short u" (op. cit. p. 16), and Land says, that Dutch oo in boon, dook, loop, is (oo), noticing that it becomes (oo) before r, but adds that "in English and low (plate) Holländisch it is replaced by òw or even òw (òou), and is even used before r" (op. cit. p. 18). The usage of (òou) before r is not now known in England.

As regards my own pronunciation, I feel that in know, sow v., etc., regularly, and in see, so, etc., often, I make this labial change, indicated by (oo'oo). Wherein does this consist? In really raising the back of the tongue to the (u) position, and producing (oo) or (òou)? or in merely further closing or 'rounding' the mouth to the (u) degree, thus (òoo-oo)? or in disregarding the position of the tongue, and merely letting labialised voice of some kind, come out through a lip aperture belonging to (u), that is strictly (òoo-oo)?

There is no intentional diphthong, but a diphthong results so markedly, especially when the sound is forcibly uttered, that I have often been puzzled, and could not tell whether know, sow serere; no, so; or now, sow sus, were intended; I heard (nòw, sów). But these are exaggerations, and I believe by no means common among educated speakers. Whether they will prevail or not in a hundred years, those persons who then hunt out these pages as an antiquarian curiosity will be best able to determine. But that (i, u) should have developed into, say, (ai, an), by initial modification, and that (e, o), which are constantly generated from these diphthongs, should shew a tendency, which is sporadically and vulgarly consumed, to return to the same class of diphthongs by final amplification, is in itself a remarkable phonological fact which all philologists who would trace the history of words must bear in mind.

As to the English tendency, I think that (oo) develops into (oo'oo) most readily before the pause, the (k) and (p) series; the first and last owing to closing the mouth, the second owing to

raising the back of the tongue. I find the tendency least before the (t) series. This, however, is crossed by the vocal action of (l, n, r), which develop a precedent ('h), easily rounded into ('hew), and hence generating (oo'ew). So strong was this tendency of old that (6ul, 6un) were constant in the xviith century, and (6ul) remains in Ireland, and many of the English counties also, even where no w appears in writing. Before (t, d) I do not perceive the tendency. In fact, the motion of the tongue is against it. The sound (béut) is not only strange to me, but disagreeable to my ear and troublesome to my tongue. Even (bou wet) sounds strange. Mr. M. Bell's consistent use of (éti, éu) as the only received pronunciation thoroughly disagrees with my own observations, but if orthoepists of repute inculcate such sounds, for which a tendency already exists, their future prevalence is tolerably secured. As to the 'correctness' or 'impropriety' of such sounds I do not see on what grounds I can offer an opinion. I can only say what I observe, and what best pleases my own ear, probably from long practice. Neither history nor pedantry can set the norm.

(t). See No. 2, (t).

(boot). The synthesis occasions no difficulty. The glide from (oo) to (t) is short. The voice ends as the closure is complete (1112, e').

18. CART, Bell's (kart), my (kaart).

(k). See No. 6, (k).

(as). See (1148, d) as to (aa, aa). The sound of (a) is, as far as I know, quite strange to educated organs, though common in Scotland (69 a, d). "In reality," says Mr. Murray (Dialect of S. Scotland, p. 110), "the Scotch a, when most broadly pronounced, is only equal to the common Cockney pass, ask, demand (passa, ask, demaahnd), and I have heard a London broker pronounce demand draft with an a which, for broadness, I have never heard bettered in the North." It is the repulsion of such sounds which drives the educated, and especially ladies, into the thinness of (ah, aw).
18. (a).

(a). I use (a) in Mr. Bell's (kast) for his 'point-glise' or 'semi-vowelized sound of (r).' (Vis. Speech, p.70) and (1099, d). I believe I almost always say and hear (kast); but as I occasionally say (kast), I write (kast).

I am not sure that I ever hear or say (kast). I have heard (pa'k). No doubt many other varieties abound unobserved. But (park, kard) are perhaps foreignisms or Northumbrianisms.

(kast). See No. 2, (t).

(t). The voice begins at the moment that the (k)-position is relaxed, and not before, the glottis being placed ready for voice from the first. The glide on to (t) is short, (a) being treated as a long vowel. Read (k < as > t*).

19. TENT, Bell's (temhdt), my (tent).

(t). See No. 2, (t).

(e, e). See No. 7, (e, e).

(nh, n). See (1140, d') and (1148, d').

(tent). Glides (t < e > n-t').

The naselised voice is heard up to (t), when both voice and nasality are cut off. But (t) would be quite inaudible unless some flatus or voice followed. In (temta) the (a) gives sufficient flatus to make (t) quite distinct. In soundless there is apt to be a glide on to the (l), which is etymologically wrong, but easy, (tl-) being often preferred in English speech to (kl-). But in scentlıble (se = n bb: t'l), a complete (h) is heard. Observe that in this word (thb) and not (thb) is written, because to write (thb) would be ambiguous, as it might = (t-th-b), instead of = (t-th-b).

A Frenchman would use (thb).

20. HOUSES, Bell's (sházyz), my (háw-zëz).

(H, Hh). See (1130, b. 1132, d. 1133, a. to 1135, c), and (698, b').

(áu, óú). As to the first element, it is subject to almost all the varieties of those of long i (1100, d').

But owing to the labial final, the tendency to labialise the first element is more marked (697, d'). Our (aU, ahU, ow) must be considered as delabialisations of (ou, ow). The second element is rather (s) than (u), and may be even (ou). Mr. Sweet analyses his own diphthong as (oas'ei) or (oas'h). The great variety of forms which this diphthong consequently assumes, renders it difficult to fix upon any one form as the most usual. But as a general rule, the 'rounded' or labialised first element is thought provincial, and the broader (áU, dw) seems eschewed, the narrower (ahU, óú) or (ów) finding most favour. The first element is, I think, generally very short, the diphthong very close (1161, b), and the second element lengthened at pleasure. Mr. Sweet, however, lengthens the first element.

(z, zs). See No. 12, (zs).

(y, e). The unaccented vowels will be considered hereafter.

(ho'w-zez). The initial (h) has been already considered (1030, b'). I pronounce it generally by commencing the following vowel with a jerk, not intentionally accompanied by flatus. There is therefore no glide from (a) to (óú). The glide from (s) to (a') is very short and rapidly diminished in force. The glide hence on to (z) is short and weak. The (z) is protracted, but treated almost as an initial in zeal, and hence has a very short buzz. The first syllable practically ends at the end of the glide from (s) and does not encroach on the buzz of (z) at all. It is possible, and perhaps usual, to distinguish in pronunciation the verb and substantive in: 'he houses them in house.' In the first the glide on (z) is distinct, and all the buzz of (z) seems to belong to the first syllable, the glide on to the following vowel being reserved for the second. The difference may be indicated thus, the slurring dividing the syllables, which have no pause between them: (Hu'o-wz-esdhym inu'w-zez).
21. DOG, (dog).

(d, g). For the distinction between these sounds and (t, k) see No. 9, (b). For the position of the tongue in (t, k) see (1005, d', 1105, d').

(o). See No. 10, (o, a). To lengthen (o) in this particular word is American, Cockney, or drawing (dog, daag).

(dog). It is instructive to compare dock, dog (dok', dog'), pronounced with very short and very long glides, and consonants, as (d < o > k, k < b, d < o > g < b) and (d < o > k', d o < g'). where (i) is used to indicate extreme brevity. The 'foreign' effect of the latter will become evident. See (1146, c').

22. MONKEY, Bell’s (maq̪h̪i), my (maq̪ki).

(m). See No. 15, (m).

(z, o). See No. 1, (z, o).

(q, gh). See No. 13, (q), and also generally (1140, d').

(i). See No. 6, (i). As to the influence of the removal of accent, see hereafter.

(maq̪ki). The voice begins nasal, and continues very briefly through (m), but the nasality is not dropped as long as the (m)-position is held, else we should get (mbaq̪) which is a South African initial, and almost inconceivable to an Englishman. The vowel (o) must not be nasalised at all, though lying between two nasals (m) and (q). The nasalisation and the voice are dropped at the same moment in passing from (q) to (k), without altering the position of the tongue, but the retraction of the uvula causes a glide which will be heard distinctly on saying (maq̪, maq̪k') sharply. The latter ends almost metallically. The syllable divides at the end of this glide, which, in ordinary speech, is followed by the glide of (k) on to (i) without sensible interval. We have then (m < o > q-k < i).

23. CAGE, Bell’s (k̪eid̪zh̪), my (k̪ad̪,zh̪,zh̪).

(k). See No. 6, (k), There is no tendency to (kj-) before the sound of (i).

(see, əi). See No. 8, (see).

(d). See No. 21, (d).

(zh, zh). See No. 10, (sh, sh).

(zh, zh). Used only before a pause, see (1104, c).

(d, zh). See (1118, d) to (1119, d). The change from (k) to (t, sh), through a palatal vowel, is distinctly developed in English (203, d) to (209, b), but the change of (g) to (d, zh) is not so common, and hardly occurs initially. The French ch, sh, became (t, sh, d, zh) in English words, but reason has been assigned for supposing the French sounds to have been originally (t, sh, d, zh) on (314, c), meaning of course, (t, sh, d, zh). The subsequent recognition of an Italian (sh, zh), independent of (t, d), on (1118, a, 800, b), and Mr. Goodwin's re-discovery (1119, c) of the idian (kh, g), see (1120, c). renders it of course doubtful whether the passage of (k, g) Latin, into (sh, zh) French, as in chésent, gens (shas, zhaz), was really through (t, sh, d, zh) at all. The transition may have been simply (kJ kj jh sh; g g d zh), just as (i) or diphthongising (i-) certainly became (zh) in French. It is then, satisfactory to be able to shew a transition from (k, g), before palatal vowels, into (t, sh, d, zh) as so recent a period and in so short a space o time that there is hardly room for the interposition of transitional forms. Martinique, in the West Indies, was colonized by the French in 1635, hence any French upon it cannot be older than the xvith or xviith century. To a large emigration from Martinique to Trinidad, which was only for a short time in possession of the French after 1696, Mr. J. J. Thomas (a negro of pure blood, who speaks English with a very pure pronunciation, and is the author of The Theory and Practice of Orolo Grammar, Port of Spain, 1869, on sale at Trübner's, London, a most
23. (d, zh)—continued.

remarkable book, indispensable to all students of romance languages) attributes the introduction of French into the (formerly Spanish, and since 1787 British) Island of Trinidad. Mr. Thomas seemed to have erred to give me an oral explanation of the principal peculiarities of the sounds in this Creole French (25 September, 1873), which is by no means merely mispronounced French, but rather a romance language in the second generation. The sh, f of the French remain as (sh, zh), but k, g, before palatal vowels, become (t, sh, d, sh). I ascertained, not merely by listening, but by inquiry, that Mr. Thomas really commenced the sound by striking his palate with the tip of the tongue behind the gums. The following are examples: French cuite, chiotte, mauser, quinces, mariage, em-barquer; Creole, in Mr. Thomas's orthography, cuite, chiotte, mauser, chine, midiuer, lecher = (t, sh, t, sh, t, sh, t, sh, z, maat, she, beat, she), where (e) indicates Mr. Thomas's Creole nasality, which sounded to me less than the French (e), and more than the South German (e). French figure, guipe, gueule; Creole figee, geye, gode = (fi, zh, di, zh, ep, di, zhool). Observe the short (i). For sound of vowels Creole tini (tine) would rhyme with Annie (fi, ni), but the accent is of the French nature. Now French o, qu, gu in this position were considered by Volney (L' Alphabétp Européen appliqué aux langues Asiatiques, Paris, 1819) to be quite palatal, apparently (k, g), and are distinguished as his 23rd and 24th consonants from (k, g) his 26th and 27th. Whether in his time, and in the older xvith century, the (k, g) were distinctly pronounced, there is no proof; but this Creole change leads to this.

As I have had occasion to refer to this pronunciation, I may remark that the old pronunciations of oi occur, (u) in bœte doigt tools and (u) in cloisson poisson poisson; also that eu (o, e) falls into (e), and u (y) into (i) or (u), as so frequently in Germany, and that o must, when not final, is often replaced by e, i as éver, ritoch, Fr. lever, retour, indicating its probable audibility in the xvith century, because these changes were entirely illiterate; and moreover that when the a is pronounced, it is, with Mr. Thomas, a distinct (zh), as haler = (zhala). The letter r seems to have suffered most. When not preceding a vowel, it is entirely mute. Elsewhere Mr. Thomas seemed to make it the glottal (r), as in Danish; and just as this is sometimes replaced by velar (r) in cases of difficulty, so it seems to become (r) in Creole, especially after a and g, when an attack was made to bring it out clearly. Also just as (r, g) suggest (o, u) sounds, the r after p, b, f, v, seems to Mr. Thomas to be the tense labial r (m) of those Englishmen who are accused of pronouncing their r as so, as distinct from the lax labial r (br). He therefore writes bouve, bowise, pousihe, pouze, vour, for Fr. brave, bride, pratique, priz, vrai. But it seemed to me, when listening to his pronunciation, that even here the sound was (zh), thus (brave, brid, pracht, priz, vour). At any rate this glottality would account for all the phenomena. Observe (e), which, as well as (i), seemed to be used by Mr. Thomas. It is a pity that Mr. Thomas, in reducing the Trinidad Creole French patois to writing, did not venture to disregard etymology, at least to the extent of omitting all letters which were not pronounced. His final mute e has no syllabic force even in his verse. The final e then had disappeared from pronunciation before the internal. Of course Creole French differs in different West Indian Islands. See Contributions to Creole Grammar, by Addison van Name, Librarian of Yale College, Newhaven, U.S., in the Trans. of the Amer. Philol. Assn. for 1869-70, where an account is given of the varieties in Hayti, Martinique, St. Thomas, and Louisiana. It appears that in Louisiana (t, sh) is also developed as in English from a palatal t, as ichiré, tohué = Fr. tirer, tuar, and that (d, sh) is found in all the varieties in aode = Fr. gueule. There are also Dutch, Spanish, and English Creole dialects.
23. (kood, zh, sh)—continued.

Diately. Observe the effect of prolonging the voice in cased (kood, zhud), which some seem to call (kood, sh shit').

24. AND, Bell's (ahnd), my (end).

(ah, æ). See No. 15, (æ). Mr. Bell is treating and as an ‘unaccented’ word, accent be would have written (end). The unaccented form should be considered presently.

(n, d). See No. 1, (n).

(end). The voice begins with a clear glottis (1129, d'), and is continued through (æ) with a glide to (n), care being taken that nasality does not begin too soon, as (.æ-æ, > n-d), or too late, as (æ > d-n-d). The passage from (n) to (d) simply consists in dropping nasality. When the word is emphatic, the (n) is specially lengthened, and the glide from (æ) to (n) becomes clearer.

25. BIRD, Bell's (beond), my (bd).

(æ, r). For (æ) preceded by other vowels, see No. 4, (ou). What is the vowel-sound heard when (æ) is not preceded by other vowels? See (8, 6, e 197, a). Mr. Bell seems to me very theoretical in his distinctions (197, e to 198, a). No doubt that in Scotland, the west of England, and probably many outlying districts, the sounds in word, journey, furnish, are distinguished from those in prefer, earnest, firm.

Smart says (Principles, art. 36) that these distinctions are “delicacies of pronunciation which prevail only in the more refined classes of society,” but adds that “in all very common words it would be somewhat affected to insist on the delicacy referred to.” This is quite Gill’s docti interdum, and indicates orthoepical fancy. It is easy enough to train the organs to make a distinction, but it is very difficult to determine the result of vowels. In Mr. Bell’s table of the relative heights of the tongue for the different vowels (Visible Speech, p. 74) they appear as follows, the left hand having the lowest and the right hand the highest position of the tongue, and that position remaining the same for the vowels in each column, as the differences of effect are produced by other means:

- Primary: o as œ in wide.
- Sound: a as œ as in round.
- Wide round: o as œ as in wide.

Hence in assigning (æ) to the ir, er set, and (a) to the or set, he does raise his tongue higher for the first. As I say (a) for his (æ) always, it is natural that I should say (a) for his (æ) as well, that is, in both the or and the ir set of sounds. To say (a), or even (æ), as I seemed to hear in the west of England, is disagreeable deep to my ears. I recollect as a child being offended with (gœl) or (gœir), but I have never been able satisfactorily to determine how this extremely common word girl is actually pronounced. Smart writes “gw’erl,” where “gw” merely means (g) and indicates that speakers “suffer a slight sound of (i) to intervene, to render the junction smooth” (Principles, art. 77). As far as I can discover, I say (gœil). I do not feel any motion or sound corresponding to (.r). The vulgar (gœi), and affected country actor’s (gil’bl), seem to confirm this absence of (.r). But I should write (gœil), the (a) shewing an (æ) sound interrupted, if described, with a gentle trill. I trill a final (r) so easily and readily myself with the tip of the tongue, that perhaps in avoiding this distinct trill I may run into the contrary extreme in my own speech. Yet whenever I hear any approach to a trill in others, it sounds strange.

(d). See No. 21, (d).

(bd). The voice begins as soon as the lips are closed, continues through their closure, and glides on to the (a)-position, and this vowel ends with a short glide on to a short (d). Were the glide distinct or the (d) lengthened, we should have (bedd). Whether, as I speak, the words bird, bad are distinguished otherwise than by the length of the glide, or of the (d), I am not sure; but as the short glide and (d) indicate a long vowel (1146, b), the effect is that of (bood, bad). The distinction is very marked, and no
26. (bzd)—continued.

Bell always writes his 'point-glide' (6& on p. 16) when in ordinary spelling r does not precede a vowel, but (r) when a vowel follows. I conclude therefore that his 'point glide' is always meant for (r) or (h), forming a diphthong with the preceding vowel. If so, and there was no option of trilling, I was not quite right in transcribing it by (4). Mr. Sweet at first analyzed this vowel r into (oh), forming a diphthong with the preceding element, but at present he feels inclined to substitute the simple voice glide unrounded, this is (h), as I have done, and also Mr. Graham Bell himself (1099, 4). Cases of this change of (4) into (r), are: fear fearing (fii3 fi3'-riq), hair hairy (heeni nee1'-rii), poor pouring (poo1 poo'-riq), poor poorer (pum1 puum'-ri). In case of (aa), the (r) is not inserted; star is (staa), not generally (staa'), but sometimes (staa'), and starrzy is (staa'-ri), not (staa'-ri), which would have a drawly effect. Those who cannot say (oo1, oo'-ri), generally give (aa, aa'-ri), and rarely (aa', aa'-ri'); thus, (pa1, pa1-riq). They do not usually distinguish draws avners, but call both (draae). For glory we often hear (dlaa'-ri), even in educated speaking, which is certainly much less peculiar than (glee'-ri), which, when I heard it from the pulpit, completely distracted my attention from the matter to the manner. The words four, voor, for, would be constantly confused by London speakers, were not the last usually without force. We often hear before me, for me, for instance, pronounced (bifaa'mi, famii, fur'instams).

(5). See No. 6, (5). Here it occurs in an open syllable, see (1098, c), and 'unasocieted.'

(knnee'-ri). The syllables are all distinctly separated in speech, but byslurs only, thus (k < v = a < ce'-bi'-ri), that is, although the voice is not cut off after (w, h), the force diminishes so much that there is no appreciable glide from (w) to (n) or (h) to (r). Here then we have the rather unusual case of syllabication, assumed to be general by Bell (Vis. Sp. p. 118), where the consonant begins and the vowel ends the syllable.
UNACCENTED SYLLABLES.

By accent I mean a prominence invariably given to one or more syllables in a word, on all occasions when it is used, unless special reasons require attention to be drawn to one of the other syllables. By emphasis I mean a prominence given to one or more words in a clause, varying with the mood and intention of the speaker. Accent is therefore "fixed," and emphasis is "free." The mode in which prominence is given may be the same in each, but as accented syllables may occur in emphatic words, the effects of emphasis must be considered independently of the effects of accent. Modern versification is guided by prominence, whether due to accent or emphasis. Prominence in English accent is due principally to forcing occasioning greater loudness of the most vocal parts of a syllable and greater clearness. The non-prominent syllables, commonly called unaccented, are usually deficient in force, and in English decidedly obscure. Obscurity is, however, no necessary accompaniment of want of force, and not associated with it in all languages. The same is true for unemphatic syllables. There are many more syllables which in English speech are habitually united with another, and with the adjacent words, so as to form temporary new words, so far as pronunciation is concerned. It is only our habit of writing which lead us to consider them as distinct. In this combination they suffer alterations in various ways, but these are habitually disregarded in orthography; and the question of how they should be recognized in any reformation of spelling is present quite unsettled. Most English phonologists have written a pada or analysed, and not the real sanhild or combined word of speech. Mr. Melville Bell forms an exception, but only to a moderate extent. Emphasis in English does not consist merely of loudness, or of additional loudness. Length, quality, distinctness, rapidity, slowness, alterations of pitch, all those varieties of utterance which habitually indicate feeling in any language, come into play. With these I shall not interfere. The various physical constituents of accent and emphasis have been considered by elsewhere. Here we have only to consider, to some extent, the difference of pronunciation actually due to differences of prominence, so far as I have been able to note them.

Mr. Melville Bell (Vis. Sp. p. 116) lays down as one of the characteristics of English "the comparatively indefinite sounds of unaccented vowels," and explains this (ib. p. 117) as follows: "The difference between unaccented and accented vowels in colloquial pronunciation is one not merely of stress [force, loudness], but, in general, quality also." This should mean that there are different sets of vowel-sounds in accented and unaccented syllables. "The following are the tendencies of unaccented vowels," meaning, believe, the tendencies of the speaker to alter the quality of a vow as he removes force from it. The speaker thinks that he leaves the vowel unaltered, and the remission of force induces him invol

1 Transactions of the Philological Society for 1873-4, pp. 113-164.
tarily to replace it by another vowel. In our usual orthography, the letter generally remains, and hence we are led to say confusedly that the vowel itself alters. We are in the habit of considering two different sounds to be the same vowel when they are commonly represented by the same sign. Possibly at one time there was a clear pronunciation given to these vowels, similar to that given to vowels having the same written form in accented syllables. We have no proof of this, for writers may from the first have contented themselves with approximative signs in the unaccented syllables. This is in fact most probable in English, to which language alone the present remarks refer, every language having its own peculiar mode of treating such syllables. Mr. Bell proceeds to describe these 'tendencies' as follows:—for the technical language, see (13, δ).

"I. From Long to Short.—II. From Primary to Wide.—III. From Low and Mid to Mid and High.—IV. From Back and Front to Mixed.—V. From 'Round' (Labio-Lingual) to Simple Lingual.—VI. From Diphthongs to single intermediate sounds. The 2nd, 3rd, and 4th tendencies combined, affect all vowels in unaccented syllables, and give a general sameness to thin sounds. The 'High-Mixed Wide' vowel (y) is the one to which these tendencies point as the prevailing unaccentual sound."

"The next in frequency are:—the 'high-back-wide' (a), which takes the place of the 'mid-back' vowels (a, a);—the 'high-front-wide' (i), which takes the place of the 'front' (i, éi);—the 'mid-front-wide' (e), which takes the place of (e);—and the 'mid-mixed-wide' (ah), which takes the place of (æ). Greater precision is rarely heard, even from careful speakers; but among the vulgar the sound (y) almost represents the vowel-gamut in unaccented syllables.

"The 5th tendency is illustrated in the vulgar pronunciation of unaccented ò (in borough, pronounce, geology, philosophy, etc.) as (u) instead of (o); and the (a) constantly tends forwards and upwards to (o, ah, w) and (y).

"The 6th tendency is illustrated in the vulgar pronunciation of the pronouns I and our (a, æ); in the change of my (mai) into (my) er (mes), when unemphatic; in the regular pronunciation of the terminations -our, -ous (ar, æs); in the change of the diphthong day (di) into (de, di, dy) in Monday, etc.

"The possibility of alphabetically expressing such fluctuations of sound is a new fact in the history of writing. In ordinary 'Visible Speech' printing a standard of pronunciation must, of course, be adopted. Custom is the lawgiver, but the habits of the vulgar are not to be reflected in such a standard. The principle may be safely laid down that the less difference a speaker makes between accented and unaccented syllables—save in quantity—the better is his pronunciation."

From this last principle I dissent altogether. Any attempt to pronounce in accordance with it would be against English usage, and would be considered pedantic, affected, or 'strange,' in even

1 See Buchanan's use of (i) in many unaccented syllables, supra pp. 1063–4.
the best educated society. Mr. Bell ends by referring to a table, which, he says, "exhibits the extent to which distinctive sounds for unaccented vowels may be written in accordance with educated usage." This table (Vis. Sp. p. 110) says that the following sounds "occur only in unaccented syllables, and in colloquial speech."

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c}
(w) \text{ in -tion, -tious, -or} & (sh) \text{ in -or, -ward} \\
(y) \text{ in the, -as} & \left(\text{hw}\right) \text{ in new, out} \\
(sh) \text{ in -ure, -ful} & \left(\text{iw}\right) \text{ in our} \\
(oh) \text{ in -ory} & \\
\end{array}
\]

Mr. Bell accordingly consistently carries out these 'tendencies' in his Visible Speech examples. I regret to say that I consider them principally theoretical, and that they differ both from my own use and my own observations. Historically of course his 6th tendency, as illustrated, is founded on a mistake, quite parallel to that which declares a to become as before a vowel, instead of as to have become e before a consonant. It is not the diphthong which has in these cases degenerated into a vowel, but the vowel which in accented syllables has developed into a diphthong. But so unfixed are the habits of our pronunciation, that almost any utterance of unaccented syllables would be intelligible; and so dreadfully afraid are many speakers of being classed among the 'vulgar' (whom Mr. Bell and most orthoepists condemn, but who, as the Latin vulgo implies, form the staple of speakers), that they become so 'careful' as almost to create a spoken as well as a written 'literary language,' which is altogether artificial.

To analyse our unaccented sounds is extremely difficult. They are so fleeting and obscure, and so apt, when we attempt to hold them, to alter in character, by involuntary muscular action of the speaker, that even when the observer is the speaker himself, no implicit reliance can be placed on his results. A word dislocated from its context is like a fish out of water, or a flower in an herbarium. In the introduction to the third part of this book (subsequently enlarged and distributed), I proposed certain lists of words containing unaccented syllables, in some faint hope of getting a few answers respecting them. I have received none. I shall therefore endeavour to answer them myself, so far, and so far only, as I believe I do actually pronounce in unaccented speech. Before doing so, I beg to call attention to my radical difference from Mr. Bell in using (e, a) for his (e, a); to my omission of the permissive trill in (r) and consequent substitution of (a, a, 'h,'); together with my use of a trilled (r) before vowels in place of his untrilled (r), see (1098, be); to my use of the simple jerk (h) in place of (nh, n'h, j'h); and to my utter disregard for all conventionalities in this attempted photograph. As to the symbol (s) I do not feel quite sure whether it exactly represents my sound, which however I think is not quite (e). As a general rule, when (a) is written, it is supposed to glide on distinctly to the following consonant. When (s) is used, this is not the case. Hence, in closed syllables, (s) has the effect of a long unaccented vowel (so), and (s) of a short unaccented vowel. Consequently (s)
answers to the sound which English and American humorists write either a or er unaccented, in an open syllable; and (o) to what they write u in a closed syllable. The exact analysis of the sounds is extremely difficult. The English sound meant is not French e mute, nor is it Icelandic u final, both of which appear to me as (o). But I seem to hear it in the German e final as usually pronounced, when it is not pedantically or locally replaced by (e). And it is probably the same sound as was represented by final e in Old English, (119, c. 318, a. 678, b). To those who, like Mr. Murray, use (a) in unaccented syllables, the unaccented sound becomes (a). When, however, as in my own case, the accented sound is already (a), the unaccented decidedly differs from it, and this difference I represent, with considerable hesitation, by (u). This hesitation arises from my not being satisfactorily conscious of the rising of the back of the tongue in passing from (a) to (u), as in (bo-ton) better, and hence the uneasy sense that after all the difference may be merely one of mode of synthesis, dependent on the nature and length of glides. See (1145, d).

I. Terminations involving R, L, M, N.
-erd, husband brigand headland midland (mæz'bund bri'gend mi'dland) I doubt as to (sn), or (n), but feel that there is some gliding and very obscure vocality before (n). Some ‘careful speakers’ might venture on (-end) in the last three words, none would do so in the first, asg. húsbonda; and yet I think the second vowel differs from the first, and that we do not say (maiz'zbond). The final (d) of this word is constantly omitted before a following consonant, as (maiz'zbon nao'sra).

-erd, dividend legend (dě'vidand le'dzhend). Both foreign words. The first from speakers not much used to it, like the second, ends in (-end), those much used to it say (-ind), some may say (-und), but I think the intermediate (-ynd) more usual. The second, being a ‘book word,’ has quite an artificial pronunciation.

-erd, diamond almond (do'ri'mund as'mund). Possibly some say (da'si'-münd), many say (da'ri'mand), or even (da'ri'mn).

-erd, rubicund jocund (ruv'bi'kand daz'hk'kon). Here (on) is distinct, simply because the words are unusual.

-erd, haggard nigaggard sluggard renard leopard (mæ'-gred ni'gred slı'gred re'-ned le'-pekt). Possibly (-od, wo'd) may be the real sound. Of course (-w, d) might be used, but would probably not be recognized, and also (-rd). But (mæ'-gred, mæ'gird) would be ridiculous. The glide on to the (d) is short, and hence the preceding vowel has a long effect. Thus (ni'gred) is more like (ni'grod) than (ni'gadd). This supplies the lost r.

-erd, halberd shepherd (mæl'bad, -bat, she'ped). The aspiration entirely falls away in the second word.

-ance, guidance dependence abundance clearance temperament ignorance resistance (go'-duns dipe'-duns who'nduns klir'-runs te mperuns t'gnoruns riz's'tuns). The termination is sometimes affected as (-ens), but this sound is more often used for clearness in public speaking, and it appeals to the hearer’s knowledge of spelling. The first word has very frequently (g), even from young speakers. The (dr-, r-, v-) belong to III. Some ‘careful speakers’ will say (t'gnorans). Observe that (ens), considered as the historical English representative of Latin -antia, would be erroneous in the second and last words, and have no meaning in the first and fourth. ‘Etymological’ pronunciation is all pedantry in English, quite a figment of orthoepists.

-ence, licence confidence dependence patience (la'zensa kɔ'nifduns dipe'-duns pe're'shuns). This termination is absolutely undistinguishable from the last, except in the brains of orthoepists. Some ‘careful speakers,’ however, will give (-ens), some ‘vulgar’ speakers go in for (-ins), and some nondescripts hover into (-yns).

-some, meddlesome irksome quarrel-
some (med'sam eek'san kwe'rel'man). The bias of the (eso) takes up so much of the syllable that the (-sm) is more than usually indistinct and difficult to determine, but I do not hear quite (eso). Some will say (kwe'rel'san), when they think of it.

-are, pleasure measure leisure closure fissure (ple-zha mezh bu le'sha klo'zha fra'ba). Some say (li'zha). Before a following vowel (r) is retained, as (dhi ple'zhar vechakar fra'bas). The spelling (-are) has produced (-a', -uh, -i'ru). They are all pseudo-orthographical.

-ture, creature furniture vulture venture. My own (-ti'u', krii'ti'u' fec'ni'i'u' vo'lti'u' ve'nti'i'u') with (r) retained when a vowel follows, is, I fear, pedantically abnormal, although I habitually say so, and (krii't'bu, fec'ni'i'shu va'lti'shu ve'nti'shu) are the usual sounds. Verruca verger are usually both called (ves'at'zha).

-al, cymbal radical logical cynical metrical poetical local medial linear victuals (si'mai ma'diikul lo'dzhiikal si'niikul me'tr'ikul po'yet'ikul lo'ok ul mi'dijel li'ni'jel vret'iz). The words cymbal symbol are identical in sound. Are the pairs of terminations -al, -de, and -pe, -ple, distinguished, compare radical radiate, and principal principle? If not, is -al really (-al) or merely ('l)? I think that the distinction is sometimes made. I think that I make it. But this may be pedantic habit. No one can think much of how he speaks without becoming more or less pedantic, I fear. I think that generally -cal, -pal, are simply ('k'i', '-p'i')

-el, camel pannel apparel (ka'mal pe'nel epe'rel). Some may say (ape'rel).

-oh, carol wittol (kwe'ru wi'tul). Some say (kw'rol). The last word being obsolete is also often read (wi'tul).

-am, madam quondam Clapham (me'dum kwe'ndam kla'pem). Of late, however, shopwomen say (me'dem) very distinctly. I do not recall having ever heard (kla'pem) either with (u, uh) or (a).

-on, freedom seldom fathom venom (tri'dum sc'ol'dum fie'dhu'm ven'um). Perhaps emphatically (tri'dam) may be heard, but I think that the (m) is more usually prolonged.

-on, suburban logician historian Christian metropolitain, and the compounds of man, as woman watchman countryman (seb'o'bu' lo'dzhi'khan histoo'ri'jum krii's'jun metropo'litun, wu'men wo't'zham ko'ntrimen). No one says (wu'men), but (wo't'zham ko'ntrimen) may be heard, as the composition is still felt.

-an, garden children linen woolen (ga'sdu tah'ldryn li'ru' wi'lin). Here great arbitrariness prevails. See Smart's Principles, art. 114, who begins by quoting Walker's dictum: "nothing is so vulgar and childish as to hear swivel and hoopem with the e distinct, and novel and chicken with the e suppressed," and then observes, "either the remark is a little extravagant, or our prejudices are grown a little more reasonable since it was written," and then adding, "still it is true that we cannot oppose the polite and well-bred in these small matters without some deracination from their favourable opinion; and the inquiry when we are to suppress the vowel in these situations, and when we are not, will deserve the best answer it is capable of," and he proceeds to examine them all. In the mouth of speakers who are not readers, the vowel is suppressed in all words they are in the constant habit of using. In the words learned out of books the vowel is preserved because written. In "polite" and "well-bred" families, the fear of being thought vulgar leads some, (especially the ladies who have been at school) to speak differently from non-readers, and shew by their pronunciation that shibboleth of education, a knowledge of the current orthography of their language—the rest is all "leather and prunello," for who knows it but word-grubbers? and who are they? are they "polite" and "well-bred"? are they "in society"? Poor Mopose! they are misled to be as bad as the Duets inter dum: Affection and pedantry are on a par in language.

-an, deacon pardon fashion lesion minion occasion passion vocation mention question felon (di'ikn padz se'fash li'i'y'dzan mi'zkan pi'zshun po'fash vo'ke'shan me'zshun kwe'refa'lan). Mr. Bell draws attention to the difference between men shaw his and mention him, in the quality of the vowels (man shan, me'zshun), in Eng. Vis. Sp. p. 15. Some, not many, say (kwe'refa'lan), and fewer still say perhaps (kw'e'ref'lan). In falon I hear clear (m).

-en, eastern cavern (ii'sten kaa'wa).
But if so, what becomes of the distinction between eastern Easton? It seems quite lost, unless a speaker exaggerates the words into (li'stean firstan). Having lived for some years in a set of houses called 'Western Villas,' I remember the great difficulty I always had in preventing people from writing 'Western Villas,' shewing that western Weston were to them the same sounds. —or, vicar cedar vinegar scholar secular (v'ks si'd's vin'zh's skolv seku's lor). To say (-as) in these words would be as disagreeable as in together, which I heard the actor in a burlesque

exaggerate into (tu'g'z'dheo), the upper figures indicating length, see (1131, d).

—or, robber chamber member render (ro'bu t'ver'ems m'en'bs ren'nds), unless a vowel follows, when (r) is added. —or, splendor superior tenor error actor victor (splen'z'd si'jir'f'ej te'ms e'rs w'kts vi'kts). To use (-as, -a) with or without (r) is to me quite strange.

—or, labour neighbor colour favour (lo'zu ne'bu ku'ls fee' en). Considering that the distinction of spelling in -or, -or is quite arbitrary, any corresponding distinction of sound is out of the question.

—ent, pendant sergeant infant quadrant resident assistant trustee (pe'n'dent sa'z'dzen i'enf'nt kw'ndren ma'zent tru'zren). Trustee is dialectically monosyllabic, as (tra'zren).

—ent, innocent quiescent president (i'nenent kw'jent pre'zent). I can find no difference between this and the last.

—ancy, infancy tenancy constancy (i'nen'z'en te'nans ki'znen). —ancy, decency tendency currency (di'zency te'dens'z' en te'znen). The slightly rarer occurrence of tendency would lead to occasional (te'dens').

—ary, beggary summary granary notary literary (be'gari se'meri gran'eri nes'teri li'teri). The last word varies, as (li'ter'li, li'tre'er'i), with a double accent.

—ery, robbery bribery gunnery (ro'beri bro'ber'i gru'neri), absolutely the same as the last.

—ery, priory cursory victory history oratory (pro'zeri koo'zeri vik'teri huz'zeri o'zer'zi). Some endeavour to say (vik'teri n'zester), and probably succeed while they are thinking of it. In the last word there is often a slight secondary accent, so that (o'zer'z) or perhaps (o'zer'z), Mr. Bell might say (o'zer'z). Mr. Bell might say (o'zer'z), or perhaps (prij'pe re'tzer), etc.

—ury, usury luxury (si'du'zhri lo'k'shri). Such forms as (juu'zhri lo'k'shri), or even (juu'zhri lo'k'shri), are pseud-orthoeptic.

II. Other Terminations.

—a, sofa idea sirrah (sor'f's o'di'j'ya s're). There is often a difficulty in separating idea from I, dear! (o'di'i), but in dear (di'i) there should be a complete monosyllabic diphthong, in idea at most a slur (o'di'j'ya). The last word is often called (saur'). In all these terminations the (-a) recalling a written -er, and hence the supposed vulgarity of adding on an (r),—which in the -er case really occurs euphonically before a following vowel, —‘careful speakers,’ and others when they want particularly to call attention to the absence of r, will often use (-ah) or (-as), as (sor'fah o'di'jah). This I mean oratorically permissible (by which I mean, that it is not offensive, unintelligible, or pedantic, and very convenient for giving distinctness. In ordinary speech, however, (-a) is universal.

—o, —o, —ough: hero stucco potato tobacco widow yellow fellow sorrow sparrow borough (ki't ro'to'ku pok'er'he te'bes'ku wi'ks'ku selo so'o spo'wre b'ro). Here great varieties occur, but the usual 'educated' pronunciation is (-o); in the last word, however, (-o) is very common, as (b'ro). I think (o) in (ki'tro') is universal; the (a) in (sta'ku), the next word, seems to belong to journeyman plasterers. In the three next the well-known (teet'zu be'ku w'kds), in Ireland (te'ziti w'rd), make (-e) obligatory among the “polite” and “well-bred.” But (ze'tle fel'v) are very common in educated speech, and even (ze'la'ku) is heard from older speakers. I don't recollect hearing (sor'v'), but certainly (spo'v') may be heard in London.

—ue, —owe: value nephew (va'li'vu ne'vi). No educated person says (va'li'nu).

—iff, —ock: sheriff bannock haddock paddock (sher'if b'nu'zak mev'lak paw'dok), with distinct ending in England, but all end in simple (-a) in Scotland.

—ish, —isity: possible possession. I am used to say (paw'sibl po'sw'br'lit), but the common custom, I think, is (po'swibl, po'swib'lit).
-ech, stomach lishch (stom'æk lo'ëtch), with distinct (o), but maniac (mëni'æk) preserves (æ).
-acy, -icy: prelacy policy (prë'li'si poli'si) are my pronunciation, but (pö'le'si) is, I think, more common. In obstinate (ob'stä'ni'te), a slight tendency to secondary accentual force and a reminiscence of obstinate (o'bü'si'te) often preserves (-eim).
-ate, in nouns laureate frigate figurare (la'ri'rijet frë'grät frë'grät'ret). Usage varies. In frigate the commonness of the word produces (frë'grät); in figurare, its rarity gives (frë'grät'ret), but (frë'grät'ret) would be its natural sound. In verbs, as demonstrate, I usually say (-ect, -de'monsträt). Many persons, perhaps most, accentuate (di'monsträt). I am accustomed to talk of the (l'streetid Nî'úz), the newboys generally shout out (l'streetid Nû'úz), with a tendency to drop into (l'street'd). -age, village image manage cabbage marriage (vi'ied zh'i'med zh'mărned zh'kë'bed zh'wë'rëd zh). Of course (dzh zh) is said before the pause. The vowel is commonly (i) in all, but I feel a difference in marriage marriage. The (i) is very common in village cabbage.
-age, privilege college (priv'vid zh, ko'lid zh). Some say (s'ed zh); (-id zh) is never heard. Some say (priv'vid zh), apparently to prevent the concurrence of (i).
-ain, -in: certain Latin (so'ëtym lë'ët'in) are, I think, my sounds, but (so'ët'óm lë't'n) are not uncommon, (so'ët'ëm so'ët'ten) may occasionally be heard. Captain is generally (kë'pë'ten), 'carefully' (kë'pë'ten), 'vulgarily' (kë'pën).
-ing, a singing, a being (w s'i'qëq w bi'iq). In educated English pronunciation the -ing, either of noun or participle, is distinct (-iq). Any use of (-in) or distinction of (-in, -iq) is provincial or uneducated.
-fal, mouthful sorrowful (mësworthfal só'rufal). Educated speakers rarely seem to fall into (só'rufal). In mouthful the composition is too evident to allow of this, and indeed the word is often made (mësworthfal).
-fy, -ise: terror signify civilize baptize (te'ritë'i si'gni'si si'vëlë'zë bëptë'ri's). The final diphthong is quite distinct.
-it, -id, -ise, -ish: pulpit rabbit rabid restive pariah (pë'liprë'bet rë'bëd rë'stiv pë'ri'ësh). The (i) is quite unobscured.
-Il, evil devil (ii'vl dë'vl). 'Careful speakers,' especially clergymen, insist on (ii'vl dë'vl), pseud-orthoeponically.
-ly, -ly, -ty, etc.: mercy truly pity (më'ësë trë'ë pë'të), with unobscured (I). To pronounce (trë'ë) is not now customary, even in biblical reading, and (trë'ë lë'ë shu'ël'së'ë) are mere "vulgarieties."
-mony, harmony matrimony testimony (më'mënë më'trë'mëni testë'mëni). The first word has, perhaps invariably, (-ëns). In the other two a secondary accent sometimes supravenes, and (-mënë, -mëni, -mëhëni, -mëh:në) may be heard, which occasionally even amounts to (-mëni).
-most, hindmost utmost bestmost foremost (më'së'nmëst a'mëstst të'mëstst fë'mëstst). This is, I think, the regular unconscious utterance, but (-mëst) is occasionally said. The (-mëst) is in fact a regular degradation of (-mëst).
-ness, sweetness, etc., (wë'ëtnës). The (s) generally saves a vowel from degradation, at least with me. Which of the three (-nes, -nis, -ney) is most common, I do not know.
ous, righteous piteous plentious (rä'ëtë'ës pë'të'ës plëntë'ës) are. I think, my own 'careful,' i.e. rather pedantic, pronunciations. I believe that (rä'ëtë'shës, pë'të'ëshës pë'të'ëshës pë'të'ëshës plëntë'ëshës plëntë'ëshës) are more common. These are all orthographical changelings of uncommon words. The first is merely religious now-a-days, with a bastard, or rather a mistaken, French termination.
ious, precious prodigious (prë'ëssë prod'ëd zhës). Never divided into (-i's).-ial, -ially, -iality: official, partial partiality, special specialty specialty (ofi'shël, pë'ås'hël pë'ås'hëlë'ëlët, spe'shël spe'shëlë'tëi spe'shëlë'tëi). All the (-i'ël-) are orthographical products.
oward, forward backward awkward upward downward forward toward towards (fa'wäd bë'wäd kë'wäd bë'wäd dë'wäd dë'wäd fë'wäd fë'wäd too'dës). An older pronunciation of (fë'wäd bë'wäd kë'wäd) may be occasionally heard from educated speakers; it is common among the 'vulgar.' I have not noticed the omission of (w) in upward downward, or its insertion in the rather unusual words forward toward. The word towards is variously called (too'dës, too'aw'ëdës), and even (too'yë'ëdëz), of which the first is most usual, the second not uncommon, and
the last very rare from educated speakers.

-", likewise sidewise (bo-ik-ew-iws sə-ik-wə-iks), with distinct diphthong.

-", midwife housewife goodwife. Here orthographical readers say (mə-də-wərəf) and (gwə-dərəf). But (mə-də-rəf) is more common, and no actor would say otherwise in describing Queen Mab, RJ 1, 4, 23 (717, 54). The thread-and-needle-case is always called a (ha-rəf), and the word (ha-rəz), now spelled hæwə, shows the old disuse of (w), and similarly (gə-də), now written goody.

-", Green Woolwich Norwich Ipswich (Gri-unidzh Wu-lidzh Nor-vidzh Ips-sead zh). The last is the local pronunciation, (I-pəwsth zh) is merely orthographical, and similarly I have heard the Astronomer Royal say (Gri-nuvist zh). Living in the place, no doubt (Gri-nu-id zh) is an abomination in his ears. Railway porters also are apt to 'corrupt' names of places orthographically, as when they call Uttoxeter (Juuto-kseetə), in place of (gət-kətə).

-ə, speaketh (spi-ə-θ). The termination having gone out of use, the pronunciation is purely orthographical.

-əd, pitted, added (pi-təd p'i-tid, a-dəd). The -əd is lost in (əd, t), except after (ə, d). What the vowel is, seems to have been a matter of doubt from very early times, -id, -ed constantly interchanging in MSS. At present (-ed, -id, -yed) are heard. Few make the distinction, here given, between pitted and pitted.

-əs, -ə", -ə: princes prince's, churches church's, paths path's, cloth's cloths clothes, wolves (prənəs, tahor-tehəs, paθəd zhəs, kloth klozədz, wələzə). The vowel in -əs is subject to the same doubt as that in -əd. In the genitive path's, I am accustomed to give (-əs), in the plural paths, to give (-əsəs). The plural clothes is unfamiliar to me, and my pronunciation is orthographical. In clothes the -ə is usually omitted, as (kləwəz, tloəzə). The cry (əl tloə) for old clothes! used to be very well known in London fifty years ago, and is not yet quite extinct; although the familiar long-bearded Jew, with a black bag over his shoulder and a Dutch clock (really a Schwarzwälder Uhr) under his arm, the pendulum separate and held in his hand, while one finger moved the hammer which struck the hour, beating a ringing time to his (ol tloə! tloə! tloə!), has given place to a "card" left in an envelope addressed "to the mistress of the house," and offering to buy "wardrobes" to any extent, "for shipment to the colonies!"

III. Various Initial Syllables.

-ə, with various preceding consonants: among astride alas abuse avert advance adapt admire accept affix o. announce append alert alcove abyss. The utmost variety prevails. When two pronounced consonants follow, as in accept advance admire alcove (ək-sept sedvə-kən edmo-rə selko-və), there is generally an unobscured (ə). Otherwise the ordinary custom is to pronounce (ə, w), or even (h) with excessive brevity and indistinctness, on account of the following accent. On the other hand, some speakers insist on (ah), or even (ə), although for (ə) they feel obliged to glide on to the following consonant. This is usually done when the following consonant is doubled in writing, and the pronunciation is then orthographical, as in (ənənəs, e-pərən), and in unusual words as (əbəs). But (əmo-rə, əhmo-rə, ahoəməq, əməq) may all be heard. If any one say (ə), as (əməq), it is a pure mistake.

-ə, with various preceding consonants: elope event emit, beset begin, depend debate, despite destroy, precede dispose. None of these words are of Saxon origin, hence varieties of fanciful and orthographical pronunciations, as (e, ii), and the more usual, but acknowledged (i). In some cases, as decent descended dissent, fear of ambiguity will lead to (di:ən dəsənt dəsənt), but the two last words are usually (disənt). In emerge immerse, we have occasionally (i-mədzəzh s-məmədzəzh), but usually (i-mədzəzh) for both. After (ər) the (i) is predominant. Simple (e) is often (ii) or (i), as (iiloo-p, iivən), but (ə) seems easier for English organs at present. Many insist on (bəs, bən, depən, etc.. but this seems to me theoretical, though I hear occasionally (bo, du), etc. In despite destroy, the (ə) preserves the (ə) in my mouth, and I say (despə-rə desə-ə). In eclipse I think I usually keep (ə) and say (əkləps), but cannot be sure of not often saying (i:kli:ps).

-bi-, binocular biennial bilingual. Here usage varies. Some insist on distinct (boi), but others use (bi) when the word has become familiar. Thus
unaccented syllables.

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(bə'ɪno'kɪliə) used always to be said, but since the binocular microscopes and opera glasses have become common, (bənə'kɪliə) is often heard. In bisect we hear both (bə'sekt) biseckt often from the same mathematical speaker, at the same time and place. The accent falls on the bi-, we usually have (bı'-), as bicycle biparous (bɪ'zɪk lɪpərəs), but occasionally (bə'ı) remains, as binary (bə'ɪnəri); compare combine combination (kəm'bɪnə'shən).

d-, direct divide (dred'ək tıvəs'd). The last word has always (di), the first has constantly (də). The same diversity exists in this word with direct diversion, etc. All these (də) are clearly orthographical.

-o-, -pro-, etc.: oblige occasion occasion promote produce v. propose (o'bli də zhəkrəZHən oppərə pmətədəfțiənə pmətroʊs) seem to be my pronunciations, but (ə) is sometimes heard in all, and (ə) occasionally, as I should be much obliged to you if you would occasionally promote this proposal, (ə' shədbi matəshəbədədə: shətre fədəkrəZHənəli pmətroə dhə:prəm'təral). To-morrow together (təmə'təru:tə jurig'də:hw). When I am accustomed to consider these my pronunciations, but suspect that I often fall into (tuw-,

for-, fore-, forbid forgive foretell (fəbri'd fəgəv' foo'gəwə foo'təll). But the two last have frequently simple (fa-).

IV. Unemphatic Words.

These words may become emphatic or receive more or less degrees of force, causing their sound to vary. They have therefore clear forms and obscure forms, and these forms are assumed pretty much at the pleasure of the speaker. The obscurity often amounts to absolute suppression of vocality. They are here given, in the order of frequency of occurrence, according to Mr. D. Nasmyth (Practical Linguist, English, 1871), who determined this order by actual numeration in books of exceedingly different character. The clear sound is given first, separated by a (—) from the rest.

and (ænd—und, un, n, nb), the (d) is most frequently omitted before a consonant, as broad and milk (brəd:dmik). The sound is often so extremely brief that it is recognized by instinct rather than by hearing.

the (dəhi—dəhi dəhy dəh dəh dəh dəh dəh). Some speakers always say (dəhi) or (dəhy), for it is difficult to determine the precise sound. Others use (dəhi), and even try to keep (dəhi, dəhi), before vowels only. In poetry this (dəhi) becomes (dəhi) or (dəhi). Before consonants some endeavour to use (dəhi), but this generally results in (dəhi) or (dəhi), and singers are usually taught to sing (dəhə), precisely as if the word were written ther.

I (ə'). In received speech this word does not change in losing force. Whichever of its various sounds a speaker chooses (1100, ə') for his normal pronunciation is preserved throughout.

you (juː—ru, jə, ju). The (ə) is not recognized. After (t, d) the (ə) often passes into (əh, əh), but this is also not recognized. Both are frequently heard nevertheless.

he (hi—hi ə hi ə). The (h), which includes (əh, əh), according to the speaker's habits, is constantly lost when he is enclitic.

she (ʃi—ʃi ʃi ʃi). The last is frequent in rapid conversation.

it (ət). This does not seem to vary, except of course as (ət) when convenient, but even this is rather 'poetical.'

we (wi—wi wə). The (w) is never lost.

they (dəhəj—dəh dəh), but not degenerating to (dəhi).

have (hæv—hæv əv v). The (ə, əh, əh) is constantly omitted when the word is enclitic, and simple (v) occurs after a vowel.

will (wəl—wəl wəl ə). The (ə) is frequent after a vowel.

shall (əbəl—əhə shəh). The last form is frequent.

one (ən—ən). The degradation into (ən) is not received.

to (tuu—tuu tuu tuu). Often extremely short. The pronunciation (təu) may be heard from old people and Americans occasionally. The difference between to two is well shown in such a sentence as: I gave two things to two men, and he gave two, too, so two, too (ə'i: ˈɡeəv tən-thək tətən mu:n, wənəi ˈɡeəv tən-tən: tətən-tuː).

be (bı—bı bı bı). The last form is careless.

there (dəhi—dəh), before vowels (dəhi r dəh dəh).

a (ər—ə ah w). 'Careful speakers' use (ə) or (ah), but these sounds are quite theoretical; and (ə) or (ə) is the only usual sound. Before a vowel (ən
unaccented syllables. Before (u), beginning an unaccented syllable, it is now the fashion to write a, and I suppose to say (ae) or (a'æ), but I always use an, and say (e:n), with a secondary accent, not omitting the following (u), but rather gaining a fulcrum for its introduction, as an historical account, an harangue (e:n-hi-stor-ikal akandas, an-har-angue).

my (ma'ı—mi), in myself, my lord, always (mi), but otherwise (ma'ı) is constantly preserved pure, (mi) is Irish. His (hi:z, mix—iz), the (u) commonly lost when elocutively. our (a:w, o:wa), preserved pure. your (i:sw, i:swa)—(u:sw, u:swa). Although (u:sw) is not unfrequent, it is not recognized. her (hoo hoor—u: w). The (u) is dropped constantly in he his him her. their, treated as there.

of (ov—ov wv u), the (u) is very common before consonants. Several old speakers still say (of). would (wad—wud), the last after vowels.

should (shud—sh'd sh'd), the last not very unfrequent.
or (a: aar or—a ar w w), the (r) only before a vowel; the (a) most common, but (u) not unfrequent before a consonant. Similarly for nor.

for (faa faar for—fa ar free fur) treated like or, but (fu fur) are very common.

that (dhaet—dhaet dha't), the demonstrative pronoun is always distinct, the subordinating conjunction and relative are almost always obscure, as I know that that that man says is not that that one told me (sin'dhdt dha:t dh'thaet men sez is not dh-aet dh'thcte twan too'l'dmi).
on (on), preserved clear.
do (duu—du du da), the last not so rare.

which (whitwh whi—whi'thwhi). Some speakers always preserve (whitwh), others always preserve (witwh).

who (nuu—mu nu w), but (u) is rare.

by (ba:ı), preserved pure, (bi) is hardly in use.

them (dhem—dhyem dhwm), the last not thought 'elegant.' The (em wm) forms are due to the old hem, and are common enough even from educated speakers, but usually disowned.

me (mi—mi mi me), the last, is, perhaps, Irish, common in (tuu me from'me with'me) to me, from me, with me, etc.

we'er (wee', wee'ı, waa, woor—wu wu). With (width with—wi), generally preserved pure, (with) is heard from older speakers.

into (i'tnu intu—intu intu), emphatically neither syllable receives force.

can (ken—k'n kn), the last forms common.

cannot (kan—not, kaan'), kept pure.

from (from—from), often kept pure. as (as es es—es z), (es) common, (u) rare.

us (as—us), both common.
sir (sao, saor—sv), and after yes simply (u), as yes sir (ju:sv).

madam (ma'dam—ma'm mem mem m'm m'm). After yes and no the syllable used by servant girls is (or was, for the use is declining) hard to seize. No ma'am is not at all (noo sem), but nearatives (me'm), the first (m) being short, and the second introduced by a kind of internal decrease of force, which is scarcely well represented by a slur, but I have no sign for it, and so to indicate the disyllabic character I write helplessly (sem'm, se'am'm). I have not succeeded in uttering the sound except elocutively.

Numerous other peculiarities of modern pronunciation would require careful consideration in a full treatise, which must be passed over at present. The following comparison of Mr. Melville Bell's 'careful' system of unaccented vowels and my own 'colloquial' pronunciation will serve to show perhaps the extreme limits of 'educated' pronunciation. Mr. Bell has divided his words in the usual way, forming an isolated or pada text. I have grouped mine as much as possible into those divisions which the native speaker naturally adopts, and which invariably so much puzzle the foreigner who has learned only from books. This grouping gives therefore a combined or sanhild text. Mr. Bell's specimen is taken from
MELVILLE BELL.

Egzassmhpili și'tahyz mo' m'hah pr_jiι-sept.
Enk'vere föhí dhy best, ahnd pr_o'valíd ahgr-mhst dhy waiást.
:E'v'ro'bohdiz bi'zyns iz nôu'-bohdiz bi'zyns.
Dhy br'ai-test làit kaasts dhy dar'-kest shë-do.
Dhy far ohv God iz dhy big'in-iq ohv wi'zdam.
:Aal o'or'li tr_o'zhuhiz ar vën ahnd flîi-tiq.
Gud wazdz kast nôthiq bat ar wazth matchw.
Hhi dhaht gl'veth tu dhy pu' lendeth tu dhy Loid.
Hhi de'bliz nhiz gift nhu' givz in táim.
Hhi nhu sóuz br_o'mbliz maçt not gôu' be'füt.
Hhôup loq difar'd mërketh dhy nhart sêk.
Hhi nhu wanhts kohn'tenih kë'noht fàinäh ahnh ii'zi teker.
Hhi dhaht nóuz nhîms-lëf 'best', istiir'nm nhîms fî 'liist.
:Hhôup iz gr_jifs best miu'zîk.
If wi' du noht sub'diû' srà'nhimz dhiw wil sub'diû' 'as.
An juuðh ahnd str_sêqth thiqhkh ohv eizh ahnd wi' knew.
It iz nx'vú tuu lêît tuu mend.
If ju wish ah thiq dën, 'gôu' if nôf, send.
Dzhô'kiûlu slà'ndraz o'fîm
pr_uuv si'r'kis'indzhuhurs.'iz.
Kip noht nax'vîq vët what iz noht ju'wà oûn.
Làriq iz dhy vâis ohv ah sleîv.
Laom tu liv sôz ju wud wish tu dâi.
Me'dil noht widh dhet whîsh kohn'soñ'nz ju not.
Mëk noht ah dzhast ahnt ahn'-adhûrz infor'mìtizs.
Màth iz ekspék'ted whët màthà iz giv'n.
Me'nì ah tr_uuu waiz iz spûr'kyn in dzhast.

ALEX. J. ELLIS.

Egzass mâpl' tiit'shez moo' dhum pru-sept.
Ende'vè fëdhâbe's, en pruv'sîd uge'nest' dhawserst'.
Er'vîbèdiz bi'zyns iz noô' bêdiz bi'zyns.
Dhèbà'rî'tyst l'oît ka'astdhe dàa'kyst shë-do.
Dhîîr'iruv'Gà'dz is'dhîbìg'înîqv wi'dzam.
:Aal o'or'li tr'o'zhuzas uvën un flîi-tiq.
Gud wàdzi kaast nôthiq beth-weə' th mat'sh.
Hhi' dehst gîveth todherpw's,
le'nîdth têdhaláà'd.
Hhi de'bliz nhizg'ìft nugi'vz into'êm.
Hhi nu sooz brà'ombliz miw'sent gôo'w ècè'fût'.
Hoo'p-lo'qdîfèd mëkîthdhe naat sêk'.
Hhi nu want's kunte't, kæn't fô'îd unii'zi t'shee'.
Hhi'dhet noo'wëz nhîms-lëf 'best', istiir'mës nhîm'îf 'liist'.
Hoo'piz grîifs best' miu'zîk'.
I'fwi'duu'nout sàbbiû' o's'pàr' shunzis 'dhesj' wilsàbbiû' 'as.
Inuùr'nh unst'reqth thiq'kâv e's'jd zh unwi'knys.
Rizne'vè tuu les'jit temen'd.
Ifruwi'sh ùthi'q dôn, 'gôo'; sîn'c, 'send.
D,shö'kiûls slà'ndraz o'n' pû ruuv si'k'ës'îndzheriz.
Kip'not nàk'vèt whôtiznòt juro'w'm.
Lëi'-iç iz'dhôvôri's wàsle'rìf.
Leon tels'îruwudwoish tâde'ë'i.
Med'lnot widhâh' ét whîsh kûmsoc'nu sô nut.
Me's'knots d'zhast u'nuw'dhez infor'mìtizs.
Me't'shîz eksp'ktyd whè'-mo'tshîz giv'n.
Me'nì tru ûwë'diz spo'k'îm d'zhè'st.
Melville Bell.

Mise'dh-ti'anz ai dhy di'spi'lin
ohv rhii'mae'ni.

Mise'siti iz dhy ma'dher, ohv
ive'na'hen.

Alex. J. Ellis.

Misea't shunz (misea'ti'unz)
a'dhidi'spi'lin o'vhumae'ni
(ove'umae'ni).

Mise'siti izdhemae'dher uvive'na'hen.

Comparison of Melville Bell's and Alex. J. Ellis's Pronunciations.

The Parable of the Prodigal Son, which has been already given in Anglo-Saxon p. 534, Icelandic p. 550, Gothic p. 561, and Wycliffe English p. 740, is now annexed for comparison, as transcribed from Mr. M. Bell's English Visible Speech, p. 10, and as rendered by myself. Mr. Bell's is intended to represent a model pronunciation, and although the words are disjunct, they are meant to be read together, and the unemphatic monosyllables are treated by him accordingly, as (ah nabad ahnd), which, under the emphasis, he would write (ai nhed end). My pronunciation is such as I should employ naturally if I had to read the passage to a large audience. The words connected in speech are connected by hyphens, instead of being run together as before, and the force is pointed out in each group. Mr. Bell had used hyphens to separate the syllables, but these are omitted in order not to employ hyphens in different senses in the two versions. Accent and emphasis are written as before, see p. 1168. Mr. Bell's glides are indicated by (ai au a) as before, and his untrilled (r) is thus marked.


Melville Bell.

11. Ah so'tryn me'n khabd
tu senz:

12. Ahnd dhy jax'gur, ohv
dhem sed tu nhiz faa'dher:
Faadher, giv mi dhy porshen
ohv gudz dhaht faa'leth tu mi.
End nh deivai'ded en'tu dhem
nhiz li'viq.

13. End not me'ni deiz sah'ta,
dhy nya'guar son gead'had
al tage'dher, ahnd tsk nhiz
dzharmi' i'nuntu ah fai ka'nhr'ta,
ahnd dher wias'ted nhiz sa'h-
stahnhs widh r'ai'vutas li'viq.

14. End, when nh khabd
spenht 'aal, dher, ahru'z ah
mai'ti fa'min in dhet land;
ahnd nhí bi'gen tu bi in wanht.

Alex. J. Ellis.

11. Yee-so'tryn me'n ne'd-tuun
senz:

12. On-dhau-eaq'gwr-sv dhym
sed tu-iz-faa'dhe, Faa'dhe,
gi'mi'dhe poo'shun-sv-gudz dhet-
faa'leth tu-mi'. End nh
deivai'ded o'ntu-dhem nhiz-li'viq.

13. End-no't me'ni deez as-fat,
dhau-eaq'gu son gead'had al
tage'dhe, un-tewk'iz dzhaw'i
intu-u-faa' kentri, un-dhee'
wees'ted-iz sa'bstuns widh-
re'i'vutas li'viq.

14. On-when nh-e'ed-spe'nt
'a'al, dher-e'ro'u u-meit'i fe'min
in-dhe't land, un-ni-bi'gen
tu-bi-in-wo'nt.
Melville Bell.

15. Ahnd nahi wenht ahnd dhoshind nihmse'l ta ah s'rt'zen ohy dhet kahnt're, ahnd nahi sehnht nihm i'ntu nihz fiildz ta fiid swain.

16. Ahnd 'nhii wad fein nihahy fiid nihz be'l'i wiid dhy nihaks dhakt dhy swain did iit: ahnd nou m'en gev znh'tu nihm.

17. 'End, when nahi kem tu nhimse'l, nahi sed, Hhau m'en ni nhaid sas'vahnhts ohy m'i faad'hurz nihay bre'd inaf ahnd tu spe', ahnd ai pet'rish wiid nihq'gu.

18. A'i wil ahr'zi ah nd gou tu m'i faad'hurz, aen wil sei a'nhtu nihm, Faad'hurz, aih nihahy sind alg'zhnst nihayv'n, end bifo' dhii,

19. Ahnd s'en nou mui war'dhi tu bi kaald dhai san: meik mi ahar wan ohy dhai nhaid sas'vahnhts.

20. 'End nahi ahr'goz', ahnd kem tu nihz faad'hurz. Bat, when nha waz set ah gur'it wai'of, nihz faad'hurz saa nihm, ahnd nhad kohnpe'shen, ahnd r'sen, ahnd sel ohn nihz nek, ahnd k'ist nihm.

21. Ahnd dhy s'en sed a'nhtu nihm, Faad'hurz, aih nihahy sind, alg'zhnst nihayv'n, end in dhai sait, ahnd s'en nou mui war'dhi tu bi kaald dhai san.

22. Bat dhy faad'hurz sed tu nihz sas'vahnhts, Briq forth dhy best roub, ahnd put it on nihm; aen put ah r'q ohn nihz nhaend, ahnd shuuz ohn nihz fii.t.

23. Ahnd briq nih'dair dhy fac'ed kaaf, ahnd kil it, ahnd l't as iit ahnd bi meri.

24. Faad'hurz ma'i s'en waz dxd, ahnd iz ahloiv ahge'n; nih woz lost, ahnd iz faund. Ahnd dhe bige'n tu bi mersi.

Alex. J. Ellis.

15. O'n-i-went un-dzhoi'nd himself tu-s'it'zen wv-dhert k'ontr, un-i-se'nt-im s'ntu-iz-fiildz tu-fiid swo'rin.


17. O'n-when-i-kee'mtu-imself, n'i'sed, Hou me'n'iho's'd se'svants wv-mi-faad'hurz wv-bre'd-inaf un-tu-spe', un-o'i pet'rish wiid-ho'qga.

18. Q'i-wil wo's'iz un-goo tu-mi-faad'hur, un-wil-see'j' antu'im, Faad'hur, a'i-wv-s'ind uge'nst ney'n un-bsfoo'-dhii,

19. Un-em-noo moo' woe'dhi tu bi kaal dho'i-se'n: mes-k-mi tzo-wen-wv-dhe's ho'i'd se'svants.


21. O'n-dhe-sen sed antu-him, Faad'hur, o'i-wv-s'ind uge'nst ney'n, un-em-dho'i' se'it, un-em-noo moo' woe'dhi tu-bi-kaal dho'i-sen.


23. O'n-briq nih'dhe dhu-se't-ed kaaf, un-kis'it, un-le't-us it un-bi-meri.

24. Fa'dhi' ma'i-sen waz ded, un-iz-clo'i v uge'n, hii-wa-loost, un-iz-f'swend. O'n-dhe-bigae'n tu-bi-me ri.
MELVILLE BELL.

25. Nâu nhíz e'ldi san woz in dhy siid, ahnd, zèr nhí këm ahnd drønu nái tw dhy nháus, nhí nháud miu'zík ahnd ñe'nhísig.

26. Ònh nhí kaal waw dhy dhy soorvahnht, ahnd aaskt whot dhíiz thiqz ménhnt.

27. Ahnd nhí se'd z'ñhtu nhím, Dháis brà'dhero ñz ñzrm; ahnd dhái faa'dher nházh kild dhy fa'-ted kaaf, bikaa'z nhí saath ríjsí'vrd nhím seif ahnd sáund.

28. Ahnd nhí woz æ'qgr'o, ahnd wad noht gow i'n: dhôr-fóh këm nhíz faa'dher o'ut, ahnd entr'iit-ted nhím.

ALEX. J. ELLIS.


26. Òn-i-kaal'd wën-wz-dhu soorvents, en-sa'ekt what dhíiz thiqz ment.

27. Òn-i-se'd-on-tu-hîm, Dho'i bró'dher iz-køm, en-dho'i-faar'her vz-kild dhu-fa'ted kaaf, bikaa'zi hith risiiv'vdm hîm sees en-so'w'nd.

28. Òn-i-wuz æ'qgr'é, en-wûd -not gow 'in: dhëc'fa këm niiz faa'færz o'ut, en-entrip'tid-hîm.

29. Òn-hîi, aaments, se'd tw nhíz faa'dhu, Lôo, dhíiz-më'n'i zjìiz dw ài soorv dhí, niiz-dhu trahngr'st'ài aht ni'l tám dhái kohmaandmenht: ahnd jët dhóu ne'veu géi'vvest mii ah'kid, dhäht ái màiit meïk më',î' widh mi frændz:

30. bat ahz suun ahz dhís dháis san woz kým, whitsh nhásth divair'd dhái li'viq widh har'lets, dháu nhásth kild for'h nhím dhy fa'-ted'kaaf.

31. Ahnd nhí se'd z'ñhtu nhím Sén, dháu ait x'vai widh mi, ahnd 'aal dháht ái nhèv iz dháin.

32. It woz miit dhaht wi shud meïk më',î, ahnd be glod: for'h dhís dháis brà'dher woz dëd, ahnd ñz ahlài'v ahge'n, send woz lost ahnd is fàund.

ENGLISH SPELLING, PAST AND POSSIBLE.

It is impossible to pass over these specimens of pronunciation without comparing them with orthography, in the spirit of the remarks in Chap. VI., pp. 606-632. Hence I annex the same passage in four different practical orthographies of the xviiith and xixth centuries.

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First, after “Barker’s Bible,” 1611, the date of the Authorized Version, shewing the orthography in which it was presented to the English public.


Large folio, for placing on reading desks in churches. Text in black letters; Chapter headings in Roman type. Supplied words (now usually put in italics) not distinguished. Press-mark at British Museum (on 11th October, 1873, the date is mentioned, as alterations occasionally occur in these press-marks) 1876, 1, 4.

Secondly, in “Glossic,” the improved form of Glossotype (given on pp. 15, 614), which I presented to the Philological Society on 20 May, 1870, or about a year after Chap. VI. was in type. This paper on “Glossic” is printed in the Philological Transactions for 1870, pp. 89–118, entirely in the Glossic orthography. It is further explained and extended on pp. xiii–xx of the Notice prefixed to the Third Part of the present work, published 13 February, 1871. The principal object which I had in view, was the writing the pronunciation of all English dialects approximatively by one system of spelling founded upon ordinary usages, and for that purpose it will possibly be extensively employed by the English Dialect Society, which the Rev. W. W. Skeat started in May, 1873. What is required for this purpose is more fully considered in § 2, No. 5, and is exemplified in § 2, No. 10. Glossic was further explained before the College of Preceptors (see Educational Times for May, 1870), and the Society of Arts (see their Journal for 22 April, 1870), as a system by which instruction might be advantageously given in teaching children to read, and as a means of avoiding the “spelling difficulty,” because writing according to this system, whatever the pronunciation indicated, would be perfectly legible, without previous instruction, to all who could read in our ordinary orthography. This, together with completeness and typographical facility, was the aim of the alterations introduced subsequently to the printing of Chap. VI.

As at present presented, there are only three glossic groups of letters, wo, dh, zh, with which a reader is not familiar, and of these dh, zh, have long been used by writers on pronunciation. The first, wo, has been employed for short oo in wood, ow in wouldn, o in woman, and u in put, as suggesting all the four forms, oo, ou, o, u, by a combination, wo, which had no other associations in English. The glossic combinations are, then, the Italic letters in:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>best, baas, caaal, cool,</th>
<th>short oo in wood, ow in wouldn, o in woman, and u in put, as suggesting all the four forms, oo, ou, o, u, by a combination, wo, which had no other associations in English. The glossic combinations are, then, the Italic letters in:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>knott, nget, not, not foot (for foot)</td>
<td>height, hoil, soul,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pees, bee, toe, dooe, chest, lest, keep, gape,—</td>
<td>fio, vie, thin, when (for them), seal, seal, rush, rouh, (for rouge),—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ring, ray, may, may sing—</td>
<td>peer, pair, soar, peering, pairing, soaring, morrering—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deter, deterring, star, starry, abhor, abherring—</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The spelling is not perfect, and, for convenience, combinations rather than separate letters have definite sounds. Thus in not has one sound, but the combinations so, en, em, have no trace of this sound. Similarly for a, ia, ia, a, en, en, the last combination being indispensable in English. Also r has two senses, according as it comes before a vowel or not, and when it follows se, as, ee, oo, it forms the diphthongs ever, poor, and hence must be doubled in preceding pairing sooring, the first r forming part of the combination, and the second the trill, = (pi) riq pee’riq soo’riq pus’riq). The (i) sounds, as (oo, u) with permissible (j) following, are uniformly written er, when not before a vowel, the r being then untrilled; but as er before a vowel would trill the r, it is necessary to write er in this case, thus ering = (e riq), but detering = (di tariq). In the case of ar, or, I used ear, aor, in the papers cited, but I believe it more consonant with usual habits to employ the same principle of combinational use, and to write star starr ahber abhorring = (sta sta ti se bah’ar se bah’ar tiq). This, however, has again the very serious disadvantage of employing two signs ar or or, or or, for the same sound (as or). The whole use of r, in any practical system of spelling, must be a system of compromises. When the trilled r has to be especially noted in unusual places, as in Scotch or provincial pronunciation, r must be employed, and this sign may be of course always used. The untrilled r should never be used where it may not be followed by a trilled r. If we write soar, it is implied that either (soo’) or (soo’) may be said. Hence it may not be used for the provincial sound of (soo’) or (soo) = so. The obscure unaccented or unemphatic syllables present another difficulty. As all the (u, oo) sounds, where (wr, war) may be sounded, are sunk into er, I think it best to sink all the (u, um, um) sounds into ei, em, en. But those (v) sounds where (r) may not be sounded, I write a at present, though it would be perhaps better, if it did not unfortunately suggest (u). Hence the provincial (soo’, soo) may be written soo-a, soo-oo, or, with the help of oo, soo, soo, on the principle that when several letters come together which might be read as different groups, the two first must be read together, and not the two last; thus sooa = sooa-a, and not sooa-aa. Or, as is best, so’oh’, the ha’ indicating this sound when forming a diphthong with the preceding letter. This ha’ replacing (i) forms a very important sign in dialectal glossee, and it ought really to replace untrilled r in ordinary glossee spelling. But at present habits are too fixed for such an innovation.

It becomes, therefore, necessary to mark accent and emphasis in every word. Hence I use (‘) for accent, whenever the force does not fall on the first syllable, so that the absence of such mark indicates the stress on the first syllable. This mark is put after a vowel when long, after a diphthong (and hence after the untrilled r in eer’, etc.), and after the first consonant following a short vowel. It thus becomes a mark of length, and may be inserted in all accented syllables when it is important to mark the length,—as, in dialects, to distinguish the short sound of aa in kaat’ haad = (kat had) and not (kaat haad), which would be written kaa’t haad’, and are really the sounds heard when kar’ hard are written with the untrilled r; of course not the sounds of kar’t, har’d, which = (kar t, har d), in received English the marking of quantity is not of much consequence, accented ee, ai, ae, au, oo, or, being received as long, and i, r, a, e, u, oo, as short; and hence the omission of the accent mark is possible. Similarly, when ei, em, en, are not obscured, write ei’, em’, en’.

Emphatic monosyllables have (‘) preceding, as ’dhat that ’dhat man sox, ‘too too wum, ei ’ei ei’. The obscure emphatic form has not been given, except in a, dhi for the articles. How far the use of such changing forms is practicable in writing cannot be determined at present. Phonetic spellers generally preserve the clear forms, just as children are taught to read ai man and ai dog, dhes wum-an an auu dhes, = (es men end ee dog, dhih wum an saa dhih), instead of (sum an sudog, dhih wum an saa dhih). All these points are niceties which the rough usage of everyday life would neglect, but which the proposer of a system of spelling, founded in any degree on pronunciation, has to bear in mind. As pointed out before (630, 60), even extremely different usages would not impair legibility.
Thirdly, Mr. Danby P. Fry has, at my request, furnished me with a transcription of the same passage into that improved system of English spelling which forms the subject of his paper in the Philological Transactions for 1870, pp. 17–88, to which I must refer for a detailed account of the principles upon which it is constructed. The following abstract has been furnished by Mr. Fry in his own orthography.

**Explanatory Notes.**

Words derived directly from Latin, Greek, or Hebrew, rightly follow the etymological spelling. In such words, the question is not as to the orthography, but as to the pronunciation.

Words borrowed from living tongues are translated into English in their native dress, and continue to wear it until they are naturalized.

In many English words, in which the spelling differs from the pronunciation, the preliminary question arises, which should be altered,—the spelling or the pronunciation? In the following specimen this question is raised rather than determined. The etymologies suggest it in certain words. Ought not the correct, which is still the provincial pronunciation, to be restored to such words as one, two, answer, son? As to the last, compare the English with the German:

- dbe son der sohn
- dbe sun die sonne.

With respect to as, many persons say ans’er, dancing, last, insted ov aans’er, daancing, least; while the provincial pronunciation ov faather is faaither.

The digraph dh is used for the flat sound ov th, as in them; for as th is to s, so is dh to s; e.g. tin, thin; den, dhen. A new letter is needed for the sound ov ng in long; and dh want ov it necessitates the clumsy-looking combination nag for the sound heard in longer. The small capital v denotes the short sound ov oo, as in good (gud); the long sound, as in food, being expressed by oo.

The general rule in English spelling, that a monosyllable shall not end with a double (or dubbel) consonant, is made universal. Hence, fel, nek, insted ov fell, neck. The letter v is dealt with like endy usher consonant; so that it is dubbled where endy usher consonant would be dubbled, and is allowed to end a word, without being followed by a s or silent s; as how, having; lie, living. The rules which are followed in vowel-spelling will be obvious on inspection: dhus, for example, it will be seen that a long vowel is denoted by a digraph, and a short vowel by a singular letter, in a monosyllable; and that in an accented syllable, where the vowel is short, the following consonant is dubbled, but not where it is long. An aspirate digraph serves the same purpose as a dubbled consonant in this respect.

Where, however, in the present spelling, the s is used to denote a long vowel, that practice is not altered; as, arise, arose.

The flat consonants are generally indicated, not only in dh for th (faather for gather), but in v for f (oo for of), and in s for s (as for as; is for is); but no variation is made in inflexions, so that s remains unaltered in words like has, his, years.

The digraph gh is retained, when it is not preceded by w, as in might; but when it is preceded by w with the sound ov f, gh is omitted, and the present pronunciation is expressed, as in enuf. Generally, etymological silent consonants are retained when their silence can be determined by “rules of position.”

No attempt is made to denote accent, except in the instance ov doubling the consonant after an accented short vowel.

Fourthly, Mr. E. Jones, whose efforts to improve our orthography are mentioned above (p. 590, note 1, and p. 591, note 2), and also in my paper on Glossic (Philol. Trans. p. 105, note 3, and text, p. 106), has been good enough to transcribe the same passage in the orthography which he at present recommends. I gladly give insertion to the following condensed statement of “principles” furnished by himself.
Analogic Spelling by E. Jones.

Object.—To reduce the difficulties of spelling to a minimum, with the least possible deviation from the current orthography.

Uses.—1. Immediate. To assist children, ignorant adults, and foreigners, in learning to read books in the present spelling; and also for writing purposes by the same, concurrently with the present system.

2. Ultimate. To supersede, gradually, as the public may feel disposed, the present spelling.

Means.—Allow books in the Revised Spelling to be used in the National Schools, which would serve the double purpose of being the best means of teaching reading to children, and also of familiarising the rising generation with the appearance of the new spelling, in the same manner as the Metric System is now exhibited in the National Schools.

General Notes.

1. It is assumed that the object of spelling, or writing, is to express by letters, the sounds of words.

2. In order to disarm prejudice, and to facilitate the transition from the new spelling to the old in reading, it is desirable to make the difference between the one and the other as little as possible.

3. To do this the following general principle will serve as a safe guide.

Use every letter, and combination of letters, in their most common power in the present spelling.

The adoption of this rule settles clearly the point as between the retention of ‘c’ and ‘k’ for the hard guttural sound. ‘C’ in its hard sound occurs about twelve times as often as ‘k’ for the same sound, and six times as often as ‘k,’ ‘q,’ and ‘x’ together. In the following alphabet, therefore, ‘k,’ ‘q,’ and ‘x’ are rejected, and ‘c’ is called cash.

Again, in a still more decided proportion, the question as to the use of the digraph “th,” for the hard or the flat sound in this and thin, is settled by the fact that “th” represents the flat sound about twenty times as often as the sharp sound. “Th” as in thin is indicated by Italicics.

The long å as in “alms” and u in “put” are the only vowels for which no provision is made in the common mode of representing the vowel-sounds at present. These sounds, however, occur very rarely and in very few words, they are marked respectively thus: alms = åms, put = pút.

The Alphabet.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40

a, å, ai, au, b, c, ch, d, e, ee, f, g, h, i, ie, dog, met, meet, fan, go, hay, pin, pies,
jl, ln, ng, o, oe, oi, jet, lad, mat, nut, sing, not, foes, oil,
oo, ou, p, r, s, sh, t, food, out, pen, run, sit, ship, ten,
then, thin, tune, hues, bull, van,
ward, yard, zeal, vision.

Note.—At the end of words y unaccented =i, and accented =ie. Also at the end of words ow = ou and aw = au.

This simple rule obviates the changing of thousands of the most common words. The little words, ‘be,’ ‘me;’ ‘go,’ ‘no,’ etc., are used for the theoretical, ‘bee,’ ‘me;’ ‘goe,’ ‘noe.’

Pronunciation.

As the pronunciation varies considerably even among educated people, the rule is followed here of inclining to the pronunciation indicated by the present spelling, and no attempt is made at extreme refinements of pronunciation. The proportion of words changed in spelling, in the example given below, is about 1 in 3, or say 30 per cent. Children might be taught on this plan to read in a few lessons, and the transition to the present spelling would be very easy.
Parable of the Prodigal Son, Luke xv. 11—32.

Barker's Bible, 1611.

11. A certaine man had two sonnes:
12. And the yonger of them said to his father, Father, give me the portion of goods that falleth to me. And he diuided vnto them his liuing.
13. And not many dayes after, the yonger sonne gathered all together, and took his journey into a farre countrey, and there wafted his substance with riotous liuing.
14. And when he had spent all, there arose a mighty famine in that land, and he began to be in want.
15. And he went and joyned himselfe to a citizen of that countrey, and he sent him into his fields to feed swine.
16. And he would faine haue filled his belly with the huskes that the swine did eate: and no man gaued vnto him.
17. And when hee came to himselfe, hee said, How many hired seruants of my fathers haue bread ynome and to spare, and I perish with hunger?
18. I will arise and goe to my father, and will say vnto him, Father, I have sinned against heauen and before thee.
19. And am no more worthy to bee called thy sonne: make me as one of thy hired seruants.
20. And he arofe and came to his father. But when he was yet a great way off, his father saw him, and had compasion, and ranne, and fell on his necke, and kissed him.
21. And the sonne said vnto him, Father, I haue sinned against heauen, and in thy sight, and am no more worthy to be called thy sonne.

Glossie Orthography.

11. A sertan man had 'too sunz:
12. And dhi yungger ov dhem sed too his faadher, Faadher, giv mee dhi poarsheen ov guodz dhat fauleth too mee. And hee di-ve'id untoo dhem hiz liuing.
13. And not meni daiz saafter, dhi yungger sun gadherd aun toogedh'er, and tuok hiz jurni intoo a far kuntri, and dhaier waisted hiz substans with reituts liuing.
14. And when hee had spent aun, dhaier aroa'z a meiti famin in 'dhat land, and hee bigan too bee in won't.
15. And hee went and joind himse'lf too a sitizen ov 'dhat kuntri, and hee sent hime into hiz feelzd too feed swein.
16. And hee wuod faim hav fild hiz beli with dhi husks dhat dhi swein did eet: and noa man gai vntoo hime.
17. And when hee kaim too himse'lf, hee sed, Hou meni heird servants ov mei faadherz hav bred eu'f and too spair, and ei perish widd hungger!
18. Ei wil arei'z, and goa too mei faadher, and wil sai untoo him, Faadher, ei hav sim agen' et hevn and bifoar dhee.
19. And am noa moar werdhi too bee kauld dheo sun: maik mee az wun ov dheoi heird servants.
20. And hee aroa'z and kaim too hiz faadher. But when hee woz yet a grai wai of, hiz faadher sau him, and had kom-pa' shun, and ran, and sel on hiz nek, and kist him.
21. And dhi sun sed untoo him, Faadher, ei hav sim age'nest hevn, and in dheoi seet, and am noa moar werdhi too bee kauld dheoi sun.
11. And he said, A certain man had two sons:

12. And the younger of them said to his father, Father, give me the portion of good that faileth to me. And he divided unto them his living.

13. And not many days after the younger son gathered all together, and took his journey into a far country, and there wasted his substance with riotous living.

14. And when he had spent all, there arose a mighty famine in that land; and he began to be in want.

15. And he went and joined himself to a citizen of that country; and he sent him into his fields to feed swine.

16. And he would fain have filled his belly with the husks that the swine did eat; and no man gave unto him.

17. And when he came to himself, he said, How many hired servants of my father's have bred enuf and to spare, and I perish with hunger!

18. I will arise and go to my father, and will say unto him, Father, I have sinned against heaven, and before thee,

19. And am no more worthy to be called thy son: make me as one of thy hired servants.

20. And he arose, and came to his father. But when he was yet a great way off, his father saw him, and had compassion, and ran, and fell on his neck, and kissed him.

21. And the sun said unto him, Father, I have sinned against heaven and in thy sight, and am no more worthy to be called thy son.
Barker's Bible, 1611.

22. But the father said to his servants, Bring forth the best robe, and put it on him, and put a ring on his hand, and shoes on his feet.

23. And bring hither the fatted calf, and kill it, and let vs eate and be merry.

24. For this my sonne was dead, and is alius againe; he was lost, & is found. And they began to be merry.

25. Now his elder sonne was in the field, and as he came and drew nigh to the house, he heard musinge & dauncing;

26. And he called one of the servants, and asked what these things meant.

27. And he said vnto him Thy brother is come, and thy father hath killed the fatted calf, because he hath received him safe and found.

28. And he was angry, and would not goe in: therefore came his father out, and entertained him.

29. And he answering saide to his father, Loe, thefe many yceres doe I ferue thee, neither transgressed I at any time thy commandement, and yet thou never gaued me a kidde, that I might make merry with my friends:

30. But as soone as this thy sonne was come, which hath deououred thy liuing with harlots, thou haft killed for him the fatted calf.

31. And he said vnto him, Sonne, thou art euer with mee, and all that I haue is thine.

32. It was meete that wee should make merry, and bee glad; for this thy brother was dead, and is alius againe; and was lost, and is found.

Glossic Orthography.

22. But dhi faadher sed too hiz servents, Bring foarth dhi best roab, and puot it on him, and puot a ring on hiz hand, and shooz on hiz feet.

23. And bring hidher dhi fated kaaf, and kil it, and let us eet and bee meri.

24. For dhis mei sun woz ded, and iz alici-v agen', hee woz lost, and iz found. And dhai bigan' too bee meri.

25. Now hiz elder sun woz in dhi feeld, and az hee kaim and droo nee too dhi hous, hee herd meuzik and daansing.

26. And hee kourd wun ov dhi servents and aaskt whot dheeze thingz ment.

27. And hee sed untwoo him, Dhei brudher iz kum, and dhee faadher hath kild dhi fated kaaf, bikau'z hee hath risee-vd him saif and sound.

28. And hee woz anggri, and wuoud not goa in: dhaier foar kaim hiz faadher out, and entreeted him.

29. And hee aanswering sed too hiz faadher, Loa dheeze mei yeerz doo ei seryr dhee, neidher transgre'st ei at eni teim dhei komaen'dment; and yet dhou never gaivest mee a kid, dhat ei meit maik meri widh mei frendz:

30. But az soon az dhis dhei sun woz kum, which hath divyour'd dhei living widh haarluts, dhou hast kild for him dhi fated kaaf.

31. And hee sed untwoo him, Sun, dhou art eever widh mee, and aul dhat ei hay iz dhein.

32. It woz meett dhat wee shuod maik meri and bee glad, for dhis dhei brudher woz ded, and iz alici-v agen', and woz lost, and iz found.
22. But dhe faadher said to his servants, Bring forth dhe best roeb, and putt it on him; and putt a ring on his hand, and shoos on his feet:
23. And bring hidher dhe fatted caaf, and kil it: and let us eat and be mery:
24. For this my son waz ded, and iz alive again; he waz lost, and iz found. And dhey began to be mery.
25. Now his elder son waz in the field: and az he came and drew nigh to dhe hous, he herd music and daansing.
26. And he cauled one ov dhe servants, and asked what dheze things ment.
27. And he said unto him, Dhy brudher iz cum; and dhy faadher hath killed dhe fatted caaf, because he hath receeven him safe and sound.
28. And he waz angryy, and wuld not go in: dherefore came his faadher out, and entreated him.
29. And he ansswering said to his faadher, Lo, dheze menny years doo I serv dheee, neither transgressed I at enny time dhy commandment: and yet dhow never gavest me a kid, dhat I might make merry with my frends:
30. But az soon az this dhy son waz cum, which hath de-voured dhy livving widh harlots, dhow hast killed for him dhe fatted caaf.
31. And he said unto him, Sen, dhow art ever with me, and aul dhat I hav iz dhine.
32. It waz meet dhat we shuld make merry, and be glad: for this dhy brudher waz ded, and iz alive again; and waz lost, and iz found.

22. But the father said to his servants, Bring forth the best roeb, and putt it on him; and putt a ring on his hand, and shoos on his feet:
23. And bring hither the fated caaf, and cin it; and let us eat and be mery:
24. For this my sun woz ded, and iz aliv again; he woz lost, and iz found. And they began to be mery.
25. Now his elder sun woz in the feeld; and az he cain and drue ny to the hous he herd muezic and dansing.
26. And he cauld won ov the servants, and askt whot theez thingz ment.
27. And he said unto him, Thy bruder iz cum; and thy father hath cild the fated caaf, becauz he hath reesevd him saif and sound.
28. And he woz angry, and wud not go in; thairfor cain hiz father out and intreeted him.
29. And he anssering said to his father, Lo theez meny yeerz doo I serv theee, neether trans-grest I at eny tiem thy comandment; and yet thou never gavest me a cid, that I miet maic mery with my frendz:
30. But az soon az this thy sun woz cum, which hath de-vourd thy living with harlots, thou hast cild for him the fated caaf.
31. And he said unto him, Sun, thou art ever with me, and aul that I hav iz thien.
32. It waz meet that we shud maic mery, and be glad: for this thy bruder woz ded, and iz aliv again: and woz lost, and iz found.
The reader will, I trust, excuse me for preserving in this book a record of those early phonetic attempts to which the book itself is due. Mr. Isaac Pitman of Bath, the inventor of Phonography, or a peculiar kind of English shorthand founded upon phonetic spelling, in his *Phonotypic Journal*, for January, 1843, started the notion of Phonotypy or Phonetic Printing for general English use. In the course of that year my attention was drawn to his attempt, and I entered into a correspondence with him, which resulted in the concoction of various schemes of phonetic printing, for which types were cast, so that they could be actually used, and specimens were printed in the *Phonotypic Journal*, beginning with January, 1844, till by December, 1846, we considered that a practical alphabet had been reached. It was in this Journal that I commenced my phonetic studies, and for one year, 1848, I conducted it myself.

1 See supra p. 607.
2 The following list of the principal phonetic essays, which I published in this Journal will show the slow and painful process by which I acquired the knowledge of speech-sounds necessary for the compilation of the present work. They form but a small part of the whole work, or even of my whole writings on this subject, and the titles are merely preserved as indications of *incunabula*.

1844.

On the letter R, pp. 5–12.
On Syllabication and the Indistinct Vowel, pp. 33–43.
Ambiguities of Language, pp. 71–73.
Unstable Combinations, pp. 74–76.
What an Alphabet should be (a translated account of Volney’s *L’Alphabet Européen appliqué aux Langues Asia
Phonetic Literature (an account of the principal grammars, dictionaries, and miscellaneous treatises containing more or less extensive essays on phonetics and English alphabets; it is very incomplete), pp. 133–144, 322–329.
Phonotypic Suggestions, pp. 201–204.
A Key to Phonotypy or Printing by sound, pp. 265–279.
The Alphabet of Nature, part I. Analysis of Spoken Sounds, pp. 1–128, forming a supplement from June to December, 1844.

1845.
On the Vowel Notation, pp. 10–19.

On the Natural Vowel, a paper by Mr. Danby, P. Fry, (whose present views on orthography have just been illustrated,) printed phonetically, pp. 59–62, with remarks by A. J. Ellis, pp. 62–66.

1846 (all printed phonotypically).
Remarks on the New English Phonotypic Alphabet, pp. 4–12.
Par, For, Fur, pp. 305–308.

1847.
In May, this year, a vote of those interested in phonotypy was taken on the Alphabet, and results are given in an appendix, between pp. 148 and 149.

1848 (Phonetic Journal).
Tam o’ Shanter, printed in phonotypy, from the writing of Mr. Laing, of Kilmarnock, with glossary, pp. 145–152, with remarks on Scotch Pronunciation by Prof. Gregory, Carstairs, Douglas, Laing and myself, p. 198, 227–229, 276–282, being the first attempt at a stricter phonetic representation of dialectal pronunciation.

under the changed name of the *Phonetic Journal*. In 1849 I aban-
doned it for the weekly phonetic newspaper called the *Phonetic
News*, and at the close of that year my health gave way altogether,
so that for some years I was unable to prosecute any studies, and
phonetic investigations were peculiarly trying to me. Mr. Pitman,
however, revived the *Journal*, and, in various forms, has continued
its publication to the present day. He became dissatisfied with the
forms of type to which we had agreed in 1846, and, notwithstanding
a large amount of literature printed in them, he continued to make
alterations, with the view of amending. Even in 1873 theoretical
considerations lead me to suppose that his alphabet may be further
changed, although Mr. Pitman himself expresses much faith in
the stability of his present results.

The following is a comparative view of palacotype, glossic, the
1846 and 1873 alphabets, in the order used for 1846, with the
*Parable of the Prodigal Son*, showing in parallel columns the 1846
and 1873 forms of phonotypy. Mr. Isaac Pitman has kindly lent
me the types for this purpose. One letter only, that for (dh), which
appears in the alphabetic key in its 1846 form, has been printed in
the 1873 form in the specimen, on account of want of the old form
in stock; as will be seen by the key, however, the difference is
very minute. The spelling in the 1846 alphabet precisely follows
the phonetic orthography of the second edition of the New Testa-
ment which I printed and published in 1849, and exhibits the
phonetic compromises which I made at that date. The column
dated 1873 follows Mr. I. Pitman’s present system of spelling, and
has been furnished by himself.

**Key to Pitman’s and Ellis’s Phonotypy, 1846 and 1873.**

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Key Words</th>
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Parable of the Prodigal Son, Luke xv. 11–32.

Alex. J. Ellis, 1849.

11 And he sed, A serten man had tā suns:
12 And de gugger ov dem sed tu hiz fæder, Fæder, giv me de perfun ov guds dat folet tu me. And he divjed untu dem hiz livin.
13 And not meni das after, de gugger sun gadered ol tugeðer, and tac hiz jurni intu a fær countri, and dar wasted hiz substans wid rjutus livin.
14 And hwen he had spent ol, dar arôz a miți famin in dât land; and he begun tu be in wont.
15 And he went and joud hirself tu a sitizn ov dât countri; and he sent him intu hiz feldz tu fíd swin.
16 And he wûd fan hav fild hiz beli wid de huses dat de swin did, and no man gev untu him.
17 And hwen he cam tu himself, he sed: Hâs meni hirð servants ov mij fæders hav bled enâf and tu spar, and j perif wid hugger!
18 & wil ariz and go tu mij fæder, and wil sa untu him, Fæder, j hav sind agenst hir'n and befôr dê.
19 And am no mor wurdî tu be cold dô sun: mac me az wun ov dî hirð servants.
20 And he arôz, and cam tu hiz fæder. But hwen he woz yet a great ws of, hiz fæder so him, and hâm composer, and ran, and fel on hiz nec, and cist him.
21 And de sun sed untu him, Fæder, j hav sind agenst hir'n, and in dî sit, and am no mor wurdî tu be cold dô sun.
22 But de fæder sed tu hiz servants, Briq forst de best rob, and put it on him; and put a riq on hiz hand, and fuz on hiz fet:
23 And briq hider de fated caf, and oît; and let us et, and be meri:
24 For dis mij sun woz ded, and is aliy agen; hiz woz lest, and is fûnd. And da begun tu be meri:
25 Ne hiz elder sun woz in de feld: and az hî cam and dru ni

Isaac Pitman, 1873.

11 And hi sed, A serten man had tû suns:
12 And de gugger ov dem sed tu hiz fæder, Fæder, giv me de perfun ov guds dat folet tu mi. And hi divjed sntu dem hiz livin.
13 And not meni das after, de gugger sun gadered ol tugeðer, and tac hiz jurni intu a fær countri, and der wasted hiz substans wid rjotuz livin.
14 And when hi had spent ol, der arôz a miți famin in dât land; and hi begun tu bi in wont.
15 And hi went and joud hirself tu a sitizen ov dât countri; and hi sent him intu hiz fildz tu fíd swin.
16 And hi wûd fen hav fild hiz beli wid de hûzûs dat de swin did it; and no man gev sntu hîm.
17 And when hi kem tu himself, hi sed, Hou meni hirð servants ov mij fæder's hav bled enûf and tu sper, and j perif wid hugger!
18 & wil ariz and go tu mij fæder, and wil sntu hîm, Fæder, j hav sind agenst heven and befor dî.
19 And am no mor wûrdi tu bi kold dî sun: mek mi az wûsn ov dî hirð servants.
20 And hi arôz, and kem tu hiz fæder. But when hi woz yet a great ws of, hiz fæder so him, and had kompozen, and ran, and fel on hiz nek, and kist him.
21 And de sun sed sntu hîm, Fæder, j hav sind agenst heven, and in dî sit, and am no mor wûrdi tu bi kold dî sun.
22 But de fæder sed tu hiz servants, Briq forst de best rob, and put it on him; and put a riq on hiz hand, and fuz on hiz fet:
23 And briq hider de fated kasf, and kil it; and let sî it, and bi meri:
24 For dis mij sun woz ded, and is aliy agen; hî woz lest, and is fûnd. And de begun tu bi meri:
25 Nou hiz elder sun woz in de fild: and az hî kem and dru ni
ALEX. J. ELLIS, 1849.

And he cold wun ov de ser-vants, and askt whit diz ting ment.
26 And he sed untu him, dí brader iz cum; and diz fader bat cild diz fated cdf, becuz ez he hat re-sérd ez saf and sand.
28 And he woz angri, and wud not go in: darfor cam diz fader ut, and intreted him.
29 And he quaneriq sed tu diz fader, Le, diz meni yerz du i serv di; neder transgrést i at eni tím diz komandment: and yet di never gavest me a cid, dat i mit mac meri wid mij frenz:
30 But ez sun az dis di sun woz cum, hwiqu hat devárj diz livín wid harluts, ez haat cild fur him de fated cdf.
31 And he sed untu him, Sun, dis qer ever wid me, and ol dat i haw ez dín.
32 It woz met dat we jud mac meri, and be glad: for dis di brader woz ded, and iz alhy agén; and woz lest, and iz fnd.

Isaac Pitman, 1873.

tu de hous, hi herd muzik and dansiq.
26 And bi kold wzn ov de ser-vants, and askt whit diz ting ment.
27 And bi sed snu him, dí brader iz ksm, and diz fader hat kild de fated kaf, bekuz hi hat re-sérd him saf and sound.
28 And bi woz angri, and wud not go in: darfor kem diz fader out, and intrited him.
29 And hi anseriq sed tu diz fader, Le, diz meni yirz du i serv di, nýder transgrest i at eni tím diz komandment: and yet sou never gevrest mi a kid, dat i mit mek meri wid mij frenz:
30 But az sun az dis di sun woz ksm, whiqu had devourd diz livín wid harluts, sou haat kild for him de fated kaf.
31 And hi sed snu him, Sun, sou art ever wid mi, and ol dat i haw iz dín.
32 It woz mit dat wi jud mek meri, and hi glad: for dis di brader woz ded, and iz alhy agen; and woz lest, and iz found.

Other fancy orthographies, which have not been advocated before the Philological Society, or seriously advanced for use, or phonetic spellings requiring new letters, are not given. A revision of our orthography is probably imminent, but no principles for altering it are yet settled. I have already expressed my convictions (p. 631); but, as shewn by the above specimen of Glossic, I know that the phonetic feeling is at present far too small for us to look forward to anything like a perfect phonetic representation. We are indeed a long way off from being able to give one, as already seen by the contrast of the pronunciations given by Mr. Bell and myself, and as will appear still more clearly presently. But more than this, we are still a long way from having any clear notion of how much should or could be practically attempted, if we had a sufficient phonetic knowledge to start with. And my personal experience goes to shew that very few people of education in this country have as yet the remotest conception of what is meant by a style of spelling which shall consistently indicate pronunciation. I have found many such writers commit the most absurd blunders when they attempt an orthography of their own, and shew a wonderful incapacity in handling such a simple tool as Glossic.

Dr. Donders, writing in a language which has recently reformed its orthography, chiefly in a phonetic direction, whose reformed orthography, as we have seen (1114, c), requires curious rules of
combination thoroughly to understand, justly says: "The knowledge of the mechanism and nature of speech-sounds preserves them for posterity, and is the foundation of a phonetic system of writing, which is less adapted for ordinary use, but is of priceless value for writing down newly heard languages, and indispensable for comparative philology." (De kennis van 't mechanisme en den aard der spraakklinken bewaart ze voor het nageslacht, en is de grondslag eener phonetische schrijfwijs, die voor 't gewone gebruik minder doelmatig, maar bij het opschrijven van nieuw gehoorde talen van onschatbare waarde en voor vergelijkende taalstudie onontbeerlijk is. Concluding words of: De physiologie der Spraakklinken, p. 24).

Careful Transcripts of Actual Pronunciation by Haldeman, Ellis, Sweet, and Smart.

The above examples are, however, quite insufficient to shew actual differences of usage, as they are confined to two observers, the varieties of spelling used by Mr. Fry and Mr. Jones not being sufficient to mark varieties of pronunciation, and the phonotypy of 1849 and 1873 purposely avoiding the points in question. It seemed, therefore, necessary to obtain careful transcripts of some individualities of pronunciation. General usage is after all only an abstraction from concrete usage, and although in phonetic writing, such as we have dealt with in preceding chapters, only rude approximations were attempted, it is certainly advisable to ascertain to some extent the degrees of difference which such approximations imply. There are, however, very few persons who are at all capable of undertaking such an analysis of their own or other person's habits.

Prof. Haldeman.

Mr. S. S. Haldeman, of Columbia, Professor of Comparative Philology in the University of Pennsylvania, to whom I have been so much indebted for Pennsylvania German (supra p. 656) and other notes, wrote an essay on phonetics, which obtained a prize offered by Sir Walter Trevelyon, and is one of the most important works we possess upon the subject which it treats. On p. 127 Prof. Haldeman gives a transcript of a passage first published by myself in a phonetic form, in an extension of the Pitman and Ellis

2 Essentials of Phonetics, p. 104. It is a translation of a portion of the preface to the first edition of Pott's Etymologische Forschungen (p. viii).

The following is the original, with the addition of two sentences, which are not given in the examples:—

"Die schriftliche und druckliche Lautbezeichnung einer Sprache mit, nach Art und Zahl unzulänglichen Charakteren, die man daher kombinieren oder modifizieren muss, um nur mit einiger Genauigkeit und Bequemlichkeit das Phonetische derselben graphisch darzustellen, ist von jeher für Völker sowohl als Individuen, die Sprachforscher nicht ausgeschlossen, eine der notwendigsten und schwierigsten Aufgaben gewesen, die deshalb auch in den wenigsten Fällen glücklich gelöst ist. Mögen wir daraus lernen,
alphabet just illustrated. But as he has not followed the pronunciation there given, it must be considered an independent and extremely minute account of his own pronunciation. He has himself kindly revised the proof of its present transcription into palaeotype. He says, in several passages of his chap. xvi., here for convenience thrown together: "Orthoepeists blind themselves to the genius and tendencies of the language, and represent a jargon which no one uses but the child learning to read from divided syllables, who turns 'li-on' into 'lie on'; or the German, who fancies that the first syllable of 'phantom' occurs in 'elephant,' because they resemble in German and French (p. 122)... Every English word of three or more syllables requires the vowel (o, y), 1 or a syllable without a vowel, when the structure of the word does not interfere with it, as graduate, self-sameness, portmanteau, and the difficulty is to decide upon the proper vowel, as in candidate, agitate, elevate, expedite, avenue, maladie— for vernacular practice cannot be controlled by the consideration that the original was an adjective rather than an adjective, unless it can be shown that the advertorial form has been preserved in speech, and we think it is not. With the spelling we have nothing to do (p. 123).... We do not recommend our own pronunciation—forms like tra-vlr, difnrs, instnzs, genrl, temprns, diesnhr, 2 being too condensed—too Attic, for

dass die Erfindung der Schrift, die grösste und wichtigste, welche je der menschliche Geist gemacht hat, und die, seine Kräfte in der That fast übersteigend, nicht mit Unrecht von ihm häufig den Göttern beigelegt wird, eben so gut als der complicität-einfache Organismus eines Staates, nicht das Werk Einzelner, sondern von Jahrhunderten, vielleicht Jahrtausenden sei. Von der Abbildung als einem Ganzen, welches der Gegenstand fast noch selber ist, von dem blossen Erinnerungszeichen, durch das Wort, die Sylbe bis zum—Buchstaben, das für eine immer mehr in's Feine gehende Analyse! Der Thauth der neueren Zeit, der Tschirikese siègu-sja oder mit englischem Namen George Guess wird uns am besten sagen können, was ein Alphabet erfinden und einer Sprache anpassen heisst."

And, as some readers may be slightly puzzled with the following elaborate phonetic representations, it may be convenient to annex the English translation followed in the examples, together with the two additional sentences:

"The written and printed representation of the sounds of language, by means of characters, which are insufficient, both in kind and number, and which must, therefore, be combined, or modified, if we would give a graphical symbolisation of the phonetic elements with only some degree of exactness and convenience, has been, from all time, for nations as well as individuals, linguistical students not excepted, one of the most necessary, and one of the most difficult of problems, and has consequently scarcely ever been happily solved. Let this teach us that the invention of writing, the greatest and most important invention which the human mind has ever made, and which, as it indeed almost exceeds its strength, has been often and not unjustly attributed to the gods, like the organism of a state, at once simple and complex, is not the work of individuals, but of centuries, perhaps of thousands of years. From the pictorial representation, as an entirety, which is almost the object itself,—from the mere memorial sign, through the word and the syllable, up to the letter,—what a continually finer analysis! The Thauth of modern times, the Cherokee see-kicah-yah, or to give him his English name George Guess, can best tell us what it is to invent an alphabet and adapt it to a language." 1 For many of his (a, y) I find I rather say (u).

1 From a MS. insertion by the author.
ordinary use, besides being more influenced by the spelling than the genius of the language allows. In looking through the Phonetic periodicals, whilst preparing this essay, we find that we have been ignorant of the name of many public characters. To us there was a fictitious Clandricard within two weeks, and whilst we know that our two friends 'Mackay' are respectively (Mékée') and (Mékoi'), we do not know the name of the poet Charles Mackay, though we have heard him named (Mék'kē'). We mispronounced the proper names Tyrwhit, Napier, Hereford, Bowring (a gentleman we have more recently met), Keightley (which we had classed with Weightman), Howick, Moore, Mavor, Latham, Youatt, Lowth, Houghton (Hoton, which we classed with Hough or Huf), 'Aurora Leigh,' leg? lay? lee? lie? Once when in Boston, Massachusetts, with a fellow-traveller, we wished to see a public building of which we had read, named Faneuil Hall, and after discussing what we should ask for, we wisely concluded that the natives would not understand us, or would laugh at our pronunciation—so we neither saw the building nor learnt its name (p. 123, note). Some prefer the pronunciation of men of letters, but in the present state of phonetic and prosodic knowledge, as exhibited in the great majority of the grammars, men of letters constitute the ignorant class, with the perversions of French analogies added to their ignorance; and if the vulgar corrupt (develop?) words, they are at least true to the vernacular laws. But in comparing a lettered with an illiterate pronunciation, the two must be of the same locality and dialect. Church cannot be judged from kirk; and the words must be vernacular, as one, two, three; body, head, arm, eye;—land, field, water, fire, house, rain, star, sun, moon (p. 124). The three different vowels of own, up, osi, were once given to us by three lettered Cherokees as occurring in the second syllable (of four) of their word for eight. We considered it likely that the up was correct, although a 'syllabic' writer might have considered it as certainly wrong; but when we asked an unlettered native, he used no vowel whatever in this place, and we deemed him correct, and the others perverted by their syllabic alphabet, which forces them to write fictitiously, and then to speak as they write, instead of doing the reverse. The word was ('golhh'gwoo'gr') in three syllables, and having Welsh ll. Similarly, if one orthoepist would model seven on the Gothic sibun, another on the English syfon, and a third on the old English seven, or Belgian (se'ven) with (e) of end, we would still prefer saying seven= (sev'n) with the English (p. 124).

1 I am told it is called (fa'n'l haal). With regard to the preceding names, as Mackay is certainly pronounced (Méko'i', Mák'ē', Mako'-i'), as well as in the three ways mentioned, I cannot assign the poet's name, but I have also heard it called (Mék'kē'). Clandricard, I generally hear called (Kleen'r'kēd'), of course, an Anglicism. (Tirēk, Néep'jii) or (Né p'jii), not (Nép'jii), as it is very commonly mispronounced. (Her'fēd, Ba'w'rk, Hâ'w'k, Mâw', Mâw'n, Leeth'um), so called by Dr. Latham, but his family call themselves (Leth'um), (Yo'w'w, Le'w'dh, Hâ'w'm, Tgroo'-'re Lii), are, so far as I know, the sounds of these names. Lord Houghton's family name Milnes is called (Mīks).

2 Ags. seofan, seofan, seofun, syfon.
The following are the elementary English sounds acknowledged by Prof. Haldeman as numbered and symbolised by him (see his tables, on his p. 125), with the palaeotypic equivalents here adopted. The length of the vowels is not here indicated, and will be described hereafter. The symbols being troublesome to reproduce they will be referred to by the numbers, with the addition of v, c, l, for the classes of Vowels, Consonants, and Laryngals respectively.

**Vowels.**

1. a arm (a)  
2. e up (e)  
3. i ill (i)  
4. e ebb (e)  
5. e there (e)  
6. e they (e)  
7. e buffet (e)  
8. e pity (e)  
9. a field (a)  
10. A rise (a)  
11. a awe (a)  
12. o odd (o)  
13. o owe (o)  
14. u pool (u)  
15. u pull (u)  

Consonants.

1. v now (w)  
2. v vay (w)  
3. m why (m)  
4. n (n)  
5. s (s)  
6. b (b)  
7. h sein (s)  
8. p (p)  
9. f (f)  
10. r (r)  
16. r (r²)  
17. v (v)  
18. f (f)  
21. j (j)  
22. j (j²)  
23. j (j³)  
24. f (f)  
25. j (j⁴)  
26. j (j⁵)  
27. j (j⁶)  
28. f (f²)  
29. o (o)  
30. c (k)  

Laryngals.—31. h hay (sh)?

It is always extremely difficult to identify phonetic symbols belonging to different systems, on account of individualities of pronunciation. Even when *vivd voce* comparison is possible, the identification is not always complete. Some of the above are queried, and to some no symbols are added. I shall therefore submit Prof. Haldeman’s descriptions of his symbols:

1v. in arm. “The most characteristic of the vowels is that in *arm, art,* *father,* commonly called Italian *A*” (Art. 370). This must be (a), and not *ah* or (a).

2v. in wp. “Many languages want this vowel, which is so common in English as to be regarded as the characteristic of the vowels. It has not been assigned to Greek, Italian, Spanish, nor German, but it occurs in dialectic German ... It is close (e) in *wp,* *worth,* and open (u) in *wurm,* *word,* *wire.* The effect of *worth* is that of a short syllable, each element being short, (the r close;) whilst *worm* is long on account of the open and longer r. The vowel *wp* is nasal in the French *wor;* but M. Pantéleon (in Comstock’s *Phon. Mag.* makes this a nasal *us* in *jew,* and Lepeus refers it to German *w.* In the writer’s French pronunciation, *wp* is placed in mé, qué, quérelle, etc., according to the view of most French grammarians.” (Arts. 374–5.) It is impossible to say from this whether the 2v. is (e, *w, wé, òw,* sh), and it may be one at one time and one at another. The open and close 2v. apparently point to (e, o), and the dialectic German is (o) or (e). Hence I have queried my palaeotypic transcription (o), although Prof. Haldeman, in returning the proof of the table, doubted the necessity of the query.

3v. in *add.* “With very little affinity to A, this sound usurps its character in some alphabets. It is more nearly allied to ebb, but not enough to have a letter on the same basis, like that of

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Lepusian. The people of Bath, England, are said to pronounce the name of the town long, and it is strictly long and short in Welsh, as in bëck a hook, bëck little. It seems to be lengthened in the following words, but as the author speaks this dialect—heard in Philadelphia, and used by Walker, who puts his s of fat in grass, grasp, branch, grant, pass, fast, the proper sound being probably French â, as in pâss, etc.—the observation must be accepted with caution: pân pânc, bân bânish, fân fâncy, mân tân, cân v., cân v., brân rân, A'mân a A'nam, Sâm sâmphle, dâm hâm, drâm râm, lâmbs lâmp, bâd pâd, glad lâd, bâg thê bêg, câg wâg kâg, drâg drâgen, mädder mädder no, râd fâm râmmon, bâd bâdger, gâs gâsh âs, lâs lâih, brâd brâd, dâad Dâdham, bâd spâd. It occurs in provincial German, as in bx'r c (with the vowels of bûrrier for bûr bero), a hill. A native of Gerstungen = Gersthâren, in Saxe Weimer, pronounced the first syllable of this name with x in arrow. Compare thatch deck, catch kecht, have hev, scalp sculp; German and English fest fat, krebs crab, fast fast adj. Gr. ἀπεκερωτεν I run, track. It has a long and open German provincial (Suabian) form, being used for long open a (ê), as in bx'r for bûr a bear. This bears the same relation to add that French ê in même bears to e in memory. This vowel is nasalised and short in the French fix end, pain bread. But some consider this a nasal of ebb, either because such a sound is used (the Polish e, ę), or because the French (being without the pure add) refer their nasal is to the nearest pure sound known to them." (Arts. 378–383.) This must be (e). The American lengthenings are interesting. There is an American Hymn-book, put together by two compilers, each having the Christian name Samuel. It was familiarly known as "the book of Same." The pun on psalms is not felt by an Englishman, the lengthening of Sâm explains it completely.

47. in there. "The vowel of ebb, with a more open aperture, is long and accented in the Italian medicò tempësta célëo, and short in the verb è is, bë-tët-to. It is the French â in même, tête, senêtre, maître, haie, Aix air, vaisseau. The same sound seems to occur shorter in trompetta, which is not the vowel of petty... It is the German ä long in mährës mährë, fehlen, kohë, währe, but wâhe has E long. The theoretic short sound falls into 5v., as in stâlle ställë, commonly pronounced like stelle station." (Arts. 388-9.) There seems no doubt that this is (e), but it is singular that Prof. Haldeman has (a, e), and Mr. Bell (e, ę) in there ébë, and I pronounce (e) in both. It is evident therefore that the distinction is not recognized as part of the language. 5v. in ébë. "The secondary vowels of ebb, were not allowed to Latin, because there is no evidence that they were Latin sounds; and although ebb occurs in Spanish, as in el este the east, it is not so frequent as an Englishman might suppose. Even this is not admitted in Cubl's "Novo Sistema" (of English for Spaniards), published by I. Pitman, Bath, 1851, where the vowels ill, ell, am, up, oub, are not provided with Spanish key-words; but he assigns the whole of them to Catalanian." (Arts. 385.) As I had an opportunity of conversing with Señor Cubl y Soler, who spoke English with a good accent, I know that he did not admit any short vowels in Castil- ian, and hence he excluded all these, and took the Spanish a, which is I believe always (e), to be (a). The Castilians pronounce their vowels, I believe, of medial length, like the Scotch, and neither so short nor so long as the English. The Latin E I also believe to have been (e), and not (a). "The vowel 5v. occurs in Italian tempë terra Mârcerùo." (Art. 386.) Valentini makes the e a (a) in tempo terra, and, of course, it is chiusa = (e) in the unaccented first syllable of Mercurio. "In the German rezchnung a reckoning, peli pelt fur, schmelzen to smelt, rector rector. (Ibid.) Frenchmen state that 5v. occurs in elle, qual, règle." (Art. 387.) In none of these can (a, e) be safely separated. I believe Prof. Haldeman means 4v. to be (a), and 5v. to be (e), the former always long, the latter always short. I always used to confuse the open French and Italian (a) with my (e), and I may have consequently misled many others. But the only acknowledge distinctions in language seem to be close e, open e, the first (e, e'), the second (e, ę), while (e) really hovers between the two, and hence where only one s is acknowledged, (e) is the safer
sound to use, as (e, e') would then be heard as bad (i), and (o, u) as bad (e).

6v. in *they*. “The English ay in pay, paid, day, weigh, ale, rage, is short in weight, hate, acre, A'mos, A'bram, ape, plague, spade. The German woh see, roh, jë, planet, meer, mähr (more), but mäh'r tidings has 4v., cëd, éhre, jëdöch. The Italian 'e chiuso' has this quality, as in malëc otôbrë (with 'o chiuso' [Valentini agrees in this]), but it is nearly always short. Most authors assign this sound to French é, called 'é fermé,' but Dr. Latham assigns this 'é a closer aperture, for he says, 'This is a sound allied to, but different from, the the in *fate* and the *a* in *foot*. It is intermediate to the two.' Danzovský says the Hungarian 'é est medius sonus inter e et i,' but his 'é' is uncertain. Olivier (Les Sons de la Parole, 1844) makes it identical with I in the position of the mouth. (Art. 391.) This must be (e). The recognition of the short sound in English is curious, as also the absence of the recognition of (e'). The middle Germans use (e) long, and (o) or (u) short, regularly. The Italian *e chiuso* sounds to me (e), but may be (e'); it is generally the descendant of Latin I. The distinction between *fate* and é in Dr. Latham is possibly due to his saying (fe'jt), not (foot), and to the é being short. Mr. Kovacs pronounced Hungarian é as (o), and e as (e) in accented syllables. Olivier probably confused é with (i), the short English sound which has replaced (e).

7v. in *buffet*, and in *ment, -ence*. "There is an obscure vowel in English, having more aperture than that of *il* and less than that of *all*. It is used to separate consonants by such an amount of vocality as may be secured without setting the organs for a particular vowel. It is most readily determined between surds, and it is often confused and perhaps interchanged with the vowel of *up*. It occurs in the natural pronunciation of the last syllable of worded, blended, splendid, sordid, livid, ballad, salad, surfeit, buffet, opposes, doses, roses, losses, misses, poorer, horror, Christian, onion, and the suffixes -ment, -ant, -ance, -ent, -ence. Perhaps this vowel should be indicated by the least mark for the phase of least distinctness—a dot beneath the letter of some recognized vowel of about in the same aperture. It is so evanescent that it is constantly replaced by a consonant vocality without attracting attention, as in saying *hora's*, *horses*, *horses*, or (using a faint smooth *r*) *horses*... With Hopp we assign this vowel to German, as in welches, verlieren, verlassen (or even frišen)." (Arts. 392 to 392e.) This mark therefore represents sounds here distinguished as (y, u, 'h'), and on the whole (y), as used by Mr. Bell, seems to answer most nearly to it, see especially (1159, b): I have, however, queried the sign, on which Prof. Haldeman observes, that the query "is hardly necessary. The doubts are due to the fact that while two varieties are admitted we might not always agree in locating them."

8v. in *pity*. "It is the German vowel of kinn, kämpf, billig, will, bild; and the initial of the Belgian diphthong *iave* (and perhaps in some cases the Welsh *yo*). . . . . This vowel is commonly confounded with I, but it has a more open jaw aperture, while each may be lengthened or shortened." (Arts. 396, 398.) This is no doubt (i), which is heard in the north of Germany, but not throughout. Mr. Barnes, author of the Dorset Grammar, distinguishes the two vowels in *pity* thus (pi'ti), but others prefer (pi'ti), hence the identification refers only to the first vowel.

9v. in *field*. "The universal I is long in Italian i (Lat. *io*, I), and short in felicità, with true e. In English it is long in machine, marine, fiend, bee, bee, bee, grieve, eel. It is short in equal, éducé, decease, heat, beast, reef, grief, teeth. German examples are viel, wiener against, winder again, wie viel *hvor* much, vielleicht perhaps. It is medial in knie, *knee*. French examples are surprise, viva, tle, style, il, yf, phylacte, n'înter, lique, visite, politique, which must not be pronounced like the English *physic*, etc., with the vowel of *pit*. The following are perhaps medial:—prodige, sidre, ligne, vite, empire." (Art. 399.) This is certainly (i). The short value in accented syllables is noteworthy. In "believe, regret, déscent, which cannot differ from dispose," (art. 398), Prof. Haldeman hears 8v. not 9v., that is (i), and not (l).

10v. in *âile*, *âiro*. "French a in âme, pâtre. The former is commonly received as the vowel of *arm*, the latter of *past*. Duponceau (Am. Phil. Trans.,
1818, vol. i. p. 268), in 1817, made the distinction. He says that French aw occurs in the English dialects 1
and 2, and that the sound is between aw and au, being aw pronounced as full and broadly as possible, without falling into au. The initial of English "or e in height) differs in being pronounced up and at. This is probably the proper vowel for grass, pass, alas (Fr. hélas)." (Arts. 400, 401.) The vowel is meant for (a) according to Duponceau’s description, and that vowel is pronounced in French pata. But the vowel in Fr. patte is either (a) or (ah), and not (a), at present at least. The pronunciations (gras, gras, etc.), seem to be much broader than any used by educated Englishmen, but see (1162, a'). Prof. Haldeman uses (a), and not (a) or (e), as he suggests above, for the first element of long i, that is (di), not (éi, éi), see (108, e).

11v. in au. "This sound lies between A and O, and is common in several German dialects. . . . The Germans represent it commonly by a, adopting the Swedish mode, where however the sound seems to be a kind of o." (Art. 402.) The sound is, therefore (a). The Swedish is (a), having the tongue as for (a) and the lips as for (o), see (1116, a'). "This au is not determined by its length, but by its quality. It is long in raw, glaw, law, caw, all, call, thawed, laid, hawk; medium in lose, cross, tossed, forest, long, song, strong, or, for, lord, order, border, war, warrior, cora, adorn, born, warn, born, storm, form, warn, normal, cork, wan, sawn, gäud God nöd
grawe orange
finwed fond astöñish
thëwed thought Thoth
1. long auo pëwned waw
2. short au author wëter
3. medial auo pond war
4. medial odd rod God
5. short odd pönder bëdy
(Alts. 405-407.) It is evident that the vowel is either (o), (o), or (o).' The indications of length do not seem to be strictly observed in England.

13v. in auö, bõne, ù clad. "This well-known sound is long in mon, loss, auö, go, low, fë, cöal, cöne, böre, röar, bowil, söl; and short in över, öbet, öpen, öpigion, önyx, önerous, öak, öchre, rögue, óte, öpium; and medium in long, bond, pond, pond, exhaust, false, often, soften, gorge, George; and short in squash, wash (cf. rush, push), author (cf. öath, pitch), wæt, wätter, slăghter, quär, quärter, wert, short, mortar, hörse (cf. curre), rumörse, förmér, öfthen, nörth, möth, fäult, fälter, pälter." (Art. 403.) These quantities cross my own habits materially. Many of medium length are reckoned long in England, and still more of them short. See note for medial quantity (1116, ö)."
13v. in school. French o. "This sound seems to the writer to be more open than ow, and closer than o aperto, and his impression is that the long and short sound have the same quality. . . . The New England or Yankee o in whole, oath, is a short sound with a wider aperture of jaw than ow, but not (perhaps) of lip. It has been casually heard, but not studied, and we refer it to the French o in bonne." (Arts. 412, 415.) Mr. Bell considers the French o in homme to be (oh), and the American o in stone to be (oh), the labialised forms of (s, sh) respectively. But Prof. Haldeman suggests another solution, namely (ao) or (ao), which is Mr. Sweet's analysis of Danish as, and is, in fact, a passing anticipation of Mr. Sweet's discovery of the effect of different degrees of rounding upon one lingual position (1116). The sound is altogether a provincialism, and I have been accustomed to consider the French sound as (o) and the Yankee as (o), which I have also heard in Norfolk (mow = none).

14v. in pool. "These two vowels are 15v. in pull. distinctly in quality, and have the same variations in quantity. They are to each other as ow is to odd, and they require distinct characters." (Art. 422.) Hence they are marked as (u, w), which are exactly as (a, o), the second being the wide of the first.

In passing through the series A, O, U, it will be found that U in pool is labial in its character, and that this labiality is preserved in shortening fool to Foolish, whilst full, fullish, have very little aid from the lips." (Art. 423.) That (u) can be imitated with widely open lips is readily perceived, but it can be most easily pronounced with the lips in the (u)-position (1114, u). This lipless (u), or (we), is very useful to the singer, as it can be touched at a high pitch, whereas true labial (u) cannot be sung distinctly at a high pitch. "If we compare fool with a word like fuel, rule (avoiding the Belgian diphthong ice), we detect in it (fuol, rule), a closer sound, which when long is confused with U, as in fool, rule, meaning by the latter neither rule nor rulf, but root, with a narrow aperture. This closer u is often preceded by y and r, as in due, dew, stew, rtin, rule where it is rather medial than long." (Art. 424.) Probably we should write this (u), or (u), or even (u). It seems to be local and individual, not received. This sound, or what I suppose to be this sound, I seem to have heard from Americans, and in Lancashire, and it approached one of the palato-labial vowels, or (y)-series. In fact I felt it as a form of (y). "Leaving quantity out of the question, we pronounce draw, etc., with 15v. [w in pull], whilst Worcester, probably the most judicious of the English orthoepists, refers them to the key-word move." (Art. 591.) This is, I think, the more usual pronunciation. The u orthography, however, suggests palatalisation to the speaker, and hence he makes an approach to (yj, yj = y). 1c. and 25c. in now, aside, are "coalescents," a term introduced, I believe, by myself, to classify (s, w), as a form under which the vowels (s, w) coalesced with another vowel. Prof. Haldeman uses 1c. and 25c. to form diphthongs, and distinguishes them from (s, w).

In order to show that they have this meaning, I employ the acute accent on the preceding vowel, thus (dw, dz), which are really equivalent to my (du, di), but have the disadvantage of not so accurately distinguishing the second element, so that for (dz) the reader has a choice among (di, di, de, dy, dz), etc. Prof. Haldeman says: "The separation of the coalescens from the vowels, being quite modern, their difference is seldom recognized in alphabets. This is a grave defect." (Art. 173.) As to the nature of the difference, he says: "The labial vowel owz readily becomes the consonant w, and between them there is a shade of sound allied to both, but a variety of the latter, and a consonant, because it has the power of forming a single syllable with a vowel, which two vowels cannot do. . . . The guttural vowel piq may become the guttural liquid yez, as in minion, and between the two lies the guttural coalescent in aise, eye, boy. The consonant relation of the coalescens is shown in the combinations how well, my years, in which it is difficult to tell where the coalescent ends. A comparison of the former (or how ell) with hāwell, and the latter (or my ears) with mā-years, will show their affinity. A coalescent between vowels is apt to form a fulcrum, by becoming a more complete consonant. Compare (emp)loyer.
with lawyer." (Art. 163-6.) I think I usually say (me'w-ew'll, me'w-ew'll, me'w-ew'll) for how well, how ell, Howell, and (me'si-iz'sa, mo'si-iz'sa) for my years, my ears. Similar difficulties occur in lying (lo'is-iz'q), and French pain, faïence, loyal (phi-i'zs phi-i'zs la'z-i'zal), not (lu'is'al), with a long (i), without force gliding and diphthongising each way, which the hyphen tends to make plainer. The English loyal is either (lo'is-ul) or (lo'is-iz'ul), not, I think, (lo'isul), and certainly not (la'z-i'ul). Similarly for employer, lawyer (emplo'is-ew, la'z-i'ul).

2c. and 26c. in soup, yes, are certainly (es), but whether or not in addition (UW, 1z) cannot be affirmed.

3c. and 27c. are certainly (wh, zh). Unfortunately the sounds are departing. See the citation (1112, b'), where it appears that Professor Haldeman never hears (wh) in English without a following (w); and, as appears by his book, he does not hear (sh) without a following (z). But, translating his symbols, he says, "(wh) occurs in several Vesperian languages, and the whistle which Dupoueau attributes to the (kana-pe), Delaware, language, is this sound (wh-dee') heart, (nde) my heart, (wh-de'zhim) strawberries, with flat (d). In the Wyandot (wo'ndot), (sala'wh'm) it burrows, it occurs before a whispered vowel. Compare Penobscot (mek'whe's) six, (whe'wak) ear, (whe-sagol'lh) ears." (Art. 457.) "This (whd) shows that the (w) put in (whwen) is not by defect of ear, which might cause it to be inferred beside the vocal (d). The frequency of the whispered vowels is curious." —Prof. H. A.S.M. note to proof.

6c. in ah seems to be (mh), ahm = (urmh), or perhaps (ummh). "One form of Eng. (mh) often accompanies a smile with closed lips—an incipient laugh reduced to a nasal puff; to the other (mh-m) a true (m) is added, when it becomes an exclamation—sometimes replaced with (mh-n)." —MS. addition.

16c. 17c. 18c. are varieties of (r), but it is difficult exactly to identify them. "The Greek and Latin R. was trilled, as described by the ancients, and this accords with European practice. The letter 'r' therefore means this sound. We have heard trilled r in Albanian, Armenian (in part), Arabic, Chaldee, Ellenic, Illyrian, Wallachian, Hungarian, Russian, Catalanian, Turkish (in part), Islandic, Hindustanee, Bengalee, Tamil, and other languages in the pronunciation of natives." (Art. 500.) Probably (r, 1z, r, r, r) are here not distinguished, and the forcible form (r) is not separated from that of moderate strength. "The trilled r is assigned to English as an initial, although many people with an English vernacular cannot pronounce it. Dr. James Rush would have the trilled reduced in English to a single tap of the tongue against the palate. This we indicate by t, with a dot above." (Art. 501.) This faint trill would be our (1z); but the English, I believe, do not strike the palate at all when saying (r)." Mr. Bell, as we have seen (1098, b), denies the trill in English altogether, and gives us (r'). "The Spanish (South American) r in perru, as distinguished from the common trilled r of perro but, seems to be untrilled, and to have the tongue pressed flatly, somewhat as in English s, and doubled, as in more-rest. It may have arisen from an attempt to yotacise r. We mark it r (or, if trilled, r) with a line below, in case it is distinct from the next." (Art. 501a.) Now the Spanish r in perro is what the Spanish Academy (Ortografía de la lengua Castellana, 7th ed. Madrid, 1792, p. 70) calls B fuerte. Prince L. L. Bonaparte says that it is found in Basque, and calls it an "alveolar r," which seems to be my (r'). The common (r) in Basque is generally used as a euphonic insertion to save hiatus, as in English law(r) of the land. Mr. Bristed (Transactions of the American Philological Association for 1871, p. 122-3) talks of "the apparent negroism prevalent in Cuba of substituting a vocalized r for the strongly trilled final r, e.g. amaw (or something very like it) for amor," compare Mr. Thomas's Creole French r (1155, s'). On the authority of his son, just returned from Spain, Mr. Bristed adds that in Madrid there is "a slurring of medial r," and that the Andalusian dialect tends to drop final letters, even r." —Prof. Haldeman says mean (r'). "Many of my sounds were heard casually, and must be accepted as open to correction from further observation." —MS. addition. He proceeds: "Armenian and Turkish have a smooth (i.e. an untrilled) actual r, much like the Spanish rr, if not the same, and, with that, requiring further investigation and comparison. English smooth r in curly,
were (a-cr), begr, grey, curt, is formed by much less contact than the European and Asiatic r requires. It is the true liquid of the s contact, and allied to the vowel in sep, a character r to be formed provisionally from italic s.'" (Arts. 502–3.) "A consonant subject to both a preceding and a succeeding influence may vary in the speaker, putting the same or a different gr in grey and grey. I was wrong in putting grey among my examples in § 508. It should be excluded. I adopted the single-tap r on the authority of Dr. Rush, and because I have heard it; but I use neither this nor any other trill in my English. This is the speech of my locality, when it is not influenced by contact with German and Irish modes of pronunciation, and it seems that Mr. Bell rejects the trill."—MS. addition. This he then identifies with my (ɔ). But my (ɔ) is only (ə) at most, followed permissively by (r). Prof. Haldeman retains this (ɔ) in the second syllable of (represents three sym) in the specimen, and says it is "due to the unaccented syllable as compared with (pjetinted), etc." In other cases he corrected it in the proof to (r), which I have given as (ɔ) for uniformity. Perhaps my difficulties arise from the Professor's not trilling his (r) as I really do. "A more open smooth r is found in cur, far, far, more. Mr. Ellis regards fur as f with this open r, without a vowel between. ... We regard fur as having the open vowel u (with which the consonant is allied) short, the quantity being confined to the consonant (fur = fo'f).", and the tongue moving from the vowel to the consonant position. The same open consonant occurs in arm, worm, turn, ore, and although, for a particular purpose, we have cited arm as long, it contains a short vowel (a-r-m) and long or medial consonant. If we write 'rn for arm and f'r or fa for for, we certainly cannot represent far, four, in the same manner. Moreover we may disyllabise pr-ay on a trilled or a close r, and mono syllabise it pr'ay with the most open. At one time the discussion of the English letters led to a curious result. When the difference between the open r of tarry (from tar) and the close one of the verb tarry was ascertained, an identity of vowel and of consonant was represented,—a greater error than to spell more and moor, farty anderry alike, or gres-d for grest." (Arts. 505–9.) I feel obliged, from the identifications made by Prof. Haldeman, to transcribe 16c. by (r), 17c. by (ɔ), and 18c. by (ə), but I am not at all satisfied with the transcription. I think the sound 17c. is sometimes (ə')sometimes (r'), sometimes (e' r'); and that 18c. may be (ə e ah) or (ə' ah), or one of the first followed by the second. These are points of extreme difficulty, partly arising from the involuntary interference of orthographical reminiscences with phonetic observations.

Prof. Haldeman made the following observations on the proof, after reading the above remarks: "There is a negro perversion of more to (moa). I think you admit too little difference between aove and or, like Bloomfield—In earliest hours of dark and hooded morn, Ere yet one rosy cloud bespeaks the dawn, Still foremost thou the dashing stream to cross,

And tempt along the animated horse; ...

"I do not consider any English r open enough to constitute a vowel, but I think I have heard a conso lent (r') [the acute belongs to the preceding element with which it forms a diphthong], "forming a reversed diphthong, in a dialect of Irish, in ge, gedh, or geadh a goose. As I recall it, it is a monosyllab between the English syllable gay and grey, the r open and unaccented and so near to (ə) that the result would be g(a)ay were this not a disyllab like claw-y besides clay." As will be shown hereafter, or is used in American comic books to represent aw (AA) just as much as in English, and likewise r omitted, and or is also used for the faintest sound of (ɔ'h).

21c. and 22c. also present difficulties in transcription. "The liquids of the palatal contact are a kind of J (yey) made at the palatal point, and as Eng. œ, é, and é, ə, are permutable, so ə falls into (zh), and its surd aspirate into é (sh). Hence the word soldier (= soldýr or soldýor) is apt to fall into soldýr, and nature (=net'ɛ, net'ʒ, ə net'ɛ, or net'ɛ, or net'ɛ) into net'ɛ or net'ɛ.' (Arts. 518, 519.) From this I consider ə to represent a form of (ə) which is still nearer to (i), with therefore the tongue slightly lower than for (ə), so that ə would be its best sign, and ə will then be (ə). According to the same habit which obliges Prof. Haldeman to say
(whw-, shr-) we necessarily have \( j, h_{j} \). Hence his examples must be transcribed (soldj, sr, soldj, jr, netzj, h, netz, h, netz, j). The remaining consonants present no difficulty.

11. In Assy. "Many deny that \( h \) is a consonant, because 'it is not made by contact or interruption.' But when the breath is impelled through an aperture which obstructs it, there is interruption, and if we vary the impulse we can make English oo and ow with the same aperture... H, h, is the common English and German \( h \), in the syllables: hat, hatch, hose. \( \phi \) is for the eighth Hebrew letter \( heth \)... and is commonly called an emphatic \( h \) and is often represented by \( h \).

As heard by us, it is an enforced, somewhat close \( h \), with a tendency to scrape along the throat, and, consequently, it is not a pulmonic aspirate. ... The Florentine aspirate cassa, misericordia, caï, we have casually heard, and believe it to be \( h \), and also the Spanish \( j, x \), before a, o, u, as in jargon sanç = \( \delta k^{b} \)ön, and the geographical name San Juan (= san\( \delta \)van) in English—san\( \delta \)von." (Arts. 553, 565, 567.) The identification of \( h \) with \( \delta \), see (1130, \( h \)), and the statement of its relation to \( h \), seem to shew that this \( h \) is my (sh). The examples are then meant for (babborw, sanâhan, sanwhwmon), but I think that Spanish \( j \) differs from (\( h \)). Prince L. L. Bonaparte considers it to be (kh), and identifies the Florentine sound with a "vocal" aspirate (1136, c), my (x). Prof. Haldeman observes on the use of (x) for me, (\( w-h \)) for Smart, and (sh) for himself and Sweet in the comparative specimen given below:—"You assign three kinds of initial \( h \) to four speakers, where I think the ear would give the same result, except where \( h \) is dropped. I pronounce English hers and German hier exactly alike as far as the \( r \), and I suppose you do the same, but the smooth English \( r \) gives a dissyllabic tendency, which is absent from the German form." I believe I call the English word (\( w-h \)) and the German (\( h-b \)), but may occasionally say (\( h, x \)) or (\( h, \ddot{x} \)), which are all anglicisms. I sometimes fall into (\( w-h \)) in English. For Smart's (\( w-h \)), see No. 56 of his scheme below, (1204, \( h \)).

Henry Sweet.

Mr. Henry Sweet adopts Mr. Bell's Visible Speech Symbols and my palaeotype, and kindly himself wrote out his specimen in palaeotype, so that there are no difficulties of interpretation. It is necessary to observe his higher (e) or (\( e' \)), and his (o) with a (\( a' \)) rounding or (a\( o_{n} \)), his consonantal termination of (\( i_{x} \), \( u_{w} \)), his advanced (o, o) or (\( o, o' \)), his forms of (\( o'j, o\'w \)) as (\( e_{y}, o_{n} \)), his acceptance of (x) as (\( o_{n} \)) in (\( a_{x}, k-x_{x}, e-v_{x} \)), etc., his constant use of (\( i, h \)), even rounded, as (\( h_{w} \)), his analysis of his diphthongs for (\( e_{i} \), \( o_{w} \)) as (\( w-y, e-y \)) and (\( o-w_{o} \)), and his lengthened consonants, as (\( s, x, m, l, n \)). He uses (\( x, z \)) where I use (a, e), and altogether his pronunciation differs in many minute shades from mine, although in ordinary conversation the difference would probably be passed by unnoticéd, so little accustomed are we to dwell on differences which vex the phonologist's spirit. This little passage presents one of the most remarkable analyses of spoken sounds which has yet been published.

In returning me the proof corrected, he wrote: "I am inclined to accept your analysis of \( h \) as (t, sh) for my own pronunciation also. I think the second element of the (au) diphthong may be the simple voice-glide rounded ("he") instead of the mid-back (o), (\( w-o_{n} \)) would therefore be written (\( w-o_{n} \)"hewdz). In the same way I feel inclined to substitute the simple voice-glide unrounded ("b") for the ("ab") wherever it forms the second element of a diphthong. I leave it to you to make the alterations or not." As Mr.
Sweet, on account of leaving England, was unable to correct a revise of the example, I preferred following the proof as it left his own hands, and content myself with noting these minute points. But it is worth while observing what extremely rough approximations to (i, u), such as ('hj, 'hw), when added to any one of the sounds (e, a o, o, a a, o ah ch oh, sh o o ah oh) and even (e e o, e a ah), serve to recall diphthongs of the (ai, au) classes to the mind with sufficient clearness to be readily intelligible.

B. H. Smart.

Mr. B. H. Smart's "Walker Remodelled . . . exhibiting the pronunciation of words in unison with more accurate schemes of sounds than any yet furnished, according to principles carefully and laboriously investigated, 1836," contains the most minute account of English sounds that I can find in pronouncing dictionaries, though very far below what is presented in Visible Speech or by Prof. Haldeman. It seemed therefore best to contrast his representation of the same passage, by turning out each word in his dictionary, and transliterating it into palaeotype. For this purpose it is necessary to identify his symbols as explained in his schemes and principles. The numbers of his symbols in the schemes, with the examples, are sufficient to identify them, so that their forms need not be given. The same numbers also refer to the paragraphs in his 'principles,' giving the detailed description, from which I am obliged to cite some passages, although the book is so well known and readily accessible. Mr. Smart is only responsible for what I put between inverted commas.

"Scheme of the Vowels."

"The Alphabetic Vowels, by nature long, though liable to be short or shortened."

1. accented as in gate, gait, pay. This sound is recognized as (ee'j), but made (ee'j) by Smart, see (1108, d'), or perhaps (ee'j).

2. unaccented as in aerial, retail, gateway. "This tapering off into No. 4 cannot be heard in the unaccented alphabetic a, owing to its shorter quantity," it is therefore (e) short or (e) of medial length, probably the first in aerial, and the second in the other words. But I hear (goetwe'j), which, however, I suppose he takes as (goetwe'j). But see No. 13.

3. accented as in me, meet, meat, is certainly (ii), but whether distinguished always from (ii) is uncertain.

4. unaccented as in defy, pedigree, gallery. "The quantity is not always equally short: in pedigree, for instance, it is not so short in the third syllable as in the second. Generally it is as short as No. 16, with which it is identical, except that No. 15 is essentially short, while the unaccented alphabetical No. 4 is by nature capable of quantity. The word indivisibility must in strict theory be said to have one and the same vowel-sound in each syllable; but practical views rendering the distinction necessary, we consider the vowel in three of the syllables [1st, 3rd, 6th], to be essentially short, and the vowel in the remaining four to be naturally long, although, from situation, quite as short as No. 15." Here then short (i, i) are confused. The 'practical views' are in fact that No. 15, the 'essentially short' (i), is found gliding on to a consonant, and No. 4, the 'essentially long' (i), is found at the end of a syllable. The distinction is false; in this word (i) occurs throughout, and (i) would give a strangely foreign effect, the sound being (iindy'rezi:bli'zi), although (e) or (e) might be used in the 2nd, 4th, 6th and 7th syllables rather
than (i). But in consequence of Smart’s distinction, I shall transcribe his No. 4 by (i) as (indivisibility).

5. accented as in wide, defied, defy. “This sound is diphthongal. In the mouth of a well-bred Londoner it begins with the sound heard in No. 39, but without sounding the (u) and turns off into No. 4.’’ This gives (a’i) or (a’;); I take the former. Prince L. L. Bonaparte thinks that (a’i) is meant. See below No. 19. “Some allege its composition to be No. 23 and No. 4,” that is (i; i;), “but this is northern; while others make it to be No. 26 and No. 4,” that is (a’; a’;), “which is still more rustic. The affirmation ay is, however, a union of the sounds 26 and 4, at least as that word is commonly pronounced; though in the House of Commons, in the phrase, ‘the eyes have it,’ it seems to be an ancient custom to pronounce the plural word as unites the sounds Nos. 26, 4, 60 [= (a; a; iz)], or as it might be written oys, rhyming with boys.”

6. unaccented as in idea, fortifies, fortify. “This unaccented sound differs from the foregoing by the remission of accent only.” It is often, however, extremely short. It does not seem to occur to orthoepists generally that diphthongs may be very short indeed, and yet possess all their properties, with the relative lengths of their parts. In lifelines, the first diphthong, although accented, is generally much shorter than the second; in idea, the diphthong is often scarcely touched, but is always quite sensible.

7. accented as in no, boat, toe, soul, blow. “In a Londoner’s mouth, it is not always quite simple, but is apt to contract towards the end, almost as oo in too.” Now this seems to imply that the vanish to (u) is not received; that (oo) is intended, and (oo; u) unintentional. Still as he admits (ee; i), I shall take his No. 7 to be (oo; u).

8. unaccented as in obey, follow. “In remitting the accent, and with accent its length, No. 8 preserves its specific quality, with no liability to the diphthongal character to which the accented sound is liable.” Hence I transcribe (o).

9. accented as in cube, due, swit. “Though for practical purposes reckoned among the vowels, No. 9 has, in truth, the syllable y66, composed of the consonant element 66 and the vowel element 27.” This view gets over all phonetic difficulties, and is very rough. I transcribe (ru).

10. accented as in surp, gume. “Although a diphthong can scarcely lose in length, without losing its diphthongal character, yet a syllable composed of a consonant and a vowel may in general be something shortened.” I transcribe (ru). The passage shows the vague phonetic knowledge which generally prevails.

“The Essentially Short Vowels.”

11. accented as in man, chapman. This “differs in quality as well as in quantity from both No. 1 or No. 2, and No. 23,—it is much nearer the latter than the former,—indeed so near, that in theory they are considered identical; but it is not, practically, so broad as No. 23.” That is, his No. 11, which we must identify with (e), lies between (eei) or (e) and (a), but is theoretically identified with the latter. The way in which in dialectal writing (e, a) are confused under one sign a, has caused me much trouble, and I have found many correspondents apparently unable to discover the difference in sound. 12. unaccented as in accept, chapman. This “differs in quality from the preceding by varying towards the sound of No. 19, its distinct utterance being near to No. 11, its obscure or colloquial utterance carrying it entirely into No. 19. In final syllables the more obscure sound prevails; in initial syllables the more distinct.” Hence in the former I transcribe (e)m, in the latter (e)m. But these indicate helplessness on the part of the phonologist. Prince L. L. Bonaparte makes the former (e) and the latter (o), see No. 19.

13. accented as in lent. This “in theory is reckoned the same sound as No. 2. That it does not differ from it in quality may be perceived by the effect of a cursory pronunciation of climate, ultima, etc., which reduce to climet, ultimet, etc.” That is, Smart confuses (e, e), just as he confused (i, i), see No. 4. But while the confusion of (e, e) is tolerably possible, that of (e, e) is barely so. Hence I transcribe No. 13 as (e), and not as (e).

14. unaccented as in silent. This “is liable to be sounded as No. 15. I transcribe (e), though perhaps (e’) or even (y), to allow of confusion with (i),
might be more correct. But Smart may not have intended to recognize any intermediary between (e) and (i).

16. accented as in pit. This "in theory is reekoned the same as No. 4, and that it does not much differ in quality may be perceived by the word counterfeilt, in which No. 4 in the last syllable shortens itself into No. 15." This is (i) certainly.

16. unaccented as in sawpit. This "differs from the foregoing by the remission of accent only," and will hence be also written (i).

17. accented as in not, common. This "in theory is reekoned the same as No. 25, and that it does not differ in quality may be perceived by observing that salt, fault, etc., though pronounced with No. 25 in slow utterance, are liable to be shortened into No. 17." That is, Smart confuses (A, o) just as he confused (s, e) and (i, s). Yet he speaks of (A) as a broad, not a lengthened, utterance of o in cost, broth, etc., and recommends a "medium between the extremes." Hence I transcribe 17 as (A, o) 25 as (A), and this "medium" as (A).

18. unaccented as in pollute, command, common. This "differs in quality from the preceding by verving towards the sound No. 19, more or less, according as the pronunciation is solemn or colloquial. In final syllables the sound No. 19 under the character o is, in general, so decided, that even in the most solemn speaking any other sound would be pedantic." These cases he marks especially, as in common, and I transcribe (o) simply. "In initial and other syllables, the sound preserves its character with some distinctness, as in pollute, pomposity, demonstration;" here then I transcribe (o), "yet even in these we find a great tendency to the sound No. 19, and in the prefix com- the tendency is still stronger." Wherever he marks this stronger tendency to indistinctness, I transcribe (o) rather than (a). Prince L. L. Bonaparte thinks that (e) is meant by the (o) in pollute, and (o) by the (o) in common, see No. 19.

19. accented as in net, custard. "No. 19, No. 29 (without sounding the r), and No. 24, are all, in theory, the same, the last however more or less approaching the sound No. 25, according as the speaker is more or less distinct. They are all modifications of what may be called the natural vowel, —that is to say, the vowel which is uttered in the easiest opening of the mouth." But whether these modifications are (e, a, o, a), etc., there is nothing to show. Hence I transcribe No. 19 by (o), which, to me, approaches most to the natural vowel, and No. 24 by (o*). Prince L. L. Bonaparte, who has made a careful study of Smart, writes to me: "Although in your transcription of Smart (o) is the only one of the four signs (s, e, o, w) which occurs, it seems to me that Smart represents (e) by No. 24 o in mana, (o) by the first No. 12 or a in accept, (s) by the first No. 18 or o in pol- lute, and (o) by No. 19 w in net, or by the second No. 12 o in chapman, and second No. 18 o in common. The three signs, No. 19, the second No. 12, and the first No. 18, see also No. 20, are synonymous. They represent Smart's 'natural vowel,' which is, as he says in No. 19, merely wr without sounding the final r. In No. 36 he says that or, ir, or, ur, yr, are necessarily pronounced wr. Hence the words sir, bird, first, see No. 36, contain Smart's natural vowel, your (o), and not your (e). In fact, Smart says that the first No. 12 is to No. 24 as No. 11 is to No. 23, see Nos. 12 and 24, and that No. 24 is a mean between Nos. 19 and 23, just as the first No. 12 is between Nos. 11 and 19. He also says in No. 18, that the first sound of No. 18 lies between No. 17 and No. 19. Hence the first sound of No. 18 is (w), in the same way as No. 24 is (s), and the first No. 12 is (a), and the second No. 12, second No. 18 and No. 19, are (o), which is his natural vowel." This is extremely ingenious, and logically worked out, but it depends on the hypothesis that Smart pronounced No. 19 with the same vowel that Bell used in pronouncing err (o), which is different from the vowel Bell used in pronouncing wrn up (e). And Smart's No. 35 leads me to suppose that he did not understand the nature of Bell's distinction (o, a), although he felt that there was some distinction. I doubt much indeed whether Smart had any clear conception of the four different sounds (e, o, a, w), which seem to have been first discriminated by Mr. M. Bell, as the result of his theory of lingual distinctions. And hence I feel that to write Smart's key-words, No.
12 accept champion, No. 18 pollute
common, No. 19 nail, No. 24 pope
manna, Messiah, as (akspekt tehrs-p-
mion; pel\(\text{ju}\)\(\text{u}\)\(\text{t}\) ko-m\(\text{o}\)\(\text{n}\), not, pepes\-
ma-n\(\text{a}\) Messi\(\text{a}\)\(\text{n}\)), although possibly
correct, is very probably incorrect. I
do not think he said (n\(\text{a}\)\(\text{t}\)), though this
is a cockneyism. I do not think he
said (pepsa\(\text{m}\)\(\text{a}\)), for unaccented
(a) is very rare and very ugly. I do
not think he said (eksp\(\text{p}\)\(\text{t}\)), though he
may have said (pe\(\text{ju}\)\(\text{u}\)\(\text{t}\)\(\text{t}\)). In
this state of doubt, I have chosen symbols
which seem to mark his own uncer-
tainty, on the principle of (1107,
d), namely, (a\(\text{ks}\)e\(\text{p}\)\(\text{t}\) tehrs-p\(\text{m}\)\(\text{a}\)\(\text{m}\); po-
\(\text{p}\)\(\text{m}\)\(\text{a}\)\(\text{n}\) ko\(\text{m}\)\(\text{a}\)\(\text{n}\); a\(\text{p}\)\(\text{s}\)\(\text{m}\)\(\text{a}\)\(\text{n}\) Messi\(\text{a}\)\(\text{n}\)\(\text{a}\)), where the double sign in
fact represents that the sound was felt
to be intermediate in each case, but to
have more of that represented by the
large letter, though Smart would allow
either sound to be used purely; but if
so, he thought that of the large letter
preferable. Except as regards mut,
which may have been Mr. Bell's (u),
rather than my (a), and may really
have been in Mr. Smart's mouth (a),—
though I can hardly think the last
probable,—I have no reasonable doubt
as to the propriety of my symbols.
I thought it right, however, to give the
Prince's very ingenious hypothesis. He
was at the pains to transcribe the whole
example according to his theory; but
the reader can so readily supply the
necessary changes that I have not
given it.

20. unaccented as in walnut, circums.
This "differs from the preceding only
by the remission of accent," and is
hence transcribed (o).

21. accented as in good, hood, "an
incidental vowel." This, "essentially
short, is, in other respects, identical
with No. 27, the most contracted sound
in the language." That is, Smart
confuses (u, w) as he had previously
confused (o, e, i, i, a, o). It is
necessary to transcribe (a), though I
much doubt his having ever used it
for No. 21 in actual speech.

22. unaccented as in childhood, "an
incidental vowel." This "differs from
the preceding only by the remission
of accent," and is hence transcribed (u).

"The Remaining Incidental Vowels,
by nature long, though liable to be
shortened."

23. accented as in papa, the interj.

aa. "In almost all languages but the
English, this is the alphabetic sound of
letter a." It is transcribed (aa).

24. unaccented as in papa, manna,
Messiah. This "differs from the pre-
ceding [No. 23] not only in quantity
but in quality, by verging to the
natural vowel [No. 19], and in collo-
quial utterance quite identifying with
it. It fluctuates between No. 23 and
this natural vowel No. 19, just as "s [as
in champion, the second No. 12] fluc-
tuates between No. 11 and No. 19."

It is transcribed (a\(\text{a}\)), see No. 19.

Prince L. L. Bonaparte thinks that
(a) is meant, see No. 19. Smart uses
No. 24 for French e must in such
words as coup de grace, aide de camp,
which seems due to orthographical
prejudice, as du might have led the
ordinary reader to say (du).

25. accented as in law, the noun
sub. aus, etc. This is (a\(\text{a}\)) without
doubt.

26. unaccented as in jackdaw. This
"differs from the preceding by re-
misson of accent, and such shortening
of its quantity as it will bear," by
which I understand that it is gener-
ally medial (a\(\text{a}\)).

27. accented as in pool. "The
sound of the letter u in Italian and
many other languages," that is (uu).

28. unaccented as in whirlpool,
cuckoo. This "differs from the pre-
ceding by the remission of the accent,
and such reduction of quantity as it
will bear so as not to identify with
No. 22, for whirlpool must not be
pronounced as if it were whirl-pool.
Where, however, it is not followed in
the same syllable by a consonant, as in
cuckoo, luxury, it may be as short as
utterance can make it." Here the
nemesis of confusing (u, w) appears.
It will be necessary to transcribe (u\(\text{u}\))
in the first case, as of medial length,
and (u) in the second. He writes
(loki\(\text{shu}\)\(\text{u}\)\(\text{u}\)\(\text{u}\)\(\text{u}\)\(\text{u}\)), which is extremely ar-
tificial.

29. accented as in tawl, boy. This
"is a diphthongal sound whose com-
ponent parts are Nos. 25 and 4." That
is, it is (a\(\text{a}\)i).

30. unaccented as in turmol, foot-
boy. This "differs from the preceding
by the remission of accent, but its
diphthongal nature prevents any per-
ceptible difference in quantity," so
that the transcription (a\(\text{a}\)i) will be
retained.
11. accented as in noun, now, knew. This is "a diphthongal sound of whose component parts are Nos. 23 and 27; at least, in the former of the two component sounds nearer to No. 23 than No. 25, though Walker makes the combination to be Nos. 25 and 27." That is, Smart analyses it as (iao), and not as (AA'au). He certainly could not have said (kaau) with the first element long, but he had no means of writing (aa). Walker says: "The first proper sound of this diphthong is composed of the a in bull, and the w in woo, rather than the w in bull," that is (AA' au). It will be seen that Mr. I. Pitman (p. 1183, key) uses on (w) as his analysis of the diphthong down to this day. I have never heard it received pronunciation.

32. unaccented, as in pronoun, nutrient. This "differs from the preceding only by the remission of accent," and hence (iau) is retained as the transcription.

"The Vowels which terminate in Cultural Vibration, by nature long, though liable to be shortened."

33. accented, equivalent to No. 23 and r, as in ardent, that is, "No. 23, terminating in guttural vibration, .... 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." I don't pretend to understand any part of this observation. He also says: the letter r is sometimes a consonant, ... and sometimes a guttural vowel-sound," and "that the trill of the tongue may be used wherever the following dictionary indicates the guttural vibration, is not denied; but it cannot be used at such places without carrying to correct ears an impression of peculiar habits in the speaker,—either that he is foreign or provincial, Irish or Scotch, a copier of bad declaimers on the stage, or a speaker who in correcting one extreme has unwarily incurred another. The extreme among the vulgar in London doubtlessly is, to omit the r altogether,—to convert far into (fas), hard into (nhaad), cord into (kaad), lord into (laad), etc.;—an extreme which must be avoided as carefully as the strong trill of r in an improper place." Under these circumstances I transcribe ('r) for the "guttural vibration," or "guttural vowel-sound," whatever that may be, and own myself, and almost every one I hear speak, to belong to the extreme of the vulgar in saying (aa) for (aa'), although I often hear and say (aarr). Hence No. 33 will be (aa').

34. accented as in arcade, dollar. This "differs from the preceding, both in quantity (though this cannot be much) and in quality, by verging towards unaccented No. 39. Indeed when the letters ar occur in a final unaccented syllable, as in dollar, it would be a puerile nicety to attempt distinctness." I transcribe (aa'w), when he writes "ar equivalent to" No. 23 followed by the guttural vibration, that is, the sound (aa) merely verging to (a'); and (a') otherwise.

35. accented as in ermine, virtue. This "lies between Nos. 41 and 39, and in mere theory would not be distinguished from the former." I shall transcribe it (a'), though I am sure that it is usually a perfectly simple vowel-sound, and Smart gives no means of exactly determining it. Of course he may have distinguished it as (aa'). See No. 19.

36. unaccented as in commerce, letter, nadir. This "is scarcely ever heard without some corruption of its quality in a final syllable, where the letters er, ir, or, ur, yr, will almost necessarily be pronounced ur," No. 39. "This necessity is less in some words than in others, in commerce, for instance, than in letter." Hence I transcribe (e', o') in the two cases.

37. accented as in order. This, "which is equivalent to No. 25 and r," that is to (AA'), "occurs frequently in the language, often requiring to be distinguished from No. 47. For instance form (fAA'm), meaning figure, must be distinguished in pronunciation from form (too'-om), meaning a bench." I transcribe (AA'), though I generally hear (AA) or (AA'r).

38. unaccented as in stupor or in sailor. This "is seldom distinct." I transcribe (AA') and (a') according to his marks, on the principle of No. 34.

39. accented as in sing. This "is the natural vowel terminating in the guttural vibration," and is transcribed (a'), though how this differs from (a) or (b), or any one of the sounds discussed in No. 19, it is difficult to say.

40. unaccented as in sulphur. This
"differs from the preceding only by the remission of accent," and is, therefore, still transcribed ('o').

41. accented as in mere, "equivalent to Nos. 1 and 39," that is (éee'i-ó'), but surely the (i) must be omitted and at least (ee-o') said, and this is strange. I transcribe (ee-w').

42. unaccented as in welfare, "equivalent to Nos. 2 and 39," that is (e').

43. accented as in mere, "equivalent to Nos. 3 and 39," that is (iis').

44. unaccented as in atmosphere, "equivalent to Nos. 4 and 39," that is (iis').

45. accented as in mere, "equivalent to Nos. 5 and 39," that is (e-i-ó').

46. unaccented as in empire, "equivalent to Nos. 6 and 39," that is (iis').

47. accented as in mere, "equivalent to Nos. 7 and 39," that is (oe-w'), meaning, perhaps, (oe-o'), as the (u) could not have been used, see No. 41.

48. unaccented as in therefore, "equivalent to Nos. 8 and 39," that is, (e').

49. accented as in mere, "equivalent to Nos. 9 and 39," or (mu-ó').

50. unaccented as in figure, "equivalent to Nos. 10 and 39," or (ru').

51. accented as in poor, "equivalent to Nos. 27 and 39," or (mu-ó').

52. unaccented as in black-a-moor, "equivalent to Nos. 28 and 39," or (us').

53. accented as in power, "equivalent to Nos. 31 and 39," or (stu').

54. unaccented, as in cauliflower, "equivalent to Nos. 32 and 39," or (hanu').

In reference to Nos. 41 to 54—of which it is said, "it is only by being followed by guttural vibration that these sounds differ respectively from Nos. 1 to 10, 27, 28, 31, and 32"—it should be remembered that Mr. Smart does not distinguish properly between (i, é, o, u, u), and hence the changes which Mr. Bell, myself, and others notice (1899, a') in the action of the diphthongising (ch) upon preceding (i, é, o, u), were necessarily passed over by Mr. Smart. He says indeed: "It has been said that there is a palpable difference between the vowel-sound in payer, player, slayer, and that in ears, fair, heir, ears. What difference may be made in New York I know not; but I know that none is made in London, nor can be made without that peculiar effect which shows an effort to distinguish what in general is necessarily indistinguishable," but that he did feel a difference is, I think, certain from the following remarks: "Identical, however, as they are, except as regards the peculiarity noticed, the practical necessity for considering them distinct elements will be perceived in the comparison of the first syllables of vaious, vaious, briny, to-ry, fur-ry, with the first syllables of va-ant, va-ant, ja-ant, to-tal, ju-tive; an identity of these syllables in pronunciation is decidedly provincial; the true utterance of the former is va-ious, va-ious, etc., with Nos. 41 and 43, etc. "The difference in view will be rendered intelligible to those familiar with French pronunciation, by comparing the sound of deair pronounced correctly as an English word, with that of deair pronounced correctly as a French word. In both the vowel commences after the d precisely in the same way, but in the French word it remains pure, unmixed with the r, which begins a new syllable formed with what is called the mute e, the word being pronounced (díir-ás)," [vowels Nos. 3 and 24,] "or nearly so; while in the English word, the sound of the r (not the trilled r as in French) blends itself with the e during its progress." [I hear French (díir), English (dis'), or (díir) before a vowel.] "So also in deair-ly, eair-fui, etc., the addition of a syllable beginning with a consonant distinct from the r making no difference to the previous syllable, the r in that previous syllable blends itself with the vowel exactly as in deair, eair, etc.; and the only difference between deair-ly, eair-fui, etc., and əe-air-ly, əe-air-fui, əe-air-ly, is, that in the latter the r, besides blending itself with the previous vowel, is also heard in the articulation of the vowel which begins the following syllable." [Hence I feel bound to transcribe (yee-w'ris, siw-w'ris), etc., where I seem to say and hear (yee-w'ris, siw-w'ris), etc.] "Of this blending of the r with the previous vowel, it is further to be observed that the union is so smooth in polite utterance as to make it imperceptible where one ends and the other begins;" [meaning, I suppose, that the diphthong may be made in New York I know not; but I know that none is made in London, nor can be made without that peculiar effect which shows an effort to distinguish what in general is necessarily indistinguishable," but that he did feel a
with a slur (oe-o’);] "while in vulgar pronunciation the former vowel breaks sharply off to the guttural sound, or, in the vowel No. 24 used for the guttural," [meaning, I suppose, (ee’aa’), ee-o’a], or (ee’ooa’, ee’-ooa’). Among mere cockneys this substitution of No. 24 for No. 34, or No. 40, is a prevailing characteristic, and should be corrected by all who wish to adapt their habits to those of well-bred life." [Here he again becomes mysterious, separating his guttural vibration from his guttural vowel, with which he identified it in No. 33. As far as I can observe, and I have been constantly observing the use of r by Englishmen for many years, this distinction is founded in error. I can understand, and hear, (s or r) or, w, wr wr, rh, r, r, but the difference (s, o’) escapes me.] "It is, moreover, remarkable of these elements that each will pass on the ear either as one or two syllables, and this is signified in the schemes by the equivalent indication ‘ur, ‘ur," [= No. 1, accent, No. 39; and No. 6, accent, No. 39; or (ee’o’, o’v’)], where the mark of accent placed over the former part gives it the appearance of the first of two syllables, while the omission of the hyphen shows that the whole is pronounced as one. He refers here to No. 134, where he says, that: "pay-er and may-or; li-ar, buy-ar, and high-ar; slow-ar and grow-ar; au-ar and new-ar; true-ar, brew-ar, and do-ar; bow-ar and slow-ar; are perfect rhymes to mare, hire, lore, cure, poor, and hour." To me (per, lao, ba’i, sii, allo, grow’, su’u, nu’u, truu, bru, duu, bow, fia’w), where (there might be used for w), are always dissyllabic; but mayor = mare precisely, = (me), and (loo, kio, pau) are distinctly monosyllabic, though diphthongal, while hire, hour, involving triphones, are looser respecting the final, so that (au’, au’) or (au’-h, au’-h) may be heard, but not (au’, au’) in two syllables, according to present usage. For past usage see examples from Shakspere, p. 581. I acknowledge having heard Mr. Smart’s semi-dissyllabism in some elderly people, and was much struck by it in the late Sir John Bowring’s evidently much studied pronunciation, but I cannot recognize it in my own generation, and I was born in 1814.

56. "a slight semi-consonant sound between No. 4 and No. 58, heard in the transition from certain consonant to certain vowel sounds: as in l’u-ta, j’u-w, n’at’u-r, gar’ment, k’ind." This "is a sound so short and slight as to be lost altogether in the mouth of an unpolished speaker, who says (lu-ta, dza-hu, neq-i-ta-hu), or more commonly (neeq-i-ta-hu), garment, kind, etc., for l’u-ta, f’u, etc. On the other hand, there are persons who, to distinguish themselves from the vulgar, pronounce No. 58 distinctly on the occasions which call for this slighter sound of No. 58 or No. 4. This affected pronunciation," [which he writes l—yoot, j—yoo, no—ch—yoo, g—ya’r—ment, k—yind], "is it observed, is to be avoided with as much care as the slight sound, which in the mouth of an elegant speaker naturally slides in between the consonant and the vowel. It is to be imitated." I believe the sounds he means are (lu-tu, dza-tu, neq-i-ti’u, gja’me’u, kio’ind), but, in consequence of No. 58, I transcribe this "semi-consonant" by (j). As respects its use after (sh), Prof. Haldeman says: "If, by the conversion of t into English y or s, o-be-di-ent becomes o-be-dyent (the writer’s mode of speaking) or o-be-dyent, no speaker of real English can preserve both dsh and i; yet Walker has coined a jargon with such forms as o-be-dy-ent, and cris-ta-bu-n-o-te. Similarly if omniscient has an s, it has four syllables; if sh, it has but three. Compare the dissyllables Russia, Asia, conscience, and the trisyllables militia, malicious." (Anal. Orth. art. 311). Smart, using the transcriptions suggested, writes (obii-dient = o-bind-vent, krist-je-mn), colloquially (krast-shi, je-mn), where the separation of (t-sh) is inorganic, (kristi-shi-ti, am-nish-i-ent, am-nish-si-ens, Ee’ish-je-mn Ee’-shii-net-ik, Roe’je-mn, kan-shi-ens, mi-li-shi, je-ma-am-ed-lash-je-re). I seem to say (obi-di-ent, kri’i, shem, kri’i, shem, kri’i, shem), or (obi-di-ent, shem, am-nish-si-ens, Roe’je-mn). It seems that many of these changes of (s) into (sh) through (i) are in a state of transition, and that the stages are (si-i, -re, -shi-i, -shi-i, -si-i), and that those speakers who have learned to speak in any prior state have a sort of repulsion against a following one, and will never submit to it,—when they think of it,
that is, in 'careful speaking,'—leaving the change to be accomplished by the rising or some following generation. The admission of all pronunciations as now coexisting, instead of the stigmatisation of some as vulgar or as wrong, marks the peculiarity of my standpoint, whence I try to see what is, rather than decide what should be.

"Schema of the Consonants."

56. "h, as in land, perhaps,静脉, is a propulsion of breath, which becomes vocal in the sound which follows it, this following sound being hence called aspirated." As 'propulsion' may be an 'elegant' translation of 'jerk,' I transcribe (rjh). And the sound which follows is in our language always a vowel, except ə and y; for ə is aspirated in wheat, why, etc., which are pronounced hweat, hwhy, etc., and y is aspirated in heve, huge, etc., which are pronounced hydə, hydʒə, etc." Hence I transcribe (ŋ̃j̃wít), (ŋ̃j̃nud). "It is to be further noted that the aspirate is never heard in English except at the beginning of syllables; [that (əə) is really (r̃j̃b), and might therefore be well called a final aspirate, naturally never occurred to him,] "and that in the following and all their derivatives h is silent: heir, honest, honour, hostler, hour, humble, and humour." The last two words are now most frequently aspirated, just as Smart aspirates herb, hospital, which may still be heard unaspirated from well-educated people. I heard a physician, speaking at a hospital public meeting lately, constantly say (w'spɪl).

57. "w, beginning a syllable without or with aspiration, as in we, because, froward, wheat equivalent to hweat, is a consonant having for its basis the most contracted of the vowel-sounds, namely No. 27, which sound, being partially obstructed by an inward action of the lips, and then given off by an outward action, is changed from a vowel to a consonant. A comparison of the French word oui, as a Frenchman pronounces it (viz. No. 28, No. 3, accent), with the English word we as an Englishman pronounces it, will show the difference between the vowel and the consonant." This is (w).

58. "y, beginning a syllable as in you, and this sound is always to be understood as present in Nos. 9, 10, 60, which are equivalent to y, with Nos. 27, 28, and 62, is a consonant, having for its basis the slenderest of the vowel-sounds, namely, No. 3, [what is the precise difference between "the slenderest" and "the most contracted" of the vowel-sounds? Who would imagine them to be respectively (ii, uu) and not (uu, ii)?] "which sound being partially obstructed by an inward action of the jaw carrying the back of the tongue against the soft palate, and then given off by an outward action, is changed by these actions from a vowel into a consonant. When very slightly uttered, with little of the organic action, and therefore resuming much of the character of a vowel, it is No. 55." Hence, I transcribe No. 58 by (j), and No. 55 by (j).

59. "s and z; also c or co before e or i, as in sell, sit, maze; cell, face, ice, scene, science," is (s).

60. "k, x, z, as in zeal, base, maze," is (z).

61. "sh as in misha'-un, so spelled to signify the pronunciation of mission," is (zh).

62. "sh as in viSA'-un, so spelled to signify the pronunciation of vision," is (zh).

63. "ch, tch, as in chair, each, match," is (tzh), see No. 64.

64. "j, and also g before e or i, as in fog; gem, age, gin," is (dzh). Nos. 63 and 64 "are not simple consonants, the former being t and sh, and the latter d and zh." Prince L. L. Bons-parte considers that Smart's observations in No. 147 tend to shew that, notwithstanding this statement, Smart really analysed (tzh, dzh). But to me Smart's observations only relate to the use of (tzh, dzh), as he says in Nos. 61, 62, 63, and 64, that these consonants are "unable to take the consonant y [No. 58] into fluent union, and therefore either absorb the y entirely, or reduce it to the slighter element" No. 55, here transcribed (j). Of the possible reduction of (shj) into (shj), he seems to have had no clear conception. Thus, he takes no notice of (j nj). His comp d'œil, baguio are (kwəd'ul; bəŋ'yo). But his habit of speech may have been different from his analysis. This is often the case. Thus Mr. Murray and myself analyse my own pronunciation of "long ŏ" differently (1109, d).

65. "f, ff, fe, as in fog, cuff, life," is (f).
66. "v, ve, as in vain, love," is (v).
67. "th, as in thin, pitch," is (th).
68. "th, the, as in them, with, breathe," is (dh).
69. "l, ll, le, as in let, mill, sale," is (l). The last syllable of able, idle, he says, is "a syllable indeed without a vowel, except to the eye," adding in a note, "A-ble, a-ble, ma-son, broken, etc., although heard with only one vowel, are as manifestly two syllables to the ear (all our poetry proves it) as any syllable in the language."
70. "m, mm, me, as in may, hammer, blame," is (m).
71. "n, nn, ne, as in no, banner, theme," is (n).
72. "ng, as in ring," is (g).
73. "r, rr, as audibly beginning a syllable or being one of a combination of consonants that begin a syllable, as in ray, erect, florid (= florrid), sorrid, pray, spread. Under other circumstances, the letter is a sign of mere guttural vibration." This "is an utterance of voice acted upon by a trill or tolling of the tongue against the upper gum." Again, in No. 33, he speaks of r in ray, etc., as "formed by a strong trill of the tongue against the upper gum." [This would be (r), but I shall transcribe (r), as I have transcribed (n), see No. 78. But that the trill is strong is strongly opposed to Mr. M. Bell's untrilled (r).] The trill in which the utterance of this consonant mainly consists, is often faultily produced by the back of the tongue against the soft palate [measuring the uvula, which is the real vibrators, against the back of the tongue], "so formed, it makes the noise called the burr in the throat, a characteristic of Northumbrian pronunciation, and not unfrequent in particular places and many families elsewhere." The burr is (r), the dental trill is (r).
74. "p, pp, pe, as in pop, supper, hope," is (p).
75. "b, bb, be, as in bob, rubber, robe," is (b).
76. "k, ck, ke; also c final, and c before s, o, or u, or a consonant, as in king, back, buke; antic, set, cot, cut, claim," is (k).
77. "g, before a, o, or u, or a consonant, as in gap, got, gun, guess, plague, grim," is (g).
78. "t, tt, te, as in ten, matter, mate," is an utterance of breath confined behind the tongue by a close junction of the tip of the tongue and the upper gum, the breath therefore being quite inaudible, till the organs separate to explode, either the breath simply as in dt, or the breath vocalised as in too."
If the contact with the gum is to be taken literally, I must transcribe (t), and must then have (r, d, n). I am inclined to believe, however, that in all cases Smart was contenting himself with old definitions, instead of making independent observations; and hence I shall use (r, t, d, n).
79. "d, dd, de, as in den, madder, made," in consequence of what is said in No. 78, I transcribe (d). See No. 78.
As Smart makes no difference in meaning when a consonant is doubled, I shall not double consonants in transcribing, and in consequence I shall not divide syllabically, as this would be impossible on his plan without such reduplications. Smart distinguishes two accents, primary and secondary, which I transcribe as (') and (·), and place after the vowel or after the consonant as he has done. With regard to monosyllables, he says (art. 178) that they are all *exhibited as having accented vowel-sounds.* But as he makes unemphatic a = No. 24 or (a'), me = Nos. 70 and 4, or (mi), your = (y), am, was had, shall, and = (a', waz, had, shall, end), for = (s), of = (av), from = (from); my, by = (mi, bi), and thy "among people who familiarly use it" = (dhi), and the = (dhi) before a vowel and (dhi) before a consonant, and you "in the accusative case and not emphatic" = (z) or (z), I shall so transcribe them in the connected passage, but I omit the hyphens.

Some of the words in the example are not in Smart's Dictionary, such as graphical, phonetic, linguistical, and inflexions and derivatives, such as its, printed, etc. His pronunciation of these has been inferred from graphic graphically, phonology mimetic, linguist sophistical, and the simple words. Altogether I believe that the transcription fairly represents the original.

77
Comparative Specimen

A. J. Ellis.

See pp. 1091-1173.

Dhe-ri't'nn un-prîntyd re:prîzent'ora:shun u-dhu-es'w'nx vv-læ'q'wyd zh sh, bi-mi'ii:z vv-ke'ryke:tsa, whî't,sh, ur i:nsefi'shun, both-in-ka'î:nd un-no'mber-r, un-whî't,sh mës-dhece'-fa bi:ki-kembo's'ind a-ma'di'gî:zii, if-wi-wad-gi'v u-agre-fiskal si:mblulize:shun u-dhe-fonet'ik e'lements widh-o:o'ni: sa'm-digri:iv wv-ogze'k'nya 'n-kenvi'i;n'juns, nez-bii'n, frem-a:l tâ'âm, fe-nö'shunz az-we'1-az i:ndivi'dizu'ala, liqgwî:stikal stû'û:dnts not ekse'ptyd, wô:n- u-dhu mos-no'sesu'rî un-wa'rn-e-dhu mos-di'rik'lt vv-pro'blem'as, un-wa'sz-konsikwuntl'si sko'or'a:li ove bin-na'pili solvd. Let-dh's tî't,sh-es dhut-dhi'i'invenshun vv-ro'it'i:q, dhag-greset u:n-mo'ost ñmpaa'tunt invenshun whî't,sh dhe-jhu'men ma'ind az-e'vme med, un-whî't,sh, sz-ît-indii'd a:l'most eksi'dz ñts-stre'gth, nez-bin-co'f'n un-no't' und, zho:la'i stri:brûtîyd te-dhu-gô'dz; la'ik'-dhî a:a'gûni'z'm uu-n-stee't, w-twa'ns sîmp'l'n kompleks, ñz-not-dhu wà'kk-ev i:ndivi'dizu'ala, bet-uv-se'nîtirî:z, pûnep-pu'wv tha'w'zenz-uv si:i'sz.

of Individual Synthetic

Prof. S. S. Haldeman.

See pp. 1186-1196.

Dha [ritn ynd pî'rentyd rep:zîzent'ora:shun yv dhe-sawnd yv leaqgwîdsh bôs minz yv ke'rykt'z, whîtsh a; i:nsefi'shun, both in kând yu na'mb, yd whîtsh wst dhefes bi kombâynd a:zî modyfâd if wi wud giv e: gi:re'fikl si:mblulize:shun yv dhe fonet'ik e'lym'nts widh o'ni: sam dig'lii yv egzakt'es ynd kenvi'i'n'juns, nez-bin, fâm al tâ'm fur ne'shunz oz wel yz indyvidhulz [indyvidhul] liqgwî:stikal stû'û:dnts not ekse'ptyd wên [wun] yv dhe most ne'ysyri ynd wên yv dhy wst difikyl't yv pî'rblâym'n, ynd nez konsekwîntl'si ske'la'li evz bin nhe'pîl' sa'lvd. Let dh's tiitsha os dheâ dhe invenshun yv u'rá'ti:q, dhe gi'restyn u most ñmpaa'tunt invenshun whîtsh dhe jhu'men ma'mâd nez evz med, yd whîtsh, az it indii'd a:l'most eksi'dz ñts-stre'gth [stre'gth'?] nez-bin a:fn [ofn] ynd not andzhâ'stli a:ci'rî'brîtîyd te dhe gâ'dz; l'àk dhe orgnizm yv e':stet, aet wems sîmp'l' ym kompleks, ñz not dhe wàrk yv indyvidhulz bet yv se'n'th;h, aziz pyshheps yv thaw'mdndz yv riiz.
COMPARISON OF FOUR PRONUNCIATIONS.

H. SWEET.

See p. 1196.

B. H. SMART.

See pp. 1197–1205.

Dh's rt'n ënd print'ed rep:rir:ntshcí:ı'shın ov dh's sáamnds ov lær'gwe'dzh, bi miinz ov kær'ækte'z n'hwítsh aa'
ín:safish'sent, bóqut'ìn k'ìnd ën'd nam'be' ën'd n'hwítsh móst
dhe' fóa' bi kambo'ìnd' ā'

mad'ís'id if wi wud giv ē' gráefik'ì ñi:balizéq'ì'shın ov
dhe' fënét'k el'ments widh ël'uni: ln sm digri: ēv
egzek't:nes ën'd k'nvii':n'ns
n̓h'z'-bíi'n-fr'm'ääl'te:yi'm f'ënëy'sh'än'z'w-réll'z-
ś:ũn:de'v'dzh,ũlz,
liqgwist'ík'ël-stuaw'd'n'ta-
no:tt'ëk'se:pet'd wà:nn-
'v'-d'h'm'òq's't-n's's're
'nd'wà:nn'v'-d'h'm'òq's't-
dr'fe:k'lt'-v'-pr'obble'mz, 'nd'-'z-k'onse'kw'n'tle' skæ:š'eh'sle'
'v'hoh-bùn-hhæ'ple'so'llvd. Lätt-
dhi's-tiir'tsh'-s dh't-dh'-
e:n'shà:n'v'-re'yt'iq dh'-
gréy-te'zt-n'm'òq's't-
ëmp'ëh'tnt'en'v'nsh'än
wì:tsh-dh'-nhvaww'm'n-mwéy'nd-
z-v'voh-méy'd 'nd'-wì:tsh
'z'-ë't'-ì:x nndriu:ì:d åål'm,'òq's't-
e'ksii'r'dz'-ets-str'qth,
ñh'z'-bùn'ã-f'n,
'ñ-
ò:tt-ndzhé'zl'tle', 'trí'brw:tted'd-
t'-d'h'-g'ó:ddz, lóy:k-dhe'1-
'köh'g'm:zm'-v'-h'ét'y t, 't-wà:ns-
si:pl'-ñ-k'sm fluffy, e'z-n'ò:tt-
dh' wëh'k'-v'-inn:de'v'dzh,ũlz
b't'-v'-s:ntsh're's, pre-ps-
v-thaw'ò:ndz'-v'-ñiæhs.
Observations on Unstudied Pronunciations.

All the above specimens of pronunciation labour under the obvious disadvantage of being the result of deliberate thought. Mr. Bell's and Mr. Smart's, like those of all pronouncing dictionary writers and elocutionists, give rather what they think ought to be than what they have observed as most common. They take to heart a maxim which Dr. Gill borrowed from Quintilian and stated thus: "Quemadmodum in moribus bonorum consensus, sic in sermone consuetudo doctorum primaria lex est. Scriptura igitur," by writing, he, as a phonetic writer, implied pronunciation, "omnis accommodanda erit, non ad illum sonum quem bubulci, quem mulierculae et portiores [sic, portiores?]; sed quem doctus culte eruditi viri exprimunt inter loquendum et legendum."

But my object in this book is to know what men did and do habitually say, or think they say, and not merely what they think they ought to say. I have therefore endeavoured to catch some words which were not given as specimens of pronunciation, but, being uttered on public occasions, were, I thought, fairly appropriable. Of course this attempted exhibition of some pronunciations labours under another immense disadvantage. When Prof. Haldeman, Mr. Sweet, and myself wrote down each his own pronunciation, we were each able to repeat the sound, feel the motion of the organs, revise and re-revise our conceptions as to what it really was, and thus give the result of careful deliberation. But when I attempt to write down a passing word,—and the very merit of my observation consists in the absolute ignorance of the speaker that his sounds and not his sense are being noted,—there is no possibility to recall the word, and unless it happens to recur soon, I am unable to correct my first impressions. I have indeed often found that after hearing the word several times, I have been unable to analyse it satisfactorily. Still, knowing no better method of observing, I give a few results to shew what it leads to. I name the speakers when they are well-known public men, whose speech-sounds may probably be taken as a norm, as much as their thoughts. They will understand, that they are named, not for the purpose of "shewing up" peculiarities, but of enforcing the fact that men of undoubted education and intelligence, differ in pronunciation from one another, from pronouncing dictionaries, and from my own habits, so that the term "educated pronunciation" must be taken to have a very "broad" signification. It must be understood that all these pronunciations were noted on the spot, as soon as possible after each word was uttered, and that I have in no case allowed subsequent impressions to affect my original note, which I have regarded as a conscientious, though of course possibly erroneous, observation. When (e, a) are written, I can never feel sure that (e, a) were not actually used. When, however, (e, a) are written, they were certainly observed. No attention having been paid at the time of noting to the difference between (h, nh), the use of h cannot be guaranteed, and (nh) is often more probable. In each case I have thought it best to add my own pronunciation, as well as I can figure it, for the
purpose of comparison. This is always placed last, and is preceded by a dash. Thus, in the first word cited, "accomplished aksəmplɪʃt — aksəmplɪʃt," the italics indicate ordinary spelling, the first palaeotype the pronunciation observed, the second palaeotype, following the (—), the pronunciation which I believe I am in the habit of using in connected speech. If nothing follows the dash, my pronunciation agrees with that observed, but both disagree from several (and possibly, but not necessarily, all) pronouncing dictionaries. When no dash is added, my pronunciation differed too slightly to be noted. In no case, however, must these notes of my own pronunciation be taken as a confirmation or correction of the former. They are added merely to mark differences of habit. Such men as I have cited by name have certainly a full right to say that their pronunciation is a received English pronunciation—at least as much so, I think more than as much so, as any professed elocutionist. It may be observed that my list is not extensive enough, and that especially I have not given examples from the pronunciation of professed men of letters, from the bar, the stage, or the pulpit. This is true. All these classes labour under the disadvantage of making speech a profession. I have an idea that professed men of letters are the worst sources for noting peculiarities of pronunciation; they think so much about speech, that they nurse all manner of fancies, and their speech is apt to reflect individual theories. However, Prof. Bain may be taken as one of the best examples. The bar has rather hereditary pronunciation, where they are not individual and local. The stage for the higher class of dramas is archaic and artificial; for the middle and lower it is merely imitative, and hence exposes an observer to all the chances of error in taking information second hand. The pulpit is full of local pronunciations, but Professor Jowett, distinguished and admired as a preacher as well as a scholar, may be considered a sufficient representative of this class. Men of science I have especially represented. They are forming a large and influential class at the present day. The general Londoners in public meeting assembled seemed to me a good source for general varieties. Parliament is far too local; and so are country gentlemen, from whom its ranks are mainly recruited. Of course it must be understood that the peculiarities which I have chosen to note do not characterise the general run of the pronunciation of the speakers observed. It must not be assumed that every word is peculiar, or that the greater number of words present divergent characters. Thus the words from Prof. Bain and Prof. Jowett are all that it occurred to me to note in two courses of lectures—a very small number when thus considered. The general speech of educated London differs only in certain minute points, and in a few classes of words, so far as I have hitherto observed, from that which I have given as my own. Even in the cases cited, where I have put my own for contrast, the differences are seldom such as would strike an observer not specially on the look-out for individualities of pronunciation.
Words observed in listening to a course of lectures on "Common Errors on the Mind," delivered by Prof. Bain at the Royal Institution in May, 1868. Prof. Bain had evidently considered well both his pronunciation and delivery, so that all his deviations from custom must be regarded as the result of deliberate choice, although possibly modified by local habits, as in (booth) for (booth). And as Prof. Bain has bestowed considerable attention on phonetic writing, no allowance need be made for possible Scoticisms. I do not feel at all certain that (s'i, s'u) are correctly analysed.

accomplished — ekmpläst — ek'mpläst advantage — ed'ventäjdzy — ed'ventäjdzy against you — ag'jnstju — ag'jnst' ju

aghaust og'nast — og'nast alternation — ältörnäshen — ältörnäshen a solid ah — solid a strong ah stroq — aoncy waw — waw beau ideal — bö o'sdlläl — bö o's'd'iläl both — both branch brauntah — bran'tah branch occasion oziershen — öziershen circumstances — oz'kemstenäsz — öz'kemstenäsz circumlocation — äkmoloku'rahen — äkmoloku'rahen class klas — classes kla'sis — kla'sis compounds — kampounds — kom'pounds consumed — konsumed — konsum'ted contrast k'ntrast — crasft krafi — krafi danes — daans
economies — ik'znom'ezid — ik'znom'ezid educability — edükeb'li'ti — effect ife'kt — efe'kt engine — endshin — endshin epoch — e'pok example — egzaml — egzaml explanation — eksplen — eksplen — eksplen shen exostoidal — ekstöld — ekstöld eye bii — bii faculties — fe'kältes — fe'kältes fatigue — fatü'gi — fatsü'gi forces — foors — foors forth — foorth — foot

fraternity — fräterni’ti — fräterni’ti fraternity — fräterni’ti fraternize — fräterni’s — fräterni’s functionary — fæksheneri —
thoroughly

though

transition

transience

tutors

understood

versatile

volcanoes

wants

was

whole

PROF. JOWETT,
the Master of Baliol College, Oxford, in February 1871, gave three lectures on Socrates at the Royal Institution. The following are a few of his pronunciations there noted.

aspirant - espərənt - esp'ərənt

attaching - at'atching - at-təch'ing

bone - bōn - boʊn

but that the famous - bət-dhəst-dhər - fome - bət-dhəst-dhər fome

certain - sər-tən - sər'tən

character - kər-əktər - kər'əktər

Chatham - chəthəm - chəthəm

Ociero - o'se-ro - o'se-ro

describing - deskrī-bing - des'krī-bing

difficulty - dəf-i-kəl-tē - dəf'i-kəlti

discontented - dis-kən'tənt-dēd - dis'kən-tənt'dəd

discovery - dis-kəver-ē - dis'kəver-i

discrepancy - dis-krə-pənsē - dis'kɾə-pənsē

does - dēz - dēz

earliest - ər-lī'est - ər'lī'est

ears - ēz - ēz

education - ed-əshən - e'dəshən

lives - līvz - līvz

eglect - nəg'lek-t - nəg'lek-t

example - egzəmpl - egzəmpl

exhausted - eks-hōstəd - eks'hōstəd

foreign - fər-gən - fər-gən

gather - gə-tər - gə-tər

haughty - hā-tū-tey - hā'tū-tēd

he has had - hē hāzd - hē hāzd

height - hēght - hēght

highest - hēyést - hē'iest

human - hū-mən - hū'mən

humourist - hə-mər-ə-st - hə'mərə-st

image - īm - īm

Isthmian - īst-thi-mān - īst-the'mān

knowledge - kə-nəld - kə'nəld

lastly - lāst-ll - lāst'əl

lecture - lek-tū-tey - lek'tū-tēd

memorandum - mem-o-rə-dəm - mem-of'ərəm-dəm

memorabilia - mem-orə-bi-lē-ə - mem-orə'bə-li'ə

minutiae - mən-ə-tē-zē - mə'nə-tē-zē

nows - nōz - nōz

must have - məst - wə - məst-'wə

natural - nə-tər-əl - nə'tərəl nə-tər-i - nə'tər-i

nature - nə-tər-e - nə'tər-e nə-tər-i - nə'tər-i

opinion - ā-pən-ən - ā-pən-'ən

oracle - ō-ral - ō'ral

ordinarily - ŏr-də-nə-rē - ŏr'də-nə-rē

origin - ōr-i-ˈdən-ən - ōr'i-dən'ən

ornaments - ŏr-nə-mentz - ōr'nə-me(nt)z

parallel - pər-e-lel - pər'e-lel

passed - pəst - pəst

persons - pər-tən - pər'tən

political - pəl-ə-ti-kəl - pəl-ə'ti-kəl

politics - pə-lə-ti-kəz - pəl-ə'ti-kəz

Potidaea - pə-tə-dē-ə - pə-tə'dē-ə

process - pro-ˈses - pro'ses

society - sə-sə-ˈti - sə-sə'it-i

Socrates - sə-kro-tēz - sə'kro-tēz

soon - suhn

time - tīm

unable - ə-ˈnə-bıl - ə-nə'bəl

ventured - ven-tə-dəd - ven'tədəd

virtue - vər-ˈtū-ə - vər'tū-ə

whole - hōl - hōl

Xenophon - zə-nə-ˈfən - zə'nə-fən

years - jēz - jēz

Sir G. B. Airy,
Astronomer Royal and President of the Royal Society, made use of the following pronunciations while speaking at the Royal Society, 30 Nov. 1872.

components - kəm-pō-nənts - kəm-pō-nənts

greco-Roman - gri-kō-ˈrō-mān - grī-kō'rō-mān

Greenwich - grīn-ˈwıθ - grīn'wıθ

meridional - mər-i-də-ˈnal - mər'i-də'nal

New Zealand - nēw ˈzə-nəl - nēw zə'nəl

Nova Zembla - nōvə zəm-blə - nōvə zəm-blə

parasitology - pər-ə-si-təl-ə-ˈjī - pər'ə-si-təl'ə-jī

stereoscopic - stə-rē-ə-sə-ˈskōp-ik - stə-rē-ə-sə'kəp-ik

Dr. Hooker,
when delivering his opening address as President of the British Association at the Norwich Meeting on the 19 Aug. 1868. I believe Dr. Hooker is East Anglian by birth.

sanguine - ˈsəŋ-gwə-nən - sə'ŋwə-nən

are - ār - ār

bones - bōz - bōz
cantonment kantu'm'änt — kvantem'änt

either co'dhu [not (es)] — ih'dhu s'ijdhe
few fry [perhaps (fly), the word was difficult to catch, and I noticed it only once] — ti'du

finite fi'n't [in the phrase (dh) i'nfinit wu'dhu fi'n'it), this pronunciation was altogether new to me, though I have often heard (ih'n'fins'i't) as opposed to] — fi'n's'it

Lawrence la'tys [not (la) or (lo)] — (Lo'tys)

only o'ntl [not at all uncommon] — le'vulén

neither needhu — ni'dhu na'ijdhe

plants pla'mnts — pla'nts

progress pro'gres — pro'gres [there is great diversity in the words pro'duct pro'gress, many give (pro) and others (proo) to both; I say (pro'dekt proo'gres), but Col. Strange at the same meeting said (pro'dekt pro'gres).]

quote kót [quite short (o)] — kwóot

series sii'rij'izis — sii'rij'izis

stone stón — stook'ën

undertaken v'nd'ter'k'n [distinct (kon)] — v'nd'ter'k'n

wholly no'li — no'vllé

Men of Science.

Only a very few cases are here given, chiefly remarked at meetings of the British Association. Men of Science have usually many very curious local pronunciations, and others arising from using words for themselves from books long before they have heard others use them. There seems to be no tradition or norm for scientific terms, and if the pronunciation is such as to bring the printed form of the word to mind, men of science care very little for the pronunciation of scientific terms. Many of the following are certainly dialectal, but all the speakers were educated, often very highly educated men.

absorbed wébá'spt — sébá'bd

albumen wál'bú'men — wál'biü'men

aneasthesics anésthë'sik's — anésthë'sik's

antidotal anti'dó'tál

appearance apé'ry'na — apé'ry'nës

equus e'kwës — e'kwës

asteroids an'stë'roidsz [Prof. Stokes] — an'stro'oids

before bi'fo'r — bi'fo'

class klas — klas

commander kom'm'ärndz — kwé'm'ándzu

cOMPare 'rebl — ko'mpür'sbl

cOMPares ko'mpær.r — ko'mpée'z

constituent kon'stë'tju'reshen — kon'sti'tu'reshen

cONtroversi kon-tro'vë — kon-tro'vë

doubt du'it — do'it

dry dré — dré

électricity eléktro'lëzës — i'lektro'lëzës

endowment endo'm'yont [Prof. Hunley] — énd'wëm'yont

equidistant ek'widìstënt — i'kwidëstënt

estuaries e'sstu'ärjës — e'stëjë'ris

experiments ek'șper'mënts — ekspër'mënts

explicable ek'splék'rlëb — ek'splék'rebl

find fë'nd — fu'nd

gaseous gá'szöö [Prof. Stokes], gá'szöö [the late Mr. Babbage] — gá'szöö

haste hást — hást

introducing in'troduk'sju — in'troduk'sju

larger in'redzhér — la'zdzhë

Lawsonne los'sön — lo'san [equal stress]

loose lou's — lou's

lunge lóogz — łögz

moon mun [Sir W. Thomson], mun' [the late Prof. Rankine] — mun

paragraphs parra'graufs [the late Prof. Rankine] — parra'graufs

Paris pa'ts — parës

past pést — pëst

phi — fë — fo'ë

pulsets pu'lsæts — pu'lsæts

pulsative pu'lastiv — pu'lastiv

pulsu pul'su — pul'su

put y. pët — pët

round réhëm — ré'ánd

sies sëz — sëz

staff stëf — stëf

strata stréata'ts — stréata'ts

substantial sëbsta'nal — sëbsta'nal

syntax sëk'ste'matå'ziq — sëk'ste'matå'ziq

transactions trans'm'ën's — trans'm'ën's

wind wë'nd — wë'nd

General Public.

The following were noted at public meetings. The speakers are separated, but the names not being generally well known, are withheld:

A Poor.

riis tá'his — rë'is

adoption wdpën — obserbbing oswës — last laast

large laa'rdzh [?) — laadzh

framers fërmz [not freemz — fërmz

parágraph pë'regrad — brighter brë'ht — brë'ht
Physicians, various.

rotation rotāre:shen [not (see')]

anxiety seqa:s:i'ti [not (seqa:)], nor
(seqa-') — seqa:s:i'ti

future fiu-tahā — fiu-tahā
vote voost [not voost']
hospital ṣəpital [this one speaker in-
variably omitted the aspirate in this
word only, even to the extent of
saying (ə navspital) for an hospital;
an archaism] — hospital
kindness knā:rdn, es [probably due to
emphasia] — ka'-i'ndays
write hrhai [or nearly so] — ro'st
across akro's — akro's akro's
half bustelf — bīnas't
appreciate xprī:shijep — xprī:shijep
realily ri'i:li [rhythmic to clearly
(kli'-i'), some say (ri'i-l'), and
(ri'i-l) is heard, but conveys the
notion of really, i.e. inclined to reel] —
strengthened streth'nd [not (streth
'-nd), as Prof. Tyndall and very many
speakers say] —
known nōum [the (n) distinct] — nōu'on

Professional and Commercial Men.
support supporting sup:at supoo's:tiq
—— supoo's supoo' 'tiq
employed empə:shad [strong (xph)
due to emphasis, the same speaker
said (pu:h's:] — empəo's'ed
literature litə:rtə:shu — litə:rtə:di
clearance khl'i:runs — khl'i:runs
genage engə:sh [not (gee')] —
closely klo've:li [short (o)] — klo've:li
surprised supə:shəd — supə:shəd
policy prə:bo:li: — prə:bo:li:
correlation knə:ri:shən — knə:ri:shən

Clergyman (Irish?).
chairman ta'hə'man — ta'hə'man
pray prē — (distinctly (eo)) — prēj
say see — seej
name neem — neem
gracious gro:vəshes — gro:vəshes
staff staff — [very thin (m), almost (m)]
staaf
class klas — klas klas
thanks theeks
command kom — ma:nd — kva:nd
ask ahaak [compare class and command]
—aak
kind kjahind — ka'ind
guidance gihi:dušem — gihi:dun
our but [I think trilled (r)] — o'w
course kow [the (n) inclined to (sh)] —
ko'o's
intercourse i:n'tvə:shəs [possibly (-koos)] —
i:n'tvə:shəs
Financially fina-nahul — fina-nahul
the (fə) arose perhaps from em-
phasis, but I have heard (fə-nəs) as
adherents sedhi-synts—
prematurity prem-ətətiu — prə-mətətis
expenditure ekspənditəs — ekspen-
ditəs
additional sedhi-shunel—
sought for saətəfə
regarding rigas-diq [not (gjas) which
is common]
fund fund — fund
humanity huumanətii — humənətii
cards kaadz [tendency to (ki)]—
board boo'd [no tendency to (boo')]—
advantage sedvauntədəsh—sedvauntədəsh
[(sed)']
make mek' [no tendency to (me')]—
abtain abətəm [no (ə)]—
home hoom [no (oo)']—
punctuation pəqktiə — pəqktiə
appreciation spriəsiərəhiəm — spriə-
siərəhun
strongly sətəqaii [some speakers seem
to have a great difficulty with (str-)
initial, and hence are led to dentise the
combination; it is remarkable that(t,r)
frequently occurs in dialects,
although (t) and (r) are no longer
recognized English sounds]—sətəqaii
returns ritənəz [merely the effect of
emphasis, the speaker has no dialectal
peculiarities]—ritənəz
there should be dəshədhi-
remarks rmah'ks [I could detect no
vowel after (r)]—rmaas'ks
percolate pəsrəliz [trilled (r)]—pəsərəliz
industry indestri—indestri
plants pləints—pləints
world wəhəld [certainly provincial]—
woold
immediately imi'dashəli [very common]
—imi dədli
terms samplz—samplz
circumstances kəməstəshəz — kəm-
əstəshəz
importance impəəta — impəəta
Young Educated London.
The following were furnished me by
Mr. Sweet as "the transcript of rather
a broad London pronunciation of a girl
of about twenty, which has some in-
teresting features." He particularly
calls "attention to the substitutes for
(oʊ, oo), which were evidently transi-
tional stages to (əh, ah), with which
indeed they may be easily confounded
on a superficial examination." Mr.
Sweet's own pronunciation is added
after (...) when it differs, and mine after
(—) as before. Except in my own case
the (əh) represents (uh) most probably.
See Mr. Sweet's own pronunciation, p.
1207.
one wən — wənn — wən
ask ask —
very vəh — oo
eye uə — woo — o'i
me miə — mi
had həd, hədd — — hd
may məxi — mee — mee'
egg egg — egg — eg
air iər — oo — o'r
add add — add
now nəw — nəw — nəw
two θəw — — θəw
pull pləull — pull — pull
over oʊvə — oo — oʊvə
oo — θə —
or — — θə or
odd odd — odd
joy dəsho — dəsho — dəsho

WHENCE DO DIFFERENCES OF PRONUNCIATION ARISE?

These examples are amply sufficient to show that considerable diver-
sities of pronunciation exist among educated speakers of all classes,
even when speaking with the greater care usually taken in public
delivery. That great differences of opinion exist among orthoepists
is well shewn in Worcester's and especially Soule and Wheeler's
pronouncing dictionaries, which, although not descending into the

1 "A Manual of English Pronun-
ciation and Spelling; containing a full
alphabetical vocabulary of the language,
with a preliminary exposition of Eng-
lish orthoepy and orthography; and
designated as a work of reference for
general use, and as a text-book in
schools, by Richard Soule, jr., A.M.,
and William A. Wheeler, A.M." Boston,
U.S., 1861; London, Sampson Low,
pp. xlii. 467. An extremely con-
densed and useful little book, not lum-
bered with meanings, and giving the
opinions of Walker, Smart, Webster,
Worcester, Goodwin, when they differ.
Hence this vocabulary may be used as a
compendium of these five writers' op-
opinions.
minutiae attempted in the preceding lists, save me from loading my pages with a complete vocabulary of xix th century varieties of pronunciation.

Now whence do these differences arise?

The most obvious source of difference is that in fact there is no such thing as educated English pronunciation. There are pronunciations of English people more or less educated in a multitude of other things, but not in pronunciation. Children are never trained in the proper exercise of their vocal organs, or have their ears sharpened to appreciate differences. It would not be at all difficult to train the young organs, if only the teachers knew anything about it. We devote years of upper school life to the study of classical languages, and enter deeply into their etymology, but we do not give the least practical instruction in the substantial form of language—speech-sounds, or their relations to one another, on which depend the principal changes which claim our attention. The consequence is that pronunciations grow up now much in the same way as they did six hundred years ago. There is only one important difference—facility of communication. It required the War of the Roses to make an English of England, and the War of the Commonwealth to temper that down into the mother of modern speech. But now people are being thrown together with the greatest ease and rapidity from all parts of the country. Still, it is the opening of life which principally determines pronunciation. Children hear few speakers, chiefly those of their own age and standing. They regard not the voices of adults beyond those of a few familiar friends. Their vocabulary is limited, extremely limited, and when they grow up they learn more words by eye than by ear; hence they acquire habits of families, schools, coteries, professions, businesses, localities. Their organs become fixed; they notice from others only what they themselves say. It is not polite to correct even a friend’s pronunciation; a stranger resents the impertinence. But still "young men from the country," or with narrow habits of speech, often get laughed out of their peculiarities. More, still, of a lower class of life ape those of the upper when they get mixed up among them, and strive hard to change a pronunciation which might betray their origin. But all this has a small influence. In the main the most educated pronunciation in English is local, with its corners more

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1 One of my kind assistants, who is collecting materials for a local glossary, said that I had opened his eyes; he had hitherto thought of words, and not of their sounds. To think of a word independently of its sound is the outcome of our school instruction. In schools a word is a sign on paper, to which different persons may give different sounds, and which some people a long way off and a long time ago, in Greece or Italy, pronounced we don’t know, and we don’t care, how. But in writing a glossary we are writing words never written. The collections of letters must suggest the sounds or nothing at all. A glossary of collections of letters to which the right sound cannot be even approximatively given, is really no glossary at all. We might just as well—perhaps better—give a meaning to a current number, for that could be pronounced (in his own manner) by every one. Yet this, I am sorry to think, is the state of most of our provincial glossaries at the present day—and I am afraid for most I ought to have said all.
rubbed off than it was fifty or a hundred years ago, but still essentially local, using that word as applicable to all limited environment. The language, however, contains thousands of words which are not used in ordinary conversation, and concerning which extraordinary variety prevails, as we have seen. The pronouncing prophets themselves, the Buchanans, Sheridans, Walkers, and their followers, have no principle to go on. They have had wider observation, but most of them make up their minds a priori, upon limited inductions, and men of literature disown their authority. Is it possible to arrive at any principles amid this chaos?

Our language consists essentially of two elements, which, for brevity, we may call German (Anglo-Saxon with Scandinavian), and French, (Norman with French, Latin and Greek). Now the German element really presents little or no difficulty. Our German words are familiar, and their dialectal forms are generally widely different from the received pronunciation of educated people in London, at court, in the pulpit, at the bar, on the stage, at the universities—and, in a minor degree, in parliament, and in the lecture-room, on the hustings, and in public meetings. The difficulty for most people lies with the French element, which is preponderating in the vocabulary, but is comparatively rare in speech, and which our wonderful orthography is totally incapable of investing with a vocal garb. Those who know Latin and Greek are therefore apt to imagine that they should shew the Latin and Greek origins by pronouncing the words much as they would if they were written with Latin and Greek letters. Hence such curiosities as (doktrəˈɪnəl, ɪnɪˈməʊˈkəl),—I have not heard (soʊˈvɔːld), although surely ceˈtɪliəs has as much a right to its (oˈɪz) as doctriˈnəs and inɪˈməʊkəs. It was in the same spirit that Prof. Stokes spoke of (wɛstəˈrɒʃdɛz) from doʊˈtʃɪp, (although this becomes doʊˈtɛpɒdʒɪf, which should have led him to (aʊˈtɛpɒdʒɪdɛz), and I recollect that the late Prof. Traill of Edinburgh always insisted on the termination (—oʊˈdɪd) in similar words,) and Sir G. B. Airy used (giːˈdɪdiːə) from γη, (although the Greek is γεωˈdαιəλα), and (miːrˈdiːpəʊnəl) from meridɪˈdʒələs. But this is, I conceive, a mere mistake. Our language was formed at a time when the pronunciation of Greek and Latin even in England was totally different from that now in use. Almost all our old words which can be traced to Latin and Greek came to us in a French form, and received their pronunciation and accent from our mode of dealing with French words. It would seem therefore most reasonable to suppose any Greek word to be first Latinised, then taken as French, and finally put into English. This will not exactly answer for those more recent words which have been taken from Latin and Greek by persons who did not know French, and which have hence preserved the Latin forms more closely, but even then it gives a principle. Thus, remembering oʊˈrətər, oʊˈmətər, the Scotch are more consistent than the English in saying cuˈrətər; and remembering geoˈmətrɪ, geoˈgrəfɪ, it is more consistent to say geoˈdɛɪ; and similarly deˈmənstrətəs is more in accordance with our plan of accenting French words than
demonstrate. This principle will make us independent of Latin and Greek quantity, which had ceased to be felt in Italy and Greece long before words were introduced into English. We must say (smiskabl), not (smā’i’kæbl), or (smā’i’kæbl), which would be real foreignisms; we must say (viktir), not (viktoo’ri), Latin victoria, although we say (viktoo’ry’es), for which (vikto’ry’es) would be more analogical, and we do not make the last syllable (-oes), notwithstanding Latin -ōes; just as we make -al=(-el), notwithstanding Latin -ālis. For a similar reason a final unaccented -ice, -ite, -ise, -ise, should have had (i), not the (ʾi) now so general in recent words.

A difficulty arises with respect to French words recently introduced which retain their French form. As long as the persons using a word are conscious of its nationality, they make more or less successful or feeble attempts to imitate the French pronunciation, so that we get ennui (ənvii’), aide-de-camp (əv’di’kæm), coup d’œil (kuupdy’i’l), enveloppe (ənvələp), environs (ənvirən), chef d’œuvre (shədvəv’və), coup d’état (kuwdətə’), and similar hybrid monstrosities. When the words remain French, they must take their chance, but, when possible, they should be anglicised on the old French models. A list of the oldest French words used in English is given in the Appendix III. to Dr. Morris’s Historical Outlines of English Accidents (2nd ed. 1872). But without this knowledge, we see that (ənvələp, envəi’rəmz) are good English. Perhaps (tshii’t, mnuu’v) would hardly preserve (tshii’duv’v) from being ridiculous, and hence the English ‘masterpiece’ is preferable. Bayonet is given as (bə’net, bə’jən) by different orthoepists. I have never heard any one say so. (Bee’net) is usual in civil life, but (bə’n) is heard among officers and (bə’gən) among privates. All similar French technical words should have their English technical pronunciation assigned. As for the modern Indian words, they ought to receive the pronunciation current among English residents in India. The old Arabic words have already a character of their own, and cannot be touched. But it is really a pity that we dare not simply anglicise them, as the French unreservedly gallicise all imports.

The above remarks are meant simply to draw attention to the subject. I have so often and so explicitly renounced all claim to dictate on English pronunciation that my “ought, should,” etc., cannot be taken to mean more than emphasised suggestions, consequent on the adoption of a proposed theory.

American Pronunciation.

Before closing this section, I feel that some notion of American pronunciation should be given. This stands in a totally different relation to received English from the provincial. It is rather traditional English, as was seen by Noah Webster’s remarks (pp. 1063–70). Americans generally claim to speak English without provincials, and in the sense in which English provincials exist, namely as distinct dialectal forms, with historical pedigrees,
at least as respectable as the received form of speech, the claim is
correct. But in the sense that local pronunciations do not clearly
exist, I have good American authority for saying that the claim is
unfounded. Owing perhaps to this absence of dialects, Americans
consider that, on the whole, they speak “better” than the English.
I do not pretend to decide as to “better” or “worse,” but
certainly they speak “differently” from the English; that is,
despite of the many admissible varieties of received English, the
American varieties are inadmissible—from an Englishman. A few,
a very few, Americans seem to have acquired English habits, but
even then a chance word, such as (tree'jt) for (tree'j) — title, reveals
the speaker’s home. The intonation is rarely English, even when all
nasality is absent; but this is a point I purposely omit to notice,
though it is often the most striking peculiarity the speakers exhibit.

AN AMERICAN PREACHER,
a personal friend of my own. He lived
in Virginia for the first 21 years of his
life, which, he tells me, in “pronuncia-
tion differs from the North as Naples
from Florence, Baden from Berlin, or
(almost) Yorkshire from London.”
After that he came to the North, and
acquired new habits of speech, which
again, in the last few years, have been
crossed by London associations. Hence
some of the points noted may belong to
different localities in the United States.
I have not noted Londonisms of course.
The pronunciations are noted from his
public speaking. In private conversa-
tion the differences were not so marked.
Of course there is more than usual
doubt as to the exact sounds in this and
the following case, owing to the greater
difference between the speaker’s pro-
nunciation and my own, which is added
after a (—) as usual.

An American Lady Lecturer,
highly educated, graduate of an Am-
erican university, with quiet manner,
good delivery, and evidently carefully
studied pronunciation.
before bi'fow' - bi'foo' 
bath booth - booth 
carer ku'fir - kur' [the final (-i)r] was very marked, not even (-i') 
character ka'h-rek-ta - ka'rekte 
Chicago shi'ka-goo 
chivalry shi'ver-ik - thi'ver-ik [this is one of the new importations; 
chivalry as an old word should be (thi'ver-ik), see supra p. 682, v. 45.] 
class klaas - klaas, [but tl., dl.-] are very usual initials in place of (kl., gl.) in 
English 
closer kla'us - klo'w'su 
combative kam'ba-tiv - kam'butiv 
compared kump'pis'-d - kump'pis'-d [probably the (pit) was accidental] 
culture ka'l'instein - ka'lit'in [but (tshe) is quite common in England] 
demand dama'nd - dama'nd 
difficulties di'fes-kaltiz - di'fes-kaltiz 
dog doog - dog 
economical ek'ko-nom-ikl - ek'ko-nom-ikl 
educator ek'dhuk'ett-aa' - ek'dhuk'ett [the 
edzhu] is not uncommon in 
England 
egotium ii'gotiz'em - egotiz'm 
embarassment embah'ras-munt - embah'ras-munt 
err as - a 
expenditure ek'spen-dit'shi' - ek'spen-dit'shi' [or (ek'spen-dit'she), the latter is 
very common in England] 
first fash't fash't - fash't 
forth foo' th - foo' th 
funds fandz - fandz 
girls goolz - goolz [this is one of the 
most difficult words to note in 
English; it is perhaps the only word in 
which I persistently palate (g), as 
goolz) is very harsh to my ears; of 
course (geiz) is very common, and I 
have heard (gulz) as a studied pro-
nunciation. See (1156, e).]

home hoo'wum - hoo'wum 
importance impa'atsn - impa'atsn 
introduce intro'duu - intro'diu 
leisure lii'zhu - lezhu ([lii'zhu] is not 
uncommon in England, but it is 
archaic) 
located lo'keted - loke'tyd 
long laaq - loq 
mash mah'sh - maash 
Michigan Mi'shi'gen 
mischief mis'tshe'f - mis'she'f 
mutual mi'wut'shi'ul - mi'wut'shul [but 
(mi'wut'shal) is very common in 
England] 
naturally ma'tshi'urli - ma'thurli [but 
(thsh) is quite common in England] 
new nit no'y (-f) - niu [the diphthong 
was very difficult to catch] 
no nooq' - noo'w 
none noon - non 
only o'nl - o'nl [but (o'nli) is not 
uncommon in England] 
open oo'pu - oo'pu 
parent pe'er'nt - pe'er'nt 
prudent pro'y'dynt - pru'dynt [see 
new] 
radius re'dio - re'dio 
St. Louis Sent Luu'is 
say seeet'i - seej [this was an accidental 
emphasis apparently] 
society sas'hi'ti - sas'hi'ti 
store soo' - soo' 
sure shiyu' (-f) - shiu' 
surely shu'la'i - shu'li 
surveillance suvii'lu - suvii'lu [this 
is one of our unsettled importations] 
test te'st - test 
towns th'wunz - ta'wunz [the (th) was no 
doubt accidental] 
traits treets - treez 
holy wh'o-lu - hoo'li 
wrath raath - raath 
wrong rooj - roq 
year si' -

One of the most striking features of these pronunciations in 
connection with older English pronunciation is the continual cropping 
up of (oo) where we have now (oo, oo'w) and again the use of (oo', 
oo') which has still more recently tended to (aa', aa) for 
-ora. Some of the diphthongal forms for ow, u, are transitional, from (eu, 
yy), and are difficult to catch, but seem to confirm these two as the 
generating forms. Some of the pronunciations are, however, probably 
of American development, for our language has been 
cultivated with great care in the United States, not only in literature, 
but in orthoepy, and the pronouncing dictionaries there published 
are much esteemed in England.

Although perhaps not quite in place, I here insert some American 
words and observations on diversities of American pronunciations 
furnished me by Dr. J. Hammond Trumbull, of Hartford, Conne-
AMERICAN PRONUNCIATION.

CHAP. XI. § 1.

ticut, U.S., and Mr. Charles Astor Bristed, of Yale Coll., Connecticut, U.S., and Trinity College, Cambridge, England, in 1871. Dr. Trumbull gave the pronunciation in Glossic, which I have transliterated. Mr. Bristed has not written pronunciations systematically; I have inserted palaeotypic interpretations to the best of my judgment.


Cade, bred by hand; cosset, (kê'd). This old English word is still in use by farmers, etc., near Newport, R.I., who talk of 'cade lambs,' 'cade colts.' I have not heard of it elsewhere in the U.S.

Char, v. and n. (tahoe) always, I believe, in the U.S., except the occasional (ahoe) and pl. (tahoez) of laborers and farm servants.

Bogey, Bogus, a bugbear, (bû'gwê). Common, among boys and the uneducated, in Connecticut. (Dh' bû'gwê-'l ke-tab-ij).

Drool or druil (drùul, drùl), for 'drivel,' used everywhere by mothers and nurses. The latter is the less polished form.

Eve. Commonly (iziud), but twenty ago I very often heard (izoe) from farmers, butchers, and others in eastern Connecticut and R. Island.

Eft (=Newt), (êvít, e'vet). Common in Conn. 'Newt' is rarely used; 'eft' (monosyll.) never, I think. (A.S. e'fete.)


Fillip, n. and v. (flip), always. I never heard it as a dissyllable in N. England.

Gambrel, roof, (gum'blı gum'bel). N. England, common; thirty years ago, nearly universal.

"to Gange." In a list of "words common at Polperro in Cornwall," in Notes and Queries, 1 S., x. 301, I find this word with the meaning: "to arm with wire the line attached to the fishing hook." ["To gange a hook is to arm it and the snood with a fine brass or copper wire twisted round to prevent their being bitten off by the fish." Glossary to the History of Polperro, by Jonathan Couch,

F.L.S., Truro, 1871.] Almost all N.E. fishermen know how to (ge'næ) —or, as many pronounce it, to (ge'næh, ge'næsh) a hook —though the word is not in our dictionaries. Here, the ganging by which the hook is secured to the line, and the line protected, is done by winding them with waxed linen thread or silk twist (Fr. ganac), whence I suppose the name, and not from Fr. 'ganco,' Sp. 'ganco,' a hook.

Gumption, (go'-mahon); more common, colloquially, in N.E. forty years ago, than it now is. I never heard the sound. (Hii'-no go'-mahon) or (Hii' noot go- go'-mahon).

Lean-to (addiction to a building), (li'-nts). Conn. and Mass., the common pronunciation, among farmers, etc. I never heard (lii'-nts, li'-nts). NJ., v. (miitsh), part. (miit'-shin). Connecticut, farmers, laborers, etc., as in speaking of a dog or cat (go'vin miit'-shin round), or of a (punk miit'-shin fe-lv).

Refuse, adj. and n., (re-frudah), and sometimes (ro'-fe'dsh). N.E., lumbermen, joiners, provision dealers, etc. —for the lowest merchantable quality of any description of goods. In a Boston paper of Dec. 3, 1716, I find advertised, "Refuse alias Refuge Fish" for sale. Common twenty years ago,—but much less common now.

Whopet, (whop'it). A harmless cur, or mongrel dog. Connecticut, and elsewhere in New England. Common, in the rural districts, though omitted by Bartlett and Webster. Wright, Prov. Gloss., has "Whappet; the prick-eared cur." Here, the name has a larger denotation.


South Carolina.

The inhabitants of Charleston, and all the Southern and South-Eastern part of this State, pronounce initial w (whether at the beginning of a word or syllable) like v. Like v to me; perhaps you would call it (bh) or German
w (which I own myself unable to distinguish from v). This peculiarity is common to all classes, except those of the upper class who have lived in Europe or at the North. They are not aware of it. I cannot find any European origin for it. It is supposed to come from the negroes. Teachers from the middle of the State have told me that the boys from the central and northern districts pronounce w in the usual and correct way. [Prof. March, in his letter to me of 22 March, 1872, from which I have already so largely quoted (1092, c. 1143, e), says: "A large part of the people of this region (Eastern, Pennsylvania, U.S.), which was settled by Germans, do not use their teeth for English v, or make with w the usual English sonancy, and they are said, therefore, to exchange w and v. I dare say the facts are the same at Charleston, South Carolina, of which Mr. Bristed speaks. I have heard it said that the South Carolina change was started by German market gardeners about Charleston, but one would think that there must have been some general tendency to this lautverschiebung, or it could have hardly gained currency, as it has, among that proudest and preciquest of colonial literary aristocracies. It looks like it too, that they sound r like w, or drop it. Muster is Mistoov (mi'stusw) they say,—one of my slight diphthongal wv, I suppose, if really any." In another part of his letter he had said: "As to the naturalness of w, I notice that my children, just catching sounds, not only make w in its own place, but also for other letters, regularly for r," [in which case perhaps it is a substituted lip trill with tense lips, or (m), see (9, 6),] "and for oh they make f. This last is an unknown change here in mature speech." As to the American interchange of v, w, see Webster's remark (1067, d) relating to Boston and Philadelphia, where he observes w used for v, which in the case of Philadelphia Prof. March, no doubt correctly, has just ascribed to the influence of German w (bh). There is a well-known cockneyism by which (v, w) are said to interchange in England. We all know that old Weller in Pickwick spelled his name with "a we." Dr. Beke considers, from personal experience, that the sound is really (bh), which is heard as (w) for (v) and as (v) for (w); and he believes that in Naples and Rome there is the same tendency among the uneducated to substitute (bh) for (v). This opinion was contained in a private letter, in answer to another gentleman, who informed me that he had heard Romans, especially Roman beggars, use (w) for (v). I had never noticed this habit myself when in Rome, and my son, who was in Rome at the time when I received this information, did not succeed in hearing more than an occasional German (bh), with which sound he was well acquainted. But more recently a Scotch lady informed me that she had certainly heard (w) and not (bh) for (v) in Rome. It is a point requiring investigation, and as it has considerable philological interest, I think it right to draw attention to it here. I have never been fortunate enough to hear (w, v) confused in London, naturally, off the stage and out of story-books. But I recollect when a boy hearing people at Canterbury regularly saying what sounded to me as (wun) for seen, and one respectable pianoforte tuner, after vainly trying to say wiene, bringing out something like (wun). But this was in days when I had no notion of German (bh). The confusion of w and v is also reported from East Kent, and East Anglia generally. The Charleston confusion, however, is a remarkable phenomenon."

[In a later communication Mr. Bristed adds:] We (that is, all Americans except the Carolinians aforesaid, and possibly the Southern negroes generally; I am not sure on this last point) say hweem, putting the aspirate before the digamma, so that, were the monoeyllable prolonged to a disyllable, it would be (huen) or (huen). [See (pp. 1142-3).] The Carolinians who say v (or what I call v) for w, do not, I think, mix any aspirate with it; they say vem, not heen. But I am not absolutely certain of this. [In his original notes respecting South Carolina, Mr. Bristed added:] Also common to all classes, and also unconscious, is the old re-actionary Anti-Irish pronunciation of (ii) for (ee), chear for chair. But it seems confined to some words, e.g. they don't say fear (fiir) for fair (feer). [Writing subsequently, he says on this point:] I have discovered that the last century pronunciation (tshir) [the trilled (r) in this and the following examples is possibly an oversight] for chair is not so common in
South Carolina as I had supposed. On the other hand, I have found in some of the best educated Carolinians the still more archaic pronunciation (eer) for ear, e.g. (feer) for fear, (reeer) for rear, (beersd) for beard, etc., etc. Not having a nice musical ear, I will not be certain that the sound is quite as long as (ee), but for practical purposes it is the same; proof, I first observed it from supposing that a friend had said fare when he meant to say fair. (Beersd) for beard is heard in other parts of America (and of England I suppose), but the general substitution of (eer) for ear seems to be Carolinian. The pronunciation is involuntary, and acknowledged by the natives to be heretical; it is not like their (kjarld) and (gjarld), of which they are proud as of shibboleths. It is never found without the r; no Carolinian would say (pees) for pears as an Irishman does. [Considering that some of the earliest cases of as sounding as (ii) occur before (r), these archaisms are very interesting.]

Gulf States generally.

All classes, from Virginia to Georgia inclusive, have a sort of shibboleth of which they are proud. It is the old Sheridan and Walker insertion of y before a after initial c and g; gysarden for garden, kyard for card. I believe Sheridan and Walker only inserted the y when a is followed by r; but our Southerners say kyamp for camp. [This means possibly only (gas'rdn, kead, kemp).] I do not know how far this pronunciation extends westward; for instance, if it is found in Alabama, I am pretty sure it is not in Mississippi, and a fortiori in Louisiana and Texas.

New England.

All but the best educated New Englanders make an insertion before ow in monosyllables. Probably most persons would explain this insertion as a nasalized. I don't think so, e.g. I don't think the New England cow is like the first syllable of the Spanish avons. Some make the insertion y. I consider it y. Kyow for cow, nyow for now. [Probably (kaws, njez'w), see the extract from Webster (1066, b'). If there is nasality, it will be (kaws, njez'w).] Whatever nasalization there is, seems to me to lie in the diphthong itself, not in the preceding insertion. I think this is clear from polysyllables, e.g. around, where there is no insertion that I can detect, but there is a nasalization or twang. [Possibly (eer'end) see (136, d').] The New Englanders sometimes lengthen o into au. Naunting (or more commonly nauhtin) for nothing. [Possibly (nawthin) or merely (nothin), which would be more historical.] On the other hand, they frequently substitute (a) for (oo), stun, hull, for stone, whole. The substituted vowel is the pure and simple English a. The New England pronunciations of stone, whole, are precisely the English words stun, hull. [They sound to me more like (ston, hol) than (stan, noil).] There is, however, one word, in which the people of Massachusetts (not the other New Englanders, so far as I have observed) substitute (o) for (a). That word is coat, for which they say (kot). It is just possible the sound may be a little longer than (cot) (koart), but it is certainly not so long as caught, or as Italian o aperto. [The Italian o aperto is by no means always or generally long, so that I attributed a medial length to this vowel; but in a subsequent letter Mr. Bristol says:] [Since I wrote to you, I have observed that the Massachusetts pronunciation caughti for coat, about which I was doubtful, does exist; within a fortnight I have heard it, as broad as possible, from a lady. Some Massachusetts men maintain that the short sound usually given in Massachusetts (especially Eastern Mass.) to the o of coat is not a, but the short sound of o, a sound which, if it exists, has a constant tendency to run into o or a. [Short (o) certainly seems to exist in English dialects and in America, but it is frequently misheard as (a), and it is singular that in Mr. I. Pitman's phonography (oo, a) are represented by marks which should systematically represent them to be the long and short of the same sound. All this again is attributable to the relation of (a, o) and (a, oh), where the vowels in each pair are due to the same position of the tongue, and differ only by the "rounding" or "lip-shading." This again leads to the common affected drawl (so'oh) for (oo). In the same letter Mr. Bristol notes having heard root made (rat), rhyming to foot; and deaf called (diff), see (1069, a), by educated speakers. He adds:] Nearly all the New Englanders say testimoni and territory.
The pronunciation *fort'n*, *nāl'r*, [possibly *(fɑː'tn, nɑː'tn)*] for *fortune*, *ma'nr* the very shortest possible indistinct vowel substituted for *o*), was traditional in New England, and only went out in the present generation. [It is xvii th-century English.] When I was a boy at Yale College (Connecticut) in 1839, some of the older professors said *fort'n*, *nāl'r*, etc.

The Bostonians and the people of Eastern Massachusetts generally are popularly accused of superfluous final *g*: *capt'ng, Bost'ng, for capt'nn, Boston*. Or to be more accurate, they are charged with substituting *ng* (*q*) for various short terminations. I have not observed this particularly in them. It seems to me a vulgarity general in both England and America. Dickens's Mrs. Gamps and Hay's Western Colonels say *pard'ng* for pardon. But I have observed that the Bostonians lay unusual stress on these short final syllables. This winter [1870-1] a Boston young lady observed to me, *"You New Yorkers say, 'the chick'n goes up the mount'n.'"* I retorted, *"What do you say? The chickin' goes up the mounting'"*? She replied, *"No, the chicken goes up the mount'n."* (That is the nearest I can come to literating her.) [Possibly *(tɑh'r'kən, mɑ'ntn'tn)*, exaggerating for the purpose of illustration] Smart marks *(tɑh'r'kən, mɑ'ntn'tn)* or *(tɑn)* are common. But *(tɑh'r'kən, mɑ'ntn)* or *(tɑh'r'kən, mɑ'ntn)* are disagreeable to my ears. Some persons likewise say *(lɑː'tn, sɑː'tn, pɜːdn)*, but these sounds are going out of use.

**New York.**

I am a native New Yorker, though not now resident in the State. This fact disqualifies me in a measure from noticing our peculiarities. Indeed, I know of but one, which has come up in the better classes within the last twenty years, and is (I think) more common with young women than young men. It consists in dropping medial *r*, and thinning the indistinct vowel before it into a very short *ə*, e.g. *fest* *(fiːst)* for *first*. I have myself noticed in many Americans a tendency of this kind in the pronunciation of the word *America*, from which the *r* seems to be lost, or not trilled at all, and the *ə* curiously obscured, something like *(əmə′jɪkə)*, with a tendency to *(əmə′rɪkə)*, but the vowel used for *ə*, for which I have helplessly written *(ə)*, does not glide on to the following *(r, ɹ)* in the slightest degree. But the same speakers pronounce a trilled *(r)* before vowels habitually in other cases.

**Western States.**

I have never been in them, and only know from common report that among the less educated classes, the pronunciation *(ə, ɑː)* for *(ə, ə)* is universal. *Bar for bear, far for fair, stranger for stranger*. [Possibly remnants of *(beer, feər, streəndzər)*, misheard. Mr. Bristed finds a difficulty in understanding *(ə, ə)* in palaeotype, which seems to him "to embrace all sorts of sounds, from the shortest continental sound of *a* to ordinary English *ə*. This," says he, "causes confusion. I am not sure how you pronounce *plaid*; it seems to me that you call it *pild*." I call it *(pleɪd)*, and it is curious that the American Worcester gives no other pronunciation; I have heard *(pleɪd)* called a Scoticism, which Mr. Bristed thinks the only right sound, as he says of mine, it "is surely a mistake, according to Scott's rhymes *plaid, laid, maid, etc.* Perhaps your *(ə)* is that 'fifth sound of *(ə)* as in *fair*,' given in the old dictionaries, Walker, etc., in which to me has always seemed a myth. I mean I can't make out any difference between *fair* and *fare.*" Walker made none, but I have adduced these facts to show what difficulties variety of pronunciation throws in the way of indicating sounds by keywords. *As to fair*, etc., however, the sound may really be *(ə)*, and not *(ə)*. Such sounds occur dialectally in England.]

**General Americanisms.**

We all (except perhaps some of the negroes?) sound distinctly the *ə* of initial *ə*, just as Irishmen, Scotchmen, and North-Countrymen do. This I believe to be the only universal Americanism. There is a great difference between the speech of (most) Englishmen and (most) Americans, but it is a musical difference rather than a *letter-power* difference. We pitch our conversation in a monotone; Englishwomen appear to a green American to be just going to sing when they talk. [The English return the compliment with interest, which reminds me that
a Pole, whose language to an English ear is all hiss, told me, after hearing
Hamlet, that the English words sounded to him as mere hisses! Some Eng-
lishmen think that we lengthen the i more than they. I doubt it. I don't
think, for instance, that we say (ta-im) for (ta-im). [ Many Americans do say
(ta-im), and even (th-a-im). ] All Americans pronounce case to rhyme with cases.
I see you would rhyme case with grasses. So does Sotheby in his Homer, and I
am told this is the British Museum pronunciation. Most Englishmen of
my acquaintance sound it with German a (to rhyme with grass a). Your pro-
nunciation would be unintelligible to
most Americans. [Vase has four pro-
nunciations in English: (vaaz), which I
most commonly say, is going out of use,
(vassen) I hear most frequently, (ves) very rarely, and (ves) I only know
from Cull's marking. On the analogy
of case (kass), however, it should be the
regular sound. I have known the
three first pronunciations habitual
among a party of four speakers, to
whom the fourth sound was unknown.
Goodrich gives all four sounds; but just
as Cull only acknowledged (ves), Smart
only admits (vass). As to the British
Museum pronunciation, I find on in-
quiry that the Antiquities Department
call it (vaaz), "to rhyme with papa a," but
one of the assistants in that department says he would say (vaaz) of
a modern vessel to contain flowers (for
instance), "in fact," says my authority,
"he seemed inclined to distinguish
different kinds of vases by the pro-
nunciation." The vulgar pronunciation
of i for oi is very general among
the less educated New-Eng-
landers, but is chiefly confined to words
in oil, boil, spoil, etc. No native says
by or (bai) for boy; that is purely Irish.
[ These are all xvith century. ] I
think I have found a New York peculiarity, buddy, nobody, for body,
nobody, but am not quite certain if the
vowel is the indistinct i. [(Noo-buddy)
the most common English, but per-
haps Mr. Bristed meant (no bo-di); was it (noo bo-di)?]

American Pronunciation According to American Humourists.

The pronunciation indicated by humourists in any language is of
course not the pronunciation of the educated part of the people.
But it must be the pronunciation of a section of the people, and
also a widely known pronunciation, or the whole humour of its
adoption would be lost. It therefore occurred to me that Dr.
Trumbull's and Mr. Bristed's remarks on existent and Noah
Webster's on older Americanisms would be best supplemented by
a selection of phonetic orthographies from the works of known
humourists.

Major Downing's "Letters" appeared in the New York Daily
Advertiser in 1833-4, and had a popularity never before equalled
in the United States. This book was a political skit on General
Jackson's government, and is described in the Quarterly Review,
No. 106, as "by far the most amusing, as it must be allowed to be
the most authentic, specimen that has as yet [1835] reached
Europe of the actual colloquial dialect of the Northern States."
They are by this reviewer attributed to "Mr. Davis, of the respect-
able mercantile house of Brookes and Davis, New York." To these
then I give the first place. The whole book is not spelled phoneti-
cally, but about as much American orthography is introduced as
Scott uses of Scotch spelling in his works, and this I have extracted.
With the humourous mode of expression, the grammar, and so
forth, I have of course had nothing to do. I quote from the second
English edition, published by Murray in 1835, "from the latest
New-York edition."

Judge Haliburton's "Clockmaker; or, the Sayings and Doings
of Sam. Slick of Slickville”—of which the introductory letter, attributed to Mr. Slick himself, is dated 25 Dec., 1836—is fully as authentic, but the sprinkling of spellings is rather sparser, and I have not attempted to go through more than about one-sixth of the book.

Charles F. Browne’s “Artemus Ward his Book” is made up of contributions to the New York Vanity Fair about 1860. It is almost entirely in picturesque spelling, which is frequently merely grotesque, but generally exhibits specimens of Yankee pronunciation, or what must pass current as such among Americans. His efforts in that way met with general appreciation. From this book I have culled a large number of words without attempting to exhaust the list.

Bret Harte’s “Heathen Chinee and other Poems mostly humorous” have furnished me with several pronunciations supposed to be current in the Gold Mining Regions of California.

In quoting these words the letters D, S, W, H, refer to Downing, Slick, Ward, and Harte respectively. The addition “occ.” shows that the spelling is only occasionally used by the writer to whose letter it is appended.

One of the most striking points to an Englishman on reading them is that there are practically no American Americanisms among them. They are all old friends, known in English humourists, and known in older or dialectal or vulgar English pronunciation. The twang, the intonation, the application, all tend to give them a different effect, but these are absent in the bare phonetic representation. The orthography of the writers is left intact, and I have not ventured to suggest their meaning. There may be some recondite differences with which I am unacquainted; but when the words are read as their spelling would suggest to one used to received pronunciation, the effect is quite familiar.

1. Miscellaneous.

The following is an alphabetical arrangement of some words and phrases which could not be easily classified.

A. Account “count D, acute cute D S H, afraid aseard D, against agin D, am not ain’t H, are not ain’t H, Americans’ Moriscos H, apoplexy appleyxey D, apothecaries potteceries D, attention teshan D.

B. Believe bleewe W, bellows bellouses D, be not beant S, beyond beyond D, boisterous boysterious W, by and by bime-by D.

C. Calculate kalklate D, chimney chimbly D, Chinese n. Chinee H, classically ? usuaallyy W, possibly a mere grotesque; contrarilyness contrarily H, cordial cordyal W, put apparently as an uncommon pronunciation, indicating “corjal” as the common (? 1069, cb’); cupboards cubbords D, curiousest curiousest D.

D. Damned damned S, this is given as an uncommon spelling, “darn’d” being most usual, but in consequence of Webster’s remark (1067, ed) this will be given among the or-words; diamonds diminds W, does not don’t D, drowned drownded D, durst not duresnt H.

E. even almost any most D, een amost, een almost S, evenly? e’eny D, over a one ary one D.

F. Funeral fun’t H.

G. Give gin D, evidently the participle used for the preterite, see given; genuine ginwine, genuine D, give gin W, here we have the participle used for the present; given gin D, grew grow’d S.

H. Handkerchiefs handkerchers D, have not hain’t D, hant S, have given a gin S, heard hearnd D W, the form heard also occurs, as will be seen afterwards; hers hern S, his (pred.) him D, history histry W, holiday hollow-
day D, probably a mere grotesque; 
however homunever however D.

1. Idee ide idee D, idee H, idear W, 
idees ides W, it be's H, is not ain't D 
W H, ain't S, isn't H, it is not taint D, 
taste S, 'tain't H, it was not twart D, 
I was see W.

K. Know'd D, knoll nol D, 
this must be merely grotesque spelling, 
as the sound is received.

L. Laudanum lodnun D.

M. Mamma mam H, military mil-
ingtary W, Mississippi Mississippi D, 
Missouri Misszoori H, monster monksster 
W, more than moren morn W.

N. Necessity neednessy S, also in 
Irish and in Scotch, so that it is not 
a mere grotesque; necromancy nick-
reancy D, never nary a W H, here 
there is a mistaken analogy, as nary 
should mean never a, see ever a above.

O. Of it on't D, only ony D, ordeals 
ordeals W, evidently given as a mis-
pronunciation in place of orijels, see 
cordial above; but historically or-deal 
=age, or-dål, would be pronounced as 
W writes; or-de-al is a mere piece 
of confusion; ordinary orner W H, 
ornerier ornear W, ours orm D S.

P. Particular pertickler H, particu-
larly particly W, perhaps p'raps H, 
popular poplar W, previously previly 
W, probably probly W.

R. Regular regler W, rheumatism 
rumatiz D.

S. Saw p.t. see D, seed S W, secure 
skewer W, seen p.p. sawn W, series 
serious W, shall not sha'n't D, shallow 
shaller S, singularest singleria H, 
soldiers sogers D, sovereignty suvrnty 
W, sphere spear W.

T. That there that air W, theirs 
their'n D, them 'em D S, the other 
t'other D, there are S, tickled tickled D, 
told tell'd D, tour tower D, towards 
tords W, tremendous tremenjus W.

V. Violent vilent W.

W. Was not warn't D, warnt 
worn't S, were not wa'n't D, will not 
won't D.

Y. Yours yourn D W.

2. Vocables.

In the following some little attempt 
at classification will be made, but 
the instances are not numerous enough 
to arrive at any satisfactory result.

A. The oldest as sound remains in 
stare star H, square squar H, hair-pin 
har-pin H, and is broadened into (oo), 
where in England it has sunk to (ee),
in char[es] chores D. On the other hand, 
it falls into (ee, e) or even (i) in are air 
W, came kem H, again ajen H, agin 
S, may be mebbly W, and completely to 
(ii) in cars keers W.

Long a, ai = (ee, e) has become (ii) 
in chair cheer W H, cars keers W, 
careless keerless H, scared skeery W, 
James James H, to which must be 
reckoned apparel appearel W; but gave 
giv W, is probably only the use of the 
present as past.

The same tendency is shown in the 
short vowel a (e) in any eny D, enny 
W, can kin H, catch kitch ketch D, 
bad hed H, have hev W, that conj. et H.

Broadening appears in enam kanawl 
W, sat v. set D, far fur D, stamped 
stamped D, but uncertainly in what 
what wat W occ., wat wot H, where 
the absence of a is noticeable, as it 
is generally present, and was war H. Even 
au shews both tendencies in because 
caze D, audacity owdassity W, but 
caught ketch'd D is merely a weak 
form of ketch, already cited.

E short is thinned to (ii), which may 
be (i) in end end D S, nests nest D 
and, as is very common in England, to 
(i) in chest chast S, general generel D, 
ginral W, generally ginerely W, get 
git D W, gettig gittin' H, 
kettles kittle D W, passaers passin-
ers W, pretty adj. pretty Ditty.

But shews the Scotch broadening ten-
sot W, where there may be a confusion 
with eat, well adv. wall W, wrested 
rasted H.

The long ee is shortened in been 
ben bin D, but as as seems to remain (ii), 
even in New Orleans New Orleans S, 
hoard hoard S W, with which we may 
class anywhere anyhow're H, but the 
old (ee) crops up in real role D, really 
raly D, raly H, hoard haid H, and 
some other cases, for which see er.

The following are very common in 
England: neither nether nuder D, 
chewing chawin W, owe yo S, news-
paper nooepaper W.

I. In if'ef W H, sit set D, we have 
a tendency opposite to that of get git.

Little leetle D W is common here, but 
quare square W is very strange.

There seems to be a tendency to sink 
all unaccented vowels into (i), or per-
haps Mr. Bell's (y), see (1169, 6), and 
it is worth while noticing this, because 
a similar tendency shows itself in Irish,
and (i) is constantly used in Buchanan, see the vocabulary, pp. 1072–1083. See the Irish examples below. Extra extry W, panorama paneramy W, opera opery W, actually actilly S, animal animal W, counterpane counterpin D, manage mane W, poem poin W, garments garnments W, trousers trowais W, nephew nevhy H, region regime W, passion pashin D, waistcoat weskit W, argument argument W.

O seems to assume all varieties of different local English forms, so that any classification is difficult. It becomes (aa) in roarrar H, (uu) in boast boost D, more moore W, falls to (a) in home hum D W, whole hull D W, stone stun D W, nobody nobuddy W, and even to (i) in rose rix D W H, coever kiver D W, with which we may compare touching technin W, while it varies in the same writer in bosam boozam buzzam W. Then we find soldier sawder S, bowlers bowlders H, thought thought D, bought bhot D.

The (oo) sound varies, as (uu) in route rowt W, (io) in chooses chooses D, boots butes W, do dw W occ., through thru D, threw D W, zoological zoological W, the last being derived from the "zoo"; and (a) in took tuk W, roof ruff D, and you yu W, your yer H, the two latter used exclamitically.

The diphthong OI is treated as long "i" in all those cases in which it was so sounded in the xvith and xvith centuries. Thus: appointed appted D, boil bile D, boiling bilin W, bilin II, broiling brilin D, hoisted histed W, join jine D W H, joins lions W, which of course is merely grotesque for lines, oil ile D W, point pint W, pointing pintin W, points pints H, poison pyson S, pizen W II, soil sile W, soiled siled D, spoils spiles D.

U. The prefix un- is generally on-, as in uneasy onesy S W, unparalleled unpared W, unpleasant unpleasent S W, unsatisfactory on-satisfactory H. In a few words short u is e, i, as just jest D, jist D S, common in London, judge n. judge H, compare Scotch (dzhv=dzhv), such sich D W, shut shet H, very old. The form shut p.p. shot W, seems to be founded on some confusion.

The long "u" when accented constantly becomes (uu), a well-known English vulgarism, but dating apparently from after the xvith century, and the preceding e, t, do not then become (ah, tzh); but this is by no means always the case, as will be seen from the examples of consonants given below. Thus: actuate actoate W, adieuadoo W, amusing amoaxin W, circuitous srocoo- tius W, confused konfoozed W, constitution constitoooshun W, dispute dispoost W, excuse excoos W, gratulious gra- tooitius W, impudence impoobents W, including incloodin W, individual indi- vidual W, influence inflouwce W, lunatic loonytik W, nuisance noo- sanse W, obtuse obtuus W, peculiar pocooler W, punctually punktooally W, pursue pursuoo W, resumed re- soomed W, spiritual sperrerotoul W, subdued subbedood W, sweet sood W, suit soot W, untutored untootered W, virtuous virtuous W. It will be observed, however, that all these examples are from W. After t and r this change is received, but W furnishes both bloo and bloo for blue.

Unaccented u in open syllables, which, though always very short (id), is called long by our orthoepists, seems mostly to become (i, t). Thus: educaton edication edication S, minute n. minet S, minit H, minutes minits W, valuation valeation S, value valy S, regulating regelatin D, ridiculous ridikulous H.

Final and unaccented -ure is usually treated exactly as or, and generally does not influence the preceding consonants, as creature creator cretur D, creeer criter W, creatures critters S, features feature S, figures figers D, figgers W, future futer W, fijurs inger D, legislature legisitar D, nature natur D S, nater W, natural natural S, natral W, pasture pastur S, pictures picters W, rapture raper W, venture venter W, pressure presher W. The last word is exceptional. It will be found that these foreign words are very irregularly treated in the English dialects, probably depending on the time of their having been first used.

3. The Consonant R.

ER, EAR, UR. The treatment of vowels before R is very curious in America, dependent partly on the R having become thoroughly vocal, and partly on the retention of the old ar forms, with which ar forms have been confused. A few ar- words retain their form as or, ear, or air, thus: dern derr H, earth airth S, yearth W, early airly S, pert peart H. But the rule is

R. The late Prof. Hadley, in reviewing the first part of this work, after quoting my remarks suprâ p. 197, says: "It is fortunate for this much-abused letter that so large a part of the English-speaking world is found in America, where the first settlers brought this _r_ in a less attenuated state, and where their descendants have been largely reinforced by users of a yet stronger _r_ from Ireland and Scotland and the Continent of Europe. Instead of losing the final _r_ like our brethren in Southern England, we are more likely to restore it to its ancient equivalency with the initial letter." (Essays, 1873, p. 252.) See also Prof. Haldeman’s remarks (1196, b). My own experience of polished American speech does not bear out this remark. No approach to an Irish or Scotch _r_ final seems to be made. If a trill was ever used by the speakers I observed, it must have been very faint, for I am constantly awake to trills, and should have certainly remarked it. An untrilled _r_, perhaps as much of a consonant as (r_3_), I seem to have heard; I think I have heard at least one American preacher say (skaer_r) where I say (skaat).—a matter of choice, (hart) presenting no difficulty to me. But that Dickens’ _smort_ tork for _small_ talk would have been as easily written by an American as by an English humourist will be quite apparent from the following instances, which show that _or_ or _are_ are recognized ways of writing (an _aa_), without implying the least trill or vowel (_o_) in place of a trill. It follows therefore that such a pronunciation must be familiar to American ears from American mouths. No American humourist could otherwise have ventured to use it.


In the following we have not only the _or_ omitted, but the vowel which was before it shortened, showing its utter disappearance even from the thought of the speaker. _Horses_ hoss W, _horses_ hosses W, _bust_ burst D W, _busted_ H, _bursting_ bustin W, _cuss_ cuss H W, _cursing_ cussin D, _coloured_ celled W, _first_ fist W, _lunten_ lantun W, _nursing_ nussing W, _persons_ pussuns W, _purse_ pass W, _worse_ wuss W, _cross_ wossen W. And I would explain _girl_ gal H, _gals_ gals D, _gals_ s, in the same way, _garls_ becoming first _garls_ and then _gales_ (goals goals gaals), and similarly _perty_ having the _r_ ”transposed” becomes _perty_ and then, putty _D W_ of which _poothy D H_ is regarded only as another form. In _scilly_ scacely W we have a simple omission of _r_, with probably a corresponding omission of its modification of (ee) into (oe), which is also found dialectally in England.

_ER_, _UR_, as an indistinct vowel where no trace of trill can be reasonably supposed, shews this vocality more completely. Thus it stands for _A unaccented_ in _aftlow_ erlote W, _drama_ dramer W, _orphan_ orfurn W, _spectacles_ specterkuls W, _valise_ verlise W, _umbrella_ umbrelleur W, _visits_ vister W to which may be added the common always allers W H, generally written _allus_ in England—for _E unaccented in elements_ allermunts W, _elephants_

These examples show that in America, as it will be seen in § 2, No 10, is the case also in England, r has become a more means, first of writing (aa, aa), and secondly of indicating a long or a brief (h, a, u), that is, one which has either only that short glide which follows a long vowel, or else no glide on to the succeeding consonant. In both cases r may consequently be considered as the sign of lengthening. Its use in this respect is similar to that of s in older French (831, _ab_), and of l in Scotch (Murray, p. 123), having like them no historical foundation, and so far as the usual value of these letters r, s, l is concerned, no phonetic signifi-

cance. They merely arise from the fact that in many words the phonetic values of s, t, l had been lost, where they once existed, and the preceding vowel lengthened. With regard to the short -er, representing (a, -a), writers have felt the same difficulty as Mr. Murray in his historical orthography (i6, pp. 133, 134), and have generally adopted his contrivance of writing -es when final (though many fall into -er, which leads, however, to a suspicion of a trilled r, which is tainted with vulgarity), and -er when before a consonant (when trilling would be out of the question). Of course in Scotland, where the night of an r in any position is the signal for trilling, this use of er was impossible. Its use in the United States, even in humorous writing, is consequently proof of the very general existence of non-trilled r among the English speakers of America.

4. Other Consonants.

D is changed to t in hold n. holt W, which is not uncommon in England. It is added after n in drowned drown-W, drowned H, cousins GOWNS W, as with us, but there is a more general tendency to omit it in this case, as friend fren W, vagabond VAGABONE W, especially when s follows, as friends W, husbands husbans W, understands understands W, reminds remines W, handsons hansom s (although handsons handsum s is also found, where the d is probably erroneous), and even before other letters, as handbills handills W. There is a great tendency to change d to j under the influence of a full s unaccented but followed by a vowel, as Indians ingen D, Injin D H, Injun W, and anecdotes aw jury W, grandeur granjer W, immediate immediate W, induce induce joince W, medium mejum W, produce projuce W, soldiers soyers W, tremendous tremenious tremua W.

H. This much-abused letter in England seems to escape in America. Of course ostensibly ostensively W is a mere grotesque to recall hose, the word not being popular. The enclitic here, in this here, been here, etc., suffers various changes, as: h'yr y'r yer yere H, which however are attributed to the strong action of the (is) or (is) pronunciation of the -ere portion. Even Sir John Herschel (Sound, art. 361, in Encyc. Metr.) makes "young; yean;
hear, here" consist of the vowel in "peep, leave, believe, sieben (Germ.), coquille (Fr.)," "succeeded more or less rapidly" by the vowel in "spurt, assert, dirt, virtue, dove, double, blood," entirely omitting the A. This will be found frequent dialectally, and earth yeart H is quite similar.

I for r in frustrated frustrated W is grotesque, but the omission of l in only on'y H is quite common.

M is omitted in rheumatism H, which is quite familiar in England.

N becomes exceptionally (g) in some words, as captains captains W, cushions cushions H, garden gardening W, weapons weapons H, but more commonly -ng becomes -n; in fact this is the rule for the participial and gerundial -ing and the word thing in composition, as amazing amasin S, capering caperen D, everlasting everlastin' S, everythin' everything evrythin' D, meeting meetin' S, nothing nothin' D S W, sudding pudden D, seeing ceasn W, somethin' suthin' W H, failing failin' W, etc., etc.

PH. The change to p in nymph nymph W is probably purely grotesque.

QU becomes k, k, frequently in quoted challed W, and occasionally in quotation cotashun W.

SK is transposed, or rather the original cs is preserved in ask ax S.

T is omitted when final after c, in acts ax W, conflicts conflicts W, contact contact W, districts district W, facts fax W, intellect intellect W, just so jes so W, just see H, object object W, perfect perfec W, sect sect W, and after p in attempt attempt W, crept crept H, also in don't preceding n, as don't know dunno W, and probably also before other consonants. On the other hand, it is added in once onct W, sudden n. sudden H, and assimilated in let go leggo W, to which category probably belongs partner partner H. Is surroot surroot W the added t is orthographical; educated Americans also pronouncing the final t in trait.

TH remains 3 in further farther W, and is omitted in clothes close W, but there that are H is the English that ere, and it is doubtful whether this should be reckoned as an omitted th.

V is written w in the first syllable of conviviality conviviality W, showing that some such change would be appreciated, (1067, d. 1220, 3'), but this is the only instance I have noted.

W is, as often, omitted in inscrutable inwards W.

X becomes s by the omission of preceding syllable in exactly exactly W, where the f also ought to be omitted.

The above examples, though very incomplete, will serve to give some notion of the prevailing illiterate or Yankee pronunciations in America. Those arising from negro influences have been kept out of view. But they form a remarkable instance of linguistic break down, and deserve careful study. For examples see Da Njo Testimonio vo wi Mastra en Helpiman Jesus Kristn, or New Testament in the Negro English of Surinam, to be had of the British and Foreign Bible Society, price 2a. 6d.; also Proeve eener Handreiding om het Neger-Engelsch, zoo als hetzelfde over het algemeen binnen de Kolonien Surinaams gesproken woord, door A. Helimg van der Vegt, Amsterdam, 1844, p. 56, and Slave Songs of the United States, New York, 1871, introduction by W. F. Allen, pp. xxi-xxxi. To which Addison Van Name (1155, 3) adds Wullschlægel's Neger-englisches, Wéterbuch, Lébau, 1860.

IRISH PRONUNCIATION OF ENGLISH.

Although vast numbers of the Irish who speak English are uneducated, yet the English language is not of native growth in Ireland. There are still several parts of Ireland where English is not spoken. Hence an account of the Irish pronunciation of English can be better classed as educated than as natural. But there is a still stronger reason for placing it next to the American. They are both examples of an emigrated language of nearly the same date. If we disregard the English settlers in Forth and Bargy in the xixth century, to be considered hereafter, the English language in Ireland may be considered to date in the north from the settlement of Ulster by James I. in 1611, and generally from the events
which followed Cromwell’s incursion in 1649. The first English settlements on the Bay of Massachusetts date from 1620. The language in both cases therefore belongs to the xviiith century. An inspection of the preceding and following lists compared with the accounts of the pronunciation of that period already given, will shew the correctness of the estimate already formed for these cases (p. 20) as examples of persistent mother-tongue in emigrants.

The general xviiith century character is most strongly marked in Ireland by the retention of the pronunciation of long e, in the state which had been reached in the xviiith century,—those words that had then changed long e into (ii), mostly marked by the orthography ee, remaining as long (ii), and those that had not yet changed their (ee), mostly marked by the spelling ea, remaining as (ee) or (ee). This character is so marked and prevalent among all but the higher educated classes in Ireland, among whom the present English usage is not a century old, (1650, e'), that most persons seem to regard it as one of the marks of Irish “brogue,” whereas it is pure xviiith century English fossilized by emigration, and, as we shall see, is more or less persistent among our own dialects. But there are two distinct styles of English spoken in Ireland, that in the Northern part due to the mainly Scotch settlement of Ulster, and that elsewhere spoken.

After Mr. Murray had published his book on the Dialects of the South of Scotland, so frequently referred to (1085, e), Mr. W. H. Patterson, of Strandtown, Belfast, sent him a copy of a pamphlet called: “The Provincialisms of Belfast and the Surrounding Districts pointed out and corrected, by David Patterson, industrial teacher of the blind at the Ulster Institution for the Deaf and Dumb and Blind, and a resident of Belfast for the last forty years, Belfast, 1860.” Mr. Murray having shewn me this pamphlet, and pointed out the numerous Scotticisms which it contained, I requested him to mark all the words which bore a Scotch character. At the same time, to check the North by the South, I requested Mr. T. M. Healy, who had lived the first 18 out of the 20 years of his life in Cork, where he was born, to mark such words as were pronounced in the same way in Cork as at Belfast, and where there were differences to point them out. Both gentlemen having obligingly complied with my request, I have been enabled to compile the following lists, which, although leaving very much to be desired, give a fuller account of Irish peculiarities than any I can refer to elsewhere.

To obtain further information, I addressed a series of questions to Mr. W. H. Patterson, who sent the pamphlet, and to its author, Mr. D. Patterson, who is himself blind, and is personally unknown to the other, and also to the Rev. Jas. Graves, of Inismag Rectory, near Stoneyford, Kilkenny, honorary secretary of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society, all of whom, as well as Mr. Murray and Mr. Healy, most kindly and readily assisted me, and from them I have gathered the following information.

The pronunciation of Belfast decidedly differs from that of the
greater part of Ireland, but extends pretty uniformly over the Northern and Eastern parts (about two-thirds) of Ulster. Though Scotch, it is not so much so as the Eastern parts of Down and Antrim. For instance (says Mr. W. H. P.), a farmer living in east of County Down will have many Scotch words in his speech and a very Scotch accent, but will be at once distinguishable from the Scottish landstewards and gardeners who come over. He will say: "Hae ye got ony guid shearin hawks?" and his children will play at: "Ngeery, ngaary, ngick, nugas, which han will ye tak, the right or the wrang, I'll begnule ye if I can." A child was heard to cry: "Out cloddin stanes at them kye!" Here Qut is quit, give over (kwaat). A farmer's wife called some people to "see Billy biggin," i.e. building a corn stack; a wild bee's nest is a bee's bike (Co. Down); miserly is lonely, solitary (Belfast; Mr. Murray says Jamieson gives it for Roxburghshire, but he never heard it, it is aga. missalice), brulliment disturbance (Glenarm, Co. Antrim), glam grasp or sudden clutch (Belfast), hoko to make a hole (Sc. hawk), hence the hoques a game played with peeries peegtops, which are to houque one another.

All my authorities state that the English from different parts of Ireland is decidedly different, but they are not prepared to say how it is different. It is evident that there is a considerable field for investigation here. The R is strongly trilled. There is an Irish r which seems to occupy the whole tongue in its trill, and may hence be written (ˌr), but I have not investigated it. The H is always pronounced, except in French words, and the WH is, says Mr. Murray, as in Scotland, varying between (wh, kwh). The peculiar dental T, D, before R, are considered under D, in the Alphabatical arrangement of the Consonants, No. 3, below.

My inquiries as to the "brogue" have not resulted in any very satisfactory information. It seems to me that we must study the Irish habits of Celtic pronunciation, and the de-formation of English by persons naturally speaking Celtic, before we can form a proper judgment on the brogue. Thus Mr. Murray, from his own Irish experience, defines the brogue as speaking English with Celtic habits of utterance—1) in the pronunciation of consonants, as the rolling r (ˌr), the post-aspiration (purh, br), the dental or bi-dental (ˌt, ˌd) before this (ˌr), and excessive palatalisation of (l, n, k, g); 2) in the vowels (i) for (ɨ), (o) for (ɘ, ø), (e) for (ii), all three of which appear doubtful to me, as the last seems certainly seventeenth century English; and 3) most of all in the intonation, which appears full of violent ups and downs, or rather precipices and chasms of force and pitch, almost disguising the sound to English ears. In this work I have generally omitted to dwell on intonation, because, at all times extremely difficult to catch and describe in living speech, it was hopeless to recover it in the past. But in local speech intonation is very characteristic, and for Scotch and Irish it is generally unmistakable, although so difficult to describe. Mr. Graves says Cork and Killarney are marked by a peculiar accent on the ultimate syllable, a high key, and a brogue that is never lost. Even the gentry partake of this peculiarity. This brogue, when
once heard, can never be forgotten. Kilkenny, says Mr. Graves, has a peculiar drawling brogue, which he endeavours to write thus: Calf calf, Margareta Margaret, clean claime, height hoith, potatoes pya-teees, wheat whate, father faather, door dure, where aa is French a, except when answering to ea. Mr. Graves also remarks that "in the ballads of the peasantry the consonants at the ends of lines are ignored, it is enough if the vowels jingle together," and adds that this is also the rule of Irish poetry. That is to say, the Irish are still content with assonances, which had disappeared from English poetry before the immigration. In some modern street ballads of Belfast, sent me by Mr. W. H. Patterson, I find: name vain, shame train;—found known, surprise sight, found down, hands land;—eye grief, time line;—tin limb, mixed bricks, line pantomime;—knell field;—alone home, eyes high, strong on;— chalk walked, malt walked, shock walked, hot clock, stop walked, talk walked, knocked walked (here every stanza ended with 'walked,' and the rhymester was evidently hard up);—remember surrender, perished cherish;—march smash, toast force;—cared bed;—sobbed Lord, joy smiles while;—found town. But by far the greater number of rhymes are perfect, although sometimes the authors seem to have had no rhymes at all "convenient," as when they condescend to: comrade poor Pat, morning darling, explain line, spring strong, kneeled side. It is very seldom that an Irish pronunciation comes in as: door sure, scream same.

Mr. Graves gives the following as "a fair specimen of the Kilkeny English of the last generation, i.e. as spoken by the old people," and adds that national school education is fast destroying these peculiarities; he says also that this dialect has evidently been influenced by an early English colonisation, and that the speakers use very good English, not clipping their words much. The bracketed explanations are his own.

"Shure yer 'Oner never seen so clane [clear-complexioned] a boy, [unmarried man,] or likely [handsome] a colleen [girl] as them two that was marrid the week afore last.—Is it what the dacent couple had to depind [the s' sounded like Italian s'] on for their livin, yer oner is axin? Sorra a h apopt but God's goodness, and the quarter of pyates [pronounced as two syllables, pya-tes, a quarter of an acre of potatoes] the boy got last Easther.—Is it after the woman [the speaker's wife] yer Riverence is axin? Och she's bad intirely with the faver, and the childhre down [sick] along with her. Glory be to God! an sorra an egg or a dhrop of milk meself has to give the crathers, becase the fox, the thief of the world, tuck the hins, an the owen's run dhry with the red murrin, not a dhrop inthered thir lips since yisterday but could wather.—Yer Riverence is a dacent gentle-man, and won't see a poor crea-thur in want uv a bit to sate. The baaste perished [died] on me last week, and sorra a sup of milk I have for the childhre. It's kind faather [proving yourself kin to your father] for yer oner to be good to the poor."

Most words are here in received spelling, some occasionally in
both received and characteristic spelling; probably not one was altogether in received pronunciation.

With regard to the letter ə, I have been told that the first letters of the alphabet are called (wə, bee, see, dee), and that barrel is (bərəl), and so on. But nothing of this is shewn in the above or in the following orthography.

In re-arranging Mr. D. Patterson's words, the ordinary spelling is put in italics, his phonetic spelling follows in roman letters, with B annexed, and C if this is used in Cork, S if in Scotch, WS in West and SS in South Scotch, and SE in Scotch English. Sometimes the word is re-spelled or only a single letter is added to show the differences. When C is put after the usual spelling, it shews that at Cork the received, or what is there considered as the received, pronunciation is used. Sometimes this plan is specially broken through for brevity, as explained on each occasion.

Mr. D. Patterson seems to use oe, ai, ah, au, oe, oo, in closed syllables for (ii, eo, aə, əə, oo, au), and i, e, a, o, u, for (i, e, ə, o, ə), but (ə, ə) may be meant, and he seems to have no sign for (ə). In open syllables, or with a final ə mute, (a, e, i, o, u) seem to be (əe, ii, iə, əo, iə), and au is (əu). The two sounds (iə, ei) will be spoken of under i long.

1. Miscellaneous.

To begin with a few instances which cannot be easily classed under letters. We have not unknown deformations of words in column colym B C SE, and tremendous thremen-dyay-is B, thremen cus C, which appears rather as (trimen-dhəz) in English, but massacre massacree B, massacrai C, is very peculiar. The three following are usual enough in England: coroner crowner B, C or corner, courtesy curtchy B C, poem pome B C SE, (po' em) S, but process C, prose B, seems to be simply (provəz) abridged, and portmanteau B, where yes = (je), or portmancu B, is a mere local mispronunciation in B, where 'portmankal' has also been heard. Initial syllables are lost in apprentice C, prentice B S, enlist list B S C, and perhaps a final t in lancet lance B S C, which looks, however, more like a different usage.

Accent is thrown back, as regards received pronunciation, in brigadier brig'adier B, cavalier cav' alier B, engineer en'gineer B, fustier fu'stier B, mankind man'kin' B C, and S for accent, parishioner parishioner B C; and forward in contrary contra'r B S C, in B and C we ought certainly to have tth, desultory de'sul'tory B, de'sul' thory C, discipline discipline B S C, disciplined disciplined B, disputable dis' putable B C, disputant disputant B, district C, district B, exemplary ex'am'plary B S C, industry industry B S, industrithy C, as it certainly should be in B, inventory inventory B S, inventithy C, lamentable lamentable B S C, maintenance maint' nance B C, menti' nance S, subaltern sub'al' tern B.

2. Vowels.

A is sometimes but rarely broadened into (əə, ə), as cabai C, cabaul B, S (ə), canai C, canaul B, S (ə), tassel torse B C, S (ə). The general tendency is towards thinness, which takes several degrees. Thus, alderman C, alderman B, that is, with (əə) not (əə), agrees with the retention of (ə) after w, which goes through the Belfast pronunciation, answering to S or SE (ə), but, except in the one word wasp wasp (=wasp) B C, seems to be unknown in C, where the received pronunciation prevails, the examples being: qualify, quality, quantity, quarrel, quarry, squabbie, squad, squander, swood, scodle, scowle, swamp, swop, swop, scowrn, scowth, scowr, scowr, scowrn, scowrt, scowrry, scowsh, scowth, scowt, scowle, scowllow, scant, scwar, scwar, scwarl, scwarrry, scwarsh, scwarth, scwurt, scwurt, scwurt, scwurt, scwurt, scwurt, scwurt.

The short a sometimes seems to be lengthened to (əə) in ration rashin B C, nag C, naig B S, and falls quite into short (ə, ə) in apparel apparel B C, bendy C, bendy B, branch C, branch B, (breath) S, calcio C, kelligo B, cartidge

A short often sounds as a short in almost any word, but in Belfast this pronunciation is confined to words in which a is preceded by (k, g), or followed by (k, g, q). What shade of short a this may be is not known, possibly (e), but Mr. Murray suggests that it may be only a narrow pronunciation of (a), as a rebound from Scotch (a, k), and doubts whether a Southern Englishman would feel it too narrow. In Cork nothing of the kind is known. The following are some of the examples: bag beg, camel kennel, cant canty, curry kettle, cowen kovan, drag drags, fang fang, gabble gubble, galley gelley, gas guess, hack heck, hag hog, in fact in fact, knack neck, leg lag, pack peck, pang peng, plank plunk, rack rock, rank renk.

CAR- GAR- are usually kyar- gyar in Belfast, but sometimes kare- gare.

The first is just known in Cork. Neither are known in South Scotch.

In was C, wuz B, S occ, we have possibly a occasional B use, and occasion C, vocation B, is no doubt more confusion. Unaccented A is perhaps exceptionally treated in America American B C, and 'Mericy C.

A long seems to be in Ireland naturally (see), but much further examination is here necessary. D. Patterson notes that -er is often called (-er), possibly (-er), and that when following k a y is introduced, as kyar, skyar, for cer, sear. This and the long -ar must in general be passed over, to note ekar C, char B SE, farm C, form B, dare dar B S C, and awern C, ahorn B S, panorama panomrama B S C, rather C, rether B, S (ree).

AE is noted as eps C, spae B, but the meaning of the pronunciation is not obvious.

AI. Only again C, again B SE, against C, against B SE, said C, said B SE, are noticed.

AU is exceptionally pronounced in aussatu C, asuut B, awyer C, ogre B, jenmonsico jendies B, jaundic C. The regular sound is marked as a, but whether this means (e) or (ee) or (aa) is not noted. The C is as received, the S has (aa), always, and the English has (aa), hence I only give B in brewl bral, claw cla, cratil cral, fawn fan, flaw fla, gnow na, hawthorn hatchorn, jaw ja, gnow na, law la, paw pa, saw sa, sprawl spral, tawny tanney.

E short is apparently lengthened in B, and not in C, in bet C, beat B, led C, laid B, precious C, prayshar B, shed C, shade B. It is occasionally deepened to (a) as in desk B, desk B, (desk) S, grenadier granndier B S C, sorm ran B WS C, wratch C, ratch B, S (w'), wrattles rassel B WS C; but its general tendency is to sharpen into (i), as in bench binch B C, bosome bizm B, (br-zam) S, bliss B, bliss B, S (e'), brethren C, brethren B, S, cherry C, chirpy B, S (e'), chest C, chist B, occ. C, (ke'lst) S, clever C, cliver B, S (e'), crevice C, criviss B, S (e'), devil divvill B C, S (e'), engine injine B C, S (e'), eever C, ivver B, S (e'), every C, ivver B, S (e'), jerk C, jirk B, jet C, jit B, S (e'), kernel C, kernel B, merry C, mirry B, S (e'), never C, nivver B, S (e'), next nixt B C, S (e'), premises primmises B C, red C, rid B, S (e'), shettie shirtie B, S (e'), speckled C, sprankled B S, together C, together B, S (e'), twenty twinti B C, whether C, whither B, S (e'), wrench wrench B C, yes yis B, yis yes C, (ze'e) S, yesterday yisterday B C, S (ye's), yet yit B C, S (e'), and in senna C, seenni B, (se'ni) S, it seems to be even lengthened into (i). Although the tendency does not seem to have always reached C in these cases, it is widely diffused, and the above list is far from containing all the instances that might be given.

E long is often (ee) or (ee), where it was so in the xviiiith century, as in dooent daicent B C, equal aiquil B C, extreme extbhrain B C, female femail B, femail C, fewor favour B, fayyur C, frequent freiquent B C, immediately immidaitly B, immidaitly C, schemes skaim B C, secret saiht C B, tedious taidious B C. The B short pronunciation in herro herro B, hairo C, does not extend to C. In those words where it was spelled or might be spelled ew, the (ii) sound had already prevailed by the xviiiith century, but boostings低保tins B, baystains baysteas C, quar quar B C, are partial exceptions. The pronunciations were war B, wor C, thoopence thrupence B SE, thrippence C, arise otherwise. But where
EA was introduced in the xvith century, we know that the sound (ee, ae) remained in the xvith, and hence we are not surprised at finding it almost uniformly so pronounced in Ireland. The remarkable point is that this pronunciation occurs in Belfast also, whereas it has nearly disappeared from the Scotch, whence it was derived. That it really existed there once, appears by some few remains. Thus reason is now in SS (r'–'n'), but in the common phrase reason or none, used adverbially, they still say (r'–'n–ern'). Mr. Murray (in a private letter) says that there are some similar facts which lead him to suppose that the SS (r') in the xvith century was still (x) or (æ), and that it travelled through (s, s') to (æ', æ'). In examining the words in EA, it is hence convenient to divide them into groups.

1) Those words in ea now (ee) or (ae) both in B and C, but not in S, these are: bead baid, begle baigle, beak bake, beam bame, bean baste, beet baet, bleach blach, breach braich, cease saice, cheap chap, cheat chait, clean clain, creak craik, cream crim, crease craice, creature craithir B, craithir C, deacon daikin, dean dale, dean daim, each aitch, eiger aiger, eagle aigle, ease eiste, east eist, eat ate, feasible faisible, feast faist, feast fate, fleas flay, friek frayk, grease n. grace, v. graze, heal hale, heathen haithen, key kay, lead laide, leaf lait, league lairse, look lake, leam lane, lease lace, least laist, leave lave, meat male, mean mane, measles maizels, meat mate, pea pay, peace pace, peal pale, please plays, preach prach, reach raich, real rale, reap rape, rear rair, reasons raisain, repeat repaint, sea say, seal sale, seem same, seat sait, sheaf saifh, sheath shaithe, sneak snake, speak spake, steal stale, streak streithra, stream streithraim, tea tay, teach tach, treacle treacle, treason treasian, treat treith, veal vale, scowl wane, wees wave, wheal whait, wreath rake.

2) Words in ea having the (ee, ae) sound in S, as well as B and C, breathe breathe, endea vaer, mait nait, wok wake.

3) Words in ear having (aa) or (æee) in B, and the regular (ae) or (er) in C, death darth B, S (ae), earth C, arth B, S (ae), heard hard B, S (æ), learn larn B C, S (ae), search C, sarch B, S (ae).

4) Words in ea having (a, æ) in both B and C, leap lep, meadow modda.


EI is not sufficiently exemplified, the xvith century pronunciation appears to be the rule, either aither B C, leisure laizhir B, laizhur C, inveigle inveigla B C, seize saize B C. Mr. Healy thinks that the ei is not so broadly pronounced as ea, but I have not been able to determine whether they differ as (ee, ee).

EW. The few cases given are quite exceptional, chew chow B S, chau C, skiver skivier B C, Matthew Matha B C.


I short when written ee by Mr. D. Patterson represents the Scotch short (i), and does not reach to C: brick C, break delicious C, diecheaisay B S, giggle C, googie B S (i), idiot edeyt B S, ajut C, malicious C, mileshayis
B S, militia C, mileeshy B, snivel C, sneevel B, ridiculous ridekillis B S (i), rudiplis C, wick C, week B, (wik) S. Even the changes of i into (ə, a) in miracle mericle B C, (meɪrˈɪkl) S, mild melt B C, (melθ) S, rid C, red B, (red) S, which is only partially C, and into (ə, a) in brattle C, bruckle B S, whip C, whup B S, are good Scotch. In rufian rufin B C the ə seems merely a mark of the indistinct final syllable, as used so much by Buchanan, see example on p. 1053.

I long is exceptionally pronounced (ee, ee) in diameter B, fatigue fetaig B, fataig C, intrigue intthraig B C, lilac B, laylock B S, occ. C, quiet quate B WS, quite C, of which fatigue, intrigue are remarkable, since oblige C, obledge B, and obledge C, does not follow suit. Notwithstanding the usual impeachment that Irish people say oi naturally, I am led to suppose that giant joyst B C, riot royet B, ritt C, are also exceptional.

In Belfast there appear to be two regular sounds of long i, corresponding to the Scotch sounds, see § 2, No. 10 below, and similarly distributed, but not always affecting the same words, nor, as far as I can discover, pronounced exactly in the same manner. According to Mr. D. Patterson, the first sound

B (ai) and S (ai).

I was hurt
My native country I'll disown
The die is cast
He will dye it red
He dyed his hair
He was dyeing it first
He knows the secrets of all
They tned Rose fast
That gold is mine

This distinction is not appreciated by Mr. W. H. Patterson, who hears in Belfast, a'm goin to Benger, a wouldn't if a was you, and thinks that eye is called exactly (ai). But he adds, "a Cork man would say, o'ive hurt mee oi," This Mr. Healy, being a Cork man, repudiates. He knows in general only one pronunciation of long i, which he considers to be (ai), and, after noticing the habitual pronunciation of by, my, as (bi, mi), adds, "Some of them also say moe for my, but these are very few; in fact, that word and noise for mine are the only ones I can speak of as having heard personally of the change of i into or." He has forgotten giant joyst, which he had already acknowledged. Rev. Jas. Graves "never remarked any

is (ai), and the second (ei) or (yi), or (eɪ) with the first element slightly lengthened. The first occurs in almost all words where long i precedes r, s, z, th, and in a few where y, ye, se, are final.

The following words are said to have (ai) and in Scotch (di), and hence are both B and S: alive arrive lithe buy by client connive contrive cry deny deprive derive descrey despise dive dry dye expire fie five fry hive my pie ply prior prize pray revise revive rye scythe shy sire size sly spy surmise thy tie tithe try vie wry.

The following six have (ai) in B, and (di) in SE, but not in vernacular S: byre desire dire fire hire tire.

The following two have (ai) in B and (di) in S: briar, friar.

Other cases have the second or (ai) sound in B, and generally also in S, but the following eight have (ei) in B and (di) in S: choir idolize iron piracy pirate quire squire.

This double sound of long i, which is not in received English (but see Granville Sharpe, above p. 1063, ˈdɪ), is very puzzling to an Englishman. Mr. D. Patterson gives the following sentences to illustrate the two sounds in B. The S distribution of the sounds does not always agree with the Irish.

B (ei).

His eye was hurt—S (ei)
I will my native isle disown—S (ei)
They die at last
He will die in bed
He died in despair
He was dying of thirst
His pride was the cause of his fall—S (ei)
The tide rose fast—S (ei)
That is a gold mine—S (ei)

This difference [between I and eye] in the southern parts of Ireland," but adds, "eye is pronounced ce in the north." However, he writes height hoit. Now Sheridan and Knowles, both Irishmen, make the English sound of long i = (aɪ), see (108, c), and only differing from oy, made (oʊɪ), by the length of the first element. Now what caused this, and what makes English novelist write poi for the Irish sound of pie? I have had very little opportunity of observing genuine peasant Irish. But I am inclined to think that the effect is produced by "guturalising" (1107, ə), whereby the lower part of the pharynx being widened more than the upper, an effect is produced similar to the fourth degree of rounding (1114, ə),
so that the sound (ɔː) becomes (oː) or very nearly (oː), see (1100, d'). At any rate, this produces the nearest approach to the effect I have noticed. Of course any such change would be entirely repudiated by the speaker. The following are a few of the words which take (ɔː, ɔː) in Belfast: eye, tid, toe, Irish, pipe, pike, pipt, point, sprite, spritce, bible, bite, bile, bind, fite, fight, fine, find, vice, vile, vine, wipe, wise, wise, wise, wire, wind, twice, swine, white, whine, quiet, tight, tide, tile, time, sigh, sight, side, silent, sign, shine, child, chime, high, lie, liar, life, light, like, lime, line, oblige, fly, flight, sight, slide, slice, glide, ripe, right, wrought, write, ride, rice, rhyme, brieve, bright, bridal, brine, fright, Friday, thrive, trive, trice, stripe, strip, drive, gripe, kite, kind, guide, guilt, might, mice, miser, mild, smile, nigh, night, knight, knife, knife, wise, snipe, and their compounds. Of these obliged had been previously given as 'obliged', so that probably both pronunciations occur, but the present is the one considered by Mr. D. P. to be correct. "When I precedes another vowel," says Mr. Healy, "the i only is heard, as Brian brine, lion line, diamond diamonds, crying crime."

O short seems to be made (oo) or (o') in cord coard B C, (coard) S, sort soart B C, (soart) S.

In the following words, where the received dialect has (a, a), we find (a) retained: constable constable B S C, govern G, govern B SE, hover hover B SE, none none B SE but one wan B SE, won C, nothing C, nothing B SE, oven oven B SE, but B and C show different habits, and the contrary use of (a, a) for (a) seems confined to B in body buddy, for fur, hox hox, nor nur, or ur.

That the (u)-sound after (w) should become (a, a) is not strange, but Mr. Healy will not allow it in Cork. wolf C, wulf B, woman C, wuman B S, and even in the plural women C, wumen B WS.


The further gradation to (i) appears in Donegal Dinneagal B, Dunneagal C, doos C, does B, worsted worsted B, worst B C, but is not universal. In B it seems fixed for -tion -shin B, rather -shón, than -shin or -shún C. For -In as indistinct (-en), see Buchanan (1604). It is possible, therefore, that this may be an old Scottish tendency, retained in Belfast.

O long, OA, OE are generally the same as in the received dialect, but board, board B C, coarse coarse B S C, slot slot B, are exceptions, though (slot) is the common technical word in England. Before I there is the usual old change into an (əʊ) diphthong, now very characteristic of Irish: hold bowl B C, and boule, bol boul B C gen., cold coul B, could C, colt coul B C gen., hold houl B C, and houl C, jolt joul B C, gen., moul moul B C gen., old oul B C, pole C, poul B, roll rou B C, sold soid B C, sold sold B, sold C, toldt toule B C, and toule C, but gold gool B S C.

Exceptional changes occur in oiser oisir B, pony C, pouny B S, swore C, sore B, tobacco tobecky B, tobecky C; but phoeinx fainix B C belongs rather to long e. OO, though generally remaining, even in door door B C, floor floor B C, (floor) S, becomes (əʊ) in many words, but the usage varies, as hous C, hud B, look C, luck B WS, shock shuck B C WS, stood stud B C, took tuck B C WS, wood C, wud B S, woolel C, wul B; but loose C, louse B S, which also is common in English dialects.

Of, oy. No examples given by Mr. D. P., but the usual (ai) sound in boil, point, join, etc., is I believe common.

OU, OW, in the following has an (ə) sound, contrary to received usage: bowl bowl B S C, gouge gouge B C, pour C, pour B, and more commonly, (pouer) S, route rout B S, shoulder shouldeither B C, soul soul B C, tour tour B S. On the contrary, the received (ai) is (oo) in deour C, devoir B, and (uu) in cough cough B S, course coarse B S C, court court B S C, crow crock B S, drought drooth B S C, pouche pouche B C, slow sloe sloe B S.

This becomes (a, a) in could C, end B, ouier curier B S C, mourn mourn.
BSC, should C, shud B, would C, wud B, and (o) in nourish C, norrish B.

Final -ow becomes regularly indistinct (-o) in BSC, as fellowella, and -ough fares the same in borough B, borra B, thorough C, thorra B. But we find the favourite -in window windy B C, possibly etymologically founded.


We also find the usual vite shoot B, and bvooy boy B C.

3. Consonants.

B is called (v) in marble marvell B C, S occ. B is omitted in Belfast and Scotch, but not in Cork between m and syllabic t, as bramble B, crumble crumbl B, fumble C, fumbl B S, gamb C, gammel B S, grumble C, grumbl B S, jumble C, jumbl B S, jumble C, mumble C, mumblem B S, ramble B S, ramb B S, rumble rumm B S, scrumble C, scrumbl B S, stumble C, stammbl B S, thimb C, thimble B S, tumble C, tumbl B S, and between m and er in timble C, timer, and even in Cork also in cucumber cucumber B S C, where the initial en- for the natural xvith century historical -ow- is curious. C functioning as (s) becomes (sh), as s often does, in spancel spenshil B S, spansel C; guttaipercha guttaiperka B C is a mere error of ignorance.

D and T in connection with R receive a peculiar dentality all over Ireland. This dentality is not noted in conjunction with any other letter but R, either immediately following, as in dr-, tr-, or separated by an unaccented vowel, as -der-, -ter, the r being of course trilled. No notice is taken of the dentality of D, T, by Mr. D. Patterson in any other case, and he tells me that it does not otherwise occur in Belfast, but it is never omitted in these cases. Whether the word begins with the D, T or not, whether the D, T be preceded by S initially or by any long or short vowel, or any consonant in the accented syllable or not, when the unaccented -er, -ar, etc., are followed by a vowel or another consonant, seems to make no difference. The dentality always occurs in relation to a following R, and not otherwise. No example is given of dentality being caused by preceding -r — which is curious in connection with the apparent non-dentality of Sanscrit R under the same circum-
stances. The old Forth and Barry dialect seems to show an old dental i, d, even under other circumstances, as will be discussed in Chap. XII.

In England, as has been pointed out at length, t, d are not generally dental (pp. 1095—6). We shall find that dental (t, d) occur frequently in English dialects, but always and only in connection with r, probably (r), under precisely the same circumstances as the Irish dental. We shall even find that in English phases or varieties of dialect are distinguished by the presence and absence of this dentality. We have nothing in older English to lead us to a knowledge of the existence of dental (t, d), and their distinction from coronal (t, d). There is also no trace of it in Scotch. It commences further south in England, in Cumberland, Westmorland, Yorkshire, Lancashire, Peak of Derbyshire, etc. How did it get into Irish-English? It is believed to be Celtic, but I am not sufficiently acquainted with Celtic usages, or the English customs of Scotch and Welsh Celts in speaking English, to form any opinion. Another pronunciation question is the Irish dentality the same as the Indian, French, and dialectal English?
Mr. D. Patterson writes it *th*, *dth*, and, in answer to my request that he would describe the action of the tongue in pronouncing it, wrote: "This vulgar pronunciation of *t* and *d* is caused by pressing the tip of the tongue against the teeth instead of the gums," shewing that his own (t, d) are gingival instead of coronal, and so making his dentals the same as (t, d). But he goes on to say: "The expontent *t* is first sounded, but, on withdrawing the tongue from the teeth, the sound of *th* as in *thus* (dh) is unavoidably pronounced between the *t* and the *r*." That is, his *thrum, dtherm* = (*threm, dtherem*), which of course are quite possible, although it would thus be somewhat difficult to distinguish the first word from the second. The Rev. James Graves says: "The tongue is pressed firmly against the teeth and retracted, when the peculiar sound above described is pronounced, and before the succeeding vowel is vocalised." Here the (dh) disappears, and we have (*threm, dtherem*) simply. Mr. W. H. Patterson says: "The tip and sides of the tongue are jammed tightly against the teeth and palate, by the muscular action of the tongue, assisted by the lower teeth, which are brought against it, and no sound issues till the tongue is removed, which is not done till the pressure of air from within is considerable (at least as compared with the amount of pressure used in saying *this* or *them*)." I think that this 'coarse and thickened pronunciation' owes its existence to the important part played by the lower teeth, which keep the tongue from moving. In fact the word cannot issue till the tongue is drawn backwards and downwards out of the gap between the upper and lower teeth which it had been closing." It was to meet this case that I introduced the bidental (\(\ddot{a}, \ddot{d}\)) on (1120, b). If Mr. W. H. P. is correct, therefore, the sound is (*threm, dtherem*). Mr. Murray, who has been in Ulster, and knows the Westmorland (\(\ddot{a}, \ddot{d}\)), says: "I do not at all identify the *th* of Ireland with the North of England dental. To my remembrance it was something distinct, with more (dh) or aspiration and mouth and inward -- a spluttering effect in perervid oratory, but by the force of the explosion were carrying out the saliva with it. The northern English has a much finer (more delicate) and more simple-toned effect." This would make the effect nearly (*th*, *dth*, *dth*), the windrush (dh) and the jerk (s) carrying some saliva with them. Mr. Healy, in answer to the question: "Is *t* or *d* pronounced dentally before *r*?" says: "Always, and to my Irish ears it would be a great improvement if they adopted or re-adopted it in England for some words. There cannot be a question as to the superior expressiveness of *Thrash! Murder!*, heard from an Irishman, and the feeble *trash, murder*, heard here!" (dated Newcastle-on-Tyne). It might be possible to amalgamate Mr. W. H. P.'s and Mr. M.'s suggestions, and write (*threm, dtherem,*). But merely English readers would be led to nearly the right sound, most probably, by endeavouring to say (*threm, dtherem*). The following examples are selected from a long list, to shew the varying circumstances under which this dentality or bi-dental postaspiration occurs. All are found both in B and C, unless otherwise marked.

udder eldther B, udher D, sellor sother B, saudther C, (sa-dur) B, consider con- sister B, considther C, ladder leather B S, laddther C, bladder blether B S, bladther C, fodder fother B S, fodther C, splendor splendour B, splendthnr C, nearer C, neardher B. In some of these latter cases most probably th B is an oor for th or dth.

D is omitted—

after R in gardener garner B C, hardly harly B S C, land C, lar B S;
after L in child chile B C, field C, feel B WS, held C, hell B WS, would moul B C, seafold seafill C, stafill C, wild wile B C, world wotl B C WS;

Hence of course D also disappears between N and L as in bundle C, bunnil B, candle kennel B, kendle C, chandler chanler B C, candle dannil B, handel C, hannel B S, kindle C, kennel B S (c'), spindle C, spinnel B S, windlass winlass B C.

The participial -ed becomes -it or -t, contrary to received usage, at least in crabbled crabbit B S C, "in the sense of 'cute, not sour, morose,' C, crooked crookit B S C, killed, kilt B WS C, naked nakit B S C, wicked wickit B C.

The following are exceptional forms: soldier soger B S C, common dialectally in England, necessity C, needosity B S, which looks like an attempt to make necessity intelligible, but occurring in America (1226, 6c), may be an old form, although clearly erroneous etymologically, breath breth B, breth C, the last is not at all uncommon in England, especially among dressmakers.

F occasionally becomes voiced in B and S, but not in C apparently, as saif C, calve B S, staff C, stav B, (stav) S.

C in blackguard beggarb B seems to be merely palatalised before (aa), as k usually is in B. In drought dithroth B C, the (th) represents the lost guttural, but it was only (t) in the xvth and xvinth centuries.

K is not (as in received English) transposed in ask ex B, (akx) S, ax C, and disappears in asked ask B C, which must be considered a form of (aksx), and not of (askt). It seems also to disappear in inkwours C, in newar B S, which may also be heard in England.

L is very variously treated in a few words. Its replacement by w in April Apron C, flannel flannen B S C, will be paralleled under N. In corporal C, corporeal B, we have almost a Spanish interchange of l and r. In inch C finch B, i is inserted, and in Walter Watther B, Watther C, omitted, as of old. In stiucies C, slooch B, i causes a y sound to vanish, and in column colylum B SE, occ. C, to be inserted!

M in mushroom mushroom B C has gone back to its historical n. After L it appears to be always vocal: ellem B S, ellim C, helm helim B, S occ., hellim C, realm rellim B, S occ., rellim C, wheel whellim B, S occ., whellim C, where, as usual, i replaces the indistinct vowel.

N becomes i in chimney chimley B S, or chimby C, damon demsel B, (de-mhais') S, remnant remlet B, and as in brine C, brime C S, ramseck ramseck B C.

NG in participles and gerunds is regularly (n) in B S C, as evening cumin B S C, evening evenin B S C, gnawing gnawin B C, herring herring B S C, sitting sittin B S C; in blacking blacknin B, S occ., blacknin C, there is an evident confusion with blackening.

In kingdom C, keendon B, it would appear that the vowel also is lengthened as in the old Firth and Burgy dialect. Before th it becomes n in strength stthrenth B S C, length lenth B S C, in dangis C, dangle B, and all similar words, C like E has ngg (gg), and S like B has ng (q) only, as in angry, bung-le, bang-er, hang-er, jang-le, jing-le, mang-le, mong-er, long-er, ming-le, sing-le, strong-er, strong-le, young-le, young-er.

P becomes b in baptism C, baptizm C, and often in England, sorapis scrab B, sreap C.

QU is k, as often in England, in B and C, in quoit, quorum, quoit, quotient.

B is often transposed, from before to after, in africa aired B C, (ffird) S,
bristle C, bire B S, orb C, kerb B, grin C, ginn B C, pretty purty B C; and from after to before in burst breast B, bust C, curb C, crub B S, curb crud B S C, scrif B, scriB C, (screef) S. It is also sometimes inserted after p, th, as in pokor C, pokor B, potates pratitie B C, and also often pyaity, (ter-te) S, thistle C, bristle B S. The prior vocalisation of r occurs in February Fayberwary B, Febbery C, pro-prietor proprietor S, proprieterthor B, propriety properity, B C, library liberary B S C, sobriety sobriety B C, umbrella umbrellas B S C, none of them uncommon in England, where also curiosity curiosity B C is well known.

S is evidently mistakenly inserted in molest mistil B, mistle C, and omitted in corpus C, corp B S, but in smooze C, nose B S, the omission, and in quinsey equinass B the insertion, is ancient. It is changed to (sh, zh), but chiefly in B, in blunderbuss blunderbush B, blunderthor B, flesch B, S occ., green creesh B S, creel C, harrow C, herrish B, mince C, mince B S, rimes renah B, renah C, rinah S, utensil utensibil B S, utensil C. On the contrary S/R evidently creates a difficulty, found also in Scotch, and in Salopian, and or is used for it in B, not in C, in shrub rub, shrub, shrub, shrub, shrub, shrub, shrub, shrub, shrub, shrub, shrub. Is not shrub B, scraff B, a mere blunder? Dictionary dictionarry B, dictionarry C is old, and rubbish rubbish B, occ. C, is known in English as (re-bozah).

T becomes d in protestant proddisain B, proddisain C, rodole rodole B, (pradik!) S, the latter very common as rodole in England, when ladies' handbags were so called. T is omitted in crept crept B C, empy empty B S, fudge C, fidge B S, hoist C, hose B S C, occ., instant C, insat C, instat C, joise B, kept kep B, C, slept sleep B C, except swap B C, tempt C, temp B S. This would seem natural if it had not been added on in almost the same cases in attack attest B, attrit C, ones wants B C, and with t C, twice twyste B, C occ., sudden sudden B C.

TH has its old form in throne trone C. Becomes d in, fartherst B, farthest B, facthing farthing B, (faerdin) S, fathom C, faddom B S, and through doo C.

W is omitted in athwart athwart B S. Y appears as (dh) in you C, that (dhoon) B S, a remarkable form, which admits of explanation, first on the theory of assimilation to this and that, being used for a second more distant than; on the theory of (dh) replacing (gh) from ages geond, or as a mere orthographical mistake, y as often standing for p, so that you may have been in these the ages jon, “(dhoon) things,” being a construction equivalent to “them things.” Historical proofs are wanting. Mr. Murray takes the first view (Dial. of S. S. p. 186). It will be seen in § 2, No. 12, that the word you is not very common in our dialects. The adverbial form yonder is more frequent.

Z is s in losey losey loseyn B S, loseyn C.

Although it is, strictly speaking, beyond the scope of this work, it seems advisable to supplement the above account by a notice of some other Belfast peculiarities given in Mr. D. Patterson’s book, and their relation to Scotch.

Past Times.—He began to sing, he sung well, he drank water, he rid home, he to’en it away. I seen him, he done it himself. Mr. Murray says that this is quite opposed to Scotch. It is not uncommon in England. Thir, driv, stive, ris, are used for three, three, three, three. I give it him an hour ago, he come home this morning, he run down stairs. But, upset, lot, brung, are used for eat, upset, let, brought.

Scotch Words in Belfast—Bing heap, boks to retch, brush short and sudden illness, clock hook, clype large piece, coggie to shake, to rock, covey to upset, to barter S, dunh knock against, jolt, butt, dumt knock, blow, dwine pine, farl cake of bread, footy mean, patry, taking a mean advantage at play S, footy spongy, boks make holes, jek to dodge, lappered congealed, clotted, aether armpit, prod to stab, scrarney niggard, soundther to disgust, (ek-mar) S, shrewd a ditch (aeksh) S, skelly squint, skelp slap v. and n., sleekit sly, stokken slate, quench, smudge to smirk, stoon pang, ache, speel climb, smush refuse n. [quasi what is smashed], stoor dust, strop pipe, sprout, thole endure, throw twist, thud knock or
thump, warsh insipid, tasteless (warsh) S, whom a quantity.

Unusual words not Scotch.—Cur-
naptious crabbed, captions, dotther to
stagger, flouther, wheedle, foothther to
bungle, a bungler, jubious suspicious,
mistrustful (jubious?), jumpy to jostle,
ramk ramp, rancid, soppie to soak, to
wet thoroughly, scorn to scorn, scirnges
to creak, seendible thorough, sound,
skelf a small splinter.

English words in un-English Uses.—
1. Scotch. Even to impute, to suppose
capable of, or guilty of, terrible ex-
tremely, exceedingly [‘terrible’ com-
mon in Kent], boast hollow, (ba’s) S,
clash a tell tale or idle tale, cloth to
throw, crack talk gossip, gaunt yawn,
gutters mire, loss to lose, pangs cram,
sceout squint v. and n.—here there where
hither thither whither [almost universal
in England], a taste, a lock, a grain, a
very little.

2. Not Scotch. — Bloodshed blood-
shot, right thorough, them those [very
common dialectally], wait to flag, a
ha’p’orth any thing at all, as “I don’t
know a ha’p’orth about it, he won’t say
a ha’p’orth about it, there wasn’t a
ha’p’orth wrong with him.”

Scotch phrases.—Whose owse whose is
[see Murray, op. cit. p. 193], the t’other
the other, through other confused, de-
ranged (German durch einander), a
sore head a head ache, let on let be
known, pretend v., carry on misbehave,
put upon ill used, imposed upon; my,
his, her, its, lone alone.

VULGAR AND ILLITERATE ENGLISH

might be classed among educated English, if credit is to be given
(as it should be given) to the following extract from Punch (6 Sept.
1873, vol. 65, p. 99):

Dialogue between Boy Nobleman and Governess at a Restaurant.

Lord Reginald. Ain’t yer goin’ to
have some puddin’, Miss Richards! It’s
so Jolly!

The Governess. There again, Regi-
inald! ‘Puddin’”—‘goin’”—‘Ain’t
yer’!!! That’s the way Jim Bates
and Dolly Maple speak—and Jim’s a

Stable-Boy, and Dolly’s a Laundry-
Maid!

Lord Reginald. Ah! but that’s the
way Father and Mother speak, too—
and Father’s a Duke, and Mother’s a
Duchess!! So there!

But there is more in it than this. The so-called vulgarities of
our Southern pronunciation are more frequently remnants of the
polite usages of the last two centuries, which have descended, like
cast-off clothes, to lower regions. Were there time and space, it would
be interesting to compare them in this light. But the American and
Irish usages just collected are sufficient for shewing the present
state of these mumified forms, and we pass therefore at once to the
more pressing investigation of the varieties of natural speech, as the
only glimpse that we can get into the seething condition of the old
pre-Chaucerian period, wherein our present language was concocted.
Manuscripts transcribed by copyists who infused their own local
habits into the orthography, and sometimes into the grammar, of
their originals, afford at best but perplexing materials. We cannot
hope to understand the ancient conditions but by examining their
modern realisation.


NO. 1. NATURAL PRONUNCIATION.

By “natural,” as distinguished from “educated,” English pronun-
ciation, is meant a pronunciation which has been handed down
historically, or has changed organically; without the interference of
orthoepists, classical theorists, literary fancies, fashionable heresies,
and so forth, in short "untamed" English everywhere, from the lowest vulgarity, which, as just stated, is often merely a cast-skin of fashion, to the mere provinciality, which is a genuine tradition of our infant language. An exhaustive or even an approximatively complete investigation of this subject is far too extensive to be taken up in this place. It will, I hope, be gradually carried out in detail by the English Dialect Society, for it is full of interest for the history of our language.

In the present section, which is all that I can devote to an investigation which must extend over many years and many volumes to be at all adequately conducted, and which has been never generally treated by preceding writers, so that it is not possible to state general views succinctly, I shall endeavour to present some work done at my request, and with my own steady co-operation, in several characteristic departments, confining myself strictly to pronunciation, which is the phase of dialect to which most inadequate attention has been hitherto paid. For brevity and convenience I dismiss all consideration of merely illiterate speech, beyond the short notice that I have appended to the last section. It requires, and as an important constituent of our language deserves, a very careful study; but time, space, and materials are alike wanting.

To myself individually the present section of my work appears meagre and unsatisfactory in a high degree. Instead of being, as it ought to be in such a work as the present, the result of mature study and long research, it is a mere hasty surface tillage of patches in a district not even surveyed, scarcely overlooked from some neighbouring height. I should have been ashamed to present it at all, had I not thought it incumbent on me to complete at least the conception of the investigations promised on my title-page, and to furnish the best which circumstances allowed me to scrape together. While I have been laying friends, and voluntary but hitherto unknown assistants under contribution, the fact that the conception of writing the sounds of dialects is altogether new has been gradually forced upon me, by hours and hours of wasted labour. From Orrin and Dan Michel to Dr. Gill was a barren period. From Dr. Gill till Mr. Laing's transcription of Tam o' Shanter (1822, x') was another. But with Mr. Melville Bell's Visible Speech Specimens an entirely new epoch was initiated. Mr. Murray's Scotch Dialects have worthily opened the real campaign. In this section I indicate, rather than exhibit, what is meant by comparative dialectal phonology, and I only hope that the results may suffice to call attention to the extreme importance of the subject, not merely to the history of the English language in particular, but to comparative philology in general. In our studies of language, we have too much neglected the constitution of its medium—sound. If language is but insonated thought, yet it is insonated, and the nature of this body must be far more accurately studied than hitherto, if we would understand the indications of its soul.
No. 2. Phonetic Dialects.

A dialect considered phonetically is not a series of mispronunciations, as the supercilious pseud-orthoeptist is too apt to believe. It is a system of pronunciation. We must distinguish between a grammatical and a phonetic phase of language. They are not necessarily co-extensive. Within the same grammatical region exist various phonetic regions. But still there is something of the same character pervading both. Varied as are the phases of South Eastern pronunciation, they have all a different character from either the Northern or the Western. Our older English is all dialectal. First Mr. Garnett and afterwards Dr. Morris have done much to compare them with one another grammatically, and, so far as mere letters allow, phonetically. In the present work an attempt has been made to determine approximatively the value of those letters. The determination can be at most approximative, for the writing even by careful writers, as Dan Michel and Orrmin, could have only been in itself approximative. The writers had no means at command to express, or training to appreciate, a variety of pronunciation even remotely approaching to that at the command of those who use palaesotype, and that is not itself sufficient perhaps to indicate the various shades of really unbridled natural pronunciation. Suppose we limited ourselves to the vowels (ii i, ee e, aa a, oo o, uu u, yy y), and the diphthongs to be made from them, and attempted to write received English from dictation, such as the passages given on pp. 1206-7, what would be the result? I will endeavour to carry out the program for my own pronunciation there given. The result would I think be something like this. The lines are arranged as on p. 1206, col. 1, to facilitate comparison.

Dhe rittn en printed difikelt ev problemz, en
reprizentceeshen e dhe saunz ez koniskwentli skesli
ev laagwwezh bi minz ev evve bin nappli solvd. Let
karektesz, whithsh er
insefleshent booch in kaind
en number, en whithsh
invenshen ev raitiq, dhe
moe dheafoe bi kembaind oa
greetest en moost
modiaid if wi wed giv ez
grafikel simbelizeeshen e
impoatent invenshen
anembor, en whithsh
whiteh dhe xiumen maind
egrafikel simbelizeeshen e
evve meed, en whithsh,
dhe fonettik ellements widh
az it indiid oalmoost
ooli som digiri ev
eksiiiz its stregth,
egzaknes en kenvinien,
sez bin frem oal taim, fe
hez bin ofn en
e neeshenz ez wel ez
ondzhosli etribbiuted
ez egzaknes en kenvinien,
individduelz,
neiiwistikel studiudents
not ekcepted, won
tehseu dhe moos nesereri
lahk dhi
won e dhe moos

On comparing this with the original on p. 1206, it will be seen

For Footnotes 1 and 2 see next page.
that the absence of a mark for (a), which no European language has yet accommodated with a fixed sign, has occasioned much trouble. In unaccented syllables (\(\text{e}\)) naturally presented itself, and in accented (\(\text{o}\)). The vocal \(\text{r}\) had of course to be omitted, but the diphthongs (ea, ia) replace (\(\text{ae}\) ee', \(\text{ii}'\)) in accented syllables. The (\(\text{aa}\)) would be felt as something like (\(\text{o}\)) and as something like (\(\text{a}\)), so that (\(\text{oa}\)) would readily suggest itself. The distinction between long and short vowels is, properly speaking, an innovation, and it has given great power to the transcription. But the duplication of simple consonants after accented short vowels is almost inevitable. The net result, although really a burlesque on modern received pronunciation, would, if pronounced as written (with at most the usual German indistinctness or French obscuration of unemphatic \(\text{s}\)), be perfectly comprehensible, and would be only thought a little broad here and a little thin there, and rather peculiar in places, so that we might put it down to a foreigner who could pronounce English remarkably well—for a foreigner. I think that I have come much nearer than this to the pronunciation of Shakspere and his followers, and that I have even given a better representation of Chaucer's. But as to the various dialectal pronunciations, as determined by the present written specimens, I should be satisfied if I came as near, not only in the \(\text{xiv}\)th and \(\text{xvii}\)th centuries, but to-day in the \(\text{xix}\)th, when reading English dialects written by contemporaries. What kind of an alphabet we now require for the representation of English dialects, I have two or three times attempted to show (1174, \(\text{d}\)). The experience gathered by actual use has led me to modify and improve those attempts, and to select from the whole list of phonetic elements those which appear necessary for the special purpose of writing English dialects (see No. 5 below). And I shall later on select three verses from the various dialectal versions of the *Song of Solomon* executed for Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte, and give them in their various original orthographies, contrasted with this Glossic system, so far at least as I am able to interpret the original. But otherwise I shall continue to use the paleotypic method of writing, in order not to fatigue the reader with various systems of spelling.

Properly speaking, then, it would be necessary to group phonetic dialects according to the pronunciations of what are deemed the *same* words, or, more accurately, according to the phonetic dialectal forms which may be traced to a common ancestor. At present we have no means of doing so. It is as yet extremely difficult to ascertain the sounds used in our dialects, because those who possess the practical knowledge find themselves unable to communicate it like Dogberry's reading and writing, to come by nature (MA 3. 3, 7).

1 The Philological Essays of the late Rev. Richard Garnett, of the British Museum, edited by his son, 1859, large 8vo, pp. 342. See especially the essay on English Dialects, pp. 41-77, and on the Languages and Dialects of the British Isles, pp. 147-195, in which, however, phonetics are as usual assumed, like Dogberry's reading and writing, to come by nature (MA 3. 3, 7).

2 See supra pp. 408-411, and especially footnote 8 to p. 409. See also Chap. VII, pp. 62-73, of Dr. Morris's *Historical Outlines of English Accidence* (2nd ed. 1872, small 8vo, pp. 379).
on paper with the accuracy required for the present purpose. In fact most of them have to learn the meaning and use of alphabetic writing. We have to class the dialects partly phonetically and partly grammatically; then, having got these classes, to make out as extensive a vocabulary of each as possible, and ascertain the sound of each word separately and in connection, as well as its descent. This is clearly a gigantic task, and must therefore be postponed. The admirable comparison of Scotch and English sounds in Mr. Murray’s work (p. 144) suggested to me, however, that it might be possible to select some thousand words which were tolerably likely to be common to most dialects, and, being received words, had a received orthography by which they might be identified, and then to obtain the dialectal pronunciation of these words. The kindness of some friends has allowed me to do so to a moderate extent, and far enough at least to shew the meaning of the process. I have grouped these according to received spellings, so that the dialectal de-formations (in a geometrical, not anatomical sense) may be to some extent compared. But I have not been able to do more than give a sample of the work wanted to be done before we can properly grasp the notion of phonetic dialects. I have eked out this attempt with comparative indices which at any rate will shew how little the present haphazard or ‘picturesque’ writing of dialects effects in this direction.

But to condense the view of dialects still further, I bethought me of procuring comparative translations of a single short specimen containing many words very characteristically pronounced, and also many grammatical phrases which have distinct idiomatic equivalents.⁠¹ Although I have not succeeded in getting a complete series of trustworthy versions of this specimen, and although possibly something very much better could be suggested by the experience thus gained, probably enough has been done to shew how much the comparative study of our dialects would be advanced by the simple process of getting one well selected set of phrases, instead of merely isolated words, or distinct and unconnected tales, printed in a careful phonetic version for every available phase of dialect. In glancing from page to page of these versions I seem to gather a new conception of the nature of our English language in form and construction, and to recognize the thoroughly artificial character of the modern literary language. We know nothing of the actual relations of the thoughts of a people, constituting their real logic and grammar, until we know how the illiterate express themselves. Of course it would be absurd for those possessing the higher instrument to descend to this lower one, and for the advance of our people, dialects must be extinguished—as Carthage for the advance of

¹ In putting this together I had the valuable assistance of Mr. Murray, who made many excellent suggestions and additions, and the Athenæum and Notes and Queries were good enough to draw attention to it in October, 1873. This has not been without some effect, as will be seen hereafter, though far less than I had hoped. Assistance thus attracted have, however, often brought others to the work, so that on the whole my volunteer staff has been practically large, and its zeal has been exemplary.
Rome. But for the advance of knowledge among the literate, let the dialects be at least first studied. We all know the value of fossils. The phonologic study is of course only the first round of the ladder, but it must be placed in position, and the sooner the better, because its material is the most difficult to recover. One very important, historically the most important of our English dialects (that of Forth and Bargy), has died out of the world of speech-sounds within the last fifty years! I have long entertained the opinion that a knowledge of our living dialects is the only foundation for a solid discrimination of our Anglo-Saxon varieties of speech. The actual existence of an English Dialect Society under the able inspiration of the Rev. W. W. Skeat will, I hope, do much to lift the veil which at present hangs over them, and to shew the new value which they will acquire by a comparative study.

No. 3. Arrangement of this Section.

The present section will consist of numerous "numbers," each of them very distinct. After giving, in No. 4, Dr. Gill's account of English Dialects, I shall consider the Dialectal Alphabet in No. 5, first as to the actual sounds used, and secondly as to their "glossic" representation for practical use. Then I shall consider the Dialectal Vowel Relations in No. 6, and afterwards those of the Consonants in No. 7. These numbers contain the principal philological considerations in this section. I regret that having been obliged to compose them before I could complete my collections, they are wanting in many points of detail; but they will I hope serve to give some general views on the very difficult subject of comparative dialectal phonology, which future observers may complete and rectify, and thus furnish the required thread for future crystallisations. Next, in No. 8, will be added an abstract of the Bavarian dialectal changes of vowels and consonants, which offer an important analogy to the English, and have been admirably investigated by Schmeller. After this, through the kindness of Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte, I am able in No. 9 to present his classification of the English dialects, supplemented by Mr. Murray's classification of Lowland Scotch. To illustrate the Prince's work, and the orthographical systems or non-systems of dialectal writing hitherto employed, I shall in No. 10 extract the most noteworthy words, in the original orthography, from the versions of the Song of Solomon into various English dialects, which were made for him some years ago. These I do not attempt to transliterate into palaeotype, as I feel so much doubt on many points of pronunciation, while the general intention will be clear to any reader without interpretation. The Glossic rendering of three verses by way of example is given with much hesitation.

The following No. 11 presents a series of attempts to give something like an accurate rendering of dialectal pronunciation in the shape of the classified lists of words and examples already referred to, in which the sounds are given in palaeotype. Taking Mr. Murray's admirable list of Scotch words as a basis of comparison, it
will be given first entire, without his historical spelling, with each word rendered into palaeotype. This was really the first trustworthy representation of Scotch sounds that had been given. Mr. Murray himself will kindly revise the proof-sheets of this re-edition. The various other lists and examples have been furnished by many kind contributors, whose names and qualifications will be duly chronicled as each dialect comes under notice.

In No. 12 I shall place in juxtaposition the best renderings I have been able to obtain of the comparative specimen already referred to. The reader will thus be able to glance readily from one to another on consecutive pages, unincumbered by long explanations, as all such matter will have been given previously on a page duly cited, and hence immediately recoverable.

In all arrangements of dialectal varieties and specimens, the order of the classification given in No. 9 will be followed as much as possible, and its numbers will be invariably cited, so that one part will constantly illustrate the other.

In No. 13 I hope to give a comparative vocabulary of at least the principal words adduced in Nos. 11 and 12, arranged alphabetically for the words, and in order of classification for their sounds, so that their forms may be readily studied as they vary from one phase of pronunciation to another.

The general bearing of this investigation on Early English Pronunciation will be considered at No. 6, v., and may be reverted to in Chap. XII.

No. 4. Dr. Alexander Gill's Account of English Dialects.

The earliest phonetic account of English dialects is the short sketch by Dr. Gill, which, from its importance, I give at full length. Written 250 years ago, it is valuable as showing the comparative tenacity with which our dialects have held their own, as against the received pronunciation, which, under the influence of literature and fashion, has been and is still continually altering. And it is still more valuable as being the only real piece of phonetic writing of dialects between the early attempts of Orrmin and Dan Michel and those of the present day. The old scribes indeed wrote dialectally, but after a prescribed system of orthography, which recalls to me the modern Lancastrian spelling, an orthography so stereotyped that persons may write what looks like Lancastrian, but is merely disguised literary English, and may at the same time be quite unable to write Lancastrian pronunciation.

The following extract forms the whole of the sixth chapter of Dr. Gill's Logonomia, pp. 16–19. The palaeotype is a transliteration as usual.

\[ \text{Dialecti: ubi etiam de diphthongis impropriis.} \]

Dialecti praecepta sunt sex: Communis, Borealium, Australium, Orientalium, Occidentalium, Poetica. Omnia earum idiomata nec noui, nec audui; quae tamen memini, vt potero dicam.

(Ai), pro (ai), Borealium est: vt in (fae er), pro (foi'er) ignis: Et (au) pro (ou), vt (gaun), aut etiam (geaun), pro (goun) toga: et pro
(uu), vt pro (wuund) wound vulnus, (waund). Illis etiam frequen-
est (ea) pro (e), vt (meat) pro (meet) cibus; et pro (o), vt (beadh
pro (both) ambo. Apud meos etiam Lincolnenses audies (toaz) e
(hoaz) pro (tooz) digitii pedum, et (hoaz) hoss calcis.1 Effuerunt e
(keest), aut etiam (kuen), pro (kast) iactus, a, um; (ful-a) pro
(fol-ou);2 (klooth) pro (kloth) pannus; et contra (spok-n), pro
(spok-n) dictus: (duun) pro (dun) factus: et (tuum), pro (taim
tempus: (riosth) pro (risth) dives: (dhooor) pro (dheer) illic: (biirka)
pro (britsh-ex) bracce: (seln) pro (self): (hez), pro (nath): (aus
pro (aaal-soo)); (sus) pro (shuuld): (ail, aist), aut3 etiam (ail, aist)
pro (oii wil), futuri signo: vt et in relquis personis (dhoul), aut
(dhoust); pro (dhou wilt, dhou shalt), et sic in reliquis: (niiil), aut
(niiist); (wil, soul) aut (joust); (dheil, dheist), aut (dhei sal). In
(ai), abjiciunt (i), vt pro (pai) soluoo (paa); pro (sai) dico (saa); e
pro (said, sed). Pro (u) et (uu), substituunt (yy): vt, pro (gut
kuuk, gyyd kyyk), bonus coquus. Voces etiam nonnullus pro visiti
fingunt: ut (strunt) et (runt), pro (rump) cauda: (sark) pro (shirt
camisia; pro (go) ito, (gaq), et inde (gaq-grel) mendicus; pr
(went, Jed) aut (jood) ibam, ab antiquis etiamunum retinunt.4

Australiæ veurpant (uu) pro (ii), ut (nuu), pro (nii) ille: (v)
pro (f); vt, (vill), pro (fil) implieo: (tu vetsh) pro (fetsh) afferco: et
contra (f) pro (v), vt (fin-eger) pro (vin-eger) acetum; (frk-ar) pro
(vik-ar) vicarius. Habent et (o) pro (a), vt (roqk) pro (raqk
rancidus, aut luxurians, adiect; substantivum etiam significat ordine
in acie, aut alios. Pro (s), substituunt (z), vt (szq) pro (szq) cano
et (tsh), pro (ai) ego: (taham), pro (ei am) sum: (thsrl), pro (e
wil) volo: (tahi voor ji), pro (oi warant jou), certum do.5 it
(ai) etiam post diphthongi dialysin, (a), odiose producunt: vt, (to
paai) solvo, (dhaai) illi.

Orientaliæ contra pleraque attenuant: dicunt enim (fir) pro (foi-er
ignis: (kiver), (pro (kuver) tegmen: (ea) pro (a), vt, (to deans)

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1 It is only this sentence which ap-
plies to Lincolnshire. The other parts
refer to the northern area generally, and
the words are apparently quite isolated,
not even belonging to any particular
locality. It was enough for Dr. Gill
that they came from the north of his
own county of Lincoln.

2 In the original (fol-oon), but the n
is probably a misprint for u; unfortun-
ately Gill has forgotten to add the
meaning.

3 Misprinted ent.

4 See a specimen of connected Nor-
thern pronunciation as given by Gill
(664, d).

5 See the quotation from Shakspere
(293, e), which is written in the usual
half phonetic style still prevalent in
dialectal specimens. In an introd-
uncatory note to Mr. Kite's Wiltshire Version
of the Song of Solomon, referred to in No.
10, Wiltshire, Prince L. L. Bonapart
remarks: "In a very scarce pamphle-
tic which I have been fortunate enough
to find, the use of ch instead of i to
be remarked when Wiltshire men
are speaking; as, for instance, chase a
million for her; chat not thought, etc.
This form is not to be found at presen-
t in the Wiltshire dialect, although it i
still in existence in some parts of Somer
set and of Devon, and was at one time
current in Wiltshire. The title of th
very rare and curious little work abo
mentioned is as follows:— The King
and Quenes | Entertainment at Rich-
mond. At After | their Departure
from Oxford: In a Masque. | presente
by the most Illustrious | Prince, | Prince
Charles | Sept. 12. 1636. | Naturar
simulare liecte facile nonnullis, | videatu
haut ent. | Oxford.| Printed by Leonar
Lichfield, | m.d.c.xxxvi. " At page 5 o
pro (dans) saltare: (v), pro (f), vt (vel-oou), pro (fel-oou) socius: (x), pro (s), vt (zai), pro (sai), dictio.

At inter omnes dialectos, nulla cum Occidentali sequam sapit, barbariem; et maximè si rusticos audias in agro Somersetensi: dubitare enim quis facile possit utrum Anglicè loquuntur an peregrinum aliquod idioma. Quædam, enim antiquata etiamnum retinent; vt (saks) pro cultro, (nem) aut (nim) accipe; quædam, suæ pro Anglicis vocabulis intrudunt, vt (laks) pro parte; (toit) pro sedili; et alia. Sed et legitima corrumpunt, quædam seu, quædam pronunciata, vt (wiix wai) pro freno; (wiitpot) pro farnofine: (ha vaq) huæ projice, aut etiam arripe projectum; item (zii vaq̃ tu mi at dhe vant). i. in baptisterio pro me suscept: (sit am) i. sede; (zadrakuk) pro (asai- dher-of) gusta; (mi̖ iz goon aviaht) pro (a fish-iq) abjitt piscatum. Sic etiam protollunt (throt-tiin) pro (thir-tin) 13. (narg-er), pro (naroouer) angustior: (zorg-ar), pro (moor sor-ouful) tristior. Preponunt etiam (i), participi præteritis à consonant incipientibus; vt (ifroor) aut (ivroor), pro (froor-n) gelu concrectus; (hav ū i duu), pro (dun); perfecisti? Hoc etiam peculiare habent, vt nomina anomala utiusque numeri in (z), per numerum vtrumque variet: vt (hooz) hooz sing: et plur: caliga vel calige; apud illos singulariter manet (hooz) et pluraliter fit (hooz-n): sic (pee'z) communeiter pism vel pisa, cum illis fit pluraliter (pee'z-n) pisa.

Communs dialectus aliquando est ambiguus. Audies enim (inuf) et (inukh) inougu, satis: (dha) aut (dhei) ther illi; (tu fiit), aut (tu foot) flote aque innatere; (haal-berd, hal-berd) aut (hool-berd) bipennis, sic (toil, tuuil; soil, suuil; boile, birld, byylid), vt ante dictum.

Dialecti poetis solis ex scriptoribus conceesse; quibus tamen, excepta communi, absentin; nisi quod rythmi, aut incunditatis causaæ sepiuscule vtntur Boreali; quia suavissima, quia anti-quissima, quia purissima, vtpote que maiorum nostrorum sermonem proxima. Sed quia dialectum suam Metaplasmis solâ licentia defendunt, de eā satis dicetur vbi ad prosodiam per eunermium.

this small quarto volume of 31 pages, I find: 'and because most of the Inter-locutors were Wiltske men, that country dialect was chosen, etc.' "In the introduction to Dr. Spencer Baynes's Somersetshire Version, the Prince says: "In the Western parts of Somer-shire, according to Mr. Jennings, Ies is very generally used for J; and in the southern parts of the county Utchy, Ich, Ch for I are still employed. Ies is also to be heard in some parts of Devonshire, particularly in those adjoining West-Somersetshire."

1 The remainder of this paragraph is the passage about the Mepens, already given at length (90, d. 91, a). The (y, z) for (f, s), so common in Dan Michel, have quite disappeared from Kent, and all the East. But a recognition of their existence somewhere in the East of England so late as 1621 is important, if it can be relied on.

2 Misprinted quedam three times.

3 Misprinted 'hi' = (mi), for 'hi' = (ni). No (nī, ēi) sound of hē is known in the West.

4 (Pen) in the original must be a misprint.

5 In his preface he says: Quin etiam vbi dialectas variat, facile patior vt ipsa scriptura sibì minimò constet: vt, (fard-ar, farth-ar), aut (fard-ar); (mur-dher) aut (mur-dher), (tu flai) aut (tu fil), (tu diit) aut (tu foot), &c.

Dialectia autem (excepta Communis) in oratione solutæ nullo est locus; nisi vbi materiam necessitas postulat: Poetis metaplasmus omnis modestè con-ceditur."

6 The passage referred to is quoted at full, suprà p. 936, No. 7.
Et quod hic de dialectis loquar, ad rusticos tantum pertine velim intelligas: nam mitioribus ingenij, & cultibus enuntritis, um est ubique sermo & sono, & significatu. De venenato illo & put dissimo ulcere nostrae reipub. pudet dicere. Habet enim & falsa spuriissima errorum mendicantium non propriam tantum dialectum; sed & cantum¹ sive loquelam, quam nulla unquam legu vindicta coercet, donec edicto publico cogantur Iustitiiarii et auctores in crucem tollere. sed quia tota hac dialectus, unà cu nocentissimis huius amurce sordibus, peculiari libro² descripta es quia exteriis hominibus nil commodi allatura; ex oratione mea et cumscribam.

NO. 5. DIALECTAL ALPHABET.

The alphabet of received English pronunciation has been considered at length in § 1. Notwithstanding the differences of opinion respecting the precise sounds usually employed, it is clear that one can take no other starting-point or standard of comparison than these sounds,³ though we have constantly to bear in mind the possible varieties. This alphabet has then to be increased by letters for the dialectal sounds. And both sets of sounds must be conveniently symbolised. For our present purpose the palaeotype forms more than suffice. But for special studies on English dialect symbols based on the present received pronunciation are required. Much of the best assistance I have received in collecting dialect pronunciation is due to the adoption of glossec (1174, b), and the course of my work the necessity of shewing how glossec can be applied to the representations of the sounds has been strongly impressed upon me. The adoption of glossec by Mr. Skeat for the English Dialect Society makes an accurate description still more necessary.⁴ For precise purposes of comparison, such as here contemplated, no symbolisation can be too minute. But when such minuteness is studied, the recorder is too apt to fall into individualities, which he must afterwards eliminate.

The received alphabet may be considered as the following.⁵ The emphatic vowels are (ii oo aa άδ οο uu, ι o o ɔ u), with varieties:

¹ Cant must have been already a common term, therefore.
² Title not known.
³ See the remarks on Vowel Quality, below No. 6, iii.
⁴ The Society which is publishing the Lancashire Glossary finds the use of glossec "too difficult," and hence proposes a "simple" mode of indicating the pronunciation. I have not had the advantage of seeing this "simple" mode as yet. But any writers who find glossec too difficult have probably every thing to learn in the study of phonology, and it is very likely that any "simple" plan they could suggest would owe its apparent simplicity to omissions and double uses, which, of little importance to those who do not thirst for accurate knowledge.—to the dilettant of dialect writing—are excruciating to the accurate investigator of linguistic change. It is possible, however, for any particular dialect to have a much simpler form of expression than glossec, which should still be severe, but such simple form would be worse than useless in comparative dialectal phonology.
⁵ English, for which glossec is proposed. Glossec is simpler than pala-otype. The same reason—it is English, n cosmopolitan.

⁶ The reader is referred generally to the discussions on pp. 1091-1171.
the case of (æ, œ), which many pronounce (ə ʊ), without, however, making any difference in signification. I do not see much chance of having these pairs of signs kept apart by ordinary writers. The distinction (ə, ə) is also so fine that it is not generally felt, and the tendency is to write (ə) short and (əə) long, without much thought as to whether (ə) short and (əə) long would not be equally correct. The distinctions (ɪ, ʊ, ʊ), although seldom known, are yet clearly made. Many persons vary also in the sound of (æ), using (əh) generally, and sometimes (ə); but the distinctions (æ, ə) are usually well felt by speakers, and, though hitherto almost unrecognised by writers, have a dialectal value.

Leaving out the diphthongs, then, the above 12 may be considered the emphatic English vowels. Each of them may be long or short, but the first six are seldom short in a closed syllable. The last six are seldom long, with the exception of (ə), which seems to be (əə) in places where or, ur are written, and no vowel follows. This is a disputed point (1156, ə). Another vowel (əʊə) is assumed to exist in that case. But the distinction (əə, œə) is very fine, and is certainly not always made. The real point of difference depends perhaps on the fact that long vowels do not glide so firmly and audibly on to the following consonant, as do accented short vowels in closed syllables (1145, ə). When therefore a writer puts (ə) in place of (ə), he wants to produce the effect of the short weak glide which follows long vowels (1161, ə). Thus to write iron (əɪə'ən) would seem to make (ən) the same as shows (ənə). By putting (əɪə'ən), this appearance is avoided; but still no r effect is produced, for the theoretical (əɪə'əm): hence refuge is taken in (ə), thus (əɪə'n), the sound (ə) being only known in connection with r.

For unemphatic vowels (ə, ə) are practically undistinguished from (ɪ, ə). Those, however, who use (ə) emphatically, do not use it unemphatically, and employ either (ə) or (ə) in such cases (1160, ə).

What the precise differences are cannot be said to have been yet determined.

For the Proper Diphthongs: the long i varies as (əɪ, əɪ, əɪ, əɪ, əɪ), and occasionally (əɪ, əɪ, əɪ). The length of the second element is fluctuating, and the laws which it follows are unknown. They seem not to be so much individual as emotional, varying according to feeling in the same individual. Consonantal action also interferes. The quality of the first element is partly local and partly individual. At least three forms (əɪ, əɪ, əɪ) must be admitted as received, and of these perhaps (əɪ) is commonest, and (əɪ) most delicate. But (əɪ) is also heard from educated speakers, though both (əɪ, əɪ) have a broadness which offends many ears. The form (əɪ) is distinctly "cockney," and (əɪ, əɪ) are miming, to such a degree that they may be understood as long ə. Hence I would regard only (əɪ, əɪ, əɪ) as received.

The ow diphthong has similar, but more divergent, and more numerous, varieties, and only (əɪ, əɪ, əɪ) can be considered as received; (əɪ əɪ əɪ) are cockney forms, and (əɪ əɪ əɪ əɪ, əɪ əɪ, əɪ əɪ) provincial, and often characteristic of particular dialects.
The oy diphthong has a much smaller range, at most (əˈiː, əːˈiː, ʌɪː) of which the first and last are most generally received. For educated people the long i sounds for oy have disappeared, and (ó əi, ʌɪ) are distinctly provincial.

The second element of these three classes of diphthongs is, at least occasionally, tightened into a consonant as (əˈɪj, əˈwɔ, ɔˈi) (əˈɪ, əˈw, ɔˈi). How far this practice extends, and whether the result ever degrades into being a pure consonantal syllable as just marked is not yet determined. Practically we may leave this point out of consideration. Also instead of (i, u), the second elements may be always (i, u), thus (əˈi, əˈu, ɔˈi); but this does not seem to be the usual English habit. Mr. Murray assumes (i, u) in Scotch.

The long u has only one received sound (iʊ) or (iː), varying in the length of the second element, and with its first element either falling entirely into (i) as (ju), or using a (r) as a fulcrum, thus (jiʊ). These variations are of no importance. But (iu, iu) are distinctly non-received. They are known and ridiculed.

The vanish diphthongs generally recognized are (əʊˈj, əʊˈw) already described at length. These may be added (əə, əəˈə), although they are generally condemned, because they are supposed to consist in adding on an r, and often lead to the euphonic interposition of (i) when a vowel follows. But, when this (r) is avoided, there is no doubt that (əə əəˈə) are very generally heard in the pause. They are, however, very few words to which they apply.

The murmur diphthongs generally arising from a suppressed (i) have all long first elements, and are hence of the same character as the last. They consist essentially in adding on the simple voic (ˈh), and if this is represented by (ˈ), there is no occasion to use the acute accent to mark the element which has the stress. In receive English these are (iɪˈ, eeˈ, ooˈ, uhˈ), where either a vowel usually short is lengthened, or a new vowel is introduced, (oo) for (oo), and to these we must add (aaˈ, əəˈ), where there is no new first element. These are heard in merely, fairly, sorely, poorly, marly. Morley. The use of (əəˈ) for (ooˈ) is very common. The omission of the vanish in (aaˈ, əəˈ) is also quite common, and in (ceˈ) the vanish i usually very brief. Besides these there is the simple “nature vowel” (əə), or else its substitute (əəˈ), and these may go off into an indeterminate voice sound, as (əəˈ, əəˈə), in which case the first element would be usually considered short, as (əˈ, əˈə), although i is as long as in the other cases. When (ə) is used, it is difficult to feel any transition in saying (əəˈ), but (əəˈ, əəˈə) are quite marked. The sound of Mr. M. Bell’s untrilled (rʊ), in which the point of the tongue is simply raised without touching the palate, so that the passage of the voice is not more obstructed than for (l), if so much is scarcely separable from (əˈ, ˈh). Whether it is necessary to insist on this separation or not is a question. It is possible that (rʊ) may be in practice, as it evidently is in theory, the transition from (r) to (ˈh), but its habitual existence has hardly been established, and observations on it are certainly difficult to make. I think that I have heard (rʊ), but I am by no means prepared to say that I have a dis
tinct consciousness of it, or that it may not have been a personal peculiarity with those in whom I have observed it. The position of the tongue for (ə) and (r̥) is almost identical. At most the point is a little more raised for the latter. Hence the results cannot be much different. The obstruction for (r̥) is not sufficient to create a buzz. The result is at most a murmur. But for the ('h) or (r̥), combined with a following permissible trill, I use (x), as explained on (1099, c). The notation (iɪi, eɪ, aɪ, æɪ, œɪ, æeɪ, əɪ, æeɪ, œoɪ) is therefore ambiguous. But it is so far clear that the (x) must not be employed unless a trill may be used. We must not write really, idea, as (r̥iɪ̥-li, eɪ'-diɪ')̥̊̊, because it is offensive, or unintelligible to say (r̥iɪ̥-li, eɪ'-diɪ'). But in common talk merely, really (miɪ'-li, riɪ'-li) are perfect rhymes. We may, however, say (miɪ'-li), and also (riɪ'-li, riɪ'-li), but not (r̥iɪ'-li) or (r̥iɪ'-li). There are also murmur triphthongs formed from the first set of diphthongs, as (eɪ'-, oʊ', iɪ'-). The murmurs ('l, 'm, 'n) act as vowels, and may or may not have the prefixed ('), so that ('l, 'm, 'n), might be written, as Mr. Bell prefers, or simple ('l, 'm, 'n) might be used, such cases as stabil-ing (steɪ'-bliŋ) being provided for as above, or as (steɪ'-bl-iŋ), or fully as (steɪ'-bliŋ).

Hence we have the following list of received vowel-sounds simple and combined.

**Long Vowels**

- iɪ
- eɪ
- əɪ
- æɪ
- əɪ
- iɪ

**Short Vowels**

- i
- e
- æ
- ə
- ʊ

**Proper Diphthongs**

- o'ɪ
- a'ɪ
- ə'ɪ
- ə'ɪ
- i'ɪ

**Vanish Diphthongs**

- o'ɪ
- a'ɪ
- ə'ɪ
- ə'ɪ

**Murmur Diphthongs**

- iɪ' eɪ'
- æɪ'
- æɪ'

**Murmur Triphthongs**

- o'ɪ' a'ɪ' ə'ɪ'

The list is a pretty long one, and far beyond the usual resources of orthography to note. But it has to be considerably augmented dialectally. In the provinces we certainly hear long (iɪ ee æe æe oo oo), which are always professedly short in received speech, and short (i s o u), which are only known as long in received pronunciation. And there are new long and short sounds (aʊ ah, aʊ æ y y, y), where (y) lies between (y, ə), and varies possibly with (y, ə, ə) short and long. There seems also to be a well-established broader sound of (u), which is possibly (u), or (u) with the lip aperture for (ə), but which may be (u), and may be a new sound altogether. My northern authorities are not satisfied with (u), which is too fine for them. As their dialects have usually no (u, ə) in emphatic syllables, they confuse this (u), as I will write it for the moment, with (u). The confusion thus arising between (u, u), which is the same as that between (ə, ə), is widely prevalent. But on carefully observing the sounds it is apparent that (u) is not "rounded," and (u) is "rounded." This rounding can, however, be imitated by contracting the sides of the arch of which the uvula is the keystone, so that the effect of (u, u) can be given with an open mouth, thus (u), see (1114, ə). Now rounded (u) is (u), and on p. 306 I consequently
represented the sound by (ɔ). It is certainly more like (ɔ) than (u) is. It may be (uh, u', uo, o, u, uo), but either one of these first three seems its best representative. As however (e a) and all (e E) have seldom to be distinguished except in phonetic discussions, so (u uo) may generally be confused. At any rate, the subject requires much attentive consideration. Mr. Hallam has observed in South Lancashire distinctive cases of "rounding" by excessive protrusion of the lips, which may be marked for labials by the same sign (†) as is used for protrusion of the tongue in dentals (11, a'), as a fifth mode of rounding, thus (u†) or (u°). The fourth or intern rounding may be combined with any of the four others. In Scotch Mr. Murray has found it necessary to introduce additional vowels between (i) and (e), thus (i, i', e, e', i, e), but these are hard distinguishable by southern ears, to which (i e e) already present difficulties. See (1106, a').

The number of diphthongs must be much increased. Beside the received, and the non-received (æ i ʌ i ḡ i ʌ; ʌ u ʌ, ʌ, ʌ ʌ ʌ ʌ ʌ ʌ), with either (i i) or (u u) final, there are varieties with (e e, o o) final, and also varieties of the form (i ʌ i ḡ i ʌ i ʌ ʌ ʌ ʌ), where the second element is quite distinct and may be short, or glide on to a consonant in accented close syllables, or may be long, and the first element may vary, as (o, o) thus (ʌ ʌ ʌ ʌ ʌ ʌ ʌ ʌ), The stress also may fall on the second element as (i ʌ ʌ ʌ ʌ ʌ ʌ ʌ), etc. But the diphthongs are by no means confined to (i i, e e; u, u, o, o) for one of their elements. Certainly (y, y) occurs as an element, and sometimes the whole diphthong may be made up of these elements. Thus (ey) was heard in Nc folk (135, o) as a variety of the (iü) form, and (o y) is said occur in Devonshire as a variety of (ʌ ʌ ʌ).

There are also murmurs of (r), consisting of any one of the vowels, but chiefly (i i, e e, o o u u), short and with the stress, followed more or less closely by the simple voice ('h). The closeness is sometimes so marked that the net result, as (i i, u u) in Scotch, is felt and conceived as one sound which may be even short in a closed syllable, just as many people consider received long i to be a simple sound. But the closeness relaxes at times, so that the results resemble (i e, o a u), which belong to those mentioned in the last paragraph. At other times the first element is lengthened, as (i i), and then the receive murmurs are reproduced in effect, but they have no long necessarily a permissive (r).

The received consonants are (nh) and (p b, t d, k g, kw gw, wh f v, th dh, s z, sh zh, jh j, r l m n q). These all occur dialectally together with the glottids (h h). There are, however, new consonants; certainly (k g, kh kh kh kwh), and perhaps (gh gh gwh), b these are doubtful. (Nh, nw) seem to be known, among a few people, but (lh) I have not heard of. The (sh zh) only occur (t ah d zh), and practically need not be considered separately from these combinations, which may be written (tah dzh). But there altogether an unexpected occurrence of true dental (t, d) formed
the real mutes of (th, dh) by placing the tongue as for these sounds, but making the obstruction complete. These are seldom found except before (r), or the syllable (er), or (a), or any other indistinct vowel representing (er), although at least a trace of them has been found after (a), and probably, when attention has been drawn to the fact, they may be found elsewhere. But the main case to be considered is the dentity of (t, d), before (r), as already noticed in Ireland (1239, d to 1241, a). The question arises whether (r) is also dental in this case, as (r). I have not noticed the dentity, but I am inclined to consider this due to my want of appreciation, for others do hear it as dental in such a case. See also the Sanscrit use (1138, b). The peculiar rolling Irish (r) in these cases (1232, b) must also be noted. Mr. C. C. Robinson thinks he recognizes a dental (r) in some other cases in Yorkshire, as will be pointed out hereafter. A nasal (b), as distinct from (m), is also found in Westmorland and Cumberland. The uvular (r) is well known as the Northumberland burr, and there are no doubt distinct varieties of this burr. There may be probably even a glottal (r) in Shields, and in the Western dialects, though I am more disposed, from what I have been able to observe personally, to attribute the Western effect to the use of a peculiarly deep vowel (a), gruffly uttered.

In Yorkshire and Cumberland a (t) occurs which is heard before a following (t, d, k, g), as at 't time, at 't door, 't church, 't gentleman, 't cart, 't garden, and is heard also as a distinct element before a vowel, as 't'ouze, 't'abbey, without coalescence. I think that in these cases there is a true, though very brief, implosion (1097, t, 1113, a'), and that the result is (at 't taim, 't uas), and at least three of my kind helpers, to whom this t is native, recognize the correctness of this analysis. The effect is quite different from (at taim, tuna), and in the first case does not seem to be sufficiently represented by a held consonant, as (att taim).

These are our dialectal elementary and diphthongal sounds, so far as I have yet learned them. The question is how to represent them. The ordinary spelling will not do. Ordinary dialectal writers help themselves over local difficulties in various manners, which render comparison extremely difficult. We have, in fact, reproduced on a smaller scale, and with more exaggerated features, the European differences in the use of Roman letters, crossed by our insular usages. No system of notation extends beyond a single author. The same author seldom pursues the same plan in two consecutive books, often varies on the same page, and is supremely indifferent to any dialect but his own. Just as an Englishman, accustomed from his birth to received sounds, reads them off from the received orthography, or any conceivable mis-spellings, without hesitation, while a foreigner, after years of training, constantly stumbles; so the man native-born to a dialect, or having the sounds constantly in his ears, reads off his own dialectal spelling without difficulty, but this same spelling put before a stranger, as myself, becomes a series of riddles, nay worse, continual suggestions of false
sounds. Even after acquiring a tolerable conception of the dialect pronunciation of a given locality, I have been constantly "floored"—I can't find a more elegant phrase to express my utter defeat—by some dialectal spelling of the same variety sent me by a new hand. Of course comparative study remains impossible when the things to be compared are unknown. Conclusions hitherto drawn are merely arrows drawn at a venture—they may hit the mark, but who knows? My Glossic was contrived for the purpose of overcoming these difficulties, and my recent experience has led me to the conclusion that it is really adapted to overcome them, by extremely simple means, which enables the received and any dialectal pronunciation to be written with almost the same correctness as by palæotypic type, without any typographical troubles, such as varied roman and italic letters, turned letters, or, except very rarely, accented letters. Having shown how Glossic can be used for the received pronunciation (1174, b), I proceed to shew how the dialects may be written because I hope that, through the influence of the English Dialect Society, it may be extensively used for this purpose. But I would especially guard against the error that, because a person can pronounce a dialect, and because Glossic gives a means of writing it, and Glossic merely uses ordinary letters, generally, at least as a basis, in their received meanings, therefore it is only necessary to put the key to Glossic before one's eyes in order to be able to write a known pronunciation straight off. You might as well expect the key to the relation of the notes in music to the keyboard of a piano has been given—say by pasting on each finger the written name of the sound it will give—to any grown girl of average intellect, she will be instantly able to play off a piece of music presented to her. We know that she must learn and practice her scale first. Glossic writing is an art which also requires care and practice. To one who can already read and write, it is comparatively easy for the sounds he knows, not by any means easy for others, as when a stranger would write from dictation—my own case, when I am fortunate enough to find one who can dictate. But if a thing is worth doing at all, it is worth doing well. At present dialects are not done even ill: it is literally not done at all. The present arrangements supersede those above given, pp. 606–618, as they are founded on a much wider experience, but the basis of the system is the same. Glossic symbols are here inclosed in square brackets [ ], the palæotypic being placed in a parenthesis ( ).

Quantity and Accent.

Each vowel-sign represents either a short or a long vowel. When no mark is added, the letter always represents a short vowel. It is very important to bear this rule in mind.

In unaccented syllables vowels are generally short. If it is considered necessary to mark length without accent in such syllables, two turned periods are added, thus [ee••].

When a long vowel occurs in an accented syllable, a single turned period is written immediately after it, as [ce•t, ce•n, i•t, i•n].

When a short vowel occurs in an accented syllable, it is generally followed by a consonant, and a turned period is placed immediately after the first following consonant, as [ce•t, ce•n•t•, i•n•], but if, as occasionally happens, a short accented vowel occurs without...
a following consonant, two direct periods, a usual sign of unfinished utterance, must be written, as [ee..., i...], and [gno.in] for going.

It is rarely necessary to mark a middle length, but when it is, (·) may be placed before the vowel in unaccented syllables, as [·ee] = (i); it will thus not interfere with the use of the colon as a point. The combination of this with the turned period, as [·ee·] = (i·), marks medial length in accented syllables.

Secondary accent is not distinguished from the primary in Glossic; if it is strong enough to be marked, put two marks of accent, as [tu·nei·kmn], and leave the actual stress doubtful, as in fact it often is. The preceding use of (·) for medial length renders its accentual use as in palaeotype impossible.

Emphasis is conveniently marked by the turned period before the whole word, thus to two [too· two].

These rules for quantity are very important, because they enable quantity to be exactly expressed in every case, thus (aa· a·) = [aa· aa·], (kaat· kaat·) = [kaat· kaat·], (kaat) = [kaat]. Of course words of one syllable cited independently of context may be considered as always accented, and hence we may distinguish [too· too·] = (too, tu).

The rule for marking the quantity of the first element in diphthongs is precisely the same, the second element being considered as a consonant, as will appear presently. It is not usually necessary to mark the quantity of the second element.

The accent should be written in every polysyllabic word or emphatic monosyllable when writing dialectally, because its omission leaves the quantity uncertain, as any sound may occur either long or short. Dialectal writers, who begin to use Glossic, are extremely remiss on this point, and fall into many errors in consequence, probably because in received pronunciation the short and long vowels are known from their qualities. But this is emphatically not the case dialectally. Of course, easy to the writer, without much obscurity to a native reader (1252, d), may be attained by omitting all these troublesome marks of accent and quantity, which necessitate a little unusual thought on the part of the writer. But the difficulties thus occasioned to non-native readers by the ordinary orthography of Latin and Italian, as contrasted with Greek and Spanish, shew how mercilessly the reader is then sacrificed to the writer. Witness those who have been punished at school, or laughed at in after-life, for "false quantities" in Latin, due entirely to the defects of the Latin orthography itself. Siō vōs nōn vōbīs 'vulnera' fertis, ovēs!

All consonants may be considered short, and doubled for length if desired, as [stai·bl], ree·zn], or have the long [\·] added, as [stai·bl·], ree·zn·]. When then a long consonant ends an accented syllable, it must either be doubled and followed by a turned period, or three turned periods are required, as [lett·let·].

Signs.

The use of short unaccented [ee], medial unaccented [ee·], long unaccented [ee·], short accented [ee·], medial accented [ee·], long accented [ee·], should be clearly understood. This notation gets over all difficulties of quantity, and accent.

The apostrophe (') is used to modify a preceding letter, and should never be used to shew the omission of a letter. If that is thought necessary, the hyphen should be employed, as [dhai·doa·n-t]. But it is best not to indicate so-called omissions, for they distinctly belong to the false theory that the word is a mispronunciation, and their object is to lead the reader to guess the proper word. When the reader cannot do so, he requires a gloss or a dictionary, and should consult it. Besides, it is not possible to treat so-called insertions in this way.

The hyphen has sometimes to be used to shew how letters have to be grouped, as [t-h, d-h, n-g], distinct from [th, dh, ng]. As a rule, when two letters come together which can form a digraph, they should be so read; if the middle of three letters can form a digraph with either the first or third, it must be taken with the first. Any transgression of this rule must be marked by a hyphen, or an interposed turned period, when it can be used. Thus [tes·aud] = [toa·ud], not [to·aud], and may be written [toa·ud], distinct from [to·aud, to·au·d].

When several words are written together, they may be distinguished to the eye by the divider), thus—(t)wood·unt·doöö, dhat·jul·dooö). This has no phonetic significance whatever.
Received Vowels and Diphthongs.

The 12 received *emphatic vowels* (i oo as a a oo uu i e e o u w) = [ee ai aa au ao oo i e a o u u].

The alternative vowels (e ee, e ee) = [aa ae, uu uu], and assumed vowel (o o, oo o) = [e e].

The *unemphatic vowels* (y, u) always *short* are [i i, u u], but need not generally be distinguished from [i i, u u].

Any one of the *diphthongs* for long i is represented in an unanalysed form by [oi]. It constantly happens that the writers know it to be one of these diphthongs, but cannot tell which; and it is then very convenient to be able to give the information that one of these [oi] diphthongs was heard. Similar unanalysed forms are used for the other diphthongs for the same reason. It is rather an inconvenience of palaeotype that it does not possess such forms.

The three received forms are (s i, ah i, a i) = [uy, a y, say] in accented syllables, first element short. If the first element is long, as (oo i, ah i, a i), write [u y, a y, a y]. This rule applies generally. These forms with [y], however, leave unsettled the point whether the diphthong end with a vowel or a consonant, because it has not much practical importance. But when it is desirable to show that the final element is a vowel, and to distinguish which vowel, another contrivance is used, which will be explained presently.

Any unanalysed ow diphthong is [ou]. The received forms (o w, ah w, aw) = [uw, aw, saw], and if the first element is long, [u w, aw w, aw w] as before.

Any unanalysed oy diphthong is [oi]. The received forms (A i, a A i, o i) = [au y, au y, oy].

Any unanalysed u diphthong is [eu]. The received (i d, ru, i u) are all written [yoo]. It is not considered necessary to mark these distinctions. But, if required, the short [e e] or [i] may now be used, thus [e e o, yoo, ye e e] or [yoo, yoo, yoo]. On account of the systematic way of representing quantity, the short and long marks need not and should not be used for other purposes, as I formerly proposed.

It is seen that the forms (i k, k i, k i) are all confused as [as y]. But if a systematic way of expressing these is required, we may gain have recourse to short marks, thus [a a, a a], as y. And if the second element is long, must use long marks, thus (a a, a a, s u) = [a a, a e e, a a, a a]. The long and short marks always point to the unaccented element of a diphthong so that [a e e] is a monosyllable, but [a a e e] a disyllable. These distinctions are, however, too fine for ordinary use.

The *vanish diphthongs* (e e j, oo o w) written [ai y, ow a w], or the same [ee j, eow], with which they are usua completely confounded. It would be possible write [ai y, ow a w], but this is scarce worth while. On the other hand, (a A a) are written [aa, a u], when it must be distinguished from (aa, a), as to be presently symbolised.

The murmur diphthongs with *passive trill* are written with a sim the [r], which is always considered to a diphthongising [a] followed by *passive trill*, and hence must not be used when a trill is not allowed. Thus (i u, e e, a a, a a, o o, a o) = [e e, a a, a u, a o, o u], and since the change of vowel is instinctively made received pronunciation, [ee r, e e r, a u r, o o r, o u r] might be written more generally intelligible in popular Glossic, such as that on p. 1178. If all accurate dialectal purposes, however, the vowels should be distinguished, a [ee r] should never be confused w [i r h r], and so on.

Then for (o o, oo o) we should, course, use [u u, e e], but, if there is a permis- sive trill, (o a, oo a) = [u u, e e] manner = [man ur man e r], ear nast [e e r, e e r]. An *obligatory trill* is writ [*r r*], which may be added to the former, carrying [(i u) r i] = [i u r r r] or [i u r r r r Mr. Bell's untrilled (r) may, wh desired, continue to be so written, t (r) being the turned (r) used to mas degrees.

Dialectal Vowels and Diphthongs.

We have thus exhausted the received vowels and diphthongs. For the dialectal additions we have first:

[(i e e e e o u, i e a o o u) = [e e a a a a u, ee a a a a o u, and (ah a a, a a, y y y, a a, o o) = [a a a a', ah a a u u, u e e e, o o, o o, o o with perhaps a West a a a[ a a)] = [u u u, w]

It is not considered necessary to d distinguish (y) from (y) = [u u], which it is generally confused, on t
one hand, or (ə) = [œ], with which Mr. Murray identifies it; on the other; but, if required, we may write [œ] for (y), and similarly [ɛ, ë] for (c, c). The four degrees of rounding (1116, 1) may be marked by superiors, so that (1) denotes the [au] degree, (2) the [oa] degree, (3) the [oo] degree, and (4) the inner rounding, to which we must add (2) for the pouting (1256, o). Thus (au, oo, oo) = [au, o, aa], all of which may occur dialectally. It is advisable, however, to avoid the use of such delicate distinctions as much as possible, or, at most, to allude to them in notes and preliminary discussions.

If the peculiar sound thought to be (oi), is identified rather with (ah), write it (ou).

The new y, w, diphthongs represented on the same principle will be

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{y} & = [\text{uy} \ ahy \ ay \ aey \ ey] \\
\text{w} & = [\text{aw} \ ew \ aiw \ aww \ ow \ aow] \\
\text{u} & = [\text{uu} \ au] \\
\text{aww} & = [\text{uw} \ auw] \\
\text{shw} & = [\text{sw} \ aw] \\
\end{align*} \]

with short first element, which would be sufficiently indicated without the accent mark as [aww], and this form is used in unaccented syllables. A long first element requires the mark, as (dai, dou) = [ah-y, ah-w], or unaccented [ah-y, ah-w]. If (1, u) in place of (1, u) occur in the second element, as (di, du), write [ahē, ahō]. The same contrivance is necessary in such cases as

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{y} & = [\text{y} \ i] \\
\text{w} & = [\text{w} \ i] \\
\text{u} & = [\text{u} \ i] \\
\end{align*} \]

When the accent mark is necessary in such cases as (y) is to (i), we may write (y), and when it is (oo, oo), we may write (w), with quite sufficient exactness, as [y, u], [w, a]. When the stress falls on the second element, as (y) is to (u), we may either write fully [eē eēa eēoa], or concisely [ya yas yaa], as quite near enough for every dialectal purpose.

When the last element is [aa], we may write it thus or by [w, w], because the effect is a variant of [w], thus (y v y) = [aieū ou] or [ai w w].

The murmur diphthongs without permissive trill, when ending in (w), will be written with [i ə], but when ending in (h), which represents the simple voice, thus

\[ iə ɪə iə' - uo uo uo' \]

of which (ih' noh') are the usual forms. Of course if the first element is long, we have [i' h' no h'] = [ii' m'], and this gives us a means of distinguishing [i' r'] with a permissive trill, into [i' h'], with no trill, and [i' h' r'] with a certain trill, while [i' r'] has no murmur. Compare English 'deary me' with French dire a moi = [di' e' m'], diir a mut = [di' h' r' m' m' m'].

**Received Consonants.**

The received consonants (p b, t d, k g, wh w, t v, th dh, s z, sh zh, l m n) are the same in glossec as in palaeotype.

But glossec [ch, j] are used as abbreviations for (t th, d dh), which are of constant occurrence; [ch, dj] ought not to be written, in olutch, judge[ kluch, juj], unless we desire to show that the [t, d] are held, as [klutch judj] = [klitah juddz].

For (sh, z) use [zh, sh], and for (r), the trilled r, employ [r]; but, as in received glossec, simple [r] is sufficient before vowels, unless great emphasis is given to the trill.

For (g) use [ng], taking care to write [ng] when this group is to be read as two letters, thus engross = [eng grs a] = [en grs a].

Similarly as [h] must be used for (sh), and also as a part of the combinations [th, dh, sh, zh, etc., we must always distinguish [th, dh, sh, zh, x, h].

The mere accent mark, however, is often enough, as in pothook [pot huk] pother [pud h].

The mere jerk (n), which sometimes occurs dialectally where (nh) could not be pronounced, is written (h) thus get up = [g hae r' up], in Leeda.

The catch (i), which occasionally occurs in place of an aspirate, and sometimes in place of (t), will continue to be so written.

**Dialectal Consonants.**

The new consonants (k g kh kh k) = [gy' ky' ky' ky' ky' kw' kw' kw' kw' kw'], where the apostrophised [y', w'] answer to the diacritics (i, w), and are thus distinguished from [y, w] = [x, w]. Properly (kw, gw) should be [kw, gw], though few persons may care to distinguish these from [kw, gw]. The (nh, rw) are [nh, nrw]. The French ə and gn mouillé (l, lj, nj) would be [yr, ny], if they occurred in our dialects.

The dental (sh, zh) are not required, on account of (h, j).
But the dental (⟨t, d⟩) are indispensable, and are written (⟨tʰ, dʰ⟩), as water = Yorkshire [weәt′ur].

Dental (⟨r⟩), if found, must be [ʃ], as [ʃ] is the common trill. There is no need to mark it after [t, d], except in phonetic discussions, but where it occurs independently, it should be noted.

The uvular (⟨r⟩) or burr is [ DataContext]. Irish rolled trill (⟨ɾ⟩) may be [ DataContext]. Glottal (⟨ʔ⟩) is [ DataContext], with prefixed comma.

We have thus probably a complete alphabet for all English dialects. If new signs are required, they will generally be found in the Universal Glossic furnished in the notice prefixed to Part III. of this book. The following is an alphabetical list of the Glossic signs just explained, with their palaeotypic equivalents; for convenience italics are used for glossic, and the parentheses of palaeotypic are omitted, unless it is also entirely in italic.

### Palaeotypic Key to Dialectal Glossic.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Palaeotypic</th>
<th>Dialectal</th>
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<tr>
<td>a w, a′ wən, a′ ah, a′′ ah</td>
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Nasal (⟨b⟩) is [b], the sign [ DataContext] preceding, instead of following. The same mark [ DataContext] will nasalise vowels, where they occur, as [ DataContext]. French nasality is indicated by adding [ DataContext].

Implosion may have its palaeotypic sign ( DataContext), but it will generally be enough to write at ( DataContext) as ( DataContext) for ( DataContext), or even ( DataContext) for ( DataContext), in place of the full ( DataContext) for ( DataContext).

### Conclusion

We have now a complete alphabet for all English dialects. If new signs are required, they will generally be found in the Universal Glossic furnished in the notice prefixed to Part III. of this book. The following is an alphabetical list of the Glossic signs just explained, with their palaeotypic equivalents; for convenience italics are used for glossic, and the parentheses of palaeotypic are omitted, unless it is also entirely in italic.
Examples of the use of this alphabet, which for any particular dialect is simple and convenient, will be given in No. 10. A learner ought always to begin with reading received pronunciation as written in glossic, with the conventions of p. 1175, as shown on p. 1178. He should then gradually attempt to express the diphthongs [ei, oi, ou, eu] in their analysed forms, say as [aay, auy, aaw, yoo]. Next he should endeavour to appreciate the varieties [aay, a'ay, aey, ey, aiy], and [aay, uuy, uy, e'y], etc. Then he should turn to the unaccented syllables, and endeavour to express them unconventionally. He should constantly check his results to see that he has not allowed old habits of spelling to mislead him, as in using silent letters, or ay, aw for [ai, au], or y final as a vowel, etc. The encroachments of mute e will be found very difficult to resist. There will also be a tendency to write e for either [a] or [ə], to use th for [θθ], ng for [ŋŋg], nk for [ŋk]; and especially to introduce an r where it may never be trilled, as bort arter, for [braut aatu']. The difficulty experienced by northerners, who have always read a, u as (a, u)= [aas, uoo] in their dialect, to refrain from writing a bad nut instead of (u' baad nuot) is very great indeed. It has been a source of very great trouble to myself in deciphering dialectal writing sent to me. Yet it is absolutely necessary to use [a, u] in the senses familiar in the middle, west, and south of England, and in received speech. Since also only one of the two vowel-sounds [u, uu] usually occurs in the accented syllables of any speaker (though both may often be heard, if properly sought for, in the same locality), there is a constant tendency in beginners to use [u] for their own sound, whatever it may be, and to consider [uu] as some mysterious sound which they have not fully grasped. Thus northern writers have constantly confused [uu uoo'], occasioning terrible confusion and tediously evolved rectifications. Again, there is a very strong tendency to consider [æe, ai, aa, au, oa, oo] as necessarily long, instead of being in dialectal writing necessarily short, unless marked as long. It is this which renders the use of [maan] objected to, because it would be read [maan] at first. There is the same difficulty in reading [i', e', a', o', u', uo'] as long, as in [ti:h', te:h', ba:th, o:d, bu:n, ahu:o'h'], representing regular sounds of tear n., tear v., burn, sure, and provincial sounds of Bath, old. Great care must be taken with these quantities. Scotch [meet] is not English [mee't], and [ee] short and [i'] long occur in Dorset. Another difficulty arises from the constant tendency to write initial h where the dialectal speaker is totally unconscious of its existence, and similarly uh when only [w] is said. Nay, many persons will dialectally insert h, uh, where there was not even the excuse of old spelling, as burn for run in Somersetshire, where simple [u-n]=(oon) is often, if not always, uttered without the least trace of either h or r.

These are some of the rocks on which beginners founder. There is another to which I would draw particular attention. A beginner is apt to vary the glossic signs, to introduce new ones, either new combinations, or accented varieties, or even to give new meanings
to combinations already employed for sounds which he has not considered. This mutilation of a system which it has taken years of thought and practice to perfect, by one who just begins to use it, I trust only to be deprecated, in order to be prevented. Writers may of course use any system of spelling of their own invention which they please, but when one has been elaborated with great care to meet an immense number of difficulties, so that even a slight change involves many changes, and perhaps deranges the whole system of construction, writers should either use it as presented, or not at all. I feel that I have a right to insist on this, and I should not have done so, had not occasion been given.

There is one point which causes great difficulty, and for which no provision has yet been made. I allude to the dialectal intonation of length, force, and pitch. The principal elements of this are length, force, and pitch. The vowel and consonant quantity has been provided for.

Syllabic quantity is made up of a number of vowel and consonant quantities of marked differences. To go into this minutely requires a scale of length, and those who choose may employ the numerical system already given (1131, d). But for rapid writing, an underlined series like : | — 0 = + will be most useful, to be reduced to figures afterwards. This may also apply to syllables generally. Here the medium length is 0, or is left unmarked, the four shorter degrees are : | — , and the four longer are = + + +. This is abundant for most purposes.

Force also requires a series or scale, as already suggested (1130, a'), but the musical terms and signs there added are more generally known.

Pitch cannot be accurately given. The simplest mode that suggests itself to me is to draw a straight line above the line of writing, to represent the medium pitch, and then a wavy line proceeding above and below it, more or less, as the pitch rises or falls. For printing, might readily be interpreted as a scale, 5 being the middle line, 1, 2, 3, 4 distances below, 6, 7, 8, 9 distances above it.

All these additional marks should be either in pencil or differently colored ink, and should in print form different lines of figures above and below writing, commencing with the letters L, F, P, to show that length, force, and pitch are respectively used, and for the scale of 9, of which 5 is the middle point.

No writer should attempt to use these fine indications without considerable practice upon his own nunciation, putting by his writing some days, and then seeing whether the results are sufficient to recall the facts to his own consciousness. Of course it is able to do this, he cannot hope to convey them to others.

Lastly, quality of tone is of importance. The dialectal writer remembers how the Johnny or Betty who spoke the words them at the time, but they were mixed up with personal as we local peculiarities of quality of tone, and he can’t convey the tone unqualified. It is like the despair of the engraver at not conveying colour. The nature of quality of tone has recently been discovered, and it would be impossible to use necessary technical language, because it would not be understood. We are, therefore, reduced to explanatory words, such as hoarse, trembling, whining, drawling, straining, and the like. If the character for any district, those who care to convey it should study it carefully, and spend, not five minutes, but many hours at different intervals, in noting its characteristics and endeavor to describe them in writing. All kinds of description are difficult to write, but descriptions of quality of tone are extremely difficu
Mr. Melville Bell, in his "New Elucidation of the Principles of Speech and Elocution," (first edition, Edinburgh, 1849, p. 299), a book full of thoughtful and practical suggestions, gives the following summary of points to be borne in mind when representations of individual utterance are given. The symbols are here omitted.

Inflection. Simple, separately rising or falling from middle tone; compound, waveringly rising and falling, or falling and rising from middle tone.

Modulation. Conversational or middle key, with a high and higher, and a low and lower; and progressive elevation and depression.

Force. Vehement, energetic, moderate, feeble, piano; and progressive increase and diminution of force.

Time. Rapid, quick, moderate, slow, adagio; with progressive acceleration and retardation.

Expression. Whisper, hoarseness, falsetto, orotund, plaintive, tremor, prolongation, sudden break, laughter, chuckling, joy, weeping, sobbing, effect of distance, straining or effect of strong effort, staccato, sostenuto, sympathetic, imitative, expressive pause, sadness, panting inspiration, audible expiration, sighing or sudden audible expiration.

No. 6. DIALECTAL VOWEL RELATIONS.

i. J. Grimm's Views of the Vowel Relations in the Teutonic Languages.

Jacob Grimm, after having passed in review the literary vowel systems of the Teutonic languages, proceeds (D.O.P., 527) with freer breath (freiere athems) to review the relations of quantity (quantität), quality (qualität), weakening (schwächung), breaking (brochung), transmutation (umlauf), promutation (ablauf), and pronunciation (ausdrucks). On the relations of sound and writing he says (ib. p. 579):—

"Writing, coarser than sound, can neither completely come up to it at any standing point, nor, from its want of flexibility, at all times even follow up the trail of fluent speech. The very fact that all European nations received an historical alphabet, capable of expressing the peculiarities of their sounds with more or less exactness, threw difficulties in the way of symbolisation. An attempt was gradually made to supply deficiencies by modifying letters. As long as this supplement was neglected or failed, writing appeared defective. But while thus yielding to sound, writing in return acts beneficially on its preservation. Writing fixes sound in its essence, and preserves it from rapid decay. It is easily seen that purity and certainty of pronunciation are closely connected with the advance of civilisation and the propagation of writing. In popular dialects there is more oscillation, and deviations of dialects and language generally are chiefly due to want of cultivation among the people. The principle of writing by sound is too natural not to have been applied by every people when first reducing its language to writing. But it would be improper (ungerecht) to repeat it constantly, because writing would then alter in every century, and the connection of literature with history and antiquity would be lost. If modern Greek, French, and English orthography were regulated by their present pronunciation, how insupportable and unintelligible they would appear to the eye! My view is that the various German languages had means of representing all essential vowel-sounds, and employed them by no means helplessly. But it would be absurd (thöricht) to measure the old pronunciation by the present standard,
and unreasonable ‘unbillig’ to throw the whole acuteness of grammatical analysis on to the practical aim of orthography."

It is not pleasant to differ from a man who has done such work for language, and especially for the branch of language which our own belongs, that it would be difficult to conceive state of our philology without his labours. But Grimm was essentially a man of letters. Language to him was a written crystalation, not a living growing organism. Its stages as already recognized by writing, he could and did appreciate in a manner which we are all deeply grateful, but having reached his own stage he conceived that the new languages were to remain in their preform, for the eye of future generations. The very languages which he cites to show the insupportability of reinstalling the old principle "write by sound," are the most glaring European instances of necessity. It is only by much study that we acquire a concept of what living Greek, French, and English actually are, below thick mask of antique orthography which hides their real fact. If we had not an opportunity of acquiring their sounds, we should make the absurdest deductions respecting them. We have no occasion to go further than Grimm's own investigations of the relat of English vowels (ibid. pp. 379-401) for this purpose. Had nothing to bridge over the gap between Anglosaxon and the Eng of modern pronouncing dictionaries, which show only the net respecting the literary form of a single dialect, he was entirely unable to see the relations of the different vowel-sounds. I notwithstanding even all the previous investigations in the present work, the relations cannot yet be securely traced, and nothing more than indications can here be attempted.

So far from a crystallized orthography fixing pronunciation disguises it, and permits all manner of sounds to be fitted to same signs, as the various nations of China use the same language with mutually unintelligible varieties of speech. In not orthography, but intercommunication, the schoolmaster, and so pressure to which we owe our apparent uniformity of pronunciation. Our medieval spelling was contrived by ecclesiastics familiar with Latin, who tried to use Romance letters to express Teutonic sound of course only approximatively, and were able to indicate nat variety but vaguely. I have already attempted to show what we be the effect of trying even a more complete alphabet for representing received pronunciation (1245, c), and I have propounded the of sounds which are apparently required for dialectal writ (1262, b). If we were to confine ourselves to a mere Latin alphabet the result would be altogether insufficient. The orthography used by local writers of the present day, founded on the received pronunciation as they conceive it, still confuses many vowel-sounds, makes perfect havoc of the diphthongs. For the older state of language, and in the same way for the other Teutonic languages, have to work up through a similar slough of despond. Hence the vowel relations on which Grimm dwells in the chapter just cited are comparatively insecurely based, and must be accepted as the ve
best result that could then be reached, but not as the best attainable as phonology advances.

But coming from the dead to the living,—from the letters adapted by learned priests from Latin to Anglosaxon and old English, and more or less rudely followed by paid and unlearned scriveners (249, d. 490, c), to the language as actually spoken by and among our peasantry,—the problem is very different. Our crystallised orthography has not affected the pronunciation of these men at all. They feel that they have nothing in common with it, that they cannot use it to write their own language, but that it represents a way of speech they have to employ for "the gentry," as well as they can. This imitation of "quality talk" is not dialectal, and is really mispronunciation, of the same character as a foreigner's. The dialectal speakers are in fact foreigners in relation to book-speakers. Although we are obliged to refer their sounds to those of received speech present or past, yet this is only as a help to our own ignorance. No proper classification is possible without a knowledge of the individuals, and that has, in this case, yet to be collected. The results gathered in Mr. Murray's book on Scotch, and in the present chapter, are quite unexampled for English. They are far too few and too uncertain for scientific results. They can only lead up to theories which will guide future research; but they serve to open out a method which, when generally applied, cannot but prove of the highest philological value. The pronunciation of each district has to be separately appreciated, in connection with a well-chosen and well-arranged system of words. Of course grammatical and other considerations will also have to be weighed, but, from the nature of my subject, I confine myself strictly to phonology. Yet the formation of such a test vocabulary is, in fact, the smallest portion of the task. The discovery of the dialectal sounds of the words it contains for any one district, is a work of very great time and labour, even when the collector has much phonetic knowledge and practice. He must be a person long accustomed to the sounds, one before whom the dialect people speak freely; and he must be able to write them down when heard. There are numerous country clergymen, country attorneys, country surgeons, country schoolmasters, who are in a position to hear the sounds freely, but they seldom note them. They have seldom the philological education which leads them to consider these "rude" sounds and phrases of any value; and when they take them up as a local curiosity, they are generally unaware of their comparative value, and waste time over etymological considerations of frequently the crudest kind. But they are most supremely ignorant of phonology, and have not the least conception of how to write sounds consistently, or of how

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1 We shall have occasion to see how the desire of "talking fine" produces certain modes of speech in towns, and examples of three kinds used in Yorkshire will be furnished, through the kindness of Mr. C. C. Robinson. The Scottish pronunciation of English, as distinguished from the vernacular, of which Mr. Murray gives an account (op. cit. p. 138), is an instance of a similar kind. But none of these belong to natural pronunciation proper.
to use a consistent alphabet when presented to them. Even the
who have been partially educated by the use of Mr. I. Pitman
phonetic shorthand and phonetic printing,¹ are not up to the vagari
of dialectal speech, and make curious blunders, though happily, am
to find such workers in the field. If I am fortunate enough, how-
ever, to discover any who have advanced as far as Bell’s Visit
Speech, or Murray’s South Scottish Dialects, I begin to have gra
confidence. But even then the habit of strict writing is so slow
acquired, that slips frequently occur, and I have in no case be
able to obtain information without considerable correspondence ab
it, raising points of difficulty and explaining differences, a
worrying myself and my friends with questions of detail.
²
The present considerations have been suggested by an examinati
of the dialectal specimens which follow. Those which are cough
in the ordinary orthography, and which I could not get natives
read to me, are such uncertain sources of information, that I ha
been able to make them available only by guessing at sounds throu
information otherwise obtained, and from a general sense of what
writers must have meant. But, of course, I was at first liable
the same sources of error as a Frenchman reading English, with qu
quite so much information on the sounds as is given in an ordi
grammar. I feel considerable confidence in those specimens whi
I print at once in palaeotype. I could not have interpreted th
into this form, if the information I had received had not be
rendered tolerably precise. Of course there will be many err
t left, but I hope that the specimens are, as a whole, so far corr
as to form something like firm footing for scientific theory. T
names of each of the kind friends who have helped me in this wo
will be given in due order. But I wish generally to express g
great obligations to them for their assistance, without which th
chapter would have entirely collapsed. It was a work of gr
labour to all of them, and was sometimes rendered under very
trying conditions.

Grimm specifies quantity, quality, weakening, breaking, transmuta
and promutation.

Of these promutation—such as the grammatical vowel change
(sa, se, sa)—or (sa, sa, sa)—has no phonological interest
this work, and will therefore be passed over.

Transmutation in German is prospective, and consists in the cha
of vowel-sound in a word, when a syllable is added containing
vowel of another character. It may also be retrospective, when
sound is reduced to conformity with one that precedes. In one fo
or the other, this remarkable phenomenon runs through ma

¹ See supra, pp. 1182–5.
² In the case of the comparative example given below, I have often had
to send a paper of 50 or 60 (in one case 117) questions before I could make
use of the information given. And even then it was difficult to frame them in-
telligibly, so as to lead to a reply which
should really give me information. In my first “examination paper”
frequently to be supplemented by
second one on the answers to the a
I can only be thankful to the parties
of correspondents, mostly person
unknown to me, who submitted to
tedious infliction.
languages; it is marked in Polish and Hungarian, more than in German, and is the basis of the Gaelic vowel rule (52, d). The essence of prospective transmutation consists in the consciousness of the speaker that a vowel of a certain kind is going to follow, so that his preparation for that vowel, while his organs are arranged for a different one, produces a third sound, more or less different from both. This consciousness crystallises afterwards into pedantic rules, which remain after all action of the consciousness has long disappeared. Not having observations on the English dialects in reference to this phenomenon sufficient to reduce it to rule, I pass it over.

Quality refers to the difference of vowels, and, in Grimm especially, to their generation, as it were, from three original short vowels (a, i, u). This generation is, I fear, a theory principally due to the imperfection of old alphabetic usages. My experience of uncultured man does not lead me to the adoption of any such simple theory, although, as already observed (51, a), like the theory of the four elements, it is of course based upon real phenomena, and still possesses some value. It is singular that Grimm compares this vowel triad to a colour triad of a curious description, and the means, (e, o), inserted between the extremes (i, a) and (a, u), to other colours, after an analogy which I find it difficult to follow, thus (op. cit. p. 33):

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
1 & e & a & o \\
red & yellow & white & blue & black \\
(\text{ei}) & (\text{ai}) & (\text{au}) & (\text{fu}) \\
orange & rose & azure & violet
\end{array}
\]

These are mere fancies, unfounded in physics, based upon nothing but subjective feeling, and yielding no result. The qualitative theory which we now possess is entirely physical, depending upon pitch and resonance.

1 See the remarkable instances from modern Sanscrit pronunciation (1138, b', 1139, b). Grimm curiously enough starts the conception that this transmutation (umlaut) had some analogy with the change of old Š into later Ÿ (op. cit. p. 34, note).

2 If we adopt the vibrational or undulatory theory of light, then there is this analogy between colour and pitch, that both depend upon the number of vibrations of the corresponding medium (luminous ether and atmospheric air) performed in one second. In this case red is the lowest, blue (of some kind) highest in pitch, green being medial. Now vowels, as explained on (1278, c), may be to a certain degree arranged according to natural pitch; and in this case (i) is the highest, (a) medium, and (u) lowest. Hence the physical analogies of vowel and light are (i) blue, (a) green, (u) red, and I believe that these are even subjectively more correct than Grimm's, where white (presence of all colours) and black (absence of all colours) actually form part of the scale. But physically white would be analogous to an attempt to utter (i, a, u) at once, producing utter obliteration of vowel effect; and the sole analogue of black would be—silence! Again, even his diphthongs, considered as mixtures of pigments, are singular. With mixtures of colours he was of course unacquainted. The orange from red and yellow will pass, but rose from red and white (pale red), azure from white and black (grey), violet from red and black (dirty brown), are remarkable failures. Could Jacob Grimm have been colour-blind? Dugald Stewart, who rested much of his theory of beauty on colour, was himself colour-blind!
VOWEL QUANTITY.

Weakening consists, according to Grimm, in “an unaccountable diminishing of vowel content” (das wovon ohne allen anlass der gehalt der vocales gemindert wird, ibid. p. 541). The expression is entirely metaphorical, and is unintelligible without explanation. To Grimm, vowels have weight, (i) being the lightest, (u) the heaviest, and (a) intermediate, so that (a) may be regarded as a diminished (u), and (i) as a weakened (u) and (a). This, however, belongs to promutation, and he dwells chiefly on a vowel being “obscured” (getrübt) into some nearly related one, comparing aeg. stäf, bæc, criβt; engl. staff, back, craft; fries. stef, bek, kreft, where there is no transmutation. He finds a similar change of a to o. He seems to confine the term weakening to these changes.

Breaking is introduced thus (ib. p. 32): “A long vowel grown out of two short vowels, but the confluence of two short vowels does not always produce a long one. For if the two short ones combine without doubling their length, but leave it single, they give up a part of their full natural short quantity, and, on addition, only make up the length of the single short quantity. These may be called broken vowels (gebrochene vocales), without particularizing the nature of the fraction. Assuming the full short vowel to be =1, the long would be =1 + 1 = 2; the broken = \(\frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{2} \) or \( \frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{2} \) = 1.” And then in a note he has the extraordinary statement, quite upsetting all physical notions, and shewing the mere literary character of his investigations: “This breaking of vowels is like the aspiration of consonants!” (ibid. p. 33.) Grimm considers breaking mainly due to the action of a following r, h; his classical instances are Gothic bafran faira, and, which are for us the most important, the aeg. ea, eo, ie, from which he entirely separates aeg. ea, eo, ié, considering the latter to be diphthongs having more than the unit length, and hence different from his broken vowels.

There remains quantity. “Vowels are either short or long: a difference depending on the time within which they are pronounced. The long vowel has double the measure of the short.” (ibid. p. 32.) We are evidently here on the old, old footing, the study of books—not speakers.

ii. On Vowel Quantity in Living Speech.

The late Prof. Hadley very properly blamed me, in reviewing the first and second parts of this work (down to p. 632), for not having paid sufficient attention to quantity as marked in Anglo-Saxon works, and especially in Orrmin.¹ With this it is now the proper place

¹ His critique, which appeared in the North American Review for April, 1870, pp. 420-437, has been reprinted in a volume of “Essays Philological and Critical, selected from the papers of James Hadley, LL.D. New York, 1873,” pp. 240-282. It was the earliest notice of my work in the English language, and contains the judgment of a profound scholar, who had fairly studied the first four chapters, and cursorily looked over the next two. He begins by giving an account of palaeotype. He disputes some of my conclusions from my own data, and considers that long a could not have been broader than (ææ), “at the opening of the sixteenth century,” (p. 247), nor that long u was substantially different from its present sound (p. 250). He confesses to “some feeling of doubt, if not skepticism,” as to my “whole
to deal, but I would remark on the essential difference between the letter-length and the speech-length of vowels, consonants, and syllables. The sound of what is recognized as the same syllable lasts a longer or shorter time, according to the wish or feeling of the speaker. The difference of length does not change its dictionary significance, but occasionally (much less, however, than alterations of pitch and quality of tone, which usually accompany the various degrees of length), practically modifies its meaning considerably to the listener. And this syllabic length may be analysed, as already partly explained (1131, d. 1146, b), into the lengths of the several vowels, the several consonants, and the several glides between these parts two and two. The length of the glides is usually thrown out of consideration. But it is often a question to me how much is due to one and how much to the other. In received speech the so-called long vowels are all different in quality from the so-called short vowels; and hence when a Scotchman, for example, gives a short pronunciation to any of the so-called long vowels, in places where the southerner uses his corresponding short vowel, which is altogether different in quality, the latter blames the former for pronouncing the southern short vowel long!

This connection of quality with quantity makes it difficult for a speaker of received pronunciation to determine the real length of vowel-sounds used by dialectal speakers. I find my own ear constantly at fault, and I have no doubt that many of my correspondents are not to be implicitly trusted in matters of quantity. But the length of the glides, the different action of voiced and voiceless consonants on preceding vowels, the holding and not holding of those consonants, and Mr. Sweet’s rule for final consonants (1145, d’), also materially interfere, not merely with practical observation, but with theoretical determination. In many cases, no doubt, our crude, rough way of indicating the quantity of a vowel as (a, a), must often be considered as marking merely a temporary feeling due rather to the consonant than to the vowel. We have no standard of length, no means even of measuring the actual duration of the extremely brief sounds uttered. A long vowel in one word means something very different from a long vowel in another. In the case of diphthongs the lengths of the elements are entirely comparative among one another, and bear no assignable relation to the lengths of adjoining consonants or of vowels in adjoining syllables.

theory of labialised consonants,” (p. 253). And he dwells on my shortcomings with respect to quantity on pp. 269–262. Thus (412, c’) as is (aa’se), but (ase)—he should have said (se)—occurs (413, a’). Of course the first should also be (aa’se). On (442, d’) we have (don) compared with (doon) below. The latter is correct, of course, and (mi’s–doon) on (442, d’) should. I think, be (mi’sdo-n). The (laas–vird, lavers, ded, forgiv’r, forgiv’eth, forgiv’ness), supra, p. 443, should probably be (laas–vird, ded, forgiv’r, forgiv’eth, forgiv’ness). I am sorry to see that (dead’li-tha) for (dead’li-tha) occurs on (503, c’). Prof. Hadley subsequently did better than criticise; he supplemented my shortcomings, in a paper on Quantities, read before the American Philological Association in 1871, reprinted in the same volume, pp. 263–295, of which I hope to give an account in Chap. XII.
With Englishmen diphthongs may be extremely brief, and at
vowels may be pronounced at great length (as in singing) with
altering the character and signification of the word.

The length of vowels in received English is very uncertain. If
far it is dialectally fixed I will not pretend to say. At times vow-
are unmistakably lengthened, but this is not frequent. The
most careful observers on this point among my kind helpers
Mr. Murray for Scotch, and Mr. Hallam for Derbyshire, both
whom are acquainted with Mr. Bell’s Visible Speech. Mr. Mur-
makes the Scotch sounds generally short, and occasionally la-
But he remarks (Dialect of S. S., p. 97): “Absolutely short, or, a
might better be called, ordinary or natural, quantity in Scotch
longer than English short quantity, though not quite so
as English long quantity; but long quantity in Scotch
much longer than long quantity in English. Even in Engl
quantity differs greatly in absolute length; for though the vow-
sounds in thief, thieves, cease, sees, are considered all alike long or
thieves and sees are certainly pronounced with a longer vowel t
thief and cease. It would, perhaps, be most correct to say t
Scotch long quantity is like that in sees, short quantity nearly
that in cease.” Much here depends on the consonant; see also P
Haldeman’s remarks (1191, a. 1192, b’). Mr. Murray also ob-
that something depends in Scotch on the quality of the vowel its-
thus: “With (e) and (a), and to a less degree with (e) and
there is a great tendency to lengthen the short vowel before
mutes, and to pronounce egg, skep, yett, beg, bag, rag, bag, bog,
as (ææg, skæp, jææt, bææg, baæg, raæg, baæd, boog, doog)” (i
p. 98). Mr. Hallam, it will be seen, constantly takes refuge
medial quantities, lengths decidedly longer than the usual
English short, and yet not decidedly long. Mr. C. C. Rol-
son occasionally does the same, and all dialectal writers who
wish to represent quantity with accuracy meet with simi

1 The old theory made diphthongs essentially long, as made up of two
short vowels, yet did not always “scan” as long, or influence the posi-
tion of the accent as long, in ancient Greek. And Merkel, a German, says:
that “syllables with true diphthongs have always a medial quantity, that is,
not fully short, but not capable of pro-
longation, as otherwise they would lose
their monosyllabic character.” (Silben
mit wahren Diphthongen sind stets
mittelzeitig, d.h. nicht völlig kurz,
aber auch nicht producibel, sonst geht
die Einäigkigkeit verloren. Phys. Late-
tik, p. 322). His true diphthongs are
(æi, æi, øi, øi, øy, øi, øi, øi, øi, øi). He con-
siders combinations like (zi, zu, oei) to
be “altogether and under all circum-
cstances dissyllabic, and to have no claim
at all to be considered diphthongs”
(ib. p. 125), which shows the effect of
native habits of speech on even reticions.

2 Since beginning to write these
marks, I heard a man cry “Satur-
while speaking to a mate on the s
side of the street. I was not ab to
determine the quality or quantit
the first vowel, though the word
repeated, and I thought it over
some time afterwards. Most per
would have written (we-tardey) wit
hesitation, but this is merely the e
of old education, which tells them
the first vowel is short and the
long, and that (æ) is heard. I
refuge finally in (sah-ab, tedu), ma
first vowel medial, and the ne
short and indistinct, though
could not determine their rel
lengths, the (æ) decidedly dental,
(ð) not certain, the quality of the
vowel (ab) not satisfactorily fixed.
difficulties, which do not fail to occur in other languages also (518, a). We are not properly in a condition to appreciate a pronunciation, which, like the ancient Sanscrit, Greek, and Latin, marked length so distinctly as to make it the basis of verse-rhythm, to the exclusion of alterations of pitch and force. At any rate, our own spoken quantities are very different from musical length, and the extreme variety of musical length which composers will assign to the parts of the same word at different times serves to shew to what a small extent fixed length is now appreciated. As regards myself, although I often instinctively assign long and short vowels in writing to different words, yet when I come to question myself carefully as to the reasons why I do so, I find the answers in general very difficult to give, and the more I study, the less certainty I feel.

That there are differences of length, no one can doubt. That those lengths are constant, either relatively or absolutely, cannot be affirmed. There is naturally a great difficulty in prolonging a sound at the same pitch and with the same quality of tone. Are vowel qualities ever purely prolonged? Does not the quality, as well as confessedly the pitch of spoken vowels, alter on an attempt to produce them? Are not all appreciably longer vowel qualities really gliding, that is, insensibly altering qualities, so that the commencing and ending qualities are sensibly different? Such combinations as Mr. Hallam's Derbyshire (iː, aː) may possibly rather belong to this category than to that of intentional diphthongs. If we were to examine carefully what is really said, we should, I think, have to augment the number of such phenomena considerably. The London (oʊj, oʊw) are cases of a similar kind. To retain the vowel quality for a sensible time requires an unnatural fixity of muscle, and consequently relaxations constantly occur, which alter the effects of quantity, so as to make them a guide to rhythm. This is more especially felt when numerous long syllables come in close succession, as in the following lines from the beginning of the first Satire of Horace:

Qui sit McEneüs, ut semó, quam sibi sortem—

Contentus vivat? landet diversa sequentēs—

O! forthnītī mercātōrēs, gravis australis—

Contrā mercātōr, sāvius jactātibus austrīs—

where the long vowel is marked as usual, the short vowel is left unmarked, and position is indicated by italicising the determining consonants.

1 My short experience of Mr. Gupta's quantitative pronunciation of Sanscrit (1139, a) makes me feel it highly desirable that the reading of Sanscrit, Arabic, and Persian quantitative verse, by learned natives, should be accurately studied. Italian and Modern Greek reading of classics leads to no result, because the true feeling for quantity has there died out. But it really prevails in the East. In France, some writers dwell much on quantity; others, like M. Féline, drop almost all expression of quantity, as in the example, supra p. 327. We have nothing in ordinary Southern English at all answering to the prolongations made by Mr. Gupta in Sanscrit, or Mr. Murray in Scotch. If persons really observe the relative time they employ in uttering Greek and Latin syllables, and especially unaccented long syllables, they will, I think, be struck by the great difficulty of constantly and appreciably exhibiting the

2 Not in such living languages as I have had an opportunity of examining, not even in Hungarian, as I heard it, although its poets profess to write quantitative metres occasionally.

3 See the remarks on suffractures in iv. below.
vowel quality. Again, the preparation for the following consonants acts so strongly upon the nerves which are directing the formation of the vowel, that they cease to persist in the action, and insensibly modify it, producing other changes of quality, in a manner which we are familiar as the action of a consonant on the precede vowel. But it may be said, although these alter the quality as it proceeds, the ear recognises the intention to continue the original quality, and gives credit for its continuance. The credit is further given in received speech, as judged by a received orthography. But in dialectal speech we have no such assistance. We have to treat the dialect as an unwritten language, and discover what is, without reference to orthography, that is, without reference to what learned men in olden times thought would be the most practical way of approaching to the representation of sounds of other dialects, means of symbols whose signification had been fixed by still earlier writers in totally different languages. This drives us at once to books to nature, which is very hard for literary men, but I believe, the only way of giving reality to our investigations. Long as we do not check literature by observation, as long as we continue to take the results of old attempts at representing observations, as absolutely correct, as starting-points for all subsequent theory, we lay ourselves open to risks of error sufficient to vitiate our conclusions. Much harm has already been done theoretically restoring the marks for long and short vowels in Anglo-Saxon, in printing diplomatically with theoretic insertions, systematising an orthography which was not yet understood. The real knowledge of the ancient lengths of these vowels consists in the analogies of other languages and the present changes. These seem to be much affected by the already-mentioned difficulty of retaining the same quality of tone while endeavouring to prolong the sound. But to obtain a real knowledge of long and short vowels, we shall have to study languages in which difference of length, independently of difference of quality, is significant, and which quantity forms the basis of rhythms.

1 This is apt to be forgotten. At some early time, when phonetic knowledge was comparatively small, or the necessity of discriminating sounds was not strongly felt, alphabetic writing was comparatively vague, and, moreover, it so happens that alphabets invented for languages with one set of vowels have been used for languages with a totally different set. How much languages thus differ will be seen at the end of the next sub-number iii. But still the writing was based on observation, such as it was.

2 "All alteration in the text of a MS., however plausible and clever, is nothing else but a sophisticatation of the evidence at its fountain-head: however imperfect the information conveyed by the old scribe may be, it is still the information we have, and, as such, ought to be made generally accessible in a reliable form." Preface to Alfred's West-Saxon Version of Gregory's Pastoral Care, by H. Scece, viii, an edition in which the method required for Anglo-Saxon studies is well initiated. When a young man like Mr. Sweet is capable of doing such work as this, what may we not do from his mature years. His accurate knowledge of phonetics, and his careful powers of observation, to which frequent allusion has been made these pages, lead us to expect the results hereafter, if he only have opportunity to do the work he is so qualified to produce.
The net result for our present investigations on English dialects is that all quantities here marked must be taken as provisional, that too much weight must not be attributed to the separation of long and short, and that in general a certain medial length may be assumed, which, when marked short, must not be much prolonged, and when marked long, must not be much shortened. But allowances must always be made for habit of speech, for intonation and drawing, for the grammatical collocation of the word, for emphasis and accent or force of utterance, for "broadness" and "thinness" of pronunciation,—all of which materially influence quantity,—as well as for those other points of difficulty already dwelt upon, and many of which are characteristic of speech in different districts. But for the practical writing of dialects, we must continue to make a separation of short and long, if for nothing else, at any rate as an indication of glides (1146, b). When we write [meet'] = (mit), we seem to shut up the vowel too tightly, owing to the action of the consonant. This is not usual to the Scot, who says [m:te:t] = (mit). Hence we hear the Scot say [me:t'] = (mit), and when he really lengthens, as in theesys (thi:yz) = [thi:yz], we almost seem to want an extra sign, as [th::eevz] = (thi:yz). For dialectal writing we do much if we keep two degrees, and use the long vowel really to mark a want of tightness in the glide on to the following consonant. The real value of our longs and shorts must not be taken too accurately. The writer had better give his first impression than his last, for the last has been subjected to all manner of modifying influences. We have simply nothing left like the quantity of quantitative languages.

iii. On Vowel Quality and its Gradations.

The quality of a tone is that which distinguishes notes of the same pitch, when played on different musical instruments. It is by quality of tone that we know a flute from a fiddle, organ, piano, harp, trombone, guitar, human voice. Prof. Helmholtz discovered that there exist simple tones, easily producible, but not usually heard in nature, and that the tones which generally strike the ear are compound, made up of several simple tones heard or produced at the

1 Many English dialects, like Hebrew, lengthen vowels "in the pause;" i.e. at the close of a phrase or sentence.

2 A tuning fork gives nearly a simple tone; when held over a box of proper length, it produces a really simple tone. A c tuning fork, struck and held over the opening of any cylindrical vessel, tumbler, jar, wide-mouthed bottle, about six inches deep, will produce the required tone. The vessel may be tuned to the fork, by adding water to shorten it, and thus sharpen the tone, and by partly covering the aperture to flatten it. A jar thus tuned to c may be easily tuned to the a tuning fork below it, by still further covering the mouth. It is interesting to observe how suddenly the resonance changes from dull to bright. Every one who wishes to understand the vowel theory should study the first and second parts of Prof. Helmholtz's (161, 4) Die Lehre von den Tonempfindungen, 3rd ed., Braunschweig, 1870, pp. 639. A translation of this work into English is at present engaging a large portion of my time, and I hope that it will be published at the close of 1874 by Messrs. Longman, for whom I am writing it, under the title: On the Sensations of Tone as a physiological basis for the theory of music. It is one of the most beautiful treatises on modern science, and is written purposely in a generally intelligible style.
same time. The relative pitches of those tones, that is, the relat
numbers of complete vibrations of the particles of air necessary
produce them, made within the same time, are always those of
numbers 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and so on, 1 representing the pitch of
lowest simple tone, which the ear receives practically as that of
whole compound tone. The quality of the compound tone depe
on the relative force or loudness of its component simple tones,
this relative force is dependent on the mode of production. Not
in the case of the vowels, the mode of production resembles that
of the French horn. In that instrument a hemispherical cup is pre
tight on the lips, which are closed. Wind is forced from the ch
opening the lips, which immediately close by their elasticity, assis
t by the pressure of the rim of the cup, and this action being repe
with great rapidity, puffs of air come in regular succession into
cup or mouth-piece, and are transmitted through a small hole
the opposite extremity into a long tube (27 feet long nearly),
contents of which form a resonance chamber, which is naturally e
able to resound to certain simple and compound tones. The puff
the lips are not sufficiently rapid generally, on account of t
want of elasticity, to produce the tones of the long tube itself,
they are able to set the air within it in motion, and the action of
this confined air is powerful enough to make the lips vibrate properly.
The tube can only give certain tones, dependent on the force of
impulse given by the lips; but by introducing the hand at
the bell-like opening of the tube, the shape of the resonan
chamber is altered, and new tones can be produced, not howe
bright and distinct as the others. Now, in the human voice, a
of elastic bands or chords, pressed closely together in the larynx, a
the purpose of the lips, and produce the puffs of air, which j
through the upper part of the cartilaginous box (often nearly clo
by its lid, the epiglottis) into a resonance chamber answering to
tube of the horn,\(^1\) which can have its shape marvellously altered
means of the muscles contracting the first part or pharynx,
action of the uvula in closing or opening the passages through
nose, and the action of the tongue and lips, which last m
resembles that of the introduced hand and arm in the French h

There are, however, some essential points of dissimilarity betw
the two cases. Thus the resonant chambers in speech are sm
and the resonance is not powerful enough to affect the vibration
the vocal chords, so that the rapidity of the vibrations of th
cords themselves determines the pitch and the full force of t
while the resonant chambers can only vary the relative force of
different simple tones which compose the actual musical tone \(1\)
duced. It is entirely upon this variation of force that the differ
vowel effects depend, and, at the risk of being somewhat tedious
shall venture to give some of the acoustical results, because t

\(^1\) It is almost impossible in such a work as the present to avoid repeti
ions. Some of the present matter was anticipated on p. 161, where the
shape of the resonance tube is fully described. It was found, howe
sufficient for our present purpose merely to refer to that passage.
have not yet found their way into philological treatises, and are of the highest philological interest.

Suppose that the puffs of air produced by the vibrations of the vocal chords produce a musical note of the pitch known as B flat, on the second line of the bass staff. Then (in a way explained by Prof. Helmholtz by means of some of the most recent anatomical discoveries of the construction of the internal ear, and numerous experiments on so-called sympathetic vibration), the ear really hears not merely 1. that simple B flat, but the following among other tones in addition to it, namely, 2. the b flat next above it, 3. the f' above that, 4. the next b' flat, 5. the d'' above that, 6. the octave f'' above the former f', 7. a note a little flatter than the next a'' flat, 8. the b'' flat above, 9. the next tone above c'', 10. the octave d'''' of No. 6, 11. a tone not in the scale, a good deal sharper than a'''' flat, 12. the octave f''' of No. 6, 13. a tone not in the scale, somewhat flatter than g'', 14. the octave of No. 7, a little flatter than a'''' flat, 15. the major third a''' above f'', 16. b'' flat, the octave of No. 8, and so on, up to 24 or more, sometimes in the human voice, especially when strained, where the numbers of vibrations in a second necessary to produce the notes written, are in proportion to the simple numbers 1, 2, 3, etc., of their order. These are the tones naturally produced on the B flat French horn. The mode of marking musical pitch just used is adopted pretty generally. The capitals C, D, E, F, G, A, B, denote the octave from the lowest note of the violincello upwards. The small letters c, d, e, f, g, a, b, the next higher octave, beginning on the second space of the bass staff. The once-accented letters c', d', e', f', g', a', b', the next higher octave, beginning at the note on the first ledger line above the bass and below the treble staff. The other higher octaves begin at c' on the third space of the treble staff; c'' on the second ledger line above the treble; and then c''' is the octave to that again. The reader will therefore easily be able to write out the notes here referred to in ordinary musical notation. These are, in fact, the simple tones out of which the compound tone heard may be conceived as formed. But in ordinary speaking the vocal chords do not act so perfectly as in singing, and many very high and dissonant simple tones are also produced. Now the effect of the differently-shaped resonance chambers formed by placing the organs in proper positions for the different vowels is to make some of these louder and some weaker, and the joint result gives us the vowel sensation. The shape or materials of the resonance chamber are quite indifferent. Hence it may happen that two or three different positions of the mouth may produce the same resonance. If so, they will give the same vowel. This is extremely important, because it shews that a prescribed position for a vowel is not necessarily the only position, but merely a known position, which will produce the required effect. It may also happen, that if a notation indicates a vowel by giving the form of its resonance chamber, two different symbols, though shewing different forms of that chamber, may denote the same vowel, because these different resonance chambers have the same resonance.

The resonance of a mass of air depends upon many conditions which are ill understood, and can be calculated only in a few cases. Generally it is determined by experiment. Prof. Helmholtz, Dr. Donders, and Dr. Merkel, with others, have thus endeavoured to determine the resonance of the air in the mouth for the vowels which they themselves utter. If we really knew those resonances accurately, the vowels would be determined. But this is far from being the case. We must indeed consider that these gentlemen pronounce the vowels which they write with the same letters, in appreciably different manners, as the results at which they have arrived are materially different. Prof. Helmholtz, however, has practically applied his result to the artificial generation of vowels. By holding a reed pipe tuned to the b flat just mentioned against a resonance box tuned to the same pitch, the result was a very fair (uu); changing the resonance box to one tuned an octave higher, to b' flat, the result was (oo); changing to a box tuned another octave higher, to b'' flat, the result was "a close A," perhaps (ah), while a box tuned a major third higher, to d'', gave "a clear A," perhaps (as). He also obtained various grades of (ux, ou, oe, ii), by using as resonance boxes glass spheres, into whose external opening glass tubes, from two to four inches long, were inserted, thus
giving a "double resonance." This is a rough imitation of what really takes place in speaking. His previous experiments lead him to believe that, for his own North German pronunciation of the vowels, there are single resonances, namely $f$ for (uu), $b'$ flat for (oo), $b''$ flat for (aa), and double resonances (the lower for the back part of the mouth and the throat, and the higher for the narrow passage between the tongue and hard palate), namely, $a''$ and $g''$ for (ee), $f'$ and $b''$ flat for (ae), $f$ and $a'''$ for (ii), $f'$ and $c''$ sharp for (oe), and $f$ and $g''$ for (yy).

But Prof. Helmholtz went further, and producing the series of tones just described on a series of tuning forks, which were kept in motion by electricity, and placed before resonance boxes in such a way that he had complete command over the intensity of the resonance, he actually made them utter vowels. Let $g, m, f, f'$, $f''$ have their usual musical sense of piano, mezzo forte, forte, fortissimo, and indicate the loudness of the notes under which they are placed. The notes are exactly one octave higher than those formerly described. The vowels corresponded to the different intensities of the tones of the forks thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FORKS</th>
<th>b flat</th>
<th>b flat</th>
<th>f''</th>
<th>b'' flat</th>
<th>d''</th>
<th>f''</th>
<th>a'' flat</th>
<th>b'' flat</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>VOWELS</td>
<td>(uu)</td>
<td>(oo)</td>
<td>(aa)</td>
<td>(ee)</td>
<td>(ii)</td>
<td>(ae)</td>
<td>(ii)</td>
<td>(oe)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mf</td>
<td>mf</td>
<td>mf</td>
<td>mf</td>
<td>mf</td>
<td>mf</td>
<td>mf</td>
<td>mf</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The vowel (ae) was not well produced, because it was not possible to make the small forks corresponding to the very high notes $f''$, $a''$ flat, $b''$ flat, sound strongly enough, and still higher forks were wanted. For the same reason (ii) could not be got out at all. It would have required a much higher series of forks. The table shews at once that (uu) belongs to the low, (aa) to the middle, and (ii) to the high parts of the scale. The reader should, however, carefully remember that this table gives the relative loudness of the component simple tones only when the vowels are sung to the pitch $b$ flat, and that if this pitch is altered the distribution of the loudness would be changed, the resonance chamber remaining unaltered. It is merely by the natural recognition of the effects of resonant chambers of nearly the same pitch, reinforcing the component simple tones of the sound which lie in their neighbourhood, that vowels are really characterised. We need not, therefore, be surprised at the vagueness with which they are habitually distinguished.

If this reinforcement of certain tones by the vowels exists in nature, the reinforced tones will excite some of the strings of a piano more than others. Hence the following striking and fundamental experiment, which every one should try, as it not only artificially generates vowels, but actually exhibits the process by which vowels are heard in the labyrinth of the ear, where an apparatus exists wonderfully resembling a microscopical pianoforte, with two or three thousand wires. Raise the dampers of a piano, and call out a vowel sharply and clearly on to the sounding-board or wires, pause a moment, and, after a slight silence giving the effect of "hanging fire," the vowel will be re-echoed. Re-damp, raise dampers, call another vowel, pause, and hear the echo. Change the vowel at pleasure, the echo changes.

The experiment succeeds best when the pitch of one of the notes of the piano is taken, but the pitch may be the same for all the vowels. The echo is distinct enough for a room full of people to hear at once. The vowel is unmistakable; but, on account of the method of tuning pianos, not quite true.

A vowel then is a quality of tone, that is, the effect of increasing certain of the partial simple tones of which the compound tone uttered consists; and this augmentation depends on the pitch of the
note or notes to which the air inclosed in the mouth when the vowel is spoken will best resound. We cannot therefore be surprised at finding that vowel quality alters sensibly with the pitch or height at which the vowel is uttered. Thus on singing (ii) first to a high and then to a low pitch, the vowel quality will be found to alter considerably in the direction of (ii), and as we descend very low, it assumes a peculiarly gruff character, which only habit would make us still recognise as (ii). In fact, the vowel differs sensibly from pitch to pitch of the speaker’s voice, which also varies with age and sex, and other causes, so that what we call our vowels are not individuals, scarcely species, but rather genera, existing roughly in the speaker’s intention, but at present mainly artificially constituted by the habits of writing and reading. When, therefore, these habits are of no avail, as in scientifically examining unknown languages and dialects, the listener fails to detect the genus which probably the speaker feels, and hence introduces distinctions which the latter repudiates. Also the habits of different sets of speakers become so fixed and are so different in themselves, that those of one set have possibly many vowels not corresponding to those of the other, and hence they either cannot appreciate them at all, or merely introduce approximations which are misleading. This is one secret of “foreign accents.” We have agreed to consider certain vowel qualities as standards from which to reckon departures. But we are really not able to reproduce those standards, except by such an apparatus as Helmholtz contrived, and even then so much depends upon subjective appreciation, which is materially influenced by the non-human method of production, that real standards may be said not to exist. And we are still worse off in ability to measure the departures from the standard as shewn by the metaphorical terms we employ to express our feelings. Practically in each country we fall back upon “received pronunciation,” and how much that differs from person to person, how little therefore it approaches to an accurate standard, has already been shewn in § I of this chapter.

A careful description of the positions of the tongue and lips in producing vowels is of great assistance (25, e), and practically is sufficient, when reduced to a diagrammatic form (p. 14), to teach deaf and dumb children to pronounce with perfect intelligibility, as I have witnessed in children taught by Mr. Graham Bell and Miss Hull (1121, e). Hence the real importance of basing the description of vowels upon the positions of the organ most generally used in producing them. This is Mr. Bell’s plan. The diagrams on p. 14 are rough, and curiously enough do not shew the closure of the nasal passage by the action of the uvula, so that the figures really represent nasalised vowels. They give only 9 positions, manifestly inadequate. But each can be much varied. Thus, taking (e) as a basis, the tongue may be a little higher (e’), or lower (e”), and in any of the three cases the point of least passage may be advanced (e), or retracted (e), thus giving 9 (e, e’, e”, e’, e”, e’, e”, e”) forms to each position. Again, the cavity behind the least passage may be entirely widened (e), or widened only in front of the arches of the soft palate (e’), or only behind (e”), or more in front than behind (e’), or more behind than in front (e”). Supposing then that the cavity had not been particularly widened before or in the primary positions, each one of the preceding 9 forms gives six (e, e’, e”, e’, e”, e”), produced 6 times 9,
or 54 forms for each one of the original 9, and hence 9 times 54 or 486 forms altogether. Now on each of these, 5 different kinds of "rounding" may act, that is, contractions of the aperture of the mouth as for (u, o, u), or contraction of the arches of the palate, thus (u, o, u, e, e), for some of which distinct signs are provided, thus (e = u, e = e), or pouting the lips. This adds 5 times as many forms, giving 6 times 486 or 2916 shapes of the resonance cavity for the nine original positions, and these are far from all the different shapes of the resonance cavity producible without the aid of the nose. For example, the contraction of the arches of the palate may be itself of various degrees, and may be combined with each of the contractions of the aperture of the mouth, which may or may not be pouted. But if we merely add two kinds of nasality, the French and Gaelic, as (a, e), we get twice as many additional forms, or, including the unnasalised, 3 times 2916, or 8748 forms, and these, as we have seen, are by no means all; but all these are easily written in palaeotype by the methods already described.

Of course these positions do not tell the result, but they tell how to get at the result, and in this way, as Mr. Bell expresses it, they produce Visible Speech, and his is the only system which does this systematically,—in the forms, as well as the conventional meanings, of his symbols. To discover the results, we must make experiments on ourselves —taking care to be out of earshot of others, because of the uncertain sounds we shall produce. It is best to take a good breath, and hold a familiar vowel, such as (i, a, u) at the most comfortable pitch as long as possible; changed. Begin with (i), keep lips very wide open. Next, keep the position unchanged, try to change the vowel-sound by intention, and to detect that you have not preserved your position when the vowel changed. Next begin (ii), and gradually, due one breath, alter the tongue, keep the lips open. Next begin (ii), keep tongue fixed, and alter lips gradually closing to perfect closure, reopen with side openings, pouted lips, vary lips. The variations of vowel are wonderful. Do the same with (i) and produce (oo) by rounding lips out. Next take (u), observe the great difference of effect by moving the tongue, and the effect of keeping tongue still and opening the lips. See practice of the nature intended, give not only great command of sound, but great appreciation of those diction changes and affectations of vowel-sound with which we have to deal. These are things impossible to appreciate paper only. But it is a great advantage to the investigator that he has his own vocal organs always ready for periment, and if he does not take advantage of this, he has no one himself to blame for want of understanding. If children, actually born, can be got to produce excellent imitations of the pecu English vowels, distinguishing the (i) from (I), and (a) from (m), as I have heard, there is no reason why those who can hear should not by similar training obtain much better results. All children should be taught to speak.

Now (ii) represents the effect produced with open lips, the mid of the tongue high, the pharynx narrow. It is a thin bad quality of tone for the singer, impossible on low notes, that is, its small pitch, or the pitch mostly favoured by the shape of its resonating chamber, is so antagonistic to low notes, that its character is disguised, its purity "muddied," as it were, by lowering the pitch. This "muddying" is literally the German "trübung," and be termed "obscuration."

1 Lepsius (Standard Alphabet, 2nd ed. p. 54) says with "broad lips," meaning with a long transverse aperture. This is not necessary. The corners of the lips should be kept apart, and the middle of the lips may be as widely separated as we please, and the wider the separation the clearer the (i). Still, in quietly uttering the series of vowels (i, e, a, o, u) before a glass will be seen that for (i) the lips for narrow horizontal slit, which is wider for (e), and becomes comparatively vertical for (a), the corners be apart in all; then the corners c together for (o) and most for (u).
Again (uu) represents the effect produced with lips so nearly closed as to leave only a small central aperture, the back (not middle) of the tongue high, nearly as high as for (k), and the pharynx narrow. It is a hollow round sound, extremely simple in character, that is, being almost a simple tone, and hence penetrating, but its pitch is naturally low, and it is impossible to sing without "muddiness" at high pitches.

These are evidently extreme positions. But (aa) is produced with lips moderately open, distinctly not rounded by closing the outer corners of the lips, a tolerably flat tongue, with the back not nearly so high as for (uu), and the pharynx open. It has a very complicated composition out of partial tones, and a pitch of moderate height, so that it accommodates itself even to high or low notes without much "muddying." Obscuration is most felt on the low tones which err on the side of (uu); the upper ones err on the side of (ii), and make the vowel too "thin."\(^1\)

These three vowels (i, a, u) exist in perfection in the Italian, and possibly Castillian. They do not exist in great perfection in English. There, (ii) is frequently obscured, or has its quality deteriorated, by widening of the pharynx, descending to (ii), or, by slightly lowering the tongue, to (ae', ee'). The (uu) is better, but also inclines often to (uu), not, however, reaching (uuh). The (aa) rises to (sah), which is a bright sound, though inclining to the roughness of (xh), or else sinks to (aa), which is much duller, and has almost the effect of rounding. These are the tendencies in the cultivated received pronunciation. In the dialects we shall find both (ii) sinking and (aa) rising to (ee), and (aa) also sinking to (aa, aA), and even (oo, oo); while (uu) approaches (oo) by a peculiar alteration of the lips, or arches of the palate, without the tongue, giving (uu'o) or (uuo). These alterations correspond to the effects of Grimm's weakening, but weakening is hardly an appropriate term. If we consider the nature of the alterations, they are found to consist in modifying the resonance chamber, and hence changing its vowel effect, by raising or lowering parts of the tongue, by opening or still further closing and "rounding" the lips, and by widening the pharynx. To none of these can the term "weakening" well apply. But the (ii) sounds have a thin whistling effect, the (ee) sounds a rattling reediness, the (aa) sounds an open sonorosness, the (oo) sounds a round fullness, the (uu) sounds a hollow roundness, and we may consider that (ii) or (aa) degrades in passing to (ee), and (oo) in passing to (uu). The sounds (aa, oo), which differ only in the position of the lips, are the best sounds we have, and the passage of one into the other is on a level. It has been very frequently made in our dialects.

A slight alteration, however, materially affects the quality of the resonance. The qualities of the vowels (e a e) are rough.

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\(^1\) To understand the effect of vowel quality in music, sing a simple scale, as the first part of God save the Queen, first with the vowel (i) only, then with (a) only, then with (u) only, and first at an easy pitch, then as high, and lastly as low as the voice will permit, with long sustained tones.
That is, the resonance cavities, which are not well adapted for sele
ving good sets of simple tones, allow component tones to co-ex
which more or less beat or grate, and the general effect is dull a
unsonorous. Yet (ə ə) are merely (u o ə) with the lips open,
and (ə) is (əh) with the pharynx narrowed. Of these (ə) does not
seem to occur even dialectally in English, but (ə), I think, does. Be
(ə, ə) are frequent, and must be considered as obscurations of vow
for which the positions are nearly the same, such as (aa oo oo, i
e e ə). If Mr. Bell is right, (e, ə) also frequently occur in the sa
capacity. Here (u) is (ə) with open lips, and (ə) is merely (ə) w
a lower tongue. All the flat-tongued mixed vowels (y, e, ə) ha
an obscure disagreeable quality of tone, but they are easy to prodi
in a lazy manner, and hence are very frequent in dialectal Engli
The qualities of (e, ə, ə, ə) are all similar, but are so much alike, that I f
no certainty in separating them from one another and from (ə)
follow my authorities in each case, but consider their conclusions be
provisional, and that the whole question awaits future judgment.
These obscurations mainly occur during remission of accent empha
sis, and consequently they present themselves in far t
greater number of English syllables. But the change of sonore
vowels occurs also in accented syllables.

Thus in dialects accented (i, i, e, e') are all likely to be mix
together by the hearer, the real sound perhaps being somethi
different from all, or even varying through all in different spea
or the same speaker at different times. Unaccented, they fall in
(y, e).

Again, (e, e, ə) are far from being well separated in accent syllables. No certainty can generally be felt respecting (e, e), a
few care to distinguish (e, ə). When unaccented, all become (ə)
Again, (a, ah, ə, e), on the one hand, and (a, a, ə, o), on t
other, pass into one another when accented. Unaccented, they b
become (ə). And not infrequently, when accented, they approach (ə)
But (ə, u) more frequently interchange with (ə), the form
directly, the latter perhaps through (u), its delabialised form, th
through (ə), or (ə'), which strangely vary as (ə, ə).

When one of the former in the group (i, i, e, e'), or in the gro
(e, e, e, ə), is replaced by one of the latter, the action is oft
called thickening or broadening, the pitch of the resonance cham
being lowered. The converse action, going from one of the lat
to one of the former, is called thinning or narrowing, the pitch
the resonance chamber being raised. In the first case the vow
is strengthened, in the latter weakened. But when any vowel
the first set falls into (y), or either set into (e, u), it is obscur.

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1 There are probably always many kinds of resonance, and when the
cavities are unfavourably constituted, there are reinforcement not only of
dissonant or beating higher components, but there are also sounds pro-
duced by friction, and divided streams of air, and eddies, all of which w
beat, and produce noises which ming
with the true vowel quality. Such
noises are never absent from spe
and distinguish it from song. It is c
of the great problems of the singer
eliminate them altogether.
When one of the former is replaced by one of the latter in (a, ah, ø, æ), it is said to be thinned or narrowed; and when one of the latter is replaced by one of the former, it is said to be broadened, widened, thickened, flattened, etc. And the same terms are used when one of the former falls into one of the latter in (a, ə, æ) or (a, ə, ɔ). The effect of the "rounding" or shading by the lips is always to produce a sensation of thickness, because it disqualifies the mass of air within the mouth from resounding to the component simple tones of a higher pitch, and hence removes the brightness and fullness of the tone, and gives it a dull hollow character, which this term is meant to express.

The passage in the direction (o, ə, u) is also one of thickening, and (u) or (u') is felt to be very thick indeed. When we come to (u), the tone feels lighter again. This arises from the disappearance of most of the component simple tones. The sound (a), or a vowel produced by keeping the lips in the (u) position, and lowering the tongue to the (a) position, is the dullest possible (u). It is recognised by Helmholtz as the true type of (u), because it leaves the mouth nearly like a sphere with a very small external aperture, and is the real extreme vowel. It possibly occurs dialectally, as do also, I think, (a u), and various other modifications of (u).

Any approach to (u, ə, æ, ɔ) from any quarter is recognised as obscuration. This, as already mentioned, apparently depends on a want of adaptation of the resonance chamber to qualities of tone which are free from beats.

It is thus seen that the effects described by all manner of theoretical terms depend upon the physiological action of the relative loudness of component simple tones, and the scientific study of the relations of vowel qualities is, like music in general, reduced to an investigation of the effects of altering the intensities of these same components. This it is beyond our present purpose to do more than indicate. But we see generally that thinness or hollowness depends upon a bad filling up of the compound tone; the thin tones wanting force in the lower, and the hollow tones in the higher components. Thick tones seem to have several lower components strongly developed (as in the sesquialtera stop on the organ), and the upper comparatively weak. The obscure rough tones arise from beating components due to imperfection of resonance.

In (u) and (a) we seemed to have reached the acme of thickness, in (u) the components were almost reduced to the lowest simple tone, but, in consequence, the tone was not thin. If, however, the position of the tongue be slightly changed, so that it glides from the (u) to the (i) position, the lips remaining unchanged, a peculiar mixture of the hollowness of (u) and thinness of (i) results, the German (i), or, with wider pharynx, the French (y). Whether these sounds occur in our dialects or not is disputed. Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte inclines to (y) or (i), which has not quite so high a position of the tongue as (y). In either case the result is that of weakening (u), although, for reasons which will appear in the next sub-number iv, I feel doubtful as to whether the replacing of (u)
by (y) or (y₁), which occurs in Devonshire, Norfolk, and Scotland really due to this desire of thinning or weakening. In precisely the same way (o), by a still slighter alteration of the tongue to the position, produces (œ), which, on widening the pharynx, gives (As (e) replaces (i) in Scotch, one is not surprised to hear (œ) place of (y) or (y₁), and Mr. Murray recognises (œ), or the Fre œ in peu, in his own dialect, rather than (y₁), which lies between œ in peu and u in pu. In point of fact this (œ) is a "weakened" (u) reduced to (o). The lips are open, and the middle of the tongue is higher; but the quality of the tone is not only thinner but obscure. That is, it approaches to that of (œ). When we get (œ), this approach is still nearer, and few Englishmen, without studying to distinguish (œ, œ) and (œ, œ), and many mix them all up together. In precisely the same way, Frenchmen and Germans hear (œ, œ) (œ, œ). The (œ) is a still nearer approach. Yet in (œ, œ, œ) there is no rounding of the lips. This is an example of how very close approximating sounds can be produced by very different forms of the resonance chamber. (œ) is supposed by Mr. Baird to occur in Devonshire, where it appears in the diphthong (œy₁), an alteration of (iœ), where first the (i) is "thinned" into (y₁), and the second (œ) is by "attraction"—in fact by transmutation, owing to preparation for (y₁)—thinned or obscured, in fact palatalised, i.e., (œ). It is possible that some speakers say (œœ'œ) or (œœ'œ), rather than (œœ'y₁). The diphthongs are probably due to different perceptions of intentionally the same sounds, as heard from different individuals and by different observers.

Finding such hovering sounds, we can no longer be surprised at the original distribution into three (i, a, u), in Sanscrit, at a subsequent development into five (i, e, a, o, u) in the same language, which became eight in Greek (i, e, a, o, u, y). The separation of (e) and (o, œ) is, however, too fine for this stage, which practice reduces to six (i, e, a, o, u, y), and this becomes seven by the action of (œ), which must be held to include (œ) on the one hand and (œ) on the other. The vowel scale (I, E, A, O, U, Y), practically includes all the "classes" of unassembled sounds which are recognised, each clearly distinct from the other, and indicate for convenience, by capitals. They form the "natural" classification, as distinct from any artificial one. But on going into details, we find many sounds which we cannot satisfactorily fit into a class, and other "transitional" sounds which lead the way from one class to another. Thus let (i) be developed and distinguished from (i). These two stages are by no means coexistent; for example, (i) long been developed in English, but phonologists have only recently distinguished it from (i), Dr. Thomas Young having been the first to do so (106, 5). Then (i) at once leads on to (œ), and the passage is rendered easier by the development and distinction of (œ), thus (i, i, e, œ). By a similar process (œ) generated first (œ), and first (ah) and then (œ) generated from (œ), give the transition (e, œ, œ, ah, a). Again, (œ) develops first (œ), and then (œ), the direction of (œ); for although the change from (œ) to (œ) is
easy and rapid, yet when we come to hear the intermediate sounds, we
recognise the bridge as being (a, a, τ, o, o), the (o) being on the one
hand confused with (a), which is again confused with (ε), and on the
other with (o). The next bridge is (o, u, u). Then begins
the shift of the tongue through the first series (i, e, a), and we have
the bridge (y, e, α, e). We have here very nearly reached (ε),
whence (α, e, y) lead up again to (i) through (ε). Thus we obtain
a much extended vowel-scale, which may be grouped under the
former seven heads, thus:

I E A O U Y Ε
i i y, o e e, α ah a a, a o o o, u u, y y, ε ε eh e e e e

This only gives 24 vowels out of our 36. The peculiar (u) or (u2),
which would lie thus (o u u) or (ε u2 u), and (y1) lying thus
(y y, ε), with several un-English varieties, are also omitted. Many
of the rest cannot be placed exactly linearly.

No linear form of expressing relationships of natural phenomena
ever succeeds. The above line does not shew the relation of (I) to
(Y), or of (Ε) to (E) and (O), and in fact, if (ε) belongs to the
family (Ε), of (Ε) to (A). This is partially accomplished by a
triangular arrangement, much used, and very attractive, thus:

A E Ε O
I Y U

We must remember, however, that the (A, E, I) and (A, O, U)
limbs of this triangle are essentially distinct in mode of formation
and effect, that the "means" (Ε, O) are really not on a level in
respect either of quality or physiological position, and that the
"extremes" (I, U) are still more diverse. Also the central stem,
(Ε, Y), although necessarily attractive to Germans on account of
their umlaut, is not a real mean between the limbs, as its situation
would imply. Generally (Y) has the tongue position of (I) and lip
position of (U), and (Ε) the tongue position of (Ε) and the lip
position of (O), but (U, O) have tongue positions, and (I, U) lip
positions, of their own; and, taking resonance, we do not find the
resonances of (Y, Ε) compounded of the resonances of (I, U) and
(E, O) respectively. Hence such an arrangement as

I E A O U Y Ε
Y Ε

has even more significance.

The triangle has been greatly developed by various writers.
Lepsius begins by comparing the vowel families to colours, but
does not hit on exactly the same relations as Grimm (1269, ε), for,
like the blind man who imagined scarlet to be like the sound of a
trumpet, he makes (Standard Alphabet, p. 47)

A Ε O analogous red
I Y U to orange brown violet
E Ε O green blue

which, as before, misses the actual analogies between musical pitch
and optical colour. The "indistinct vowel-sound from which, 
according to the opinion of some scholars, the other vowels, as it

æ
were, issued and grew into individuality," which should be the differentiated voice ('h'), he compares to grey, "which also does belong to the series of individual colours;' does brown?

This triangle Lepsius develops by separating (E) into (e, e, (O) into (o, o, a), and (OE) into (e, o, a), as I presume I interpret his examples, because he distinguishes the last (a) from "indistinct vowel," in which he seems to mix up ('h, v, ø), thus gives, as "the complete pyramid of the European vowels,'

```
      a
     æ æ ø
     ø ø ø
     e ø ø
    i ø ø
    u
```

but he is very anxious to omit "the second row;" and conseque proposes to identify the vowels in 1) English past, heart (aa), Fre mde (aa), German that (aa, aa); 2) English hat (æ), French ma ah), German hat (a, a); 3) English hut, fur (a, a), French heurter øh), German hörner (œ); 4) English naught, war (ø), French cor what, hot (ø), French vote (o, ø, oh), German sonde (o, ø). Of co such identifications do not represent national habits. Lepsi English vowels are given by the words 1 past, 2 heart, 3 ha head, 5 hate, 6 nar, 7 heat, 8 hit, 9 year, 10 hut, 11 fur, 12 nar 13 hot, 14 war, 15 note, 16 borne, 17 hoot, 18 hoot, 19 moom, w judging from the values assigned to his symbols by German exam and using ('r) for 'vocal r,' seem to be considered as, 1 aa, 2 3 œ, 4 œ, 5 œ, 6 œ', 7 ii, 8 i, 9 i'r, 10 ø, 11 œ'r, 12 œ, 1 14 œ'r, 15 œ, 16 œ'r, 17 uu, 18 u, 19 œ'r. Hence omitting the and disregarding quantity, and the confusions (a, e, e), Leq admits only (æ e ø i, ø ø, ø ø) as English vowels, disregar (i, ø, u), and recognising (œ).

But even this triangle does not suffice for the Slavonic and W chian relations, where two vowels are met with which Leq describes thus, in our notation for tongue and lip position, taking lip positions of (i, e, a) as three unrounded degrees of open (1280, d'). In the first place his u is (u), "the tongue dr back in itself, so that in the forpart of the mouth a cavity is l which agrees with Helmholtz's u (1283, b), and may perhaps considered as the German u, related to (bh) in the same way as English u, with the back of the tongue raised, is related to (w).

tongue-position for Lepsius's u is therefore that for our (æ), the position being the same as for our (u), and this is the meanin

1 This retraction of the tongue for (æ) I frequently found useful when desiring to examine the throat of a child, who, when he opens his mouth, usually stuffs his tongue uncomfortably in the way, from not knowing what to do with it, and is always annoyed by having it held down by a spoon or paper knife, which he naturally struggles against. I used to say, "Open your mouth, and say (aa) as long as can." The tongue disappeared in diately, and the examination was ducted without difficulty. "P and guardians will please to notice and also to notice that they must their own mouth and nose examining, so as to avoid the danger misma almost always exhaled in diseased throat.
(\(\text{A}\)). Then he makes (\(\text{y}\)\(\text{=}(\text{i}\text{_{\text{u}}})\), but makes the Russian \(\text{u}\) or Polish \(\text{y}\) \(\text{=}(\text{\text{A}}\text{)}\), or \(\text{=}(\text{\text{u}})\) taking the \(\text{u}\) he describes,\(^1\) and (\(\text{\text{a}}\text{)}\(\text{=}(\text{\text{e}}\text{)}\), but the Wallachian \(\text{a}\), etc. \(\text{=}(\text{\text{o}}\text{)}\). He would therefore arrange his triangle thus:

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{i} & \text{e} & \text{u} \\
\text{o} & \text{a} & \text{u}
\end{array}
\]

which is very pretty, if correct. But Prince L. L. Bonaparte, as will be presently seen, identifies the Wallachian sound with (\(\text{\text{a}}\text{)}\(\text{=}(\text{\text{A}}\text{)}\), being delabialised (\(\text{\text{a}}\)), which would have the tongue lower and the lips opener than (\(\text{\text{a}}\)), the real representative of (\(\text{\text{a}}\)). Between (\(\text{\text{a}}\), \(\text{\text{a}}\)) the difference is not really very great, yet, if I am right in my appreciation of the Forest of Dean sound of \(\text{u}\) as (\(\text{\text{a}}\text{\text{a}}\)), it is very sensible. The Russian sound has been hitherto treated in this work as (\(\text{\text{a}}\)), and the Prince, being familiar with this sound before he heard the Welsh \(\text{u}\), which seems to (\(\text{=}(\text{\text{y}}\text{)}\), felt the connection to be so great, that he at first confused them, and afterwards connected them, as Bell did (\(\text{\text{y}}, \text{\text{a}}\)). But he recognises a guttural character about the Russian sound, which is absent in the Welsh. For a long time I have entertained the same opinion, and hence, on the principle of (1100, \(\text{\text{a}}, 1107, \text{\text{a}}\)), I represent it by (\(\text{\text{a}}\)), thereby maintaining an elevation of the flat tongue and a widening of the pharynx behind the arches of the palate, which gives my sensations when attempting to reproduce the sound. In this case, however, the prettiness of Lepsius’s triangle is somewhat deteriorated, and it becomes:

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{i} & \text{e} & \text{a} & \text{u} \\
\text{\text{a}} & \text{\text{a}} & \text{\text{a}} & \text{\text{a}}
\end{array}
\]

Brücke,\(^2\) unable to accommodate all the vowels which he recognises in one triangle, or as he, with most Germans, terms it “pyramid,” constructs four such. The first seems to be:

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{i} & \text{\text{e}} & \text{\text{a}} & \text{\text{u}} \\
\text{\text{e}} & \text{\text{a}} & \text{\text{a}} & \text{\text{a}}
\end{array}
\]

in which, instead of a central stem, there is a central triangle. These are considered to be all the “perfectly formed” vowels, and Englishmen will notice that some of their most familiar vowels (\(\text{\text{e}}, \text{\text{a}}, \text{\text{a}}, \text{\text{u}}\)) are absent. These are partly provided for in another scheme of “imperfectly formed” vowels,—the “imperfection” existing, of course, only physiologically in Dr. Brücke’s own at-

---

\(^1\) Lepsius gives two accounts, first, “the lips take the broad,” meaning horizontally transverse, “position of the \(\text{i}\) and the tongue is withdrawn as in the \(\text{u}\),” this, with his value of \(\text{u}\), gives (\(\text{\text{A}}\)), as in the text. But he afterwards says that in forming this vowel “the middle tongue is lifted up to the palatal [coronal] point in the middle of the hard roof of the palate; from this point it slopes down almost perpendicularly, so as to leave a cavity between this point and the teeth.” This is not quite the same, because for (\(\text{\text{a}}\)) the tongue is simply laid down and back in the lower jaw, but the second description implies some connection between the tip of the tongue and the coronal point of the palate.

\(^2\) See p. 16 of his tract: Ueber eine neue Methode der phonetischen Transcription, Wien, 1863, pp. 66.
Vowel Triangles.

tempts at pronouncing them. Each one of the above vowels has its "imperfect" form, giving the following pyramid, which represents a sign used by Dr. Brücke, of which he gives no nation beyond such as is furnished by its locality:

\[ \begin{array}{cccc}
? & \omega & ? \\
& ? & \varepsilon & \? \\
\iota & ? & ? & \omega \\
\end{array} \]

The other two pyramids are merely the nasals formed by ad (A) to these signs. The relations between the ordinary vowel where all nasal resonance is cut off by closing the entrance to the nose with the uvula, and the nasal vowels, where this entrance is opened, are not so completely understood as could be desired. The forms (a, aa) indicate that the tongue and lips are in the position for (a), but that the uvula is very differently situate, and this, if the entrance to the nose were cut off by other means, would essentially modify (a) by the opening out of the upper portion of the pharynx, introducing a new resonance chamber, and by the flap about of the soft uvula. How far the resonance can affect the stiffening of the uvula, or making the entrance to the upper part of the pharynx more or less open, or by some internal action of the membranes of the nasal passages, is not known, has in fact been studied at all. The two kinds of "nasality" indicate affixing (,) or (A) to an ordinary vowel-symbol, and the choice of vowel, are altogether uncertain, as indeed is shewn by the various opinions expressed regarding such well-known sounds as the Fr nasals.

Prof. Haldeman (op. cit. 1186, d., art. 369) endeavours to combine all these vowel-sounds in a single triangle with a central core. His English vowels, supra pp. 1189–93. The ? in this triangle marks doubtful identification with his vowel-symbols, but a key is added.

\[ \begin{array}{cccc}
\text{Fr. âme} & a & \text{urn} \\
\text{ now} & a & \text{Suabian?} \\
\odds & \omega & \text{add} \\
\text{Italian o} & e & \text{Coptic?} \\
\text{Fr. e} & \omega Fr. & \text{Suabian?} \\
\text{over e} & \varepsilon Fr. & \text{there} \\
\text{obey o} & e & \text{ebb} \\
\text{Italian wh} & i & \text{Gudjarat'hi} \\
\text{Swedish u,} & u & \text{Swedish u} \\
\text{fool u} & y & \text{Russian spin} \\
\text{pull u} & y Fr. & \text{i mael} \\
\text{y Welsh u} & \\
\end{array} \]

Prof. Whitney, as will be seen in the latter part of No. 7, make
triangular arrangement with central stem an instrument for shewing the relations between vowels and consonants.

The conception of a double triangle has been united with that of a central stem by Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte. Omitting the nasals, and some other signs, such as (oh oh u, 'w 'j 'r'), which tend somewhat to obscure the general symmetry, as the complete form will be given on p. 1298, the following is in principle the Prince's double triangle, in palaeotypic characters.

\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
\text{a} & \text{A} \\
\text{ah} & \text{a} & \text{e} & \text{u} \\
\text{oh} & \text{æ} & \text{e} & \text{æ} \\
\text{u} & \text{æ} & \text{o} & \text{æ} \\
\text{y} & \text{e} & \text{æ} & \text{æ} & \text{y} \\
\text{I} & \text{i} & \text{i} & \text{Y} & \text{i} & \text{u} & \text{u} & \text{U} & \text{u} \\
\end{array}
\]

On comparing these arrangements with Bell's (p. 15), it will be seen that the inner triangle corresponds generally to 'primary' and the outer to 'wide' forms, and that in the central stem, the right-hand column is 'primary,' and the left-hand 'wide,' while the only 'rounded' forms are all those in the classes (O, U, Y, Ø). But to carry out this last restriction, apparently, the forms (æ, æ, æ, æ, oh, ò, æ, æ), which have to me all more or less a tinge of the (Ø) quality, and which are practically constantly confounded together and with those here assigned to the (Ø) family, are given to the (A) family. The great peculiarity of this triangle, however, consists in not terminating the (A E I) and (A O U) limbs by the typically closest positions of the series. It will be seen that the first terminates with (y x), and that the series then extends along the base, through (i i), where the closest position is reached, to the labialised central core (i), where the palato-labial series commences. And the second limb terminates with (u u), which again are not so close as (u' u'), and these go on to (v), which is almost on the central core, and leads up to (y), where the labial series is palatalised, and the palato-labial series commences on this side, and so on to (i). Hence the base of the triangle would probably be best represented by two curves sweeping from I to Y, and from U to Y, where they unite, and proceed in a vertical line through CE to A, and then (i, u') would be outside, and (i, u', v) just inside, so that the 'wide' and 'primary' vowels would be kept distinct. By drawing these lines on the printed scheme, together with the limbs A E I, A O U, a better conception of this extremely ingenious arrangement will be obtained.

This double triangle, with central stem and curved base, exhibits the relation of vowel gradations in a very convenient form, and may help many readers to a better conception of certain "intermediate" forms, than any long physiological description of the forms of resonance chamber by which they are produced. The
identifications of the Prince’s symbols with palæotype are practically his own, with the exception of (\(\pi\)), which is a theoretical intermediate form, for which he has given no key-word, but see (1108, \(\alpha\)). That the forms with (\(\nu\)) precisely represent the same as are produced by the physiological actions these signs were introduced to symbolise (1107, \(\alpha\)), may be sometimes doubtful. Nevertheless, for a study of vowel relations, this triangle, here printed from the Prince’s unpublished papers, is of more material value than any of the other triangular arrangements which have been cited above, though they all serve more or less accurately to show the subjective relations of the vowels by which the changes have been generally estimated. But the real causes of the changes are certainly to be sought in the relations of position of tongue, lips and pharynx, and the more or less careless habits of speakers in assuming definite relations, dependent upon the ease with which approximations to definite position, and hence quality of tone, are appreciated. This readiness of appreciation, or perhaps of confusion under one conceiv’d genus, is due, probably, to the necessarily wide varieties in the qualities of tone usually identified by the speaker himself, which arise from difference of pitch, already mentioned, and emotional modifications. It must be remembered, however, in this connection, that what one nation, or tribe, or clique, is in the habit of confusing, another is in the habit of distinguishing. To an Englishman it is indifferent how he modifies his pitch in speaking, to a Chinese such modifications are all important.

All such changes from a vowel in one part of the scale, to another not far remote on either side, may be called gradations (1281, \(\delta\)), and we may say that a vowel thus replaced is gradated, a general term, avoiding the usual metaphors of weakening, strengthening, etc., or even degradation.

It must not, however, be supposed that dialectal speakers are indifferent to their vowel qualities. Each speaker is tolerably clear about the matter, till he is questioned, and then, like the educated speaker, he becomes bewildered or doubtful. Also, in using his words in different collocations, he unconsciously uses different sounds. Also, when the listener attempts to give him back his sound, almost certainly incorrectly, the native speaker is apt to acknowledge as identical what are really different, or to find immense differences where the listener felt hardly an appreciable distinction. Again, dialectal speakers vary greatly from one another, when the finer forms of elements are considered. The investigator generally knows but few. Hence he is apt to be deceived. Are we to suppose that the great varieties of Early English spelling are due simply and always to carelessness or ignorance? My dialectal experience leads me to think that much may be due to difficulties of appreciation and varieties of pronunciation, and that some of the best spelling, by the most careful men, such as Orrmin and Dan Michel, even when consistent (which, as we know, is not always the case), may give sharp subjective distinctions, and may contain accommodations to alphabetic resources, which are not correct as real representatives of the language spoken. My own personal experience of phonetic
writers, during many years, leads me to a similar conclusion. For older hired scribes, who wrote before the inauguration of a mechanical system of spelling, to settle all questions by an iron rule, and while letters really represented sounds to an appreciable extent, another cause may have acted. They wrote much from dictation, or when they wrote from 'copy,' they transferred the word into sound in their heads, and they were so slow in forming the letters that they laboured an analysis of the sound as they went on. This naturally varied as they used the word after intervals or in different connections. It does so with every one; this is the mere outcome of experience. But with the old scribe the result was a corresponding alteration of spelling. The word was considered in isolation, hence its rhythmical or rhyming qualities did not enter into consideration. The analysis was uncertain, hence it altered. It was tinted by the local habits of the scribe, with whom, therefore, the spelling changed also in generic character. The point least thought of was the general habit of pronunciation, because it was really unknown, and there was no early standard. It seems to me that very much of the varieties of our early MSS. can be thus accounted for, and some puzzling, but not frequent, groups of letters satisfactorily explained.

The net result then for our dialectal examples is that only class changes can be tolerably well ascertained, such as (I) into (E), (A) into (E), (A) into (O), (E) into (A), (O) into (A) or (U), (U) into (O) or (Y), and all into (OE), including (e). Unmistakable instances of all these will be found, but whether they are due to the feelings of weakening, thickening, narrowing, broadening, obscuration, or to physiological relations of the parts of speech, or, as I am often inclined to think, to hereditary and imperfect imitations of fashions for some unknown reasons assumed as models, does not seem to be determinable with our present very limited stock of knowledge. Alterations stated to occur within classes, orthoepical distinctions of (i, i), of (e, e) or (e, e), of (ah, a, o), of (a, e, o), of (o, o), of (u, w, u), of (y, e), of (e, e), of (e, e), of (e, e), of (e, e), are all extremely doubtful. When exhibited in phonetic writing, they must be taken on the word of the investigator as the best distinctions he was able to make at the time, to be corrected when his "personal equation" is known. Experience, gathered from myself and others, has convinced me that opinions alter widely, and within short intervals, while listening to repeated utterances of the same speaker, as to the precise shade of sound heard. Hence I consider that it would be premature to draw absolute conclusions from them. We know in France and Germany that much confusion as to (e, o) prevails. The French distinguish (z, s) sharply, and so do the Italians. The French also distinguish (o, o), but the Italians have (o, oh) in their place.¹ All this is easy when we have written documents and much

¹ Prince L. L. Bonaparte does not make precisely these distinctions. He gives what is here marked (z, s) in French as (e, e), and what is marked (o, o) in French and (o, oh) in Italian as (e, e) in both. It is certainly sufficient for intelligibility to make the distinctions (e, e; o, o) in both, and
discussion. Both fail for our dialects, where a strict consideration of sound is quite in its infancy.

most probably individuals in different localities, even of the highest education, differ materially as to the precise distinction they make, and believe most firmly that their own habits are universally adopted by received speakers.

Since the above note was in type, I have had a curious confirmation of the correctness of this conjecture. Mr. Henry Sweet informed me (6th Feb., 1874), on his return from Holland, where he had had an opportunity of examining the pronunciation of Dr. Donders, Prof. Land, and Prof. Kern, to whom I have had occasion to allude at length (1102, 1109, 1110, 1111, 1114, 6), that they have each different pronunciations, and that each considers his own not only the correct, but the general pronunciation. The following notes, with which he has furnished me, are interesting, not only in this respect, but in reference to the passages just cited. The letters D, L, denote Donders and Land, and when they are not used, the pronunciation is general.

\( a = (\text{æ}, \text{a}) \), (æ) [or, as Mr. Sweet's pronunciation sounded to me, (a)] before (l), otherwise (æ).

\( a a = (\text{aa}) \), as in Danish, maan (maan).

\( a = (\text{a}) \), hest (hest), sometimes (æ), gosed (gosed), D only.

\( o = (\text{æ}) \), L, (dél) D.; seen (seen) L, (bèn) D, the diphthong quite distinct.

-ear = (eèr) L, (eèr) D.; meer (meer) L, (mèr) D, so that L follows English use.

\( o \) unaccented = (o), de goede man (da ghu: de man). The d between two vowels often becomes (w) or (j); Læyden is (Læy-dà), the first (a) running on to the (j) as a diphthong, the final (n) being dropped as usual. This final -e is always pronounced when written except in een, den, een man, sene vrouw, ëne vrouw, (en-man'; en-vróu, en-vróu).

\( i = (\text{e}) \) or (eè), Scotch i, unaccented often (e), twintig (thi'n-tikh).

\( it = (\text{i}) \) short, except before r, niit (nit), bier (bir).

\( o \), from original o = (o) L, (o) D; slot (slot) L, (slot) D.

\( o \), from original ü = (u) L, Danish aa, (o) D; bok (bàk) L, (bèk) D.

\( o = (o) \), L, (bò) D, boom (boom) L, (boò) D.

\( oor = (oor) \), (oor) D, boor (boor) L, (boor) D.

The following notes, with which he has furnished me, are interesting, not only in this respect, but in reference to the passages just cited. The letters D, L, denote Donders and Land, and when they are not used, the pronunciation is general.

\( u = (\text{o}, \text{e}, \text{ø}) \), ðau = (ðàn, ðàm, ðàn). ðau = (i), miniust (mini't), meer (mir).

\( eu = (\text{ø}) \), L, (øi) D, ðoø = (ðøø) L, (øi) D.

-ear = (eèr) L, (eèr) D, ðau = (ðøø) L, (øi) D.

\( ai = (\text{ai}) \), Prof. Kern, a Gelderlander, makes ei = (eì), and iø = (æh').

\( ai = (\text{ai}) \), Prof. Kern, a Gelderlander, makes ei = (eì) and iø = (æh').

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\( ai = (\text{ai}) \), Prof. Kern, a Gelderlander, makes ei = (eì) and iø = (æh').
The kindness of Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte enables me to furnish one of the most remarkable examples of vowel appreciation and classification which has ever been published. The Prince, during last winter, as the outcome of his phonetic studies pursued during many years, with unprecedented facilities for hearing varieties of pronunciation, drew up a scheme of vowel and consonant classification. To the vowel scheme he appended a list of all the vowel-sounds which, so far as he could appreciate, existed in each of forty-five European languages. At my request, and purposely for the present work, he verified his appreciation by giving in each language a word containing that vowel-sound, together with its meaning, serving to identify it. He has thus constructed the most extensive series of key-words ever attempted, and has furnished a means of arriving within comparatively narrow limits at the meaning of the palaeotypic symbols. Of course there will be no absolute identity. First there is his own personal equation in observing, next there is that of another observer, and these may cause so great a divarication that the identification may be disputed in many cases. I have found several in which I do not appreciate the distinctions of sound in precisely the same way as he does. Still the limits of difference are in no case very great, and their very existence is important in relation to the gradation of vowels when appreciated qualitatively.

In order to make this remarkable work more valuable for philological purposes, I have arranged it as follows. First, on p. 1298, I give the Prince's complete triangle, of which there is an extract on p. 1289. As it was impossible to use the Prince's own symbols, many of which have never been cut as types, I have confined myself to giving the numbers in his list. Hence, whatever may be thought of the palaeotypic equivalents afterwards added, each vowel can be immediately identified as B 1, B 2, etc., B indicating Bonaparte, and thus referred to in any English or foreign treatise. For typographical reasons I have, as before, omitted the sloping lines of his triangle. These may be readily supplied thus: by drawing lines from A at the top, through E to I, through O to U, and through O to Y. The first two lines separate the primary and wide vowels. The two uprights between the two horizontal lines should be parallel to the other two, and point to 35 on the left, and 62 on the right. The vertical lines inclosing 67, Y, (65, 66) and the horizontal lines, are correct. The capital letters I, E, A, O, U, Y, OE, indicate the classes, the limits of which are clearly marked by these lines.

Next follows a linear list of the 75 sounds entered as vowels in the above triangle, in order of their numbers, with their palaeotypic equivalents. Except for 5, 9, 12, 22, 26, 30, 36, 38, 39, 47, 52, 56, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 66, 73, 74, 75, these equivalents were furnished by the Prince himself, and hence indicate his own appreciation of my characters. Of these 5 is determined by the Danish example after Mr. Sweet to be (a). Then 22 is the (e) already mentioned (1290, a). Number 36 is only exemplified by an indeterminato unaccented Scotch vowel, scarcely distinguishable from (i); but, as
Mr. Murray considers it nearer to (i), the Prince has made it in
mediate to (i, i'), and I have used (i') as the symbol, where
greater closeness (1107, δ), indicated by ('), refers rather to
width of the opening of the pharynx than to the height of
tongue. Number 56 is identified by a Swedish sound, which
as to be best indicated by (u). The English and Icelandic exam-
of 61 sufficiently identify it with ('w'). Perhaps 62, which is
denoted in Swedish, is not quite properly represented by (w'),
its position in the triangle leads me to that symbol. A sim-
doubt hangs over 63, (u), identified only in Lap and Norweg.
As to 74 and 75, the systematic character of the Prince’s sym-
leads me to think that (w, o') are probably correct, especially as
latter is also identified with the Scotch wi in guid. Here
is the sound I have hitherto written (y). With regard to
other numbers not identified with palaeotype by the Prince
himself, they are all nasals or semi-nasals, formed on bases alre
identified, and hence have been written by adding (ʌ) or (o)
to palaeotypic equivalents of those bases. These additional sym-
have all been approved by the Prince, but some doubt neces-
remains as to the correctness of the physiological identification
which, however, he is not much interested, and very probably w
will have to be altered hereafter. Thus (25 ə, 46 ɔ, 55 o') y
identified by the Prince with sounds which Mr. Sweet writes (e
a) respectively; see the Danish vowels, language 40, below. 1
almost impossible that ears attuned naturally to English and for
sounds respectively should agree on such minute points.

The numbers in the first column in this list refer to the num-
of languages in the list beginning on p. 1300, in which
sound has been identified with that used in a given word. To
the identifications to be tolerably correct, these numbers give a
remarkable result. At the end is given after the sign (=)
number of the languages in which each vowel-sound has been ide-
ified. Collecting these results, and considering 'l, 'r, as two a
vocals, we find in

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Languages</th>
<th>the vowels</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0 15 ʌ, 17 ɔh, 19 əh, 22 ə, 24 e,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42 oh, 44 sh, 46 ɔ, 53 oh, 73 ʌ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>= 10 vowels.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 2 ə, 6 ə, 6 ah, 9 əh, 10 u, 11 ʌ,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 ə, 13 əh, 14 ə, 21 ah, 36 i,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38 ə, 59 əh, 62 u, 64 sh, 63 əh,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>76 ah, 1 = 18 vowels.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 4 ə, 26 ɪ, 30 ə, 33 ə, 40 i,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41 ah, 52 ə, 56 əh, 61 əh, 63 ə,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66 əh = 11 vowels.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 47 ə, 60 oh, 67 ɪ, 74 ə, 74 ɪ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75 ə = 5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vowels.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 20 ə, 39 ə, 60 ə, 74 ə, 74 ɪ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75 ə = 4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vowels.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 3 ə, 23 ə, 48 ə, 54 əh = 4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vowels.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 27 ə, 55 ɔ, 57 əh = 2 vowels.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 ə, 31 ə, 32 ə, 34 əh = 4 vowels.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Languages</th>
<th>the vowels</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8 69 əh = 1 vowel.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 8 ə = 1 vowel.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 35 ə, 43 ʌ = 2 vowels.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>12 72 ə = 1 vowel.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>13 71 ə = 1 vowel.</td>
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<tr>
<td>14 16 ə = 1 vowel.</td>
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<tr>
<td>15 49 ə = 1 vowel.</td>
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<tr>
<td>20 65 ə = 1 vowel.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>21 51 ə = 1 vowel.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24 29 ə = 1 vowel.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 28 ə = 1 vowel.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27 46 əh = 1 vowel.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>41 18 ə = 1 vowel.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42 58 ə = 1 vowel.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43 1 ə = 1 vowel.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44 37 ə = 1 vowel.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It appears then that 60 out of the 77 vowels, including (ʼ1, ʼr), recognized by the Prince, occur each in less than 9 languages, and only each of 17 occur in 10 or more languages. These 17 are consequently those to which attention must be chiefly directed. In order of the number of languages in which they occur, shewn by the figures placed after the letters, they are—

| 37 i, 44 | 28 e, 25 | 71 o, 13 | 1 e, 43 |
| 58 u, 42 | 29 e, 24 | 72 e, 12 | 35 r, 11 |
| 18 'h, 41 | 51 o, 21 | 35 r, 11 | 43 A, 11 |
| 25 e, 33 | 65 y, 20 | 8 a, 10 |
| 46 o, 27 | 49 o, 15 | |
| 16 'h 14 | |

From these we may reject (18 'h) as not being generally considered a vowel at all, because not "voiced," and (16 'h) as undifferentiated voice, which is therefore not usually put among the vowels. It would be in accordance with the habits of many phonologists to consider (4 z, 7 e, 10 u, 11 o, 13 oo) and (16 'h) as all forms of the same vowel, which, to agree with Rapp and English phonologists, may be looked upon as (e). Giving then to (e) all the different languages now credited with those vowels just named, it occurs, under some more or less distinct form, in 20 languages. The appreciation of so many vowel-sounds as (e₁) instead of (x) has put (x) out of and (e₁) into this series. The Prince has not found (x, e₁) simultaneously, except in 12. Ostic, and 26. Rhetian; in the first he has not given an example, but in the second he tells me that he has heard the extraordinary series (8 æ, 23 z, 25 e₁, 28 e, 29 s, 35 i), where 4 means are interposed between (æ, i). ¹ It is of course possible that other observers might note the sounds rather as (8 æ, 22 æ, 23 z, 28 e, 29 e, 35 i), or even as (8 æ, 23 z, 28 e, 29 e, 31 e₁, 35 i), or might consider the sounds here separated as (23 z, 25 e₁) to be the same. The recognition of all the terms in such a series is so difficult, that (e₁) may be considered as the Prince’s appreciation of what other observers class as (x); thus in 40. Danish, he appreciates Mr. Sweet’s (x) as (e₁). If we do not count these two languages twice, (x, e₁) together appear in 35 languages. Again, as regards (o, o₁), it will be seen that the Prince has not found them both in any language but 21. Italian, and (39). Norwegian after Aalen. As regards Italian, it is only quite recently that the Prince has considered the sounds (28 e, 49 o) to have been used in unaccented syllables, having formerly supposed the sounds to be

---

¹ The Russians reckon their ʼz as a vowel, and the Prince identifies this with (18 'h). He also considers a peculiar kind of after-sound in the Wallachian final (a, m) to be the same, see language 27, below. To me it sounded, when he pronounced it, more like (ʼ'h), coming immediately after a nasal, and very short, as (vin;'h). The (16 'h) when final, he usually pronounces more strongly than is customary with careful English speakers.

² See also Alcii’s Archivio Glottologicco Italiano, Rome, 1873, which, in a remarkable paper on these dialects, also recognizes four means.
(29 e, 51 o) in such cases, and he has also quite recently considered the 'open' Italian e, o, in accented syllables to be (e₁, o₁), instead of (e, o) as he formerly thought them to be (1180, d), that is, he did formerly consider the difference sufficiently marked to require independent symbols. The separation of (o, o) under these circumstances is somewhat doubtful. In the Norwegian, the example for (a) is maane, which is (a₀), according to Mr. Sweet. Altogether, therefore, we may consider that (a₁, o) are fine distinctions of sounds usually confused as (o), and for our present purpose so confuse them. Here adding together the numbers of languages for (o₁, o), taking care not to count these two twice over, and crediting them all to 49 o, number becomes 42.

The scale of importance of the 15 vowels thus distinguished among all others, where (18 i) is omitted, (4 e, 7 a, 10 u, 11 o, 13 i, 16 'h) are all confounded as (ə), (ε₁, ε̉) as (ε̉), and (ο₁, o) as (o), is therefore as follows, the numbers before the vowel being Bonapartean, and those after the vowel the numbers of European languages out of 45 in which they occur, which are slightly different from those in the last table (1295, ə).

| 37 i 44 | 28 e 25 | 71 o 13 |
| 1 a 43 | 29 e 24 | 72 o 12 |
| 58 o 42 | 51 o 21 | 35 i 11 |
| 49 o 42 | 7 e 20 | 43 a 11 |
| 23 e 35 | 65 y 20 | 8 o 10 |

and there is little doubt that with these 15 vowels, forming the series

I E A O U Y Ö Æ
i i, e e e, o o, a a, a o o, u, y y, o o

and supplemented by their nasal forms where necessary, all principal languages of the world could be written with an accuracy far surpassing any that has yet been exhibited. Different nations would necessarily demand varieties for their peculiar differentiation and phonetic inquiries into gradations of sound would require minutest symbolisation; but no foreigner is likely to appreciate a language with more real accuracy, until he has undergone some phonetic discipline. The 7 classes of vowels are thus divided into 15 genera, of which the numerous species are exhibited in the list of Vowel Identifications, pp. 1300–1307.

In this last list the languages are arranged according to Prince's own systematic classification, the whole of the vowel-sound known to occur in any language are given in the order of the Bonapartean vowels, with the corresponding palaeotype, and an examination is given to each, in the ordinary orthography of the language, with a translation. After the name of each language is given the number of vowels with which it is thus accredited, assuming (16 i, 18 i) and ('r, 'l) to be vowels. If we reject these, the number of vowels, except in languages 19, Modern Greek, 21, Italian, 22, Spanish, which have to be diminished by 1, 2, or even 3, as in Bohemian. The following will be the numbers of the vowels after these rejections:
Vowels occur in languages.

6 3 = 19 Modern Greek, 22 Spanish, 43 Illyrian.
6 1 = 62 Lettish.
7 5 = 6 Permian, 9 Mordvin, 11 Vogul, 14 Welsh, 45 Bulgarian.
8 7 = 16 Cornish, extinct, 25 Roman, Catalan, 27 Wallachian, 42 Russian, 44 New Slovenian, Wendish, 47 Bohemian, 50 Lithuanian.
9 3 = 4 Livonian, extinct dialect of Salis, 8 Theremissian, on the right bank of the Volga, 21 Italian.
10 4 = 7 Votiak, 33 High German, 46 Polish, 48 Lusitanian.

The vowels selected by those languages that have the same number are by no means identical; thus Portuguese and English, which have each 19 vowels in this estimation, have only 6 in common, namely (1 a, 8 œ, 37 i, 51 e, 57 u, 58 u). This may serve partly to explain the difficulty felt in acquiring the pronunciation of foreign languages. It also by no means follows that the languages most generally esteemed for their sonorosity, or their cultivation, have the greatest number of vowels. Thus 22. Spanish has only 5, 14. Welsh only 7, 21. Italian only 9, 33. High German only 10, 37. English, taking the received dialect, after Smart, and admitting ("j", "w") to be vowels distinct from (i, u), is put down at 19, which, on removing these, reduces to 17, as in 39. Swedish. But if we include all the dialects, the previous enumeration (1262, c) gives, independently of length and doubtful nasitudes, and the numerous fractures, and inserting (i, a) = Glossic [i, u], which were accidentally omitted, the following 30 vowels from the Prince's list, (1 a, 4 x, 6 ah, 7 a, 8 œ, 10 e, 13 œ, 20 a, 21 œ, 23 e, 24 e, 25 e, 28 e, 29 s, 31 e, 33 y, 35 i, 36 s, 37 i, 41 o, 43 a, 49 o, 51 o, 54 uh, 57 u, 58 u, 65 y, 71 œ, 72 a, 75 e), to which (ou, u) or ("w") have probably yet been added, and other vowels may yet be recognised, for example (42 oh, 50 oh), in Bell's unaccented syllables (1160, a).

It is obvious that the 5 vowel signs of the Roman Alphabet a, e, i, o, u, are quite insufficient for intelligibly writing any one of these languages, except 19. Modern Greek, 22. Spanish, and 43. Illyrian, and would be insufficient to write even the dialects of these. What is the proper notation for all these languages is an inquiry not here raised. The notation here employed, whether palaeotypic or glossio, is merely a makeshift, to give a means of writing all these languages so that they could be printed with ordinary types,—an end hitherto unattained, if indeed ever attempted. The "missionary alphabet" of Max Müller¹ is the nearest approach to this, but it is extremely defective in vowel signs, and requires several (4 or 5) special types. Merkel² is a mere make-

¹ The Languages of the Seat of War in the East, with a Survey of the Three Families of Language, Semitic, Arian, and Turanian, 2nd ed. with an appendix on the Missionary Alphabet, etc., London, 1865.
² Latetik, 1866.
shift also. Lepeius's is full of letters with new diacritical points, difficult to procure, except in a few special founts, not common even at linguistic printing establishments. The Prince's letters are of the same diacritic nature, and are only partly cut, for one fount, which is not "in the trade." Bell's, Brücke's, and Merkel's systematic forms may be also considered out of reach, though the two first have been cut to a certain extent. Hence the necessity of my temporary typographical expedients, without which the investigations in this book could never have been brought before the public. My own private opinion is that we do not yet possess sufficient phonetic knowledge, either analytically or synthetically, to be able to construct a systematic alphabet or use it securely, but that Mr. Bell's attempt is the best yet made.

Few phonologists will hesitate in joining in my hearty thanks to the Prince for his kindness in undertaking the great labour of executing this table, and liberally placing it in my hands for incorporation in this work.

**Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte's Extended Vowel Triangle.**

Arranged by the numbers of the symbols, see (1293, c). The numbers in () are to be considered as only occupying the position of a single vowel in the arrangement. Only the first number in each of these groups is given as a palaeotype letter in the abridged form on (1289, δ), in which also other omissions are made.

```
(1 2 3)
4
5 (12 11) 10
6 7 19 (13 14 15 16 17 18)
(9 8)

22 23
24 E (25 26 27)
28 (29 30)
31 32
68 (69 70)
6 (72 73)
71 (72 73) 53 (52 51) 49 50
74 75

33 I 34 35 36 (37 38 39 40) 67 Y (65 66) 64 63 62 61 60 59 58
```

**List of the Vowels in Prince L. L. Bonaparte's Triangle.**

See (p. 1293). The letter-symbols are in palaeotype, the preceding numbers are those in the triangle, the succeeding numbers are the numbers prefixed to the names of the languages in the following list which use that vowel-sound, according to the Prince's judgment. The vowel-qualities are considered without relation to quantity. The numbers following = shew the number of the languages named in the next list, in which the vowel has been identified. These vowels may be cited as B 1, B 2, etc. (1293, c).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A</th>
<th>2, 13 = 1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 a</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 15 16 17 19 21 22 23 24</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 26 27 33 34 35 36 37 38</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(39) 39 42 43 44 46 47</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48 49 50 52 = 43</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 3 a | 1 6 7 17 23 24 = 5 |
| 4 x | 37 (37) = 2 |
| 5 a | 40 = 1 |
| 6 a b | 37 = 1 |
| 7 e | 5 13 37 39 40 44 45 = 7 |
\[ E \]

\[ U \]

\[ Y \]

\[ OE \]
PRINCE L. L. BONAPARTE'S VOWEL IDENTIFICATIONS IN 45 EUROPEAN LANGUAGES.

See (p. 1293). These languages are arranged in the order of Prince L. L. Bonaparte's revised classification, as given in French in a footnote to Mr. Patterson's account of Hungarian in my Presidential Address to the Philological Society for 1873 (Transactions for 1873-4, Part II., p. 217). The classification is here incidentally repeated and translated. The different observations as they occur, unless enclosed in [ ], are taken from the Prince's classification or MSS. All the vowel-sounds in each language, so far as known to the Prince, are given for each language separately. Occasionally, when differences of opinion exist, the list thus formed is eclectic, and gives his own individual judgment. The left hand numbers in each list are those in the triangular and linear arrangements. Then come the forms in palaeotype, followed by a word containing the vowel, in its original spelling; if the word has more than one vowel-sign, a subsequent number, 1, 2, 3, etc., shows whether the first, second, or third, etc., vowel is intended; by this means the usual printed form of the word is preserved. When this is not sufficient, the vowel not being expressed, the place of its insertion is marked by ( ), or the full pronunciation of the word is given. When two adjacent vowel-signs form a digraph to represent the vowel-sound, their numbers are bracketed thus [1, 2]. Finally, the meaning of the word is given in English, and in Italian letters, except, of course, for the English language itself.

Morphological Classification of European Languages.

CLASS I.

A. BасQUE STEM.

1. BASQUE. 13 vowels.

N.B.—The letters S, R, after a word, indicate the Souletin dialect, and the Roncalian sub-dialect, respectively.

1 a ura, 2, the water
3 a a uålêke, 1, 2, S, shame
27 e a mêhê, S, 1, 2, thin
28 o iUûe, 2, hair
37 i begi, 2, eye
39 ia mêtî, S, 1, 2, tongue
48 o a gëzî, 1, R, to bury
49 o bero, 2, hot
58 u sagu, 2, mouse
60 u a shûût, S, 1, 2, thief
65 y a ñi, S, fire
66 y a sùîtâ, 1, S, the son-in-law
18 h bat(u), one

B. ALTAAIC STEM.

a. Uralian Family.
   a. Tshudic Sub-family.
   b. Finnish Branch.

2. FINNISH. 12 vowels.

1 a maa [1, 2], earth
12 x pâû [1, 2], head
28 e reki, 1, stage
29 e niemi, 2, promontory
37 i ìiî [1, 2], leach
46 o tòverî, 1, companion
56 u ñuomi, 2, Finland
58 u puu [1, 2], tree

(2. Finnish, continued.)
65 y sys [1, 2], autumn
69 sh kôyhi, 1, poor
72 e työ, 2, labour
18 h oscet(u), impediment

3. ESTONIAN. 14 vowels.

1 a ma, I
25 e1 kàzî, 1, hand
28 e ence, 1, before
29 e mene, 2, before
32 e1 k(õ)l [pronounced (os'elej)], tongue
37 i îlm, world
46 o1 tolmu, 1, dust
60 oh wölg, debt
61 o phi(l) [pronounced (po'solj)], head
65 o1 tolmu, 2, dust
68 u Jumal, 1, God
65 y üks, one
71 õ õ, night
18 h liüht(u), light

4. LIVONIAN, extinct dialect of Saale, still spoken at the beginning of the xivth century. 10 vowels.

1 a kaks, two
25 e1 mäd, our
28 e bet, but
32 e1 (Észgûrd [pronounced (os-gyrd)], night
37 i izâ, 1, father
49 o koda, 1, house
58 u k'ulâ, side
65 y siina, 1, name
71 õ loud, 1, to find
18 h püesút(u), to take
ii. Lap Branch.

LAP, dialect of Finnmark. 14 vowels.

a  hallo, 1, pleasure
e  lårkå, 1, 2, near
m  bårndne, 1, son
u  silla, 1, he lives
e  edne, 1, mother
e  jurdelēt, 2, 3, to think
i  sirvo, 1, diligence
o  sirvo, 1, beaten way on the snow
dolla, 1, fire
gonagas, 1, king
rušak, 1, money
jukkim, 1, I parted
b  buorre, 2, good
h  lokkat( ), to read

b. Permian Sub-Family.

PERMIAN. 8 vowels.

a  ma, honey
c  Jen, God
y  kyk, two
i  bi, fire
o  zon, son
u  jur, head
ö  styk, 1, one
'h  mort( ), man

VOTIAK. 11 vowels.

a  zarni, 1, gold
c  nif'ati, 2, fourth
e  pel, ear
y  yun, mouth
i  in, heaven
ö  vor, thief
o  os, door
u  jurt, house
y  ëi, 1, night
ö  tödy, 1, white
'h  berkut( ), eagle

II. Morduin Branch.

MORDUIN, dialect Erza. 8 vowels.

1 a  ava, 1, 2, woman
25 c o  kâd, hand
28 e  lem, name
34 y  syfna, 1, gold
37 i  ki, who
46 o  on, dream
58 u  ukaks, 1, weep
18 'h  kot( ), weaving

d. Ugrian Sub-Family.

1. Hungarian Branch.

HUNGARIAN or Magyar. 13 vowels.

1 a  kâr, to injure
25 c o  nyelv, tongue
28 e  veres, 1, read
29 e  szél, wind
37 i  híd, bridge
43 a  kár, arm
51 o  pók, spider
54 sh  nol, where
58 u  tudom, 1, I know it
65 y  fiú, grass
71 œ  ökör, 1, 2, ox
72 o  fő, head
18 'h  atyát( ), father, in acc.

II. Vogul Branch.

VOGUL, dialect of the Konda. 8 vowels.

1 a  kâti, brother
25 c  it, hair
28 e  ne, wife
37 i  ini, 1, 2, thorn
49 o  chotel, day
58 u  chulp, net
65 y  pív, son
18 'h  kât( ), hand

III. Ostiaic Branch.

OSTIAC, dialect of Surgut. 13 vowels.

1 a  āre, 1, song
33 y  chilnâ, 2, morning
23 m  [known to exist, but no example known]
25 c  pet, nest
29 s  pětelen', 1, cloud
33 y  jig, father
37 i  jîpel, 1, shade
43 a  püš, glove
46 o  nok, above
58 u  suggus, 1, 2, autumn
65 y  mül, cap
71 œ  kör, oenm
18 'h  kút( ), six
N.B.—Finnish, Estonian, and Livonian, differ from Lap nearly as Greek from Latin. Similarly for Tatarian in relation to Mordvin, and for Hungarian, Vogul, and Ostio among another one.

6. Samoyedic Family, with their
7. Tartaric Family, sub-families
8. Tungusic Family, and

C. Dravidian Stem, etc.
D. Western Caucasian Stem, etc.
E. Eastern Caucasian Stem, etc.
F. G. H., etc., etc. Other Stems differing greatly from each other, but belonging to this first class.

CLASS II.

A. Indo-Germanic Stem.

[N.B.—The dead languages are placed, and their names printed in italics, but no pronunciation is given.]

a. Celto Family.
b. Gaelic Branch.

13. GAELIC. 22 vowels.

N.B.—The letters S, M, indicate Scotch and Manx Gaelic respectively.

1 a adharc, 1 [pronounced (aierk)], horn
2 a, math, S, good
7 a déanta, 3, done
8 see glasan, green
11 o laogha [1, 2], S, calf
12 o, maodh [1, 2], S, trips
25 e, fear [1, 2], grass
26 e, freumh [1, 2], S, root
29 e céim [1, 2], step
34 e, daor [1, 2], dear
35 i, mil, honey
37 i, ri, king
38 i, sinseachd [letters 2, 3, 4], S, ancestors
43 a ard, high
46 o, son, S, sake
47 o, didomnaich, 2, S, sunday
51 o or, gold
58 u cul, back
59 u̇, déanadh [3 last letters], doing
72 s, leigh, 1, M, law
74 ò, keisyn [letters 2, 3, 4], M, sea
18 h, mallacht(), curse

14. WELSH. 8 vowels.

1 a bardd, bard
28 e sorth, strength
33 y, dyn, man
37 i, gwir, wine
49 o, mor, sea
68 u, cwmni [letters 2 and 4]
68 sh, dynion, 1, men
18 h, bot(), round body

b. Cornish.

15. CORNISH, as spoken in the century, now extinct.

1 a háv, summer
28 e, pedn, head
35 i, gwydn (letter 3), white
37 i, piji, 1, prayer
43 a, bóz, to be
46 o, kylobman, 2, pigeon
51 o, mor, sea
58 u, gubar, 1, song
18 h, bohojok(), poor man

b. Breton.

16. BRETON. 18 vowels.

N.B.—The letter V indicates dialect of Vannes.

1 a màd, good
3 as hañ [letters 2 and 3], in
26 e, dervex, 1, 2, day
26 e, kénta [letters 2 and 3],
29 e, eva, 1, to drink
30 e, éf [letters 1 and 2], a
31 e, maine, 2, V, mountain
37 i, ti, house
39 i, ifin [letters 1 and 2], a
46 o, tomm, hot
48 o, moe [letters 2 and 3],
51 o, goild, 1, 2, cover
58 u, gouzout [1, 2], [3, 4],
65 y, dû, black
69 sh, eun [1, 2], a
72 s, keáneud [1, 2], [3, 4],
16 h, cæret, 2, V, loved
18 h, kacout(), to have

b. Greco-Latin Family.

1. Albanian Branch.

17. ALBANIAN, Gùègùe diale voltas.

1 a ame, 1, mother
3 as báni, 1, he did
27 c a l'éng, 1, let
28 e et, thirst
17. **Albanian, continued.**

- i, bir, son
- ia, ving, 1, they come
- o’a, angq, 1, they do
- o, got, lord
- u, burr, 1, husband
- ua, ‘, hunger
- y, krüpe, 1, salt
- ya, buni, 1, he entered
- ’h, nde, is
- h, diilit(), of the sun

**II. Greek Branch.**

**Ancient Greek.** dead.

**MODERN GREEK.** 5 vowels.

- a, φεγγαρι, 2, moon
- e, ρεφίνη, 1, 2, cloud
- i, γαι, 2, bread
- o, χριστ, 1, 2, year
- u, πολι [1, 2], bird

**III. Latin Branch.**

- a, Latin

**Latin, dead.**

- b, Italian.

**Italian.** 9 vowels.

- a, gatto, 1, eat
- e, sella, 1, saddle
- e, sellai, 1, saddle
- e, stella, 1, star
- i, fine, 1, end
- o, bosco, 1, wood of tree
- o, boschetto, 1, grove
- e, bocca, 1, mouth
- u, buco, 1, hole

**Spanish.** 5 vowels.

- a, madre, 1, mother
- e, mujer, 2, woman
- i, hijo, 1, son
- o, plomo, 1, 2, lead
- u, luna, 1, moon

**Portuguese.** 20 vowels.

- a, más, bad, fem. pl.
- a, lês, wood
- a, mas, but
- a, cama, 1, bed
- e, sé, see
- e, sempre [letters 2, 3], always
- e, se, be, imperat. sing.
- a, senha, 1, sign
- e, cesar, 1, to sup
- i, vicio, 1, 2, vice
- ia, sim [letters 2, 3], yes

(23. **Portuguese, continued.**)

- 46, o, avô, 2, grandmother
- 48, o, som [letters 2, 3], sound
- 50, o, avô, 2, grandfather
- 51, o, sonho, 1, dream
- 52, o, nos, the
- 54, o, the
- 57, u, soar, 1, to sound
- 58, u, tânilo, 1, 2, tomb
- 60, u, um [both letters], one
- 16, h, se, if

- c, French.

24. **French.** 18 vowels.

- 1, a, chat, cat
- 3, a, dent [letters 2, 3], tooth
- 20, a, diable, 2, devil
- 25, e, père, father
- 27, e, vin [letters 2, 3], wine
- 28, e, musette, 2, bagpipe
- 29, e, dé, die, n.
- 37, i, if, you-tree
- 46, o, botte, boot
- 48, o, bon [letters 2, 3], good
- 51, o, beau, beautiful
- 58, u, poule, hen
- 65, y, lune, moon
- 59, e, veuf [1, 2], widower
- 70, a, un [both letters], one
- 72, e, feu [2, 3], fire
- 16, h, cheval, 1, horse
- 18, h, fat(), foppish

25. **Roman.** Catalan. 10 vowels.

- 1, a, casa, 1, house
- 8, a, casa, 2, house
- 25, e, net, nephew
- 29, e, net, clean
- 37, i, cosi, 2, cousin, male
- 46, o, dona, 1, woman
- 51, o, molt, much
- 58, u, jutge, 1, judge
- 16, h, pare, 2, father
- 18, h, foch(), fire


- 1, a, bab, father
- 8, a, escan, 2, we are
### Wallachian

27. WALLACHIAN. 9 vowels.

- a, o, i, e, u, ă, ășă, ăș, ășășă

- Vowels are pronounced as in Romanian.

### Dialect of Holstein

34. LOW GERMAN, dialect of Holstein. 15 vowels.

- A, ă, ășă, ășășă

- Vowels are pronounced as in Standard German.

### Dutch

35. DUTCH. 14 vowels.

- A, o, ă, ășă, ășășă

- Vowels are pronounced as in Standard Dutch.

### Modern Frisian

36. MODERN FRISIAN dialect. 14 vowels.

- A, o, ă, ășă, ășășă

- Vowels are pronounced as in Modern Frisian.

### English

37. ENGLISH [see remark (1199, e')] 21 vowels.

- A, o, ă, ășă, ășășă

- Vowels are pronounced as in Standard English.
(37). **SCOTCH.** Southern dialect. 14 vowels.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sound</th>
<th>Word</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4 a</td>
<td>to turn, 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 ø</td>
<td>men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 a</td>
<td>man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 e</td>
<td>way</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31 e</td>
<td>smaller, 1, silier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32 e'</td>
<td>there, pronounced (dheo't'a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36 e'</td>
<td>fishes, 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37 i</td>
<td>to leave [2, 3]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49 o</td>
<td>God</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55 o'</td>
<td>folk, pronounced (foo'k)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58 u</td>
<td>house [1, 2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75 u'</td>
<td>guid [1, 2], good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 'h</td>
<td>gaed, pronounced (goe'd), went</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 'h</td>
<td>that()</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**II. Scandinavian Group.**

**a. Icelandic.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sound</th>
<th>Word</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 a</td>
<td>maður, 1, man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 e</td>
<td>hestur, 1, horse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29 e</td>
<td>bein, 1, bone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35 i</td>
<td>vita, 1, to know</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37 i</td>
<td>rikur, 1, rich</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40 j</td>
<td>bein, 2, bone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46 o</td>
<td>opinna, 1, open part.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51 o</td>
<td>göður, pronounced (goow'dur), good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57 u</td>
<td>hún, she</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61 '</td>
<td>ungur, 1, young</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61 ø</td>
<td>göður, [see 61]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td>smjör, butter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75 u'</td>
<td>sumar, 1, summer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 '</td>
<td>loft', air</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**b. Modern Scandinavian.**

(38). **ICELANDIC.** 14 vowels.

(39). **Norwegian.** continued.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sound</th>
<th>Word</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>71 ø</td>
<td>ðök, ðark</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72 e</td>
<td>lók, brook</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75 ø'</td>
<td>stytta, 1, to shorten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 'h</td>
<td>hatt(), hat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

39. **SWEDISH.** 18 vowels.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sound</th>
<th>Word</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 a</td>
<td>all, all</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 ø</td>
<td>saker, 2, things</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 e</td>
<td>ärä, 1, glory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28 e</td>
<td>meja, 1, to mow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29 ø</td>
<td>leds, 1, to lead</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35 i</td>
<td>vinna, 1, to win</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37 i</td>
<td>vin, wine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46 ø</td>
<td>sofra', 1, to sleep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61 o</td>
<td>kol, cole</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66 ø</td>
<td>stor, great</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63 ø</td>
<td>skuld, cause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64 u</td>
<td>hus, house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65 y</td>
<td>fira, 1, four</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69 ø</td>
<td>först, firstly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71 ø</td>
<td>kött, meat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72 ø</td>
<td>dö, to die</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75 ø</td>
<td>systär, 1, sister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 'h</td>
<td>hatt(), hat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

40. **Danish,** according to Mr. Henry Sweet. [Trans. of Phil. Soc. 1879-80, p. 103.] 17 vowels.

N.B. These do not always correspond with those assigned by the Danish Grammarians.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sound</th>
<th>Word</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5 a</td>
<td>mand, man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 ø</td>
<td>mane, 1, to conjure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 e</td>
<td>host, horse [Mr. Sweet writes (ø)]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28 e</td>
<td>losse, 1, to read</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32 ø</td>
<td>een [1, 2], one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35 i</td>
<td>spille, 1, to play</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37 i</td>
<td>hvid, white</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41 ø</td>
<td>folk, people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46 ø</td>
<td>maane [1, 2], moon [Mr. Sweet writes (ø)]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

55 ø' | stor, great [Mr. Sweet writes (ø)] |

58 u | ugge, 1, owl |
| 65 y | skyllo, 1, to rinse |
| 67 i | nýda, 1, to enjoy |
| 69 ø | sporet, greatest [latest ortho- |
| 71 ø' | dor, door ] graphyø for ø |
| 72 ø' | han, deer, 3, he does |
| 18 'h | hat(), hat |

5. **Slavo-LETTISH Family.**

1. **Slavonic Branch.**

a. **Slave.**

41. **OLD SLAVE,** dead.
42. RUSSIAN. 9 vowels.

[The pronunciation of each word is added.]

1. a ПАЛКА, 1, 2, (pa:l'ka), stick
8 e МЯСО, (mis'ka), meat
29 o ДЕРЕВО, 1, 2, (de'revo), tree
34 Я, МИ, (mi), see
37 i МИР, (mir), world
43 a ХУДО, 2, (kh'-da), ill adv.
51 o ВОЛЯ, 1, (vo'lya), will
58 u МУЖ, (mush), man
18 h БОКСОЛЬ, 2, (khvos't'), tail

43. ILLYRIAN. 7 vowels.

1 a брада, 1, 2, beard
28 e пета, 1, heel
37 i риб, 1, fish
49 o нога, 1, foot
58 u рука, 1, hand
18 h врат(), neck
'r prat, finger

44. NEW SLOVENIAN, Wendish. 10 vowels.

1 a dati, 1, to give
7 e dober, 2, good
25 e, jé, he is
29 o je, he eats
37 i mir, peace
43 a bób, bean
51 o žob, tooth
58 u uća, 1, hour
18 h brát(), brother
'r hrt, greyhound.

45. BULGARIAN. 8 vowels.

1 a ба̀ща, 1, grandmother
7 e дуб, oak
25 е, бáне, 2, bath
28 e дёте, 1, child
37 i зима, 1, winter
49 o слат, 2, gold
58 u ку̀лъ, 1, hook
18 h brát(), brother

5. Polish.

46. POLISH. 11 vowels.

1 a сам, alone
25 e, терас, 1, now
27 e, абеда, I shall be

(46. Polish, continued.)

31 e, chleb, bread
34 Я, byli, 1, they have been
37 i пил, 1, 2, they have drunk
47 о, jada, 2, they go away
51 o погода, 1, 2, fine weather
54 ш Bóg, God
58 u cud, miracle
18 h гром(), thunder

47. BOHEMIAN. 11 vowels.

1 a скála, 1, rock
25 e, led, ice
29 o mléko, 1, milk
37 i вир, 1, faith
46 o, звон, bell
51 о, ó, o
58 u дух, spirit
67 r кdy, when
18 h ховат(), cook
'l vik, wolf
'r prat, finger

48. LUSATIANS, Sorbian, Wendish. 11 vowels.

1 a трава, 1, 2, grass
25 е, жебо, 1, of Aim
29 о земя, 1, earth
31 е, во̀ра, 1, faith
37 i figa, 1, fig
43 а вона, 1, thing
51 о воко, 1, eye
54 ш двёр, door
58 у hubа, 1, hop
67 r съма, 1, cold n.
18 h дёрт(), mouthful

49. CASSUBIANS, a still-existing dialect of the extinct POLABIC. 16 vowels.

1 a гадеc, 1, 2, to talk
25 е, mech, moss
27 е, геба, mouth
29 е, сте, evil
35 е, faczanksi, 2, 3, Latin
43 а, ю̀д, oemom
46 е, помо̀б, 1, 2, aid
47 е, кат, corner
51 о добри, 1, good
52 е, дом, house
54 ш Bóg, God
58 у, шрум, rain
60 уа, кунар, art
65 у, hysop, 1, hysop
18 h нёкак, 1, to bear down
18 h гьеарт(), devil
II. Lettish Branch.

50. LITHUANIAN. 9 vowels.
1 a bāl'kis, 1, beam
25 ę vētā, 1, to drive
29 ē deē'ē, 1, 2, box case
35 ī kirvia, 1, 2, axe
37 ĭ yrā, 1, he is
49 o mōmā, 1, mother
57 u nesū, 2, I bear
58 u pūlū, 1, to fail
18 'h kū-mēt(), at which time

b. Prussian.
51 PRUSSIAN. dead.

52. LETTISH. 8 vowels.
1 a gars, spirit

(52. Lettish, continued.)
25 ę mettu, 1, I throw
29 ē sēja, 1, seed
37 ĭ bitte, 1, bee
49 o lēks, pronounced (lūsāki), only
the (ō) is referred to, looks
58 u blūsā, flies
18 'h mēle, 2, tongue
18 'h tizēt(), to believe

B. SEMITIC STEM,

admitting, as I do, the correctness of
Ascoli's opinion as to the connec-
tion of the Indo-European and
Semitic stems, although
it is disputed by the majority
of modern linguists.—L.L.B.

iv. On Vowel Fractures and Junctures.

The word fracture here introduced is of course imitated from
Grimm's brechung, but it does not in any respect imply his theory
of length (1265, b. 1270, b). By Fracture will be meant the replace-
ment of one vowel by two, more or less closely connected by a glide.
By Juncture will be meant, conversely, the replacement of two
vowels, generally gliding on to one another, by a single vowel,
either one of the two original, or some sound developed in the glide
which originally joined them. As to the comparative lengths of
the one and the two elements, no theory is started. As to the
absolute monosyllabic character of the fractures, no assumption is
made. As a general rule, the speaker feels the fracture as mono-
syllabic, he actually often feels it as containing only one vowel; so
that it is only with difficulty, after much hesitation, and frequently
unwillingly after strenuous denial, that he comes to recognize the
fractured character. It requires generally a fresh ear or a tutored
ear to recognize them at all. The fresh ear, if not tutored, is apt
to only to recognize some peculiarity, without stating its nature, and
when it attempts to state it, is often ludicrously incorrect. These
statements are the result of experience, not theory. The knowledge
of fractures is rather new to myself. There were many ways of
speech to which I was well accustomed, without having the least
idea that they belonged to this class. Dialectal fractures I scarcely
appreciated at all, except as sporadic curiosities, till quite recently;
yet they are most conspicuous characters of our northern and south-
western dialects. And extending my view from English to other
European languages, I seem to see them largely developed even in
written tongues, while the unwritten dialects abound in them. It
is therefore necessary to form some classification, pointing out their
typical characters. But this must be taken as provisional, requiring
probably years of research into living uses, to verify, correct, and
replace. If philology is worth anything, the labour of investigating
fractures, and their corresponding junctures, will not be thrown away, for they are vital points in the consideration of vowel relations. It would be quite premature to propound any theory of their origin. The phenomena themselves are not sufficiently known and grouped, and the circumstances under which they arise, although attempted in certain cases to be determined by Grimm, are far vaguely felt, or too loosely stated, or too imperfectly ascertained, render a general theory possible. The diversity of local habits, even of habits within the same district, as to words used on different occasions, either of collocation of words, or of relations of a speaker to the listener, throws great difficulties in the way of a physiological or even subjective theory. Our present business therefore, simply to propose a rough classification of the phenomena to assist in grouping. The subsequent dialectal examples will furnish numerous instances.

Fractures may be divided into two classes, according as an adventitious vowel is pre-fixed (Prefractures) or suf-fixed (Suffractures). The original vowel may be gradated (1290, c) in a way at the same time.

Prefractures are weak or aperitive when the prefixed vowel has greater closure formed by the tongue or lips than the original vowel so that the result is a progressive opening. Its types are (ā, à, ï, i) with the first element under the stress, but varying as (iā, uā, ũ). It is the first form (iā, īa) which is so conspicuous and remarkable in our northern dialects. The second, which often develops from the first, as (iā, uā), has a wide range in the literary languages of Europe.

Prefractures are strong or clausive when the original vowel has greater closure, so that the result is a progressive closing. Its types are (āi, āu, īi), and do not, at least commonly, vary as (āi, ǣ) although (uā) is not uncommon.

Suffractures take either of the above forms, that is, may be either aperitive or clausive, or may be simply continuant or laxative, opening of the mouth continuing much the same throughout, merely relaxing into one of the easy positions, giving obscure sonance, such as (e). The first element is, however, the origin or one of its gradations, and the second the adventitious. In types, then, the first element is marked long, as (ēi, ēou, āsā). The two first types have crept into received English pronunciation. They are largely developed in Icelandic. They probably were so in Norman, and have doubtless influenced our Early English for The last type (āsā) is wider developed in our dialects.

Omissive suffractures arise from the suppression of a consonant.
its gradual change into (i, u, o). The types are (iː, ʌ, ə), and they have been largely developed in the received dialect, or its early forms, by the suppression of g and r, and sometimes l.

False fractures are such as have been simply developed recently by mere imitation, or false analogy. They take any of the above forms. Thus the Londoner’s (nəʊ) for gnaw comes from the analogy of his omissive fracture (məʊ, mə) for more, replacing (moo'), and similar words.

Junctures arise from the substitution of a practically intermediate sound for a fracture of any sort, or from the suppression of an element, thus (əi, ʌ) may give (e, o) as intermediates, or (a) by suppression; both cases occur.

The most important point to be determined in examining a fracture relates to the original vowel, and, as that vowel is frequently gradated even to obscurasion, it is frequently not recognisable without comparison of the forms of a word in various dialects. When the original vowel reaches obscurasion, it is necessarily disguised in ordinary alphabetic writing, and will appear under one of the forms a, e, o, u, quite independently of any variety of sound, according to the fancy of the writer at the moment, partly swayed perhaps by etymological considerations. I am not inclined to give medieval writers credit for greater exactness than their modern followers, especially when they had absolutely no sign for an obscure vowel. I do not see why an Anglosaxon scribe in the xth century should not have used æ, œ, precisely as I find modern dialectal writers actually employ them, so far as the second element is concerned. If they had been able to write (œ) in both cases, they would probably often have done so. Not having this power, however, the signs remain ambiguous, and either (œ) may have been meant, or really (é, é).

It was in the Cumberland dialect that the aperitive prefractures first presented themselves to me in recognisable purity. It was impossible to hear (fiːs, dial, liːt) for face, dale, late, and (brid, stiːn) for broad, stone, with a perfectly distinct (a), and to observe fool, look vary from (fəl, liːk), through (fiːl, liːk), to (fiːl, liːk), without recognising that the original (a, u) had been introduced by an adventitious (i), which, usurping the accent, occasionally obscured the other vowel.

The subsequent comparison of three Yorkshire forms of speech with the Scotch led me to formulate the process thus. Speakers in different districts have a tendency to introduce an open vowel by a closer. The tendency varies very much, even in contiguous districts, even in different speakers within the same district, even in the same speaker on different occasions. The introducing vowel generally usurps the stress, and thus obscures the original vowel, but this obscurasion does not always follow, and the stress sometimes passes to the original vowel, or its gradated representative, shewing that this was a subsequent process, as the gradation, especially when amounting to obscurasion, was more likely to occur.

1 Compare the “etymological” æ ə ไซ graphy, in the examples, p. 1304, ə æ of the Roman Wallachian ortho-language 27.
without than with the stress. The original vowel being of the first class, the introducing vowel was of the (1) class; but when original vowel was (a), the introducing vowel was either (i) or (u). The North Mid and Mid Yorkshire forms of speech, hereafter added, are distinguished by this difference. The introducing vowel n also be (u) in this case, but this is not so frequent for an original (a) as for an original (o). The types (ie, ia, ea, úa) are the general. But as long as the stress remains on the first element second is very difficult to hold distinctly, and rapidly passes into (o); thus the forms (ie, ea, úa) are the most frequent of the preceding types. When this stage is reached, the tend to be drive the obscuration further, by shortening second element, till it becomes a mere voice-glide, connects closely with the preceding vowel as to seem rather to generate a new sound than to remain a mere appendage. Thus arise the fractures (i’, i’, e’, o’, u’, u’), of which (i’, u’) are of common occurrence in Scotch, where they have been written by Mr. Mu in his historical orthography (op. cit. p. 103), as ea, ou, the very adopted by medieval writers for related phenomena. The following are Mr. Murray’s remarks on these two fractures. “This, th, eae, in laeod, breae, is a very difficult sound to analyse. When nounced leisurely, however, the main element will generally recognised as the long of the English i, heard in singing bit long note bi-i-t-t, this sound gliding or opening at the end into in yet, Scotch y in byt, or perhaps the mid-mixed vowel (a) in second syllable of real, which occupies a mid position between Scotch y in myl (mel) and u in mull (mull). I often hear identical sound in English, when the word real (ri:el) is care pronounced, as (ri:el, ri:il). When rapidly pronounced, the glide is scarcely heard, and the two sounds seem to mix into an impu (i) or close a (e).” (ibid. p. 105.) Mr. Murray’s (i) is a little deeper than mine, and sounds to me generally like (i) or (e) that has an ‘i’ approaches closely to an (e), but a remarkably all (o). As respects ou, Mr. Murray says: “This vowel bears the same relation to oo (u) and o (o) that ea does to ee (i) and a. When pronounced leisurely, the main element will be heard as the same as the English ‘wide’ oo (u) in book, poor, but this opens and glides towards the u in gun (u). When rapidly nounced, however, the effect of the glide is scarcely felt, and seem to hear only a very close u, almost falling into oo (u), nearly, if not quite, identical with the Italian o chiuso, represents a short Latin i, as dolce, rompe, somma.” (ib. p. 111.) These inductions of (e, a, o) by (i, e, u) consequently lead directly to substitution of (i) for (a) or (o), (e) for (a), and (u) for (o). In an unpractised ear receives (i’, e’, u’) for (ii, ee, uu).1 Stone, (staan), which is (stian) in Cumberland, becomes (stian) in Te dale, and we hear of (steen) in “general Scotch,” and (stir Aberdeen.

The most remarkable of these prefractures is (iu), where (u)

1 German iisben and such words have (ii) for (i), see Grimm (I, 227)
gradation of (o). In Cumberland I was for a long time puzzled with what appeared from description to be a peculiar (y, u) sound. Subsequent hearing shewed me that it varied as (iu, io, iu), and was in fact a real prefracture of (u). In Norfolk the custom varies, (iu, iu, iy, y, yu, ə) being used as substitutes for (uu); this is even the case in a few words in Kent. In Devonshire, while (y, yu, ə) are generally acknowledged, see p. 636, note, yet the fracture (məon, mən) may be noticed. The sounds (y, yu, ə) as used in these dialects could not be a Norman introduction, as they occur in words where Normans have (uu). They are not a necessity of Scotch pronunciation, for the Scotch retain the (uu) sound where it was received from Anglosaxon and French. Hence I am led to consider this (y, yu, ə) as in all cases a juncture arising from the fracture (iu, io) differently developed in different districts, according to a native custom of pronunciation, and to be in no respects a foreign importation. That the real French (y) which was introduced in French words, as nature, followed the course of the native fracture, is very probable, and this may account for the simultaneous existence of (iu, y) in the mouths of Wilkins and Wallis, just as we have seen they long afterwards co-existed sporadically. It is also possible that the puzzling use of ə in the xiii th century (424, b), which finally introduced ou for (uu), may have been due to a similar prefracture. Even the short ə, which interchanges with ɪ, ə (300, a), may be due to a very close (r', ə') form of this fracture. The consideration of fracture at any rate introduces a new consideration depending upon a native existing habit, with whose various forms the old orthography was powerless to deal. For example, the open (əə) could not be orthographically distinguished from the close (e'), except by leaving the former as a or a, and the latter as ə. This may account for the remarkable treatment of a, ə, by Orrin (487, cd). The hesitation of that writer brought to light the condition of his manuscript is quite familiar to all those who try to fix a speech on paper. The analysis of fractures is always especially difficult, and the Latin alphabet had made no provision for it. With regard to the particular tendency to interpose (i) before (u), I have been lately struck with its comparative frequency in educated pronunciation, where the speaker would probably have been much offended had any such tendency been hinted at. The (i) is generally (i), and very light, and sometimes varies with (y). Thus I have heard room vary as (rəm, rəyəm, rəyəm), so that there would be clearly very little difficulty in reaching (rəm, ryəm, rəm).

When the original element is retained distinctly, the position of

1 The real French (y) in France itself is derived from an original Latin (u), and the process of derivation may have been precisely the same, from (iu). We find numerous proofs of the existence of the types (ia, əa) in French, so that this hypothesis has an historic foundation.

2 The Anglosaxon fractures əə, ə — to which perhaps the confusion of əə, əə, with each other and with ə, will allow us to add əə, too cursorily treated on p. 351 — will be reconsidered in Chap. XII. Among dialectal writers I have found the utmost confusion in respect to əə, əə, in the forms (r', ə').
the stress is very uncertain. Hence (ia, ua) are as apt to be (iâ, uâ) as (ia, ûa). They are, as it were, in a state of unsteady equilibrium. This I state from my own personal feelings listening to Cumberland sounds. But the choice once made has considerable effect on subsequent development, and either position the stress may be originally developed. Initially, that is with preceding consonant, the stress falls on the second element or origin vowel, and then, in accordance with present English habits, the producing (i, u) become the consonants (i, w). But that this the Anglo-Saxon custom there is considerable reason to doubt (511), either as to the position of the stress on the second element or as to the consonantal development of the first element. 

Present, even in Scotland, we have (yên, yëb'î, yëk, jët) for one, oak, oat (Murray, p. 105), all being cases of (iâ) in the grade form (iâ'). Mr. Murray even writes (ywem) where I seemed to him say (wïëm). In general I think that the jerk or aspirate acting on the initial (i) or (u) saves it from becoming (i), but this is a matter of theory, very difficult to decide practically. We have also in Scotch (wa-r'thet, wa-r'pî, wa-r'pen) for orchard, or open. And similarly to the (hu), Mr. Murray writes (ñwul), when suspect (ñhu'k), for hole, etc., which is consistent with his second historical form huole, etc. (ibid. p. 112.) The greater number of dialectal writers use y, w, in these cases, even after a consonant Jvoth in Cumberland, implying (Dzhwon), which is to me a difficult combination; but I seem to hear (dzhuôn), which is enough. Even in this word I doubted the stress, and thought first that it lay on the introducing vowel, thus (dzhuön). This mentioned first to show the vowel character of the first element, secondly the instability of the position of stress. There was approach, however, to (dzhuôn), compare the English pronunciation ofJuan (dzhu-ûn). In our received pronunciation we have fracture (uâ) in one (wên). The oldest form of this fracture will I have been able to cite is Jones's (wên), at the close of the xvi century, suprâ p. 1012, for which a little later, in the xvii century, we have (won, wàn, wên), see (1079, a), while at present day both (won) and (won, wàn) are heard (1091, d. 1097). The fractural character and its recent development are there well established.

These prefractures often re-act powerfully on the preceding consonant. Where the aspirate exists we ought to have (yh, w but these do not seem to be developed. More frequently aspirate is lost, and (iâ, uâ) are treated as initials, thus (yph, wâm) occur for (ñhîp, ñhîd, ñhuâm), heap, head, home, in Shashire. When there is a preceding (t, d), the fracture is apt 

1 We have here the same controversy as on pp. 1092-3. With regard to Salesbury's ywth (762, b. 763, c), I was much struck by hearing Dr. Benjamin Davies (769, c) read the Welsh wych = 8, distinctly as (yyth), without a trace of (wyth), on 6 Feb. 1176. Yet I have not noticed this peculiarity in his pronunciation of English sci 2 Sometimes the word comes to be as (yph'sm), sometimes as (yzhm), may possibly vary as (yghm).
change it to (tah, dzh), as (tahem, dzhel) for (tiem, die) team, deal, also in Shropshire. This happens in the received pronunciation.

The terminations, -ture, -dure, once (-tyyr, -dyyr), as imported words, split into two directions. In the xvii th century the remis-

sion of accent introduced the ready gradations (-tu, -du), whence

(-ta, -da), which became the rule in the xviii th century. But

orthography having crystallised, the final -e reminded readers, and

especially teachers, that e must be "long." Now the old (yy)

seems never to have died out, but the modern (iá) may not so much

be a fracture evolved from it as a false orthographic fracture, not

however without opposition, see Webster (1070, b)'. Once intro-

duced, however, (-tiú, -diú) passed easily through (-tie', -dia')

into (-tabae, -dzaeh), precisely in the same way as in Shropshire.

And the alteration of even accented (siú, tiú, diú) to (shu, tshu,

dzhu) is of the same kind. This became strongly developed among

the Irish in the xvm th century. See the words beginning with

(su-, tu-) in the vocabulary, supra pp. 1081-2.

In the Romance languages the weak (i, u) prefractures play a

great part. Thus in French, (ahaa) champ is (kiám-pum) altered,

and (rua) older (roa') is (ruzz-gem), for (ree'gem), Latin regem.

We have this even initial as in Italian (uó-vuh) uove, Spanish

(ué-vo) huveo, Latin (oo-vum, uó-vum), Lat. ovum. In Slavonic the

(i) introductions are constant. The fusions of the introduced (i, u)

with the consonants as (j, w), which is a preparation for subsequent

gradations, need only be mentioned. The especial tendency of (k,

g) to (ki-, gi-), producing (kj, gj), and thence (sh, zh, ts, sh, zh, sh

zh, s z) on the one hand, and (ku-, gu-), producing (kw-, gw-),

and thence (w, wh, bh), and conversely, on the other, are well

known. It is evident that the tendency towards (ki-, gi-) must have been

felt very strongly by a man who could say, like Walker, "When

the a is pronounced short, as in the first syllable of candle, gander,

etc., the interposition of the e (i) is very perceptible, for though

we can pronounce guard and cart without interposing the e, it is

impossible to pronounce garrison and carriage in the same

manner." (Dictionary, Principles, art. 92. See supra 206, o.) It

is curious that under these two words in his dictionary he gives no

notice of introduced (i), and does not refer to this dictum in his

principles.

The clause fracture, (ái áu), have long been recognized.

The gua of the Sanscritists brought them prominently forward,

and the later Sanscrit pronunciation developed the conception of

the corresponding junctures (ee, oo), or (ee, oo), the exact vowel

being at present doubtful, but the latter were always to my mind

most probable, see also Mr. Gupta's unmistakable pronunciation,

(1137, a). But gua was a grammatical or accentual, at any

rate not a clearly dialectal, transformation of (i, u), and we

were so little prepared to accept such a transformation in Eng-

lish during the xvth century, that perhaps no theories propounded

in this book were more counter to general feeling than that the

original sounds of English i, ou, were (ii, uu). Yet the change is
precisely of the same nature as that of (a, o) into (ía, óo), and the changes follow an analogous course in both English and German, where a similar feeling was generated at the same time. In the next chapter I shall be able to produce new evidence, through the kindness of Mr. Murray, for the original (ii) value of English i. But the dialectal treatment distinctly points to the same conclusion. The change of (i, u) to (ái, áu), in various gradations, is a mere fracture, exactly comparable to the apertive prefractures. Where long i was gradated, or shortened, the tendency to fracture did not act. But when (ái, áu) were once established, the second element became often obscured, and we find dialectally (áa) or (a') for both, so that both sink into simple juncture (aa). The pronoun I, originally short, as in (ítah) ich, was treated as long (ii), and fractured to (ái), which is constantly (aa) dialectally, and similarly while is (waal) in Leeds, and five is (fa'go) in Mid-Lothan. The word house is retained without fracture in the Scotch (hhus), and generally becomes (nhaus) in some gradated form, but in Leeds sinks to (nae), while in the North of Yorkshire it fractures differently, and gives (n's) from (fus), the old (wus) remaining as a refined form. This is a remarkable illustration of the comparatively recent development of fracture in both forms, furnishing an explanation of such apparent anomalies as the "change" of received (nháus) into (ius, aas, uue), as they would be naturally but incorrectly conceived by those who only recognise received pronunciation. The Yorkshire lists of words will supply numerous instances. A remarkable confirmation of this view is afforded by the treatment of the high German ei, au, which 500 years ago were (ii, uu), as is undisputed in Germany, in the Bavarian dialects (Schmeller, Mundarten Bayerns, art. 236–245, 157–163, see ai, ei, in No. 8 of this section). Many of these dialects retain the old (ii, uu) untouched, and in the refined pronunciation of almost all, the modern literary (ái, áu) are heard, with various gradated forms, as (ái, e'i, e'; óu), which are also common in English, but the mere obscurcation (áa) does not seem to have been observed in this particular case.

These clausive prefractures are very widely developed in high and low German, but have not penetrated into Scandinavian, and are generally unknown in Romance. A curious example near Cherbourg is however given (460, d'). The prefracture (uf), in the form (üd), subsequently gradated to (úd), is originally rather a clausive prefracture than an apertive, as it now appears, and in that form is frequent. The Spanish (ué) form is perhaps to be considered as originally a suffracture (ué), a gradation of (éé) from Latin (o). When a dialect has once seized a sound, the distinction of prefracture and suffracture, which is merely one of origin, becomes lost, and the phonetic development proceeds according to the usual habits of the dialect.

Suffractures, however, play an important part in the development of new sounds. They consist essentially in vanishes, which seem to arise from the inconvenience experienced by the organs of speech in prolonging any sounds. The tongue taught to rise from its
position of rest for (e) rises further to (i); the lips closing for (o) close further for (u); and hence arise (éi, óu), of which, however, at least at first, the suffractural character is shewn by the complete subordination of the suffixed to the original element, so that (éi, óou) are the original types, which only gradually reduce to (éi, óu) when they become readily confounded with the clausic prefractures (ái, áu). The development of (éi) from (e), which has taken place in almost received speech, at any rate in the speech received by Mr. Melville Bell, plays a great part in our Yorkshire dialects, and it is possible that some of the difficulties in older rhymes ø, øi, as in Havelok, suprà p. 473, may be solved on the supposition of double forms (ee, éi), such as the following tables will shew to actually exist in kindred dialects. It must be also remembered that suffractures of the type (éi, óu) are largely developed in Icelandic. Corresponding to this (éi, óu) type, is the (áø) form, which slightly elevates the tongue, but rather brings the organs to a state of repose. Now this (ø) had no alphabetic symbol but (e), or in Scotch i, which has the sound of (e), and represented apparently (ø) as well. The combinations ai, ei, ei, would then represent (áa, 6ø, 6ø), and readily became forms for long (a, e, o). See (410, ø. 637, ø. 1085, ø. and Murray, p. 52). But the suffractures (6ø, 6øa) have another tendency. The neutral position of the (ø) allows either an (u) or an (i) position to be readily assumed, and hence we obtain the suffractures (6ø éu éy, ói 6ø éy), and the three last may also appear as (ói úc úy). Now this would give the developments (6ø éu), gradating to (6ø óu), which would connect (e) with well-known diphthongs in a simple manner. The suffracture (6s), as in (gósí) good, really occurs frequently in Yorkshire, but I cannot recall an example of (ái). The types (ii' ee' 6æ' oo' uu') are frequent. These are all simple suffractures, arising merely from the feeling of the speaker, precisely as the prefractures arose, and, like them, co-exist not unfrequently with non-fractured forms.

Omissive suffractures, arising from the suppression of r, are common in the received dialect, as (ii' ee' oo' uu'), see (1099, ø'). In the corresponding (aa', AA'), the suffracture reduces to the juncture (aa, AA). Even in (ee', oo') the suffracture is very close, and is barely recognised, so that (oo') often falls into the juncture (AA), or else (ee', oo') are reduced to two syllables, as (ee, o, oø), to "make the r distinct," by substituting a clear ungliding (s) for a trill. This suppression is carried out thoroughly in the south-western dialects, and more or less pervades the northern, exclusive of the Scotch, where the trill never fails. The treatment of r in the Bavarian dialects is very similar (Schmeller, arts. 621–637, and under r in No. 8 of this section), by the introduction of an (ø) before the trill when preserved, causing suffractures; by its general omission before consonants, and in final syllables when not before vowels; and even by its euphonic insertion, of which Schmeller gives

1 In the Forest of Dean I have heard the suffracture (ái) as in (nám) for name, compare (253, ø), remembering Gower's probable extraction (728, b), and that S. Western English is spoken in Gowerland.
numerous instances. Such instances show that, in order to get the laws of phonetic change, a comparative study of dialectal usage will be necessary, and that we must not be in a hurry to generalize. These considerations have induced me to give an abstract of Schmeller's observations, which are unfortunately but little known to English philologists, in No. 8 of this section.

In the early English we recognised a suppression of (g), or its mutation into (i, u), generating diphthongs, which did not form part of the older language (213, a). These diphthongs are real structures (ái, áu), and hence different in origin from the prefixational (ái, áu), or the suffractural (ói, óu), already considered. But as received, they are treated phonetically in the same way, for organs of speech deal with existent sounds, which, when identified, affect them identically, independently of origin. The case of speaker and hearer is in this case identical. There is no intuitive historical appreciation. The history has to be discovered by slow degeneration. Those who stamp their own provisional, and hence generally incorrect, notions of the history of a word upon its visible form, or the adoption of a so-called historical or etymological spelling, we designedly misleads as to the real constitution of the word, and often indeed undesignedly misleads as to its descent, are throwing unnecessary obstacles in the way of philological investigation. The blunders and contrivances of the scribes are more instructive than the systematic orthographic errors of later theorists. The (ái, áu), as derived from (ag, ah), should appear not only in their original form, but as (ái, áu), as well as in junctures (aa, ae, aa), and this is found to be the case. The form, however, comes from (ag), through the (gew, wh, w) transformations of (g), and hence we must expect it to follow the fortunes as suppressed (u). Thus endufian gives (naa', naa', naa'), as well as (nóóu, nóo, nóów); dohtor appears as (dóó, dáu, dáu, dáu, dáu, dáu, dáu, dée); sweg assumes the form (wái, wái, wái, wái, wái, wái, wái, wái)

Suffractures appear in the received dialect by the obscuration of a following vowel, which ceases to form a distinct syllable. The terminations -ea, -eal, -eal, -eal, constantly lead to the suffractures, which are sometimes so close that the fractural nature is difficult to discern. Thus idea, ratafia, through (sídr'), (rataf'), lead to (sídr', rataf'), of which the first is considered ludicrous; the second is received. Real (ríil) is constantly miscalled (riil),1 really, which is pronounced as nearly formed from rear, the (riíl), rhyming to nearly, is miscalled (riíl). A comparison of the following words will bring out the fractures really heard in ordinary speech. Many persons are apt to make the second word which have no fracture, and are printed in roman letters, identity or rhyming with the first, which have a more or less distinct

1 Thus (riíl), having a well-known S.E. Yorkshire fracture, " genteel" speakers in Hull are horrified, and say (riil), as I have been told by Rev. Henry Ward, who is well acquaited with the district, and to whom I owe the specimens of S.E. Yorkshire in 11 and 12, variety 16f.
tire, that is, which are always intended to be dissyllabic, and are printed in italics.

Ideal deal, real reel, really mealy, dial crocodile, vital vile, denial
-Nile, trial rile, dict indite, quiet quite, riot rite, tried tried, dyad
died, Dryad dried, diamond, dired moaned, die moaned, bias bice, liss lice.

The termination -ual is rather (-u'1, -iú'1) than the theoretical
(-áy1, -iúy1) in gradual, individual, manual, continual, annual,
casual, visual, usual, actual, effectual, intellectual, punctual, perpetual,
habitual, ritual, spiritual, virtual, mutual. In some of the commonest
of these words, especially when -ly is subjoined, the fracture reduces
to a juncture, as (-ul, -el, -l); thus actually, individually, mutually,
punctually, usually, are constantly called (á'ktah'li, indiür'dzh'li,
míú'tah'li, po'qktah'li, ruú'zhiú'li), in place of the more theoretical and
not unfrequent (á'ktá'li, jíú'zhiú'li), etc. It is by a considera-
tion of such words that those who use received pronunciation may
attain a proper conception of such close fractures as (i, u'). See
(1310, c).

v. Bearings of Modern Dialectal Vowel Relations on the Investigation of
Older Pronunciation.

The illiterate peasant, speaking a language entirely imitative,
unfixed by any theoretic orthography, untrammeled by any pedant's
fancies, is the modern representative of our older population, which,
confined to small districts by feudal superiors, the custom of villanage,
and the difficulty of travelling, and entirely untutored, kept up their
language by the mere necessity of talking, with no conception of a
literature, or prevision of the importance which would be subse-
cquently attributed to their natural utterances. The priests and
scholars who, desirous of communicating with them, attempted to
reduce their utterances to writing, on the model of the literatures,
Latin, Norman, and Saxon, with which they were more or less
acquainted, for the purpose of instructing them ecclesiastically, or, as
in Robert of Brunne's Chronicle, delighting them with literature, in
some degree resembled those country clergymen and literary men
who have attempted to collect and fix our present dialects by
writing. The strictly dialectal writing of past ages must be judged
of as that of to-day, by taking the normal alphabet (which was
then Latin, with Norman proclivities), and supposing that the writer
endeavoured, with insufficient knowledge and insufficient means, and
hence with a vacillating pen, but with a good conscience, to record
what he heard. Hence it is necessary to compare the spelling
actually used by good dialectal writers with the sounds actually
heard by good phonetic observers. This I am not able to do as
accurately as I could wish, because I have very seldom been able to
compare the sounds heard with the words written in the district for
which they were written. But I am able to approximate with
sufficient closeness to bring out the principle, and make it intelligible.
As our studies of the older English dialects, as such, are as yet
quite in their infancy, though taken up by good heads and hard
workers, the importance of these considerations is manifest.
MODERN DIALECTAL VOWELS

Next, by a comparison of different dialects as really spoken, we have to discover, so far as possible, the dialectal treatment of sounds originally more closely related. It would be rash to assume that they were originally the same as now, because the Saxon and Danish tribes which came to our shores of course already spoke dialectally, and present habits are the result of a fusion, subject to many influences through many generations. The general character of such treatment has just been roughly sketched. We are as yet far from having data to complete the picture, and the imperfect materials whence the sketch was drawn will be found below. But enough exists to show that received English, as a spoken language, is only one dialectal form among several, although it has been more controlled than the others, through having become the dialect of the court, of government, of established priesthood, of law, of the schoolmaster, of the higher social ranks, and of literature. All these influences have often been brought to bear upon it with the iron hand of a prejudice, which, unillumined by any sound philology, regarded all other dialects as barbarous, and proceeded to dredge up its victim according to fancied notions of propriety. But they cannot disguise its dialectal character, and hence cannot prevent us seeking in a comparison of the living dialects a confirmation of the results obtained by an examination of traditional literature.

One result of this is that the primitive character of the sounds represented by a, e, i, o, u, cannot be mistaken. The present forms are clearly seen to be either gradations of these, as in a, e, o, or fractures, as in i, u.

A. The dialects point to an original (a) for a, both long and short. This is shown by the existence of the (a) sound almost universally in the dialects, by its occasional gradations into (ah, æ, e) or (a, o, ə), and by its prefractures into (ia, i, éa, e'), and its sufractures into (a, ia). The hypothesis of (a) explains all these cases satisfactorily; the hypothesis (æ), æ, would lead to endless difficulties.

E. An original (e) for modern e, æ, is likewise a necessity of the constant existence of long (ee), with its possible variety (æ), and occasional gradation (ii), a gradation occurring in cases where it does not occur in the received dialect, as in (wist, dhis, grit, brik) for where, there, great, break; and of its frequent prefracture into (i) or sufracture into (éi), which remarkable form is probably more properly connected with (e) than with (i) in numerous instances. The variations of the short sound, generally (e, ə), but gradating into (æ), or even (a) before r, on the one hand, and (i) on the other, point the same way. As no one could think of (e) as the original short sound of e, so the conception of (ii) becomes impossible for the original long sound. The possibility of an original distinction such as (e, æ) or (e, ə), both long and short, but principally long, though not apparent, is possible. We require, however, much more accurate and extensive observations than we yet possess before we can take any point so delicate into consideration. As far as my kind helpers go, I find a difficulty in getting the (ee, æ, ə) recognised at all at first, as distinct from (e, e). Most dialectal observers have
been educated to consider (ee) as the long and (e) as the short sound. Many do not hear a difference of vowel quality in while where, aie air; many are not aware of the é formé and è ouvert of the French, the e chiuso and e aperto of the Italians. The triple distinctions (e, e, e) require an educated ear. I have found some who at first heard (ee, e) always, come round to (ee, e) always, which may be equally incorrect. Again, the sound recognised as (ee) in Scotland, is so much deeper than my usual (ee), that I should at first hearing put it at (ee), though not (ee). It is possible that many (ee) sounds occur which have not been noticed. At present, therefore, with our imperfect means for taking observations, we can only say that dialectal studies do no more than point to e having belonged to the (e) group of sounds. In the next chapter we shall see reason for supposing that the old difference was not sufficient to prevent inter-rhyming, but that is hardly a satisfactory criterion, for though it applies in French, it would entirely fail both in modern German and in Italian. To suppose that an original Gothic ë, e, should be the parent of two (e) sounds (e, e), is very seducing, especially when put beside the Italian practice. In old high German the rhymes separate the sounds strictly, as in modern French (Grimm, D.G. I', 74), but this only refers to the short vowels, whereas Englishmen feel the difference especially in long vowels. As to old Saxon and Anglosaxon, Grimm (I', 333, 333) confesses to great difficulties in finding any distinctions, and remarks that the middle low German and Anglo-Saxon dialects seem to neglect the difference more than the old high German (ib. 233). As regards middle high German, he observes (ib. 139) that, in the xiii th and xix th centuries, the difference of the two sounds, e broad (e, e, ee), and ë narrow (e, ë), was very strictly observed, although with exceptions there given; but in the xiv th century e, ë, began to rhyme more freely, which Grimm laments. But coming to his own day, he says (ib. 220) that the difference e, ë, remains in pronunciation, "at least in the principal cases: legen ponere sounds to us quite different from gelogen positus, regen movere different from regen pluvia: but our present poets are so hard of hearing, or so accommodating, that they rhyme both vowels together." Now Schmitthenner (Dictionary) writes régén for both the last words, but Hilpert (German Dict.) distinguishes régén to move, with the close sound, from régen rain, with the open sound. The distinction depends on locality. Grimm was born and lived chiefly in the Electorate of Hesse-Cassel. Now Rapp (Phys. d. Spr. 4, 85), after dividing the custom of modern German pronunciation into three systems, of which the six characteristics are, 1) the treatment of e, 2) of the diphthongs, 3) of the relations between long and short accented vowels, 4) of ë, 5) of e, and 6) of ng, locates the first system, which he calls the "orthographical," in the north-west, embracing Cassel, and says that all ë which evidently come from a, and all e which come from ë, are thrown together as ë, and such ë as thence appear to be radical remain. Here ë, ë = (ee, oo) or (ee, oo), use varying. The separation is not quite that of Grimm, which was of course influenced by
his studies. Here are the words in Rapp's example (sê. 87), the derivations go. gothic, ogh. old high german, etc., are from Schmithenner:

\[ \mathfrak{a} = (\text{ae}). \]

seele, goth. saivala  
ordem, go. sirba  
ør, ogh. ar, ir, ur  
vorgeben (geben, ogh. kipan)  
anheb, ogh. anapétok  
vorklärtter (from klar, from lat. clarus)  
der, ogh. der  
bében, ogh. pipèn  
leben, ogh. lêphèn

The same so-called "historical \( \mathfrak{a} \)" is found in the second or "historical" system stretching over the North of Germany to Rußia, and in some isolated spots in the middle provinces, on the lower Rhine, by Fulda, etc.; and in the whole South-west of Germany. The following are additional words from Rapp's example to this system (sê. 89):

\[ \mathfrak{a} = (\text{ae}). \]

woer, ogh. huér  
nebel, ogh. népél  
sehen, ogh. séhan  
schwitz, ogh. smeòt  
säbel, french sabre  
drähen, ogh. dråhan  
socht, ogh. wahân or wejan  
sehr, ogh. sèro  
nähr, go. násjan, ogh. nerjan  
fehle, ogh. vëlahan  
thüne, ogh. trahin  
erzählé, ogh. zellân

It is evident that though these systems distinguish \( e, \mathfrak{a} \), in one sense, they confuse \( e \) from \( a \) and \( e \) from \( i \); altogether, and that they are not even consistent in so doing. It is a relief to Englishmen, then, who wish to pronounce German intelligibly, to learn that the third or "practical" system, which extends over the whole middle part of Germany, uses (ee) for all long and (e) for all short \( e \), as in English. It is no wonder, therefore, that Modern German poets are so "hard of hearing." No one in Germany seems to hear as Grimm's theory requires. Whether anything will be hereafter discoverable in English dialects, it is difficult to say; at present I see nothing certain in the distinctions apparently made between (ee, ee). To my ears (ee) is more frequently used by English dialectal speakers than (ee), but my experience is limited. The distinctions between (e, \( \mathfrak{a} \)) are still more uncertain.

O. An original (o) is more difficult to determine. The sound (o) itself is decidedly heard in our dialects, but, owing to the habits of received English, hearers naturally confuse (aa, oo) and (o, o), and, when the long sound does not appear yet to have reached (aa), it is put down as (oo). The prefractures of (oo) would be (io, io, iu, ii'; \( \mathfrak{o}, \mathfrak{o}, \mathfrak{u}, \mathfrak{e}' \), and (oo) would gradate so easily to (oo, uu, uu) that I can only express my general conviction and not any certainty.
That the (o) was not (uu) when long admits of no doubt, but that
it may have been (o, u, u', u) when short, in various cases, at an early
time, seems probable. It is more likely that the fracture (u') is due
to (uu) than to anything else, but of course (uo) is quite possible.
Although o has a double source, from a and from u, yet there does
not seem to be anything in the dialectal treatment to justify the
assumption of (o, o), which is not even made by Grimm. The
double sounds exist in Germany, but do not co-exist in the same system
of pronunciation. Schmeller, however, has a few instances of (o)
in Bavarian dialects (ib. art. 319, see art. 68, and see o in No. 8
below). The regular sounds seem to have been (oo, o) universally
at an earlier period. It will be shewn in Chap. XII. that the rhyme
usages of our older poets are not enough to separate them. It is
only when we find au (AA) written for long o in our modern dialects
that we can feel sure of a difference having been felt.

I. That long i was originally (ii, ii') appears dialectally from the
preservation of that sound in many words (291, o), and from its
clausive prefracture (ai) in various forms, which sometimes becomes
the juncture (aa) even when (ii') exists in the same dialect. Long
i might indeed be (aa) under these circumstances, but no one has
probably ever imagined such a thing.

U. By the long u I mean the original sound, afterwards repre-
sented by ou. This appears to be (uu) by the preservation of that
sound throughout the Northern dialects, and by its prefractures
(au, u), degenerating into (aa, iu'). Of course it would be
ridiculous to suppose that u was originally either of these latter
sounds. The short u may have been the close fracture (i', e') when
it interchanged with i, s, and finally necessitated the use of ou for
(uu) as a mark of distinction. Owing probably to the existence of
the sign ou, the prefracture was always assumed to be (ou, au, o') by
our older phonetic writers, and not (au). Of course the labial (u)
tends to work back on the prefixed (a) by transmutation, and thus
labialise it into (o), so that the change of (au) into (ou), or the
original formation of (ou), is quite natural. In Devonshire, after u
had been conceived as (y) in some form, the transmutation of (o)
into (ou), producing the fracture (ou'y), was equally natural. The
use of u in French words was a foreignism. In dialects this u is a
fracture (iu, iu), and varies as such a fracture.

AI. AU. The combinations ai, au, seem by the dialects to be
treated as (ai, au), whether as prefractures of (i, u), or as suffrac-
tures of (a). The persistence of (ai), not merely in the South-
Western dialects, but in the Eastern and South-Eastern, and the
mode in which the (ai, oo, ii) sounds are mixed up together within
the same dialect, seem to be inexplicable on any other hypothesis
but an original (ai, ai). The forms of (au) as (AA, oo, oo) tell a
similar tale.

EW, OW, were also fractures (6u, ou), arising from the dis-
appearance of ew, or occasionally g. That laugh, when gradated from
(laawh) to (lowh), and thence passing to (low, lou), might have
become (luu) or even (lii), would not be surprising, when we find a
bow appearing as (biː, buː, bɔː) within the same (North Yorkshire) dialect.

Double Forms. One of the most interesting points forced on our attention by dialects is the great variety of co-existing forms within the same or closely-connected districts, and also the fact that a word alters its sound according to its position in a sentence, and according to the meaning of the sentence. In old pronunciation we were continually puzzled by a similar variety of form, of which we have not many relics in received speech, as either (iːdɔː, ɔːdɔː), so that it seemed like begging the question to assume it. But the present investigations make such assumption far less bold than the alternatives to which we should be otherwise forced.

E final. The controversy respecting final -e, to which we shall have to recur in the next chapter, makes it important to discover any traces of its pronunciation. As yet none have been discovered. This refers to pure -e, and not to -ɛ as the representative of -e. The pure -e seems to have altogether disappeared, but though -ɛ as a form of -es does not appear to be known, -ɛs itself is still preserved in the usages of several dialects. Now, as the absence of -ɛs is in some dialects is thus seen not to prove the original absence of -es in others, the absence of -ɛ in some dialects at an early period, as in the Northern Hampole, would not disprove its contemporary use in some other dialects, as in the court language of Chaucer and Gower. Just in the same way, the universal reduction of -es to -ɛ, -ɛ, in speech, far more than 50 years ago, would not disprove the universal pronunciation of -ɛ as a distinct syllable by clergymen when reading lessons from the Authorised Version of the Bible in church, within the last 50 years, even in such cases as cresfɛd and buriɛd, as marked by Bishop Wilkins (998, d) more than 200 years ago, and by Gill, 250 years since, supra pp. 855–857. Indeed some clergymen have not even yet given up a practice which had an air of solemnity resulting from archaism. It is a very familiar reminiscence to myself. The transmutation of -ɛs into -ɛ, -ɛ, sounded almost heretical when I first heard it.

We cannot be surprised at the absence of -ɛ, which disappeared from our vernacular nearly 300 years ago. We should be more surprised at the preservation of -ɛs, for we know that in most cases -ɛs degenerated into -ɛ, and then disappeared. The modern dialects of any sound does not establish its original absence; be the dialectal presence of any sound either establishes its original presence, or the original presence of a sound from which it could be derived, according to the ordinary usages of speech. Now with regard to -ɛ, there is no doubt whatever of its lively presence in high German at the present day. It is part and parcel of usual speech. It is not confined to poetry or music, as the French -ɛ is really used on every prosaical occasion by every prosaical speaker. Three years’ residence in Germany has brought this fact so much thousand times before my ears, that no doubt in the world can exist in my own mind. As all the world knows and admits the fact, it would seem superfluous to attest it so explicitly from personal
knowledge. But there are some deniers of English -s, who insist that people could not have used it, simply on account of the absurd waste of time and energy in pronouncing it. Hence it is necessary to establish the fact that another great nation does not find its use involve an absurdity. As, however, the modern English final -a, -er, are pronounced generally (-e) or (-o), much as the final German -e, and as the old final English -e, if pronounced, was most probably so called (119, b), and as we should not find it either elegant or particularly time-saving and energy-sparing to omit this sound and say *pie*, *Americ*, *armad*, *pand* e, *iad*, *ard*, *naphth*, *acai*, *cyclopaed*, *umbrell*, *vanill*, *vill*, *scroful*, *wul*, *dram*, *anathem*, *enigm*, *stigm*, *dogm*, *dilemm*, *comm*, *hyem*, *duenn*, *Chin*, *or*, *chimer*, *oper*, etc., or *peculi*, *pil*, *angul*, *mast*, *mist*, *doct*, etc., etc., etc., it is evident that such an argument is hardly worth consideration. To such vile uses we may come at last, but we have not yet reached Chinese monosyllabism, much as we may have spoiled our language by mere pruning. The reason, however, why I especially insist on the lively use of -s in high German is, that this -s has disappeared in many high German dialects, except as the representative of -en. The preservation of -s in any form, or even of -e in the prefixed be-, go-, is extremely rare in all the Bavarian dialects, although the sound of -e is used for -en in about half, the other half reducing -en to a vowelless a. See the instances in Schmeller (arts. 209-235, 572-592, and under e final in No. 8 below). We have herein the positive proof that the dialectal disappearance of -s is compatible with the co-existence of its dialectal use, which may or may not be fixed by literature. It is, therefore, a perfectly justifiable view to take, that final -s may have disappeared in some dialects in Early English and have existed in others. Moreover, this disappearance or use cannot be proved by manuscripts, because we find scribes who spoke different dialects transcribing the same original, and preserving their individual orthographic habits. It can only be established by habits of internal versification, not even by rhyme endings, and the inquiry into its use in the middle of lines is rendered wonderfully difficult by the uncertainty of readings, and the recklessness of scribes, so that single manuscripts are by no means conclusive. In the next chapter this point will be examined, with especial reference to Robert of Brunne's Chronicle.

1. Remarkably on this loss of flexional form, which in literary high German had been already reduced to -s, Schmeller says (on his p. 51) that “this does not prevent these same dialects from having more or less evidently preserved isolated remarkable forms belonging to the older or even oldest phases of the language, which, when literary speech was fixed, were not admitted, owing to the prevalence of certain views or fashions.”

2. Dutch is often quoted as a tongue allied to English in which final s is lost. See Mr. Sweet's remark on the preservation of its sound in (1392, e). In Johann Winkler's Algemeen Neder- duitsch en Friesch Dialecticon (s Gra- venhage, 1874), giving 186 versions of the Parable of the Prodigal Son into as many Low German dialects, final s seems to crop up somewhere in every example. At the same time it fits in and out, so that we may feel prepared for similar uncertainties in our own dialects, especially about the beginning of the xvth century. Even if poets were careful, copyists were not.
NO. 7. DIALECTAL CONSONANT RELATIONS.

The relations of consonants in our dialects are altogether simpler than those of vowels, although they present some peculiar points of difficulty. The distinction of voiced and voiceless is very generally kept up. It is only in the southwest that (f, th, s, sh) become (v, dh, z, zh) with tolerable regularity. But the same dialects do not confuse (p, t, k) with (b, d, g). This is singularly in opposition to German habits, which are uncertain of the explosents, but certain of (s, z). The continuants (th, dh, zh) not occurring in German, and (bh), not (v), being used in middle Germany, which is most addicted to the interchange of (p b, t d), there is no opportunity of examining the continuants further. The (th, dh) are sometimes confused in the north of England. Thus though (theo) in Scotch, and the usual the (dhe) is voiceless and vowelless (th-) in South Lancashire, Cheshire, Derbyshire, and elsewhere. This seems to confirm Mr. Sweet's view of an original (dh) which became (th) in isolated cases (p. 541, n. 2); thus both (dh) and (th) are found in South Derbyshire. In the North again a (z) appears where the received use is (s) in (prisai, z deanseomar, hhex) for precise, decembar, us, and other words, and a (v) for an (f) in (kaav) calf, etc., so that the confusion of hisses and buzzes is not exclusively southwestern.

The interchange of (b bh, g gh) is not to be looked for, as (bh, gh) do not occur, at least consciously, in our present dialects. The (d dh), which do occur, are not perfectly related, as (d) is not, at any rate generally, dental, although the fact of dentality may have been often overlooked. In the southwest (d) replaces (dh) initially, especially before (r), as (druu, drii) through, three, and occasionally elsewhere, as (dis'l) thistle in East Cornwall. I have not been able to ascertain if the (d) is then dental as (.druu, .drii). Medial substitutions of (dh) for (d) are not uncommon, and have even crept into older received orthography, as burthen, murther, now burden, murder. In Norfolk three becomes tree. This again raises the question as to whether (t d) in English were not originally dental (t, d), as in Celtic, and on the continent generally.

This inquiry is, however, complicated by the acknowledged existence of (t, d) in some northern dialects, but almost, if not absolutely, exclusively before (r) or the syllable (er) or its substitutes. This dental, or something like it, is also found in Ireland in the same places (1239, a'). There are even phases of dialect which are distinguished by having the usual coronal (t d) in precisely the same situations as those in which related phases use the dental (t, d), for example the Chapel and Taddington varieties of the Peak of Derbyshire, the first having (t, d), the second (t d), and similarly in Yorkshire. This singular distinction entirely corresponds to the Sanscrit, which occasions such difficulty to Englishmen and Germans (p. 1096). The area and origin of the English coronal (t d) require strict examination, but so few Englishmen hear the distinctions (t, t, d, d) that the inquiry is beset with as much difficulty as that of the distinction between (v bh) in Germany. See Mr. C. C. Robinson's observations on Yorkshire usage in No. 11, below.
§ 2. No. 7. DIALECTAL CONSONANT RELATIONS. 1325

In connection with this must be noticed the occasional assimilation of (dh) to (t), after a following (s) or (t), as (nha'stɔ) for hast thou? and even of (th) in Derbyshire, as (t-i-stɔndz w-t*t-bak-saar wɔɔ), he stands at the back of our wall, where (w-t th-bak) would have been the regular form. In the example of W. Lincolnshire given below, it will be observed that the, which had the regular form (dh-) before vowels, varies as (th-), and even (t) and (d), according to the adjoining letters. This is similar to Orrin's custom (490, b), and must not be confounded with the use of vowelless (t) for the article in Yorkshire and Cumberland. Is this last (t) the degeneration of (th), which is itself an altered (dh), or an independent formation? This is a matter of controversy. But that the (t) may be the degeneration of (th, dh) is certain, because in the Orkneys and Shetlands all (th, dh) have become (t, d) or (t_w, d_w), and in Kent and E. Sussex th in the, this, them, those, there, that is, (dh) in certain words, is always (d); while we have seen that neighbouring consonants in many places reduce the (th, dh) to (t, d). The pronunciation of this vowelless (t) when used as the article is most singular. To my ear it does not in native speech run on to the following vowel, but is, if possible, connected with the preceding word. When it stands initially in a sentence, so that this connection is impossible, as when it precedes a voiced consonant, as (b, d, g), t' dog, or stands between two voiced consonants, as in t' backhouse, or stands between two similar consonants, as at t' time, at t' door, the method by which its effect is made evident—and it is always evident—seems to be mainly by a slight implosion, as ('t, see (1097, c)). Both Mr. C. C. Robinson and Mr. Hallam, to whom this t is vernacular, accept this theory. There is, however, a certain holding, and a certain delay, in passing from the presumed implosion to the following consonant, giving a little catch or hesitation, so that it is difficult to determine the precise sound. Yet the existence of a distinct syllabic (t), which is certainly not ('ht, t'h, t'ʃ), is a remarkable phenomenon, well deserving of most careful investigation. Our old t for it is not comparable, for it always glides on to a preceding or succeeding letter. The Slavonic preposition (v) is a voiced consonant, and hence quite pronounceable. The manner in which the French de, te, je, re-, are spoken, when they seem to be entirely swallowed, and yet produce a most sensible effect to French ears, comes perhaps still nearer to it. To merely write (t), or the etymological t', 't, according to the difference of view as to the the or at het origin of this t', is of course helpless. I have, however, generally adopted (t) in the following examples, and left the reader to glide it on to the preceding letter, or to make an implosion, as the case may be.

The interchange of (t, k) is well known among children, and some Polynesians could not get nearer than (Tu-te) for Captain Cook's name. The use of (tl, dl) for initial (kl, gl) is very general,

1 Mr. Hallam felt the same difficulty in marking this (t) in the Chesterfield variety of Derbyshire. On referring to his notes he finds the (t) grouped to the preceding vowel in nearly half the cases which he wrote from observation.
even among educated people, and in some dialects my authorities adopt it regularly. Though (k) has generally disappeared before (n), Cumberland, as will be seen, retains traces of it, as (nhn-), and even (tn-), where the change is similar to that of (kl-) into (tl-), and may be regarded as a prospective transmutation, occasioned by preparing the organs for following (l), whereas in Italian, (l) sinks by retrospective transmutation to (l), making way for (k, g), as in chiamo ghiaccio (kià’-múh già’-t, t, t, shh). In (lok) for (lot) in Cumberland, the opposite tendency appears.

The effect of an unaccented (i)-sound, generally a fractural prefix, upon a preceding (k, g), frequently shews itself in the dialects, by generating (t, sh, d, zh). In Scotch (k, g) generally remain, but in English this is quite the exception. The same cause sometimes, but not always, makes (t, d) into (t, sh, d, zh), and (s) more generally into (sh). The (zh)-sound is not very frequent, it is generated in words, as vision, azure, which are not dialectal. As the -surs, -surh, endings do not generally develop a fracture, they more often remain as (-sará, -sá, -zá), but being altogether strange are treated very irregularly; compare Yorkshire and Shropshire. Mr. Murray (op. cit. p. 85) informs us that in the central valley of Berwickshire initial ch, that is (t, sh-), is pronounced as (sh-) simply. It would be worth while ascertaining distinctly whether this is (sh) or (sh).

It may be simply the latter, and hence the inhabitants of (Shir.'r'st) Chirnside (56n48, 2w12) may be as much maligned as the inhabitants of Rome, for using (sh) in place of (tab). But the intermediate sound is worth noting.

The habits of speakers in different localities differ very much respecting ease and difficulty in consonantal combinations. The (mbr-) frequently develop one another by dropping the nasality of (m) before releasing the lips, and thus we have our received simber, chamber, number. Our dialects, however, do not patronise this, and (t, már, tshá, máx, mór) consequently occur. The name Hamilton is often (nhárn'mbl'tan) in a Southern mouth, but the Scotch are content to call Campbell (kaarn'm'l). Similarly (nl-) often generates (nldh), but dialects generally content themselves with (nlh), as (nhárn'l) handle. There is indeed a constant inclination to carry on the nasality of (m, n) until the contact is released, and thus substitute simple (m, n) for (mb, nd). The participles in -ing in the received dialect, which were originally in -nd, consequently appear

1 When I was a boy at school, I suddenly became conscious that I pronounced the radical forms sAdas and sAdas in the same way. It cost me much trouble and years of practice to obtain (kl-) with ease and certainty, and the same for (gl-). As a consequence, my attention has been constantly drawn to this defect of speech in others. The Welsh (ll) heard at a distance from a crier shouting out Llandudno at Rhyl sounded to me much more like (ll) than (thl), with which Englishmen generally confuse it.

2 The demonstration of (sh), see (1104, a'), makes it possible that the French may not have developed (tsh) at first, as has been thought, but only (sh), and this may have generated (tsh) in Norman mouths, whence is English form, but have reduced to (sh) in French. See (207, a'). This is merely thrown out for consideration; indeed (k) may have come first (1120, a').
as (-tn) in most dialects. Of course this is not the reason why the gerund or verbal noun in -ing has also fallen into (-tn) in most dialects. In Southern Scotch the distinction is made in the vowel, not the consonant, (-tn) participle, and (-tn) gerund (Murray, p. 211), but the other dialects confuse the two cases. This may have been an assimilation. There is no powerlessness to pronounce (q), which some dialects even take as (qg) final, not (qk). Medially they seem as a rule to prefer (q) to the occasional (qg) of the received dialect, saying (fi-ger) rather than (fi-ger). Before (th), the (q) sinks very generally to (n), in (lenth), strenth).

L and R are the two most vowel-like consonants, forming distinct syllables of themselves. In this respect they differ materially from (w, y), which, if really prolonged, are almost as unvowellike as (z), but in consequence, perhaps, naturally and easily grade to (u, i). If R is untrilled, the resulting (r) instantly gradates to (e), and thence to some other obscure vowel. L obstructs the cavity of the mouth by its central contact, much more than (r), but still it is very apt to grade to (a), and thence be entirely lost. Sometimes in Romance languages it passes rather into (i) or (u), according to the tendency of the people to raise the middle of the tongue, or somewhat round the lips to improve the resonance. In the dialects both l, r, are apt to disappear entirely after (as, aa). Indeed, received pronunciation adopts the same habit in bale, etc. After (oe) the l, by prospective transmutation, inclines to (ul, u), and the diphthongs (oai, ou) result, the foundation of (oe, ae, as), in roll, shoulder, etc., which were once received, but are now only dialectal, and not unfrequent in dialects. After the other vowels (l) does not seem to have the same tendency to disappear, though (wl, ul) degenerate to (uu).

LD final seems to be a distasteful combination, either l or d being frequently dropped. The d- closing of the passage by the sides left open for l requires an amount of pressure apparently inconsistent with the lazy ease of dialectal speech.

R is treated very variably. In Scotland it is a distinctly and rather harshly-trilled (r), but how far dental I know not. Where Scotland breaks into England, just about Berwick, the uvular (r), which Southerners call the burr, and natives the (krw), begins, but marks out a very small district.¹ Coming more south, the initial

¹ "The northern limits of the burr (r) are very sharply defined, there being no transitional sound between it and the Scotch r (x). From Carham [56 w 39, 2 w 23, the extreme N.W. point of Northumberland] eastwards, the boundary follows the Tweed, which it leaves, however, to include the town and liberties of Berwick, which in this, as in other respects, now adheses to the Southerns in preference to its own side of the Tweed. Along the line of the Cheviots, the Scotch r (x) has driven the burr (r) a few miles back, perhaps because many of the farmers and shepherds are of Scottish origin. In the vale of the Reed [which runs into the Tyne, 86 w 19, 2 w 22] we suddenly enter the orhemp (krw) country in the neighbourhood of Otterburn (otbr-bbrm) [66 w 15, 2 w 10]. In Cumberland, Westmorland, and the rest of the North Angle area, the r is now pronounced as in other parts of England." Murray, op. cit. pp. 86-7. There are apparently many varieties of the burr. The one I heard was (r), but extensive observation is necessary to determine this
trill is distinct, but not so powerful, and generally more or less of a trill exists, even when no vowel follows, but such trills seem never to be very marked. In S. Shields speech, remarkably similar to Southern Scotch in its general character, and close by the country of the burr, but where the burr is unknown, this final \( r \) seems entirely to disappear, or crops up as a faint (\( s, v, \)'), or perhaps a glottal ('). But in Westmorland there is apparently an occasional, possibly dental (\( r \)). Whether this (\( r \)) appears generally after (\( t, d \)) is questionable. Mr. Hallam thinks the tongue in his (\( tr \)) is more advanced in the mouth than usual, and that he consequently really says (\( t, r \)). Mr. Robinson finds a dental (\( r \)) occasionally after (\( g \)) in Yorkshire. In Yorkshire this final \( r \) seems to be in a state of transition, sometimes appearing, often disappearing, and generally being rather permissive, as (\( s \)), than obligatory, as (\( r \)). But there are times when the trill is indispensable. In Shropshire it is stated to be always felt, but to be slight. To speak of "feeling a letter" is sometimes misleading. A Spaniard once told me that his final \( s \) was rather felt by the speaker than heard by the listener. If the speaker confines himself to putting his organs into the proper position to articulate, but neglects to issue breath, vocalised or not, he may feel his words, but the bystander will be none the wiser.

Schmeller, speaking of the initial (\( ge- \)) reduced to (\( g \)), and lost before a following explodent (op. cit. art. 485), says that "it is not heard independently (\( fü r \) sich), but that we recognise the preparation (\( Ansatz \)) made by the tongue to pronounce it, by the greater decision (\( Entscheidung \)) with which the initial sound strikes the ear." Thus (\( gebünden \)) becomes (\( bwänd'n \)), or perhaps (\( báwn'd'n \)). The case of (\( do t \)) already referred to, may be the same, (\( dóg \)) rather than (\( 't dóg \)), and this is one of the points to which attention should be directed. In the same way, while pronouncing a vowel, even (\( aa, as, xxx \)), the speaker may feel the tongue rise at the end. It may only take the position (\( s \)), the tip may rise to (\( r_s \)), it may give the slightest quiver (\( |r| \)), and all this may be felt by the speaker, but it would be difficult for the listener to hear. The habit of writing, and moreover the habit of not trilling final \( r \), may, the in-capability of trilling it, which is often experienced by Englishmen, and, finally, the habit of assuming the long-vowel glide in (\( bedd \)) to be a representative of an existing \( r \), because it is felt to be so different from the stopped-vowel glide in (\( bed, badd \)), see (1156, \( s' \)), are all so misleading to an English observer, that I frequently mistrust the accounts given to me, thinking them open to these sources of unconscious error. People seem to be afraid of admitting that (\( r \) is not sounded. Critics and reviewers laugh to scorn such rhymes as (\( morn dawn \) (575, \( a, 593, b', 1195, b, 1228, b \)), till the judg-

habit. Sometimes the sound seems to come up to (\( grh \)), sometimes to sink to (\( r \)), and sometimes to reduce to (\( gh, g \)), or an hiatus of powerlessness. At other times the uvula is very sharply and brightly trilled. The sound seems also to differ in the pitch of the accompanying vowel. The subject is difficult, but the sound is so diffused, sporadically and unacknowledged, in England, France, and Germany, not to mention its acknowledged existence in Arabic, that it deserves attentive study by all philologists.
ment is confused, the nature of the trill is forgotten, the “something” usually uttered or positioned or imagined when $r$ is seen on paper, is called an $r$, and final $r$ is said to be distinctly pronounced, when it may be that a vowel is merely lengthened, or at most a suffracture introduced. When any one writes larf bort to indicate (leaf brat), in which words no trilled ($r$) was ever pronounced,—and such spellings are very common among writers of dialectal specimens,—the whole question is reduced to chaos. A trill is a succession of beats,¹ that is, of sounds of very different intensities in rapid succession; it is of no consequence how the beat is produced, but, unless at least two maximum and one minimum, or two minimum and one maximum, degrees of intensity have been heard, unless a succession of "makes and breaks" has been at least indicated, there is no trill in any one of the forms (brh, w, $r$, $r$, $r$, grh, $\tau$), all of which probably occur at some place, or at some time in different places, or among defective speakers, in England. And other $r$'s may occur, as the Irish rolling (\textit{\textbullet}$r$), see (1232, $\delta$), a retracted ($\imath$), see (1098, $\imath$), and an $r$ made by a striking of the tongue against the teeth, gums, or roof of the mouth, for which (\textit{\textbullet}$r$) may be used, the difference between (\textit{\textbullet}$r$) and ($r$) being that between the actions of the clarinet and harmonium reeds. Anything, in short, which gives a final roughness (the characteristic sensation produced by rapid beats) will pass muster for an English $r$, and, what is more, be intelligible. See also (1194, $\alpha$).

But there are parts of England in which the disappearance of $r$ is fairly acknowledged, namely in parts of the southwest.² The

¹ Donders (Spraakklanken, p. 19), referred to (1098, $\alpha$), see also (1099, $\alpha$), gives some interesting drawings of the phonautographic curves produced by the trills (brh, $r$, $r$), showing how the trill shuts off and opens out the voice some 20 or 30 times in a second. The lip trill (brh) produced long silences, and rather faint intermediate sounds. A fine voice and weak ($r$) trill gives short weakenings of tone rather than complete silences interposed between bold sounds. A weak voice and strong ($r$) gave long silences and faint intermediate sounds. The same singer with a loud voice produced equally marked silences. A distinctly sounded tip tongue ($r$) gave sound and silence of nearly equal length, but made the sounds quite clear. The effect is nearly the same as when two tuning forks, sold as of the same pitch, but almost always slightly different, are struck and held over the same resonance chamber. The sound and silence follow one another with remarkable distinctness.

² But it that I have known an excellent imitation of a shake produced on musical glasses by sounding two together which differed by half a note in pitch, and the tremolo stops on the harmonium and organ are produced in a similar manner. The exact cause of tremulous speech, as in emotion, or in that very disagreeable habit of tremolo singing, which may be noted as ($\alpha$), etc., I am not yet able to assign. The bleating voice ($\alpha$) is another species of trill, the snarl ($\alpha$) another, "sonat hic dē nāre canina litera," Pers 1, 109.

³ The faith in a pronounced $r$ dies hard. A great deal of difficulty is felt about Gloucester, Wiltshire, and Dorsetshire. To my own ears the real sound of vocal $r$, that is, $r$ when not preceding a consonant, is in these districts really a vowel, and that vowel much resembles ($\alpha$). But to say so seems to those who use the sound to imply that they do not pronounce $r$ at all, whereas they know, truly enough, that they do make a great difference in speech according as $r$ is or is not written, and hence they do pronounce
presumed transposition of \(r\) and the vowel, as *run urn, red urd*, reduces itself to the omission of \(r\) and obscuration of the following vowel with a long vowel-glide, as *(rən əen, red əed)*. The rationale of this, and of all similar cases, being the inherent difficulty of trilling without some perceptible untrilled vowel preceding and following, just as for the Sanscrit *ri* (1146, \(d\)), as explained by the old grammarians. How can we tell that there is an interruption, unless there is a thread to interrupt? And then how easy to snip off the interruption and lengthen the thread! Certainly (əen) is much easier than *(rən)*, which readily becomes *(lərən, eən, ərən, əen)*. And thus the Scotch *(r)* finally disappears in Devonshire!

The \(r\) and \(l\) readily unite with a preceding consonant, but some forms are little found. Although *(bl)* is easy and common, *(vl)* is not found (it is common in Dutch), and *(wl)* seems to have vanished, a faint reminiscence of *(w'1-)* existing in Scotch, with a problematic change to *(fl-)* in one word *funkey*. No labial *(lw-)* in place of *(wl-)* has been reported. On the other hand, *(w'r-)* is said to occur in Scotch, degenerating to *(vr-, bbr)* in Aberdeen, and the labial *(rw-)* and also *(w'r-)* are reported from Cumberland. There is really no more difficulty in the combinations *(ml-, mr-)* or *(wl-, wr-)* than in *(bl-, br-)*, but they are simply unusual. In every case there is a tendency to simultaneous instead of successive utterance, when the organs can readily be posed accordingly, and this is especially the case for the *(t-)*-series, so that *(lw-, rw-)* are more likely to be heard than *(w'l-, w'r-)*, which rather resemble the efforts of a foreigner to pronounce an unusual combination, as in *(1136, e)*.

The interchange of \(W\) and \(V\) is usually marked as a cockneyism, when occurring initially. Its American existence has been already shewn (1067, \(d\). 1220, \(d\)). In Norfolk, the change of initial \(V\) to \(W\), according to one authority (see No. 11, below), is regular, and in Essex and Kent it is frequent, but the change from \(W\) to \(V\) is not so well known. The medial and final interchange also occurs, as in the Scotch *(slər'ən)* for *slowen*, and *(dsəu)* for *dove*, and the Devonshire *(rəuv)* for *row*. The exact nature of the *(v)* in this case I have not been able to ascertain, because I have not examined 'uncorrupted' peasants. It would be interesting to know whether the change is from *(w)* to *(v)* direct, or through the mediation of *(bh)*, as Dr. Beke asserts (1221, \(d\)). We have certainly a change of *(b)* to *(v)*, or a sound which is taken to be *(v)*, even if it were once *(bh)*, in such words as *(məa'-v'1)* for *marble*, which favours the original *(bh)* hypothesis; but this sound is such an incomprehensibility to most Englishmen, that it may be very long before anything satisfactory is discovered in this direction. For philological purposes, and for Latin and Italian pronunciation, the fact that hearers

their own final \(r\), and never having heard another they are utterly perplexed by being told that they utter a vowel and not a trill, and perplex me in turn by their observations. More of this hereafter when considering these counties. The varieties of \(r\) are the most remarkable in English speech.

1 In listening to a lecture delivered by Dr. Zerffi, on 15 March, 1874, in which the English pronunciation was generally very good, I noticed
do generally assert an interchange of \((w, v)\) is of real value, whatever be the means of transit. The fact also of the very different degrees of pressure of the under lip on the upper teeth, already alluded to (1102, c. 1103, c), should be borne in mind, to which must be added the possibility of making a considerable buzz when saying \((bh)\), by merely constricting the lips without touching the teeth.

The ear readily confuses hisses and buzzes arising from different sources. Those due to the central obstruction by the teeth in the case of \((f)\) and \((th)\) are closely allied. Hence we must not feel surprised at the Scotch \((thr\)z\) for \textit{from}, or the Shropshire \((thr\)oks, \(fi\'s\'l\)z) for \textit{frooks, thistles}. The change of \((s)\) to a sound closely resembling \((th)\) in the lisp arises merely from a defective organism or an affected advance of the tongue; it is not dialectal.

The gutturals \((kh, jkh, k\overline{w}h)\) are only heard in Scotland, and the two latter are almost confined to the southern counties. Their voice forms have quite perished out. In the north of England no gutturals are now heard, though they existed in Dent within the memory of an aged man of science, Prof. Adam Sedgwick, whose death we have had to deplore since my quotations from his book were printed (\textit{supra}, pp. 289, n. 4; 311, n. 1). But though gone they have left an impression, partly as \((s)\), partly as \((o, u)\), and partly as \((f)\), even in the received dialect \((213, a)\). This \((f)\) is still more developed dialectally, and sometimes interchanges with \((th)\). The old interchange with \((s)\) has not hitherto been confirmed dialectally \((464, c)\). The appearance of \((d\)h\,n\, \(d\)h\,n\) for \textit{yon, ags. go\textit{n}}, both in Scotch and Irish English \((1242, b')\), is very remarkable, and ought to point to a previous \((gh)\) form, which properly generates \((j)\) initially, but it may be otherwise derived.\footnote{A similar abnormal generation of \((shu\,t, shi\) from \textit{ags. lo\textit{o}}), through \textit{gh\textit{eo}}.}

In spite of all this, it is not surprising that we may meet with a number of instances of \((b\)h\,s\) in the Peak \((70)\), \((70n)\), \((70\)h\,n\) with no sign of \((s)\) coming before \((f)\). The air escapes through a narrow central chink, of which one edge is sharp. The resulting sound is peculiar, and, according to Dr. W. H. Stone (lecture on \textit{Auscultation}, delivered 22 Feb., 1871), immediately produces the effect called \textit{ægophony} (or bleating sound) in the lungs, when examined stethoscopically, while a person is pronouncing the letter. These teeth-hisses consequently require much more attentive analysis to distinguish them from the sounds through a narrow, but unobstructed, central aperture, as \((ph, s, sh, jkh)\).

\footnote{Mr. Hallam has also heard \((fi\'s\'l\)z) in the Peak of Derbyshire and in North East Cheshire. It is the only instance he can recollect of the change of \((th)\) into \((f)\) in the Peak.}

\footnote{As \(z\) in Scotch words remains as the representative of \(j\), that is \textit{ags. g}, so \(y\) is the written form for \(p\), as we see by mutilating this letter to \(p\), which in MSS. interchanges with \(y\) very often. We constantly write \(ye\) for \(pe\)\textit{=the}. So \textit{yon} in Scotch (and the Belfast use is mere Scotch) may stand for \textit{bos}, and this for the accusative case of the \textit{ags.} demonstrative pronoun, so that \textit{yon men} when called (\textit{dhon men}) may be like \textit{them men} used for \textit{those men}. This is merely thrown out as an alternative suggestion. A counter misreading of \(p\) for \(y\) was suggested \((639, a')\), and has been confirmed by an actual inspection of the MS. by Mr. Murray in 1871. Hence the use of \textit{dotted y} in old MSS., to point out that it did not mean \(p\).}
ghoo, g’héo, g’hé'), has been already suggested (489, a. 1142, c’). If this view be correct, the Lancashire (n’huu), the Leeds (shuu) and the received (shii) she, have the same ags. hēo for their origin.

The aspirate, in the form (nh), seems to be invariably used where written in Scotland, and not to be introduced where not written, except in the predicative (nhxz) us. But we have scarcely passed the border before it darts in and out like sunlight on a cloudy day. Perhaps the intermediary is the simple jerk (n). But certainly in most of Yorkshire, in Shropshire, in Derbyshire, in the Midland counties, in Lincolnshire, in Essex, in Kent, and in the South-western counties, it is almost extinct. One might be inclined to think that it is only the classification of "dropping aitches" among social sins which keeps the aspirate alive in the received dialect.

And even there (wh) has failed to make its mark. Although acknowledged and used among a large section of people, (wh) is almost solely an artificial sound in our language. Curiously enough, although it has nearly disappeared where written, it seems to reappear occasionally in some (u-) fractures, not merely as a remnant of ḥ, as when ags. hām crops up as (whoo’m) home, but where there is no original ḥ, as when ags. die becomes (whō’īts), oats. This is, however, not usual. The familiar dialectal writing whoam, whoads, of course proves nothing; but from Mr. C. C. Robinson, for Yorkshire, I heard a distinct (wh) in such words as he has so written below.

According to the same authority, there seems also to be in the very vulgar form of Leeds dialect an inserted (n) jerk after certain consonants, where (t, d) are lost in a permissive (d), see (1261, d’), and other curious phenomena occur, which will be detailed hereafter. This jerk (n) certainly often occurs after consonants in Irish, and requires careful investigation, in relation to the Indian post-aspirated consonants (1137, c), and their subsequent treatment in European languages.

Before (u, i), the consonantal (w, j) are very apt to disappear, and where that is the case, it may be rash to insist very strongly on the difference between these consonants, and the con-sonants, or prefractural (u-, i-). Where however (wu-, ji-) occur, the consonantal change is effected.

The contributions made to consonantal philology by the observations on dialects are therefore not either numerous or novel. They are chiefly confirmatory. The great points of interest are, the co-existence and distinct appreciation of (t, t, d, d) in the same or adjacent dialects; the vowelless syllable (t) in Yorkshire, Cumberland, and Derbyshire; the treatment of r; the confusion of (w, v); the passage of the guttural into (f, th, dh); and the fittting treatment of h, wh.

The real bearing of these changes upon general philology can be distinctly felt only when something like a general survey of consonants and their relation to vowels has been obtained. Curiously eclectic as we have found languages to be in the use of vowels (1297, a), this is still more the case in relation to consonants.
Even the great relations between voiced and voiceless consonants are very insufficiently carried out in individual languages, and much curious information would result from "consonant identifications" in the various languages of the world similar to those "vowel identifications" previously furnished (pp. 1300–7). In default of this, some systematic arrangement must be attempted. It seems to me that we have not yet a sufficient knowledge of the relations of consonants to each other and to vowels to do this satisfactorily. At any rate, I have not been able to form any system satisfactory to myself, which should embrace the extremely complicated phenomena with which I have become practically acquainted, while numerous others, apparently still more complicated, remain so vaguely described or so inaccessible as to elude me altogether. Much is mere conjecture. I prefer then not to present any systematic arrangement of my own, but to give such an account of different systems formed by others as will assist the reader in understanding the nature of the present changes.

The distinction between vowels and consonants is not in general well understood. The word 'consonant' is used in the vaguest possible manner, sometimes, as appears to me, merely to designate diphthongising vowels which have not the stress, as in the fractures (iá, á), or ('o), in (iö, ö), called y, r, respectively. The controversy as to where h is or is not "a letter," a vowel, or a consonant, points to this. Hence the importance of first inquiring what are the classes of sounds which we have to consider. I cannot suppose that the following analysis is exhaustive; but it will at least answer the present purpose better than any other which I could cite. For many details see pp. 1128, sqq.

**Analysis of Speech Sounds.**

The sensation of sound is due, generally, to an undulatory motion of the atmosphere striking the drum-skin of the ear. This motion itself is often called sound. The classes of sounds here considered are those in which the undulatory motion is produced by a speaker, through his vocal organs.

1. **Air independent of respiration.**
   
The air within the mouth, not drawn in or driven out, and hence at rest so far as respiration is concerned, may be set in motion by **clicks** or **smacks** (th), or **check puffs** (k), as in using the blowpipe [the symbol (k) typifies, by the upper and lower lines, the two cheeks pressing out a stream of air, the central line, between them], or **implosions** (ch), see (1128, b. c). All of these help to form consonants. The **clicks and puffs** form Prof. Haldeman's "independent vowels" (Anat. Orth. art. 445–8).

2. **Air inspired.**
   
The air drawn into the mouth may meet with obstacles, or pass through channels, creating soundwaves, in a way not at all peculiar to speech, which the resonance chambers of the mouth, etc., may sufficiently reinforce to be audible (′), as in chirps, inspired whistles, sobs, gasps, etc., see (1129, a), and may be nasal, as in snuffing (′n), or orinaal (a) and fluttering (′q), as in smores (′ad), etc.

3. **Air expired.**
   
a. **Glottida** (1129, c′), including the bellows action of the lungs, continuous, varying in force, jerked (n), etc., and the motion of the vocal chords towards each other, or their retention in fixed positions, and the same for the** sistem laryngea or cartilaginous glottis, and all modifications of expiration which take place within the larynx itself. These seem to have been first carefully considered and distinguished, as part of an alphabetic system, by Brücke (p. 10 of op. cit. on p. 1287, n. 2), and have already been dwelt upon at some length (1129, c′), but not exhaustively. Some
of these (\(rh, m\text{r}h, nh\)) have been usually considered as consonants.

b. Undifferentiated Glottal sounds, as flutter \((\text{h})\), wheeze \((\text{'h})\), whisper \((\text{'h})\), buzz \((\text{'h})\), bleat \((\text{h})\), voice \((\text{h})\), nasal voice \((\text{h}h)\), nasal bleat \((\text{h}h)\). Of these \((\text{h}, \text{h}, \text{h})\), are usually taken as consonants \((\text{h})\).

c. Differentiated Glottal sounds.

i.). The differentiation takes place by the action of resonance chambers, as already explained (p. 1276), on its way to the external air through the open mouth, nose, or both, and meeting with more or less obstruction on the way.

When the resonance chambers are best suited to reinforce voice, the results are generally called vowels; when best suited for audible flutter, the results are called consonants. The vowel and consonant positions shade into each other insensibly, and any glottal sound may be modified by either set of positions. Between perfect vowel, as \(a\), and perfect hiss, as \(e\), there can be no mistake. The letters \(r, l\), and even \(z\), occasionally fulfill the linguistic function of vowels. The contacts between vowels and consonants are especially:

voiced \((\text{i}, \text{g}, \text{gh})\) and flatted \((\text{'i}, \text{gh}, \text{kjh}, \text{kjh}, \text{kh}, \text{k})\); and also through \((\text{kjh})\) to \((\text{gh}, \text{a})\), etc.;

voiced \((\text{u}, \text{v}, \text{r})\) or \((\text{u}, \text{v}, \text{ghv}, \text{gw}, \text{g})\), or \((\text{a\text{u}, bh, b})\); voiceless \((\text{'u}, \text{wh}, \text{f})\), or \((\text{'u}, \text{wh}, \text{kvh}, \text{kow}, \text{kh})\), or \((\text{a\text{u}, ph, p})\), according as we start with English \(u\) having the back of the tongue raised, or German \(a\text{u}\) with the tongue depressed; also voiced \((\text{y}, \text{wj}, \text{bh}, \text{b})\) and voiceless \((\text{'y}, \text{wjh}, \text{ph}, \text{p})\); voiced \((\text{a}, \text{e})\) lead to \((\text{r}, \text{r}, \text{r})\), and thence to \((\text{'l}, \text{l})\); and to \((\text{d})\) and the coronals and dentals, or through \((\text{a}, \text{e}, \text{a})\) to lip, and even guttural consonants, etc., and when voiceless to \((\text{h}, \text{m\text{r}h})\), and then either to \((\text{kh})\), etc., or to \((\text{h}, \text{h}, \text{h})\), etc.

ii.). Glottal sounds differentiated by passing into the closed mouth, so that they cannot be continued beyond a short time, because they condense the air too much, and when forced produce the inflexion of \((1113, \text{a})\). These are the sonant consonants \((b, d, g)\), or \((\text{'b, 'd, 'g})\), as distinguished from the impled \((\text{'p, 't, 'k})\). They may also be bleated, as \((\text{b}, \text{d}, \text{g})\).

d. Non-glottal sounds differentiated by resonance chambers, as in expired whistles, see also \((2)\). When they reach the state of musical whistles, they cease to be real speech sounds.

e. All the above are distinguished by pitch, force, and length, and by continuous or discontinuous changes. The continued sounds, due to the maintenance of the same resonance chamber independently of pitch or force, and changing discontinuously, so far as the resonance is concerned, are the theorist's vowels and consonants, in this class; but even in these, pitch and force generally alter continuously. The changing or gliding sounds due to a continuous change of form of resonance chamber are the most common in actual speech.

4. Air checked. The air passing through an opening is gradually totally shut off or obstructed, or a total obstruction is gradually removed. This may take place in the glottis \((\text{c})\), by closing the vocal chords or bringing down the epiglottis, or both, and in various ways in the mouth, producing the mute consonants \((p, b, k)\), etc. These make themselves felt solely by gliding differentiations of glottal sounds, due to continuous changes in the form of the resonance chamber passing from perfect silence for the mute, to perfect resonance for the vowel, and vice versa (1111, \(d\)).

Note on Symbolisation.

Palatotype is meant to be a mere convenient system of notation without implying any system. Thus \(h\) has been used as a mere diacritic without any constant meaning, and sometimes as an occasional mere supporter of signs which would otherwise become confused, as \((\text{h} \text{h} \text{h} \text{'h})\). On the other hand, some diacritics, as \((\text{j} \text{w} \text{w})\), have been used with tolerable consistency. Italics and small capital letters are used as convenience dictated and with no systematic feeling or intention. Whether there appear to be any systematic character or not in the sign, my own wish is that each symbol should be regarded as one of Linneus's 'trivial names,' merely denotative, not connotative; shewing a fact, not suggesting a theory. My letter denotes a certain sound, or mode of utterance. How that sound or mode of utterance is to be systematically placed is a totally different question. My symbols lend themselves to any system, because they do not pretend to belong to a peculiar
system of their own. In this respect they differ essentially from Brücke's and Bell's, and even from Lepeletier's, and Prince L. L. Bonaparte's or the historical suggestions of Prof. Halfdan. Palaeotype letters are then merely tools by which we may handle sounds on paper, pending our acquisition of sufficient knowledge to understand their systematic relations.

The classification of consonants generally relates to those in 3 and 4, and refers to the positions of the obstructive organs, and the accompanying flatus or voice, or absence of both. It is fortunately very easy to make a simple arrangement of this kind, which is essential as an elementary guide, but it is very difficult to fit into one scheme the immense variety of forms found in actual use, of which comparatively few are familiar to any one systematiser. In no language perhaps occur sufficient consonants to construct a perfect scheme. But in the old Sanscrit tongue, as reduced to the Devanāgari character, there was a grand development of the surd (voiceless) and sonant (voiced) series of the classes in 4, and 3, 6, ii. above, and a full conception of the differences of flatus, voice, and, as I think, bleat, as well as nasality. The Indian put the earlier European phonologists to shame in this respect. They were very acute, not merely in the analysis, but in the synthesis of sounds, and, as far as their means extended, did not hesitate to indicate every change, and even pointed out in their commentaries under what circumstances sounds were generated synthetically which had no alphabetic character. That this generative action is in full force in India at the present day we have already seen in remarkable instances (1138, 6 to 1139, 6'). But the language was extremely deficient in vowels, in diphthongs, in buzzes, and in glottids, and hence was not suited as the basis of a classification which should include even Semitic sounds. Still, as one of the earliest, and down to the present day one of the acutest, and as embracing the earliest forms of speech to which our own language belonged, it should be first considered. If the old commentators had paid equal attention to the Indian dialects, little would have remained to be done now.

In the following table I have endeavoured to exhibit the old Indian classification, giving it first in the transcription of Sanscrit used by Prof. Whitney, and secondly in the palaeotypic equivalents which result from my own investigations (pp. 1136–1140, and places there cited). And as the old phonological treatises are not remarkably accessible, I give the text and translation of the rules bearing on this classification in Prof. Whitney’s Ātharaṇa-Veda Prātiṣṭhākhyā, with additions from his notes. The general reader will thus, for the first time, be put into a position to understand an early native classification of an alphabetic system which is the foundation of his own.

In this classification the repetition of some letters in different classes is due to difference of opinion in native commentators. In the palaeotypic interpretation the cerebrals are still distinguished as (T D N R), as proposed on (1096, 6'). The y v are marked as (j v), but I believe them to have been originally diphthongising vowels, as (iâ, iâ), and to have been only recently squeezed into (j v), compare (1103, d). Also the (ee, oo) are retained, because it is clear
that these junctures of (āi āu) were established at the time of rules cited, though the original diphthongal form admits of no
When (i i ee āi) come together, therefore, in this table properly illustrate the vowel (i) only, of which (ii) is the met
longation; (i) and (āi) shew the initial and final diphtho
forms, and (ee) the juncture from (āi). Similarly for (ū u uu o

Sanskrit systematic arrangement of the Alphabet, as deduced from Rules of the Indian Phonologists.

(1.) Prof. Whitney’s Symbols.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Surd</th>
<th>Guttural</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Lingual</th>
<th>Dental</th>
<th>Labial</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Surd-aspirate and surd-spirant</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>ñ</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sonant</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sonant-aspirate, and sonant-spirant</td>
<td>kh kk ch ç</td>
<td>th sh th s ph hp</td>
<td>sh r r</td>
<td>d r l l</td>
<td>b v u u a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ŋ</td>
<td>ŋh</td>
<td>dh</td>
<td>bh</td>
<td>m</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(2.) Presumed Palaeotypic Equivalents.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mute</th>
<th>Guttural</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Coronal</th>
<th>Dental</th>
<th>Labial</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>k</td>
<td>kř</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>č</td>
<td>p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flated</td>
<td>k/hr kḥ</td>
<td>křh jh</td>
<td>ṭḥ sh</td>
<td>ṭh s</td>
<td>pḥ ph</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voiced</td>
<td>g a a‘r’l</td>
<td>g j i i ee āai</td>
<td>d r ‘n’</td>
<td>d r ‘r’</td>
<td>b v u u a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bleated</td>
<td>gč</td>
<td>gč</td>
<td>dč</td>
<td>dč</td>
<td>bč</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noised</td>
<td>q ν</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>m</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Rules of the Indian Phonologists,

Taken, Sanscrit and English, from Prof. Whitney, op. cit. (1131, c’), the parts between inverted commas being the Sanscrit text transliterated as above and Prof. Whitney’s translation, the rest (except references to this work, palaeotype, and parts included in [ ],) being an abridgment of some of the information in Prof. Whitney’s notes on the rules. Only such rules are given as bear upon the classification, and they are referred to as i. 3, book the first, rule the third, etc.

i. 3. “padántyaḥ padyaḥ. A letter capable of occurring at the end of a word is called a final (padya).”

i. 4. “antākṣaraḥ svarāḥ padyaḥ. Any vowel, excepting ū, may occur as final.”

The Rik Pr. also excepts r long.

i. 5. “takāvairājantyau ka. Also l and visarjanlyā.”

i. 6. “śparṣāḥ prathamot theology of the mutes, the first and las series,” that is, k ṭ t p, ŋ h m n being excepted by the follow

i. 7. “na cāturkāḥ. Exce palatal series,” that is, c and jh, being excluded by previou

i. 10. “devīyāsturthāḥ so The second and fourth of ee are aspirates” [see (1131, c’) ments].

i. 11. “uttamād anuvāsikā last in each series is nasal.”

and Vāj. Pr. describe the na as anuvāsika, as does the T including with them anuvāsikā.

i. 12. 13. “trdo-goshekebā nakh; nādo gosheka生鲜esku, surd consonants the emission i in the sonant consonants and is sound.” [The literal rem
'surd,' root *ces, is 'breathed,' that is, 'flattened;' of *sonant,* root *mad,* is 'spoken,' that is, 'voiced;' of *emission,* *anmuṛdaṇa,* is 'emitted material,' of *aṛghosha,* is 'without sound,' that is, mute; and of *ghoshaṇṇa,* is 'sounding.' It is evident that where no voice was used, the result was not considered sound proper.) The commentator enumerates the sonants as vowels, sonant mutes, semivowels, h, and the *yamās* of g and gh. The *yamās* or 'twines,' are thus defined in Tāittī. Pr.: "after a mute not nasal, when followed by a nasal, are inserted in each case noun sounds (*māṇya); these some call *yamās,*" (that is, nasalised voice differentiated according to the preceding mute, before being differentiated according to the following, so that aimā requires a generated m to be inserted between t and m, thus (atmas)."

i. 18. "mukha vischedhā karaṇaya. In the mouth there are differences of producing organ." That is position (sthāna) to which approach is made; that is organ (karaṇa) by which approach is made," according to the commentator.

i. 19. "kaṭhāyayamadharaṇa kaṭhā. Of the throat-sounds, the lower part of the throat is the producing organ." [See discussion (1134, b–1136, b).]

i. 20. "jiḥvāmālīyayam hanumālām. Of the gutturals, the base of the jaw is the producing organ." The word translated gutturals means 'formed at the base of the tongue.' The commentator assigns as gutturals the r vowels, see (1146, d), the guttural mutes, k ḫ g gh h, the jiḥvāmālāya 'spirant,' or (kh), see (1134, c), and the vowel i. By hanumāla, 'root or base of the jaw,' must be here understood, it should seem, the posterior edge of the hard palate.

i. 21. "tālayāṇān madhyayuktām. Of the palatals, the middle of the tongue is the producing organ." The commentator enumerates a ñ i y, ñ e o a h jh ñ and the vowel i. 'The expression 'middle of the tongue' exactly corresponds to the modern sound described (1120, e): tāla is 'palate.'"

i. 22. "mārdhanyayam jīḥkṛyaṇā pratīṣṭhitam. Of the linguals, the tip of the tongue, rolled back, is the producing organ." [See the discussion (1094, a–1096, c).] The word mārdhan means 'head,' hence an exact translation of mārdhanāya would be 'capital.' Müller holds mārdham to be used directly for 'dome of the palate,' but it must be so taken, if at all, indirectly, as the highest point of the head which the tongue is capable of reaching. [Hence my term 'coronal' (1096, c).] The commentator gives as this series ś, ṣ ṣ ṭ ṭ ṇ, and fortifies his assertion by adding the half verse mārdhānaṁ shaktaṇya śaṇēgaṇya tathā matem. They are known in all the Pr. by the same name, and the Vāj. Pr. and Tāittī. Pr. describe them in the same manner. [The question of inversion or simple retraction of tongue—Prof. Whitney uses the ambiguous term 'reversion'—depends on the meaning of pratīṣṭhitam—back-rolled. The term is too vague, and may mean a further retraction than in the English (b).] The semivowel r and vowel r are in the Paninean scheme.

i. 23. "shakṭaṇya śroṣṭitā. Of ś, the trough-shaped tongue is the producing organ," from śroṣṭa, a 'wooden tub or trough.'

i. 24. "dantasūlam jīḥkṛyaṇā prasthānam. Of the dental, the tip of the tongue thrust forward is the producing organ." The commentator gives the series i a, t ṭ ṭ ṇ ṇ, and the Vāj. Pr. adds ṣ. The Rīk Pr. makes the class consist of i s ṭ a, t ṭ ṭ ṇ. The Tāittī. Pr. defines the same letters, except ṭ, as formed, dantasūloṣṭha, 'at the roots of the teeth' [that is, 'alveolar, rather than 'dental'], the i-series, and s as produced by the tip, and the ṭ as produced with the middle of the tongue. [This ought to make it palatal = (l)]."

i. 25. "oṣṭhyayamaharavuṣṭham (or -oṣṭhyam). Of the labials, the lower lip is the producing organ." The labials are o ou, p p h h m, the upadṛmaṇya spirant [(ph), see (1132, δ)], and the vowel a. Here a is omitted, doubtless by fault of copyist, as it is not otherwise placed. The Vāj. Pr. adds further, that in the utterance of v the tips of the teeth are employed, and so in Tāittī. Pr., its commentator explaining that in the utterance of the letter the points of the upper teeth are placed on the edge of the lower lip. [See discussion (1103,c).]

i. 26. "māṇyaṁ māṇikā. Of the nose-sounds, the nose is the producing organ." The commentator cites n m m n, anuṛṣṭa, and the generated nasals, that is, māṇika after h i. 100, and yamās after mutes i. 99.
i. 27. “anund śirānām mukhānātikam. Of the nasalised sounds, the mouth and nose together are the producing organs.”

The Tāṭṭi. Pr. says, “nasal quality is communicated by the unclosing of the nose.”

i. 28. “rephāya dantamālāṇi. Of r, the roots of the teeth are the producing organs.” There is a considerable difference of opinion respecting r among Indian phonologists. Rik Pr. includes it among dentals as dantamālāṇi (see i. 24 above), but adds that others regard it as gingival. Vāj. Pr. makes it to be produced at roots of teeth by tip of tongue. Tāṭṭi. Pr. by the tip and middle of tongue, close behind roots of teeth. The Paninian scheme makes it mūrdrānāya. [See (1138, a). Probably several modes of forming r, dependent on the adjacent consonants, are confused under one symbol.]

i. 29. “spṛṣṭiṃ sparcānām karanām.
In the case of mutes the organ forms a contact.” From this contact sparcā the mutes derive their name [literally, ‘contact letters’].

i. 30. “isheṭpreṣṭamantahātānāṃ. In the case of the semivowels, it is partially in contact.” The Rik Pr. calls it dukṣpṛṣṭaṃ, ‘imperfectly or hardly in contact.’ The word antahākārā, ‘intermediate, standing between,’ as applied to the semivowels y r l v, is supposed to refer to their alphabetic arrangement, between the mutes and spirants, but more probably refers to their neither forming a complete contact like the mutes, nor an open position like the vowels.

i. 31. “ahmaṇāk vīṛtānām ka. In the case of spirants it is also in contact. The kā should make those isheṭpreṣṭam, or partially open. The Tāṭṭi. Pr. says the spirants, in their order, are uttered in the positions of the mutes, but with the middle part of the producing organ opened. The Rik Pr. includes the vowels anuvrā and spirants together, as produced without contact. The Rik Pr. makes the spirants to be ḡ (visarjanāla), ḡ ḡ (jihvamālāya), ḡ ḍ, ḍ, and ḍ (upadhānāla), and edra; the Vāj. Pr. only ḍ ḍ. Tāṭṭi. Pr. omits the visarjanā amuvrā.

i. 32. “svardām ka. In [the vowels also it is open.”

i. 33. “ekāp eṣṭam. Consider it as forming a contact: one of the other treatises favours obviously and grossly incorrect.

i. 34. “ekārūkādāravaiṣṭaṃ. In the case of e and o it is very open.” [That is, these were at that time very open vowels, (1137, a).]

i. 35. “tato-pyākārasya A more so, in the case of d.”

i. 36. “samhāto-kāraṃ. I obscure.” In Vāj. Pr. and F is ordered to be treated as usual the same as d, implying that it so in practice. The Tāṭṭi. and do not notice any differences in the of a, ā.

i. 37. “samaspṛṣṭaṃreṣṭam. The r-vowels are combined with [This seems to give (‘r) or (‘r).]

i. 39. “salakāram karanām. Vowels are combined with an i gives (‘i).]

i. 40. “samādhyakṣaraṃ = tavarāngukavavarnavrāṭṭiḥ. I thongs are composed of c vowels; their treatment is its simple vowel.” Here samādhyakṣara is literally ‘syllable of comb and is the usual name for a dij and samānukṣara, ‘homogeneous,’ is sometimes used for th vowel as opposed to the dij. The diphthongs are o o dij course originally (ai, au, aā, i a i.

i. 41. “nākārūkākṣaraṃ o ahā. Not so, however, with du, in a rule of position.” T mentor’s paraphrase is dīr rūkākṣaraṃ ekakṣaraṃ na bhavati. What the mean value of the rule is, is not at all clear; it may forbid the incl dij among palatals only, and labials only, since they are a throat-sounds.

Prof. Whitney, moved probably by his study of this classifi seems to have developed from it his ‘unitary’ arrangement (12 which is here given from the Journal of the American Oriental vol. 8, p. 372, first in his own letters, and then in their pala equivalents. His position of ḡ depends upon his theory that “the common surd of all those sonant letters are to
to have each its own individual surd,” see the discussion, beginning (1141, d').
This scheme has the advantage of being a mere skeleton, and consequently evades most of the difficulties which arise when we attempt to clothe it in full. But as a skeleton, it will be found very useful and suggestive.

**Prof. Whitney's Unitary Alphabet.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sonant</th>
<th>Vowels</th>
<th>Semivowels</th>
<th>Nasals</th>
<th>Surd</th>
<th>Aspiration</th>
<th>Sonant</th>
<th>Fricatives</th>
<th>Mutes</th>
<th>Surd</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i e o</td>
<td>a o u</td>
<td>j r l w</td>
<td>q n m</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>ph</td>
<td>e z v</td>
<td>gh s f</td>
<td>g d b</td>
<td>k t p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y r u</td>
<td>s n w</td>
<td>f</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>s</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sord</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

No systematic arrangement can be complete which disregards the Semitic series of sounds; but at present there is so much division of opinion among phonologists respecting them, and they differ so widely from European usages, that it seems best to pass them over, especially as my own knowledge of them as heard from natives, is more than thirty years old, and was obtained at a time when my phonologic ideas were very crude. Lepsius, however, includes them in his general alphabet (*Standard Alphabet*, p. 76), which here follows in palaeotype, the Arabic sounds being given according to his (much disputed) theories. Lepsius's interest was chiefly transcriptive, and is only partly or incidentally physiological. He uses chiefly Roman, but some Greek and a few new characters, with diacritical dots, hooks, accents, marks, etc.

**Consonants of Lepsius's General Alphabet.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Explosiva e Divisiva</th>
<th>Fricativa e Continua</th>
<th>Aneicipites</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I. Faucales</td>
<td>g ;</td>
<td>h h</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. Gutturales</td>
<td>k g q</td>
<td>kh gh</td>
<td>r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. Palatales</td>
<td>kj gj qj</td>
<td>kjh sh sjh gjh sh sjh</td>
<td>s lj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV. Cerebrales (Indicae)</td>
<td>t d n</td>
<td>sh sh</td>
<td>a l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. Linguales (Arabicae)</td>
<td>d'</td>
<td>s s d h</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI. Dentales</td>
<td>t d n</td>
<td>s, th</td>
<td>s, dh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII. Labiales</td>
<td>p b m</td>
<td>f v w</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Brücke (1267, a') has not given a tabular scheme, although he has developed a system of writing. His classification of consonants, in reference to his alphabetical signs, is here reproduced in brief, because it is strictly physiological, and because the state of the glottis is throughout carefully indicated.

1. Voiced consonants may be shut (verschusstlaut), continuant or fricative (reihungengeträusch), an L-sound, trilled (stillerlaut), or resonant in the nose (resonant), and may be articulated in three principal places:
   a. With the lips, solely, or with lips and teeth.
   b. With tip of tongue and palate, 1) alveolar, 2) cerebral, 3) dorsal, 4) dental.
   c. With back of tongue and palate, 1) middle of hard palate, 2) back part of hard palate, 3) soft palate.

These are illustrated by signs, to be thus translated:

(b), lips shut.
(v), lips and teeth, fricative.
(m), lips, nasal.
(z), alveolar, fricative.
(dh), dental, fricative.
(l), dental, L-sound.
(r), dental, trill.
(j), back of tongue and middle of hard palate, fricative.
(r), back of tongue and soft palate, trill.

2. State of the larynx:
   a. Closed glottis. Vocal chords in position for voice (b); no sign.
   b. Open glottis. Vocal chords apart as for breathing; its sign united with sign for (a) gives German A (b); with sign for (b) gives sign for p, which is therefore (p); with sign for (dh) gives sign for (th).

   c. Position for the wheezing breath (4), which is taken to have the chords 'nicked in' by the arytenoid cartilages, and hence to be different from that described by Czermak (1130, b).
   d. Position for whisper (h), see (1128, c'), which Brücke attributes to the Saxon letters regarded by Merkel as imprinted (1097, c').
   e. Larynx closed by epiglottis and arytenoid cartilages ()); united with those shut consonants which do not come under (b). The check (4) and clear glottis ()); are not distinguished (1129, a', 1130, a).
   f. Trill of glottis (r).
   g. The size-action of glottis continued through the vowel (4), see (1134, a'), always united with a vowel.
   h. Direction to put more metallic quality into the voice; [this affects the following vowel, and must be mainly contrived in the resonant chambers].
   i. Direction to deepen, or put more roundness into the voice; [this is also mainly a question of the resonance chamber; these two last are for the effect of Arabic letters on the following vowel; the effect here intended seems to be the (a) of (1107, c), and is recognised as present in the Russian (r)].

3. Consonants with two places of articulation. "When a consonant has to be noted, for which there are two straites, one behind the other, either of which separately would give its own fricative, the signs for each are written in succession." Thus (sh) is written as alveolar, between back of tongue and back of hard palate, fricative; to which for (dh) is added: open glottis.

4. Consonants with double sound. As (grh), written: between back of tongue and back of hard palate, fricative, trill; to which in the case of (krh) is added: open larynx.

Compound sounds are expressed by groups of symbols; thus German i, taken as (i, a), is: alveolar, shut, open glottis+alveolar, fricative, open glottis; ancient Greek ζ, taken as (d, z), is: alveolar, shut+alveolar, fricative. Italian e before e, taken as (e, th), is: alveolar, shut, open glottis+alveolar, between back of tongue and back of hard palate, fricative, open glottis, etc.

This extremely ingenious and philosophical method of writing, of which various specimens are given in numerous languages, printed in movable types, becomes, in Dr. Brücke's words, at least for his consonants, eine beredde Zeichensprache, literally, "a speech-endowed sign-language"—a term closely approaching to that chosen by Mr. Melville Bell, whose "Visible Speech" has been so much used.
On (1121, c) I found it necessary to give a new palaeotypic symbolisation of Mr. Bell’s columns 2 and 3, p. 15, and on pp. 1125–6 I had to reconsider some parts of cols. 5 and 9, which I have now still further studied. It will therefore be best to reproduce the palaeotypic equivalents of all his table on p. 15, except the vowels. In the following table I annex Mr. Bell’s own nomenclature, which may be compared with Brücke’s. The columns and lines refer to Mr. Bell’s symbols (15, a).

Mr. Melville Bell’s Consonants.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Voiceless</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Voiceed</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Back.</td>
<td>Front</td>
<td>Point</td>
<td>Lip.</td>
<td>Back</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>primary</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mixed</td>
<td>2k</td>
<td>2h</td>
<td>1l</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>divided</td>
<td>2m</td>
<td>2h</td>
<td>1l</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shut</td>
<td>2n</td>
<td>2h</td>
<td>1l</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1n</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mr. Melville Bell’s Aspirate, Glides, Modifiers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>9</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>10</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;h&quot;</td>
<td>voice glide</td>
<td>&quot;x&quot;</td>
<td>aspirate</td>
<td>&quot;s&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;r&quot;</td>
<td>back glide</td>
<td>&quot;x&quot;</td>
<td>[doubled letter]</td>
<td>&quot;r&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;j&quot;</td>
<td>front glide</td>
<td>&quot;s&quot;</td>
<td>length</td>
<td>&quot;w&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;i&quot;</td>
<td>nasal glide</td>
<td>&quot;s&quot;</td>
<td>abrupt</td>
<td>&quot;w&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;h&quot;</td>
<td>breath glide</td>
<td>&quot;s&quot;</td>
<td>stopped</td>
<td>&quot;t&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mr. Melville Bell’s consonant arrangement, as thus shewn, is based on the following distinctions. In the original symbols the open glottis is not considered in relation to the consonants, but voiceless and voiced forms alone are symbolised. He has subsequently added a mark for whispered as distinguished from voiced forms, but he has not yet found it necessary to distinguish the open glottis, except by adding his 3a = (x) or 3f = (h) to the (1127, d) shut consonant. Only four places of articulation are distinguished, col. 1 back of tongue and palate, col. 2 front, that is, middle of tongue and palate, col. 3...
point, that is, tip of tongue and palate, and col. 4 lips. But by signs for outer or advanced (') = 9', and inner or retracted (') = 9", and for open (') = 9m, or close (') = 9f, these are practically extended to 20. Confining attention to the consonants:

The lines a, g, are continuants with the "organic aperture contracted to a central chink," s voiceless, g voiced.

Lines e and i are continuants with the "organic aperture divided by a central check." In the case of (l) this is very intelligible, but for (f) and (v), although there is the 'central check' in the shape of the teeth, this only acts as a sharp wind sneezer, and makes the hiss or buzz more decided. See Dr. Stone's observations (1331, d). The union of (l) and (v) in one class is liable to considerable reclamation. Line e is voiceless, and line i voiced.

Lines b, d, voiceless, and h, k, voiced, give peculiar means of obtaining the simultaneous action of two of the former positions, of which the first mentioned in each case is the most prominent. These signs might be entirely dispensed with, and thus answer really to Brücke's third series (1340, c). Thus for line b, (ksh) is taken to be (kh + ph), but (wh) to be (ph + kh), and again (a) = (zh + rh), but (sh) = (s, h + rh). As respects these last, Mr. Graham Bell at least has just reversed the combination of the symbols (1121, c). Again, for line d, we must suppose (ksh) = (kh + f), but (f) = (f + fh), and (th) = (ph + lh), but (th) = (lh + lh). The two last will probably be disputed. With regard to (th) Mr. Bell says ('F. S. p. 58): "the 'front-mixed-divided' consonant (th) has its centre check at the tip of the tongue, and its apertures between the edges of the flattened point and the teeth or the upper gum:—the front of the tongue having considerable convexity within the arch of the palate." It is difficult to see how the form of the symbol and its relation to (sh) or (lh) shows this, unless (lh) is taken as very dental (', l'). Although the back of the tongue is raised for (th) almost as much as for (rb), yet the action between the tongue and teeth is most marked, and the stream of air is only squeezed, not divided, by the teeth.

Lines s voiceless and l voiced are merely the ordinary shut positions, and lines f voiceless and m voiced the corresponding nasal positions.

For the aspirate, glides and modifiers, after again considering the discussion on pp. 1125–6, respecting 5 s, f, 9 s, b, h, t, m, and 10 e, f, I believe that the marks placed in the present table are the best palaeotypic equivalents of Mr. Bell's symbols, according to the principles developed in this chapter. Observe that the glides have all () before them, which mark would be placed against or over the preceding or following vowel (1099, d). To agree with Mr. Bell's system of notation, voiced-sonant forms are given to all the glides, except 5s, f, g, m = "(h, "h, "w, "x)," the last of which I was never able properly to separate from 5 s." (h), even when I heard Mr. Bell pronounce it. I have, however, in practice generally thought it best to use vowel-signs as marks of his glides, thus (as) for (ar), (ai) for (ah), (au) for (aw). In fig. 4 of a plate accompanying Mr. A. Graham Bell's "Visible Speech as a means of communicating articulation to deaf mutes" (Washington, U.S. 1872, pp. 54), I find that in place of the glide 5 s in pols, (poul) according to Mr. Melville Bell, Mr. Graham Bell writes a vowel-sign small, answering exactly to (poul). This was first suggested, I believe, by Mr. H. Sweet. The use of ("h) for 5 f is my last appreciation of this sign, and agrees in the main with (1127, 8).

Mr. Melville Bell's Key-words.

The following list contains the examples by which Mr. Melville Bell illustrates these signs (F.S. pp. 93–4), and for convenience I give them in the order of the above table, referring to columns and line and annexing the palaeotype. When two palaeotypic signs are given, the first accurately translates Mr. Bell's sign; and the second gives the form I usually employ for the sound indicated by the example.

Abbreviations.

| a. | American | it. | Italian |
| c. | Cockney | p. | Polish |
| e. | English | pec. | peculiar |
| f. | French | sc. | Scotch |
| ga. | Gaelic | sp. | Spanish |
| ge. | German | w. | Welsh |
| h. | Hungarian | z. | Zulu |
| ir. | Irish |

Key-words.

1 s. (kh) nach ge., pech sc.
1 b. (ksh) nach ge., sugg sc.
2 a. (sh) ish ge. [I hear (ik)h], which would be Mr. Bell's (ik)h.

2 b. (a) st, e, e, (a) ciudad sp. [doubtful].

2 c. (1h) variety of defective s.

2 d. (th) oin e.

2 e. (k) variety of t, see (1120, a).

2 f. (gh) variety of [voiceless] m.

2 g. (r) yes e.

2 h. (x) real e, (x) d, final, sp. [doubtful].

2 i. (1) fano sp., gli it. [These sounds are (lj) or (lj), not (lj), the distinction consisting in the tip of the tongue touching the palate or gums for (lj), and being held down for (lj), the middle of tongue comes in contact with hard palate for all three.]

2 k. (dh) then e.

2 l. (g) Magyar h. [properly (dj), see 2 i.]

2m. (q) Bonogne f. [The French sound is neither (qj) nor (qj), but (nj) or (nj), see 2 i.]

3 a. (r, h) théatre f. [colloquially (rh), never with untrilled, (r, h), -rh w., never untrilled in Welsh].

3 b. (sh) show e., chaud f.

3 c. (lh) temple f. [colloquially (lh)], felt e., see (1141, a).

3 d. (th) ll w., ll x., see p. 756, n. 2.

3 e. (t) tie e. [The foreign (tj, tj) do not seem to have been noticed.]

3 f. (nh) tent e. See (1141, a).

3 g. (r, 1) race e., (r, d) = my (r) r sc. sp, etc.

3 h. (zh) pleasure e., jour f.

3 i. (l) lie e. [The foreign (l, l) not noticed. See 3 a.]

3 k. (sh) shl e. See (766, d').

3 l. (d) die e. [The foreign (d, d) not noticed. See 3 c.]

3m. (n) nis e. [The foreign (n, n) not noticed. See 3 a.]

4 a. (ph) variety of f or wh. See (514, a', 518, b. 542, c. 1099, e).

4 b. (wh) why e.

4 c. (f) fie e.

4 d. (th) gutturalised variety of f.

4 e. (p) pie e.

4 f. (mh) lamp e. (1141, a), mâm sc.

4 g. (bh) weg e., b sp.

4 h. (w) way e.

4 i. (v) vie e.

4 k. (vh) gutturalised variety of v.

4 l. (b) buy e.

4m. (m) seem e.

5 a. (r) voy e. [that is (vésr'y), for which I write (ves'r), with the reduction of (r) to (v) for convenience, and the trilled (r)].

5 b. (r, r) are, smooth burr, e. dialects [that is (aarr) or (aarr), as distinct from (aarr)].

5 c. (s) die e. day e. [that is (dás dás), which I write (dós' dós')].

5 d. (r, r) are, (that is (aarr), which I write (aa'r) or (aa'), not distinguishing (aa) and (aa)].

5 e. (bh) laí fr. [that is (bhí) or (bhí), in place of (lwí) or (lyí)].

5 f. (h) paper ir. [that is (ph'hær'é), where I hear (ph'hær'é) or (ph'hæré); hence this is the sign for Sanscrit surd aspirates, see (1127, b')].

5 g. (w) now a. and c. [that is (mh'w), (aw'w) not quite (naw, ns'w)].

5 h. (r, w) not [exemplified, possibly a burried our (aur'sw)].

5 i. (w) now north ir. [possibly (aíw), or (nyí), found in Norfolk].

5 k. (r, w) our e. [that is (aur'w), my (awlw')].

5 l. (w) now e. [that is (naw), my (nw)].

5m. (x') are pec., "a semivokalised sound of 9 h."

[See 9 h, the glide is shown by the accent.]

9 a. (x) lie e. [The new symbol (x) is introduced to enable me to write Mr. Melville Bell's symbols 9 a, b, l, and 5 m, in accordance with his theories, which differ in this respect so greatly from my own that my symbols, although I use them freely in transliterating passages written phonetically by him, will not serve the present purpose, when everything turns upon representing his notion of the formation]
of the sounds. The new symbol (x) represents the passage of status, with a moderate degree of force, through the "super-
glottal passage," or pharynx (that is, between the epiglottis
and the position for (k) or (x),
whence the form of the symbol),
indeed of subsequent differentiation. The open state
of this passage is shown as usual by adding on 9 m (m)
thus: (x₁). Of course the effect of
(x₂) is nearly ('hii), or even
('hii). No jerk (m) seems con-
templated. See (1126, c) for
description.

9 e. (x⁺) vowel whisper. [See 9 a.]
Here the contraction of the
super-glottal passage is shown
by adding 9 l. See description
(1126, b). The effect is nearly
(('h) or (b). The distinction
between (x₁, x₂) is marked by
Bell's circular and elliptic form
of symbol, see p. 15.]

9 f. ('hu) [no example].
9 g. (z) "Symbol (z) denotes a loose
vibration or quiver of the organ
to which the symbol applies.
Thus the tongue vibrates against
the front of the palate in forming
Scotch or Spanish 'R,' this
would make them to result from a
striking and not a free reed
action, and be (x), but Mr. Bell
writes the equivalent of (z) as
"the uvula vibrates against the
back of the tongue in producing
the French R 'grassé' [liter-
ally, 'lispéd,'] or the Northum-
brian 'burr' (r). The lateral
edges of the tongue vibrate in
forming a close variety of L:"
[this is apparently different from
his 3 = (l), and should be (l⁺)];
"the lips vibrate when they are
relaxed and closely approxi-
mated, (brh); and in the same
way the edges of the throat-
passage vibrate [P exact mean-
ing], with a 'growling' effect,
when the current of breath is
intercepted by sufficiently close
but loose approximation. Sym-
bol (z) thus refers to the element
after which it is written; as
('h₂) a flutter of the breath;
('h₂) a quiver of the voice;
(x₂) throat vibration; a 'gruff'
whisper; (x'₂) hoarse vibratory
murmur:—'growling.'" (V. 8.
p. 47.)

9 h. (x⁺), variety of defective r, emis-
ion of voice with the throat
contracted. See description
(1126, a'). [See 9 a and 9 b,
to the last of which (') is pre-
fixed to shew the buzz. See
also end of last quotation about
9 g. The glide of this, of
course, becomes ('x⁺), see 9 m.]

9 i. ('), see examples to 1 e, g, l, 2 a.
9 k. ('), see (1098, b').
9 1. ('), see (1107, b).

10 a to w. [no special examples are
given].
In the preceding systems we commenced with an acute ancient classification confined essentially to one language, but that the most important for European investigations, the Sanscrit; and from this proceeded to Prof. Whitney's skeleton arrangement, which contemplated some of the derived languages. Thence we passed to Lepsius's, which embraced the Semitic as well as the Aryan forms of speech, but was also incomplete and sketchy. From this we proceeded to two physiological arrangements. Dr. Brücke was mainly influenced by German habits, and, as shewn by his examples, his acquaintance with other European pronunciations, and even with middle and south German habits, left much to be desired. He had, however, endeavoured to examine the Arabic sounds with great care. His consonantal scheme professed to be purely physiological, and hence to be applicable to all languages, although his vowel scheme, founded on the triangle already exhibited (1287, c), was purely literary. Mr. Melville Bell's scheme is physiological both for vowels and consonants, and, though his physiological knowledge is of course greatly inferior to that of such an eminent professional physiologist as Brücke, and hence makes default in hidden laryngeal actions, he has produced a system which is admirable in its general arrangements. But it is quite impossible that any one with a limited knowledge of the living habits of speakers can succeed even in the analysis, much less in the synthesis, of spoken sounds. In pondering over the possibilities of vocal effects producible by our organs of speech, we are constantly liable to omit forms quite common to other nations, because they are totally unfamiliar to ourselves, while we may excogitate theoretical sounds which no one has ever adopted. I shall conclude, therefore, by giving two arrangements of consonants which have been chiefly formed by an examination of sounds heard, and not so much by hypothetical construction. Of course these two systems are not purely observational or purely literary. Both schemes inevitably contain some theoretical sounds suggested by others observed, and both classifications are more or less founded on the organs in or near contact.

The first of these is Prof. Haldeman's (1186, d), which has already been given for English only (1189, c), so that no long explanations will be necessary. The great peculiarities of Prof. Haldeman's investigations are—1) an examination of literary languages, when possible by personal audition; 2) an examination of many North American Indian languages, which other phonologists have disregarded, but which are full of curious phenomena; 3) great attention to the synthetic effects of speech sounds in modifying their character, and to synthesis in general; 4) in notation, an endeavour to make his symbols a real extension of the Roman alphabet, to the extent of not using any symbol in an un-Latin sense, according to his own theory of Latin pronunciation.

The following table is taken from Art. 577, compared with Art. 193a., of his Analytic Orthography. It was first published by him in the Linnaean Record of Pennsylvania College, for June, 1846.
### Prof. Haldeman's Consonant System

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Laryngeal</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Guttural</th>
<th>Fusal</th>
<th>Lingual</th>
<th>Cerebral</th>
<th>Dental</th>
<th>Labial</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$h$</td>
<td>$j$, $j'$</td>
<td>$q$, $q'$</td>
<td>$r$, $r'$</td>
<td>$l$, $l'$</td>
<td>$m$</td>
<td>$n$</td>
<td>$w$, $w'$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$h$, $h'$</td>
<td>$j$, $j'$</td>
<td>$q$, $q'$</td>
<td>$r$, $r'$</td>
<td>$l$, $l'$</td>
<td>$m$</td>
<td>$n$</td>
<td>$w$, $w'$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$h$, $h'$</td>
<td>$j$, $j'$</td>
<td>$q$, $q'$</td>
<td>$r$, $r'$</td>
<td>$l$, $l'$</td>
<td>$m$</td>
<td>$n$</td>
<td>$w$, $w'$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Pronunciation

- Little: nasal, pure, liquid
- Much: nasal, pure, liquid

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consonants</th>
<th>Spondant</th>
<th>Spermant</th>
<th>Lambant</th>
<th>Labiant</th>
<th>Labiant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lenis 1</td>
<td>asper 1</td>
<td>asper 4</td>
<td>asper 8</td>
<td>asper 8</td>
<td>asper 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lenis 2</td>
<td>asper 2</td>
<td>asper 5</td>
<td>asper 7</td>
<td>asper 7</td>
<td>asper 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lenis 3</td>
<td>asper 3</td>
<td>asper 6</td>
<td>asper 6</td>
<td>asper 6</td>
<td>asper 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lenis 4</td>
<td>asper 6</td>
<td>asper 5</td>
<td>asper 7</td>
<td>asper 7</td>
<td>asper 7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Note:** The table continues with more detailed pronunciation examples, but the table is truncated for brevity.
Key-words and Explanations.

Arranged by the number of line and letter of column.

1 a. (w, w''), nasal (w) as a separate element, and as a glide. "The effort to produce vocality may, perhaps, be transferred from the glottis to the contact, so that instead of (b, d, g), a modified (p, t, k) will occur, made with the points of contact (as the lips) flattened against each other, producing what we call a flat sound" (art. 181).

In the case of the German, it is considered by Brücke as a whisper, and this notation is given by me, and by Merkel as an implosion (1097, c). This is an element in Prof. Haldeman’s classification, and he marks the lines 1, 2, 6; 5, 1', 2'; 5', 6', as having flat sounds, in his theoretical scheme, art. 193a.

1 f. (x, i), nasalised (x), or $\delta f$, which see.

1 g. (x, z), nasalised (z) as a separate form, and as a glide. "Nasal (z) occurs in Iakutisch, we have heard it in Cherokee" (art. 5466).

5 a. (w ‘w’), the (w) as a separate element, and as a glide, see (1193, b’).

5 b. (l), "formed by a light contact of the tip of the tongue at or near the base of the upper teeth" (art. 469 a).

5 c. (r ‘z’), an intermediate sound in Samojedic, which has more of the (smooth) r than l, although both are heard simultaneously" (art. 477), see (1133, a). Prof. H. uses the capital symbol l, made by cutting an h.

5 e. (r ‘z’), see (1194, d’), where they are 16 c, 17 c, 18 c.

5 d. (l), Polish barred l, judged to belong to the Arabic.

5 e. (l), supposed Sanscrit l with inverted tongue.

5 f. (x), see (1195, d’).

5 g. (x, z), the (z) as a separate element, and as a glide, see (1193, c’).

6 b. (lh), "a vocal aspirate lh, which we attribute provisionally to Irish, its surd cognate being Welsh" (art. 198). "We think it occurs sonant in Irish, where it is considered to be a kind of d” (art. 474). Hence it is assumed to be the same as the Manx (hh), see (766, d’), where note that (hh) is, through a mistake on my part, erroneously said to occur in Manx.

6 c. (rzh), more properly (rzh), the Polish rz, (art. 612), [considered as (zh) with the tip of tongue trilled, as it seemed to me when I heard it, but I have since been assured, though I have not personally observed, that the (r) and (zh) are separate, and successive, not simultaneous].

7 i. (j), "Hiatus is a break or pause commonly caused by dropping an intermediate element, and not closing the remainder” (art. 660).

8 a. (wh), see (1194, b).

8 b. (hh), "the surd Welsh aspirate l. We have heard the Welsh lh in Creek Choctaw and Cherokee" (art. 474), see therefore (765, n. 2). "The following are examples from the musical Creek (an English name), more correctly (masko‘ki), in which the name of the ‘large river,’ Withlacoochee, and ‘figured rock river,’ Chattahoochee, are respectively (ulilakatu‘si testunshu‘su‘si); the former from (úrwa) water, and (ihlakii) large, (ihlakima‘nhi) larger, (ihlakii‘a) largest. All the vowels are short.” (art. 476.) "We are doubtful whether the French l, r, of simple, matigre, are whispered or surd aspirate,” that is, whether they belong to lines 7 or 8, “but we incline to the former” (art. 476). This would give 7 b = (lh), 7 c = (rh), and make 8 b = (hh), and 8 c = (rhh), a corresponding sound.

8 c. (rhh). "The Welsh surd aspirate rh may be the smooth element” [that is, the lenis or 7 c]. "We do not remember its character on this point,” see (p. 769, n. 1).

8 f. (r, h), see (1195, d’).

8 g. (r), see (1194, b).

8 h. (h), "the Sanscrit visarga" (art. 571), see (1132, b’).

8 i. (nh, h), see (1196, a).

1 a. (m), usual.

1 b. (n), usual, see 5 b for dentality.

1 d. (n), “Lepsius adds a (theoretic?) n to the [Arabic lingual] series” (art. 489).

1 e. (nx), presumed Sanscrit cerebral n with inverted tongue.

1 f. (q), a Sanscrit letter, which should be located farther back than r, s. It may have been a French nasal afflante (‘zh’)” (art. 198). The Sanscrit character given is that which I now attribute to (qj, see (1137, c’).

1 g. (q), usual sing.
8's (o). "It differs from (f) in not being made by the lower lip and the upper teeth, but by contact of both lips, as in blowing," art. 119.

8's. (f), usual.
8's. (g), usual.
8's. (j), Polish.
8's. (s), considered as "between (German) sy and such; we have heard such a one in the Waco (werk's) of Texas, as in (stück's), five, a word derived from that for hams, as in (Lenas's) and Hebrew" (art. 490).

8's. (d), Arabic lingual.
8's. (h), presumed Sanscrit cerebral with inverted tongue.
8's. (g), usual.
8's. (b), usual.
8's. (dh), usual.
8's. (d), Arabic lingual.
8's. (n), presumed Sanscrit cerebral.

6's. (b), usual.
6's. (d), usual.
6's. (n), voiceless (m).
6's. (h), voiceless (n).

6's. (srh), German sr, Ellenic (Roman) sh, the sonant of φ. See (Arts. 126, 127, 461).
6's. (x), English s.
6's. (zh), usual.
6's. (z), Polish s' (art. 490), see 8's.

6's. (sh), French s.f.
6's. (gh), as g in könige.
6's. (gh), as g in betrogen.
6's. (oh), "the 18th letter, ghain, of the Arabic alphabet" (art. 549), considered as vibrato, but as related to (x), that is our (grh) is made = (oh).

7's. (p), usual.
7's. (t), usual, for dentality see 5 b.
7's. (t), Arabic lingual.
7's. (r), presumed Sanscrit cerebral with inverted tongue.
7's. (k), usual.
7's. (x), "the 21st letter of the Arabic alphabet" (art. 547).
7's. (x'), "In the Waco of Texas, the entire surface, from the glottis to the (x) position, forms a contact, which is opened suddenly and independent of the lungs, upon a vowel formation, producing a click or smack like that which accompanies the separation of the closed palms when wet with soap and water. The preceding closure bears some resemblance to the incipient act of swallowing. We describe it from our method of producing it, and we were said to be the first person with whom it was not vernacular, who had acquired it," art. 573. The (x') gives merely the position, the (x') is the full click, which is abbreviated to (g) on p. 11. The following are examples: (gitr'fux') eye, (er'sk'f) foot, (esk'f) hand.

7's. (r), "hams is a closure of the glottis" (art. 568).
Art. 517. "In Sanscrit ध, according to Wilkins, 'is produced by applying the tip of the tongue to the fore part of the palate, and passing the voice as in pronouncing our s.'" "This," as Prof. H. observed in a letter dated 3 July, 1873, "would make it the true aspirate of t." See (1120, c).

Art. 525. Nos. 4 and 8, and art. 640. The Swiss and Modern Greek (kh, grh) are adduced, and an opinion is expressed that they are different from the Arabic sounds, which he writes (kh, oh), see 6' h, 8' h. The chief difference of the Swiss and Modern Greek sounds from the Arabic, to my ear, is that the former are much less forcibly pronounced than the latter. The Greek γ is very soft indeed, and might be written (grb).

Art. 563. "The sign (') represents a slight phase, whether aspirate, or independent, or even vocal, at the close of abrupt syllables." The "aspirate" is true (') coming from the lungs (1127, 6), and the vocal is (h), see (1164, 5), the 'independent vowels' are clicks (th) or mouth puffs (e), see (1334, a). Following Prof. H., but not entirely using his words or signs: (p'); is breath drawn in on opening the lips, (p';) is "the sound made faintly by smokers when separating the lips under suction, (t;h) one of the clacks, having force," etc. (art. 447). "In the (Nadas'ko),—an English name, An-a-dah-has, of Schoolcraft,—a Texan language, we have heard such a sound following t, with an effect as loud as spitting, and somewhat resembling it, as in (kabet e o) thread, where the resonance is modified by an o cavity; (no-st e a), paper; (t e a u h), tooth, with final h, it may be considered a dissyllable; (nhaw t e o), wind; — (x e a s), thigh, a monosyllable, the vowel of medial length" (art. 447).

There seems to be a little confusion between (e) and (t), but the whole observation is important in observing sounds. I have used the subscript (o, a) in (e o, e a), to shew the form of the resonance cavity, instead of subjoining (o, a) as Prof. H. has done.

Art. 551. "As independent (p e ph, t e th, k e kh) can be formed without air from the lungs, so in the Chinook of Oregon (x e kh) is similarly treated, according to the pronunciation of Dr. J. K. Townsend, which we acquired.

In the following examples an allowance must be made for two personal equations: (beek e x e x x e hee), grandmother; (x e x haw x e x haw x e x h), yellow.'

Art. 570. For "the Arabic and Hebrew sin, ... the vowel is heard with a simultaneous faucal scrape, which may be regarded as a sufficient interruption to make it a modified liquid; and the vowel and scraping effect being simultaneous, they cannot be represented by a consonant character preceding a vowel one," as (ga), hence he writes a minute < below the vowel, answering to (ga), see (1130, c. 1134, d. 1534, c).

The other of the two methods of arranging consonants previously referred to (1345, c), is by Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte. It is not only the most extensive, and travels over much ground not touched by others, but it proceeds upon a principle which I think it important to enforce. Instead of attempting, from the narrow resources of a few languages, to predict all sounds that could be made, and erect almost à priori a set of physiological pigeon-holes, into which each sound could be laid—or squeezed, the Prince has endeavoured to ascertain what sounds are really used in those languages to which he has had access, and, as we have already seen (pp. 1300-7), these are not few, although limited in area, not embracing the Indian, Semitic, Chinese, Japanese, Malay, Polynesian, African, North and South American, and from each there is doubtless very much indeed to be learned, which may require new pigeon-holes to be constructed for their proper reception. The question with him was—and I trust it may become the question with phonologists generally, as thus they can chiefly secure the proper consummation of their own science, and render to philology the...
assistance of which it now stands so sorely in need—the question was, not what sounds may, but what sounds do, exist? Having collected a large number of these, the next business was to arrange them, not a priori, but a posteriori, by an examination of actual characteristics, and finally to suit them with a notation agreeing with the arrangement. Every one who attempts to classify natural objects—to which category speech-sounds are thus reduced—knows very well that the discovery of new objects is continually forcing him to change his arrangement. As in the old story, the giant grows too fast for the castle to contain him. Hence even the Prince’s last effort, to classify about 300 consonants, is far from supreme. There may be 300 more yet to classify, though many of them will doubtless fit into his framework. Those who take up these investigations for the first time, or with a view of condensing the results into a short system, thinking that such will be “enough for all purposes”—an opinion generally entertained when very few purposes are known or contemplated—may find in this extensive list a needless amount of repetition and circumstantiality. Granting that consonants may be labialised, or palatalised, or labio-palatalised, what need is there, they may think, to do more than adduce a few cases as evidence of the fact, or opinion? Granting that consonants may have moderate, or considerable, or very great, or very little, energy, what need to write down every case of the kind as a separate consonant? But it certainly is of scientific importance to know what cases of this kind actually occur, and when we come, years hence probably, to endeavour to understand and compare the various modes of synthesis (or syllabication) used by different nations, to understand the interaction of consonants, and their modifications by environment and habit of speech, we shall regard such distinctions as rather too few than too many. Again, in judging of the change of words in English dialects when properly attacked—scientific phonologists face to face with native, with no literary screen between them—an accurate knowledge of all these distinctions will be really needed. Again, in attempting to suggest origins and changes of words, even our best philologists are continually at fault, from supposing that what has happened under some circumstances will happen under others, not knowing how extremely eclectic different speech-forms are, not merely in the range of sounds used, but in the subjective assimilation of those sounds to sounds heard. Such lists as the Prince’s are extremely valuable—but they are really only the preliminaries of scientific phonology.

In the following list I have endeavoured to combine the Prince’s linear and tabular arrangements. The use of consecutive numbers—continued from the vowel-list on p. 1299—will enable any person to identify almost any European consonant, and refer to it simply as B 100, B 101, etc. Each consonant is accompanied by a key-word,

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1 A few theoretical signs occur in the following scheme furnished me by the Prince, and they were adopted mainly from my own list (supra, pp. 3–10), where they had generally been taken either from Lepsius or Bell; but there are very few, if any, which the Prince inserted of his own accord.
pointing out the letters by which it is ordinarily spelled, translated, and referred to its own language, and this alone would make the list of great use. The systematic arrangement, however, shews how that sound appears to the Prince to be connected with other sounds, and thus, nearly in the same way as by his vowel triangle, he indicates his own view of the nature of the sound. His view may not agree with that taken by others, who derive theirs from different sources. It does not attempt, like Brücke’s or Bell’s schemes, to give an accurate physiological account of each consonant. But it is the view of a man, who, born in England, educated in Italy, a good Spanish scholar, speaking French by right of country, has for more than twenty years devoted himself to linguistic study, particularly to that of a language rich in strange sounds and numerous dialects, the Basque, which he has learned literally from the mouths of men, the peasants of each little hamlet, heard on the spot; and who has travelled, especially to hear sounds, over England and Scotland and other countries; who has familiarised himself more or less accurately with Celtic and most literary languages of Europe; who has entered minutely into the phonology and construction of English, French, and Italian dialects, by actual contact with natives and intercourse (often months of intercourse, obtained at great cost) with those who had studied them on the spot, causing extensive series of comparative specimens to be prepared for him, in the last few years taking up the remarkable series of Uralian dialects;—a man who, in all that he has done himself or through others, has worked not as a princely dilettante seeking amusement, but as a scholar, a man of letters, and a man of science, working for the end of men of science—the discovery of natural laws. However much any individual observer may, therefore, think him wrong in some details,—as in the classification of the sounds native to that observer,—or in some principle of classification, or in some identifications, or some analyses, yet as the conscientious work of one observer, gathering sounds from sources often accessible with difficulty or not at all, and comparing them together with great care and thoughtfulness,—this system of consonants must remain for long a great mine whence to dig the materials for future phonologic edifices. I feel personally greatly indebted to the Prince for having placed his MS. at my disposal for the purposes of this work, and allowing me to edit it with the addition of my own palaeotypic symbols, which I have had greatly to augment in consequence. A few years ago, wishing to complete the table with which I began this work, and to identify my symbols with the Prince’s as far as possible, I requested him to go over that list, mark his own symbols in the margin, and add notes of any sounds which I had omitted. This was the origin of the following list, which he began preparing as an arrangement of the other for a foreign scholar, and which finally grew to its present vast dimensions. Thus associated with the instrument which has rendered this work possible for the printer, it is in every way fitting that this phonologic system should take an honoured position in its pages. The two lists, of the vowels and of the consonants, together
form the most complete series of signs which has been constructed, and will, I hope, stimulate other phonologists to complete it, by the addition of extra European sounds, verified, like these, by actual examples, of which those collected by Prof. Haldeman from North American Indian languages may serve as a specimen.

Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte’s Classification of Consonants.

See p. 1349. The numbers, which stand in place of the Prince’s symbols, run on from the numbers of the vowels given on p. 1299, and are to be cited as B 76, etc. The original table was arranged in 19 columns, each consisting of 40 lines. The columns are here numbered and distinguished by headings, of which, to prevent mistakes, the original French is annexed. The class names thus introduced are often not the same as previously used in this book; this can hardly lead to confusion, however, except perhaps in the word palatal, which is synonymous with my coronal (1096, c). Several stages are also often distinguished where I had only one, thus dentals become dentals, alveolar-dentals, double alveolars, and alveolars, and so on. The lines are in the original divided into 10 groups of 4 each. These groups are here distinguished by italic letters prefixed to the first number in each, as follows:

He hard explosive, explosives fortes. No nasal continuous, continues nasales.
Se soft explosive, explosives douces. Hi hard liquid, liquides fortes.
Ne nasal explosive, explosives nasales. Si soft liquid, liquides douces.
He hard continuous, continues fortes. Ht hard trill, tremblantes fortes.
Se soft continuous, continues douces. St soft trill, tremblantes douces.

where hard means ‘voiceless,’ and soft means ‘voiced.’

As there are often several symbols in one line in the original, the first line of each group must be considered to begin with the above marks; the second with those involving the letter (j), the third with those involving (w), and the fourth with those involving (wj). These are the palaeotyphle symbols for palatalised, labialised, and labio-palatalised, or, mouilléés, veloutées, and mixtes, formerly called fuitées, characters which distinguish the consonants in these lines (1115, a). Several lines, and even groups of lines, are not unfrequently blank, and these are not entered in the list, as the position of these written is sufficiently distinguished by the prefixed and involved letters. They furnish positions for possible sounds not yet recognised in actual speech.

The palaeotyphle symbols have been identified by the Prince, as far as my original list of symbols extended (pp. 3–12), but I have been obliged to add many new ones, distinguished by *. In doing so I have been guided by the systematic forms of the Prince’s symbols. The combinations are sometimes very clumsy, but they are adapted to the ‘old types,’ and hence can be printed by any printer, whereas the Prince’s are many of them not cut or are else not available by “the trade” (1298, a). Where the palaeotyphle forms differ from those given on pp. 3–12 in this book, they must be considered as emendations.

The sign for “weakening the consonant” has been represented by a prefixed (.), a cut [, see (419, d).

The sign for “rendering the consonant energetic,” by doubling it, see (799, d).

The sign for “rendering the consonant semi-energetic,” by prefixing the strong mark (.), see (10, d), which is now never used for indicating dental consonants, (1096, c).

The sign for “rendering the consonant alveolar,” or dental, or ‘advanced,’ is (.), and for rendering it ‘retracted’ is (.), and these signs are freely used.

The sign for “rendering the consonant semi-palatal,” or semi-mouillé, an operation I do not perfectly understand, is represented by (j) an unslanted (j), which is the usual sign for palatalising.

After the palaeotyphle is given an example of the word in its usual spelling
§ 2. No. 7. PRINCE L. L. BONAPARTE'S CONSONANTS. 1353

in Roman letters, followed by the combination of letters which indicate the sound in it, its meaning in italics, where the name is not English, and the name of the language, abbreviated as follows, and by any necessary remark, which, when not due to the Prince, is inclosed in [ ].

| ab | abaskan | e | english | hun | hungarian | pr | portuguese |
| al | albanian | f | french | i | italian | rus | russian |
| ar | arabic | f | finnish | ir | irish | sn | sanscrit |
| da | danish | g | german | k | kaskumuk | s.o.s. | surgoit ostiak |
| dr | dravidian | g | gaelic | pl | polish | sp | spanish |

1. Labials.

| He | 76 p | pea, p, e |
| 77 pp* | poron, p, glass, k |
| 78 pp* | coppa, pp, cup, i |
| 79 pph | pferd, pf, horse, bavarian |

[f (px pth pth)]

| 80 pph* | the, th, side, thush |
| 81 wh | which, wh, e |
| 82 pj | gap, p, lounger, pl |
| 83 pw | pois, po, pea, f |
| 84 pu* | puita, pu, sell, n, f |

Se | 86 b | bee, b, e |
| 86 b* | bar, b, pond, k |
| 87 bb* | gobbe, bb, hump, i |
| 88 pp* | xaxon |
| 89 w | wine, w, e |
| 90 bj | jedwab, b, silk, pl |
| 91 bw | bois, bo, wood, f |
| 92 bu* | buis, bu, box (wood), f |

Ne | 93 m | me, m, |
| 94 my* | thaq, m, thirst, k |
| 95 mm* | stamma, mm, flame, i |
| 96 mh | tempt, m, e (after Bell (tamth), see (1141, a)) |
| 97 b* | sebem, bm, seven, Westmorland eng. |
| 98 w* | swarad, m, summer, ir |
| 99 mj* | karm, m, feeding, pl |
| 100 mw | mo, mo, me, f |
| 101 muc | muid, mu, hoghead, i |

He | 102 ph | [from my list] |
Sc | 103 bh | haba, b, bean, sp |
| 104 huh* | an occasional, if not the standard Dutch w, between sp. b and e. w |

Ht | 105 prh | [from my list] |
St | 108 brh | [from my list] |
| 107 uu | very, r, e [defective lip r] |
| 108 uw | our, r, e [occ.] |

2. Labio-dentals.

| He | 109 r* | [theoretical, from my list] |
| Se | 110 s | [from my list, see (1292, d)] |
| He | 111 f | foe, f, e |
| 112 ff* | schiaffo, ff, slap in the face, i |
| 113 f* | [theoretical, from my list] |

114 .th [theoretical, from my list, where I took it from Bell, see p. 1343, 4 d.]

115 f* | fyaix, fy, see (imperat. plur.) Guernsey norman |

116 fu* | foie, fo, laver, f |
| 117 fuj* | fuite, fu, flight, f |

So | 118 v* | wine, v, e |
| 119 v* | warta, w, plate, k |
| 120 v* | avventura, vv, adventure, i |
| 121 v* | kjøbenhavn, b, Copenhagen, da |

122 v* [theoretical] |
| 123 v* | an occ. if not the standard Dutch v |

124 v* [theoretical] |
| 125 v* | paw, w, peacock, pl |
| 126 vo | voix, vo, voices, f |
| 127 v* | vº, fein, m, mild, ir |

3. Labio-linguals.

| He | 128 p* | sf, c, key, ab |
| 129 p* | yta, t, sit down, ab |

Se | 130 b* | ady, d, field, ab |
Sl | 131 lw* | lamh, l, hand, ga |

4. Dentals.

| He | 132 t* | talam, t, earth, ir |
| 133 t* | tirm, t, dry, ir |
| 134 d* | donn, d, brown, ir |
| 135 d* | dia, d, god, ir |

He | 136 th | thin, th, e |
| 137 c | existence doubtful, see (4, b) |

So | 138 dh | thee, th, e |
| 139 e | [existence doubtful, see (4, b)] |

Hi | 140 xh [theoretical, from my list] |
Sl | 141 x | ocyl, l, apple, manx |

5. Alveo-linguals.

| He | 142 c | motea, t, wood (forest), West Nyland fin |
| 143 th* | vizio, x, vice, i |
| 144 c | zot, z, lord, al |

Sl | 145 dh | lid, d, lawsuit, sp |

Alvéolaires Doubles.

He 146 s* lo zio, s, the uncle, i
147 s* pazzo, xx, mad, i
148 s* aca, c, granary, ab
149 f* ac'byrrg, c', truth, Bzyb
150 f* lca, c', wild cherry, ab
151 f* evn, s, much, k
152 e* sia, c', to sow, pl
153 s* ac'a, c', apple, ab
154 s* ac', c', az, ab
Sc 155 z* lo zelo, z, the zeal, i
156 z* rozzo, zz, coarse, i
157 e* jedz', dz', go (imperat.), pl
158 zio* az'y, z', some one, ab

7. Alveolars.

Alvéolaires.

He 159 t* tas, t, heap, f
160 t* tai, t, oik, k
161 t* matto, tt, mad, i
162 th* tii, t, to, da
163 th* jato, t, red, k
164 th* tuix, t, salt, thush
165 tj* pHIB, III, way, rus
166 twol, to, ther, f
167 tw* étu, tu, ease, f
Sc 168 d* doux, d, sweet, f
169 d* doxiu, d, freshness, k
170 d* Iddio, dd, God, i
171 d' [from my list]
172 d* JOHAD, a/b, horse, rus
173 d* doigt, do, finger, f
174 d* conseur, du, to conduct, f
Ne 175 n* nain, n, dwarf, f
176 n* hak, ò, blue, k
177 n* canna, m, weed, i
178 d' bmm, n, woman, ir
179 n* IIIH, III, teach, rus
180 no* noix, no, walnut, f
181 nu* nuit, nu, night, f
He 182 s so, s, e
183 ss* cassa, ss, box, i
184 ss* fêt, h, hour k
185 ss* ar
186 sj kos', s', move (imperat.) pl
187 sw sole, so, silk, f
188 ss* suite, su, sort, f
Sc 189 z zeal, z, e
190 ze* azzal, z, with the, hun
191 x* zaqa, z, how much, ab
192 zj lez', z', go up, pl
193 zio, razo, so, razor, f
194 zio* dixhuit, xhu, eighteen, f


Palato-chuintantes.

He 224 sh* pece, c, pitch,
225 sh* caccia, cc, hunting, i
226 sh* aca, ñ, quail, ab
227 ft* ay', c', mouth, ab
228 fh* a', horse, ab
229 sh* ñ, ñ', early, k
230 sh* NOCH, ch, night, rus
230* shw* chou, chou, to cook, Louisiana fr creole
230* shw* croule, chou, to cook, Trinidad fr. creole
Sc 231 sh* regio, gi, royal, i
232, 233  = maggio, ggi, may (month), i
233  = espundia, dj, sponge, sou-
233  = nétrui, ru, needle, Louisi-
233  = fr. croole

10. Double Palatales.
**Palatales Doubles.**

He 234  = otso, ts, wolf, basque

11. Palatales.
**Palatales.**

He 235  = tea, t, e
236  = huett, t, the house, col-
240  = do, d, e
241  = beddu, dd, beautiful, sard-
242  = lado, d, side, sp
243  = Gud, d, God, jutlandish
244  = yet, y, e
246  = ejel, jj, night, hun
246  = gyöngy, both gy, pearl, hun
247  = a’ gyöngy, first gy, the
248  = no, n, e
249  = tent, n, e [after Bell (tzmht),
250  = azkoya, ķ, the badger, ro-
251  = digne, gn, worthy, f
252  = a’ nyul, ny, the hare, hun
253  = su, Arc, sp basque
255  = zagal, z, young shepherd, pr
256  = felt, l, e [Bell’s (falin),
257  = glas, l, knoll (funereral),
258  = low, l, e
259  = figlio, gli, son, i
260  = melly, ll, which, hun
261  = gh [theoretical]
262  = ar
263  = hou, h, orphan, k
264  = hii, h, pigeon, k
265  = ab, ah, h, k
266  = ray, r, e
267  = terra, rr, earth, i
268  = η ar
269  = wuhot, r, cet, lusatian
270  = roi, ro, kiny, f
271  = ruj, ruit, ru, noise, f

**Ultra-palatales.**

He 272  = t, sn
273  = d, sn
274  = N, sn
275  = rh dr
276  = sl, sh dr
277  = rrh dr
278  = sl, sh dr
279  = pph dr
280  = rh dr
281  = L, an
282  = ah
283  = r, sn
284  = nnh dr

**Gutturo-Labiales.**

He 285  = p, [from my list, and that
from Lepieu] peruvian
286  = wjh, ib’y, h’, speak, ab
287  = b [theoretical, from my list]
288  = wj, huile, hu, osi, t
289  = th [theoretical, from my list,
and that from Bell]
290  = vh [theoretical]

**Gutturo-dentales.**

[Note.—The marks over the t in the
examples to B 291, 292, 293, and over
the d in B 295, 296, 297, should pro-
perly go through the stem of the letters.]

He 291  = kaš, t, day, s. os. [See
Note.]
292  = th, wanting, ù, without, s. os.
[See Note.]
293  = sita, t, gunpowder, low
s. os. [See Note.]
294  = [theoretical]
295  = ḥ, ḥ, morning, s. os.
[See Note.]
296  = ḥ, wadd, ḥ, without, s. os.
[See Note.]
297  = ḥ, gunpowder, high
s. os. [See Note.]
298  = [theoretical]

15. Guttural Whishes.
**Gutturo-chuintantes.**

He 299  = la chaj, chj, the key,
temple sardinian
300  = vecchju, cchj, old,
temple sardinian

Gutturo-palatales.

He 304 i ar
305 ij* tortoiil, tt, turtile dove, 
labourdin basque

Se 306 ə ar
307 aj* yuun, y, lord, labourdin 
basque

Ne 308 n [theoretical]
He 309 æ* [theoretical]
310 a sn, s, sir, labourdin basque
Se 311 æ* [theoretical]
312 a Jesus, both a, Jesus, soul-e-
tin basque

17. Double Gutturals.

Gutturales Double.

He 313 kh mac, c, son, ga

18. Gutturals.

Gutturales.

He 314 k key, k, e
315 ky kont, k, nest, k
316 kk bocce, cc, mouth, i
317 kh komn, k, come, upper g 
[? kh, k, k, kh, kih]
318 kalan, k, white, k
319 k coh, k, foot, thush
320 hh hand, h, hand, g
321 nbh abhuoo, hh, thereto, hun
322 nh hand, h, e [pure jerk 
(1120, b)]
323 i ar [hamma]
324 k j la chiave, chi, the key, i
325 kcoh ochio, cchi, eye, i
326 nhj la chiave, chi, the key, 
florentine i
327 kw quoi, quo, what, i
328 nh [from my list, but ('h') is 
the new form (p. 
1341, 9f.)]
329 xw [from my list, ('hch') is 
the new form (p. 1341, 
9f.)]
330 kx* biscuit, cu, biscuit, i
Se 331 g go, g, e
332 gg* veggo, gg, I see, i
333 g argem, g, I seng, og

334 xw* huevo, hu, egg, sp
335 gj la ghianda, gh, the 
corn, i
336 gj* ragghaire, gghhi, to 
bray, i
337 g so gofe, go, goiter, i
338 goj* sigulleg, gu, needle, i
Ne 339 q singer, ng, e
340 qh sink, n, e, [Bell's (nghk), 
see (1114, c)]
341 xh, halk, h, multitude, scut- 
tari al-
342 qj sn [from my list, for which 
I now use (qj), see 
1137, c]

He 343 kh dach, ch, roof, g
344 x [existence doubtful, see 
(9, ə), where it was in-
troduced because the 
real sound of sp j was 
unknown]
345 khkh* palchi, lch, beaceun, sa-
sareen sardinian
346 khkjh* x'ot, x', shade, k
347 kkh [from my list]
348 kjh milch, ch, milk, g
349 kch loch, ch, lake, south scotch
Se 350 gh taghe, g, days, g
351 x [See B 344]
352 ghgh* olguan, g, organ, sa-
sareen sardinian
353 gh [see B 347]
354 gh selig, g, bisful, g
355 gh [from my list, theoretical]
Ne 356 gh, h* zonkoidize, x, to smoo, 
avarian

Hl 357 lb [theoretical, from my list]
358 lbh law, ll, hand, welah
359 lbh* [theoretical]
360 leh [theoretical, from my list, 
and that from Bell]

Si 361 l lamac', t, to break, pl
362 lhh* [theoretical voiced Welsh 
l. The Maxx sound 
spoken of as (hh) in 
(756, ə) is properly B 
141, a dental x.]
363 lhb* [theoretical]
364 lv [theoretical, from my list, 
and that from Bell.]

Hl 365 krh ə ar
366 .rh [theoretical, from my list]
St 367 grh ə ar
368 .r rock, r, Newcastle
369 i* var, r, was, jutlandish
370 * Paris, r, Parisian
371 rr* irregular, rr, irregular, 
parianin
### § 2. No. 8. i. BAVARIAN DIALECTAL CHANGES.


| Ultra-gutturales. | 378 ąhy* ʃort, ʃ, pear, k  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>380 ʃch</td>
<td>theoretical, from my list</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>381 ʃh</td>
<td>theoretical, from my list</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>382 ʃch</td>
<td>theoretical, from my list</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>383 ʃh</td>
<td>theoretical, from my list</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>384 ʃt</td>
<td>ret, r, right, da</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>385 ʃt</td>
<td>var, r, was da</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### No. 8. GERMAN DIALECTAL CHANGES.

i. Schmeller on Bavarian Dialectal Changes.

In the present section, as in the former part of this work, reference has been very frequently made to the labours of Schmeller on the Bavarian dialects. It seemed therefore that a complete systematic account of the variations of sounds he has observed would be the best possible introduction to the following fragmentary account of English dialectal usages.

Schmeller adopts a phonetic alphabet, of which the following seems to be the palaeotypic signification:

**Vowels.**

- ą (a), ã or ą (a), ą (o), ą (e) and perhaps (e), ą (i), ą (i), ąd or ą (o), ą (e), ą (u), ą (y), ą (e).

Sometimes his symbols indicate etymological relations, thus ą shows the ('') sound before ą which replaces ą (e) and ą s an (i), which seems to have become some obscure palatal and may be vaguely represented by ('j'), in (so'j). ['] indicates an omitted vowel, [""""""""""""""""""""""""""""] sometimes merely the nasisation (,), sometimes also the omission of m, n.

**Consonants.**

- ą (g), ąg (k), ąh or ąh (gh), ąhh (kh), -i (j), an (1) disunited from the preceding vowel; -ım, -ım, -ım, -ım, -ım, -ım, -ım, where ('m) has arisen from en, -e, -en, -e, -en, -en, -en, where ('q) has also arisen from en, but after a guttural; hr (rh), s (z), ff (s), sch (zh), fch (sh), s (d, z), ts (t, s); ['] omitted, ['"] an unpronounced m or n, after a nasalled vowel, or after a vowel which cannot be nasalled in the dialect, that is (ı, u, ı), so that ın means (a,ı); ['"] an unpronounced r, (') any other omitted letter, or an omitted m and n after an unasalled vowel which might have been nasalled.

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Unfortunately, in his verbal examples Schmeller generally confines his phonetic symbols to the point under consideration, and prints the rest of the word in ordinary gothic characters. Even in his literary examples, "in order not to render the text unnecessarily unintelligible, some letters, as a ś e i u ö ü í, etc., are not always translated into the peculiar forms belonging to the dialect," referring generally to the particular tables. This facilitates the reading of the sünse to the detriment of the reading of the sound. The same feeling has unfortunately widely prevailed in writing English dialects, but it is altogether unscientific, and often produces the utmost bewilderment. It has materially added to the laboriousness and uncertainty of my own researches. The correct principle is to regard sound only, and when written words threaten to be unintelligible, on account of their differing so much from their ordinary appearance, the usual spelling should be given in addition, and sometimes a complete translation is requisite.

In the following notes the arrangement of Schmeller, arts. 102-691, has been followed. The whole is materially abridged. My own insertions are placed in brackets [ ], verbal translations between inverted commas. The numbers in parenthesis refer to Schmeller's articles. Sounds are given in palaeotype. Ordinary German spelling is given in italics, or capitals, large or small, and in the latter case d ð ù have been resolved, as usual, into ð, ð, ù. Schmeller uses an etymological spelling, which is not generally followed, but will be explained as it arises. When some letters are put in a parenthesis in the midst of German word, these only are in palaeotype, as a(f)or, for aber. This is to imitate Schmeller's notation, and to avoid the errors which I should almost certainly commit in attempting to give the whole word in the dialectal form, when there was no authority for the other sounds in his book. The particular localities of each pronunciation are omitted. But the following abbreviations will be used:

- gen. generally, fr. frequently, sm. sometimes, rr. rarely. 1, 2, 3, etc., pl., in one, two, three, etc., places. N. E. W. S., North, East, West, South of Bavaria. tn. town, cn. country, ed. educated.

**Vowels.**

A (102-123) is:—(aa, a) gen. in non-German words, caste (kaz:), rr. in a few German words, before m, n, r, and others, gen, span, arg (gana, abpas, arg):—(aa, a) gen. in common non-German words, as Maz (mats), and W. in all German words, but E. only before two or doubled or strong consonants, acht (akht); which rr. becomes (o), graft (proof);—(o) fr. before l and single or weak consonants, alt, sagen (alt, zoo‘ghan), sm. otherwise:—(cu) sm. when long, blaen (bidu‘son), or as (aun) before r, haar (nhu‘er):—(cu) 1 pl. even before 2 consonants, asep (ou-pfol):—(to) before lost n 1 pl., (o) before r fr., before lost c 1 pl., and when long 2 pl., aumfl (nhu‘et), arm (aarm), nacht (nhat), scheat (nhu‘et):—

(c) in a few scattered words, allen arbeot hart nach acht (clus orbet nhert now ekht):—(i) rr., in sonatag (swu‘tihat):—

(aa) 2 pl., especially before r, arm (aarm), halb (nhu‘alb);—(o) sm. in unaccented syllables sonat Laiabach, dsen (swu‘ts Lan‘be dofo). "If the pronunciation of high German by educated low Germans, or by educated upper Saxons, is to be taken as the rule, a, to be free of all provincialisms, should be (a)." AE (124-139) short, and long, " in
good high German pronunciation sm. è (n, ze), and sometimes é (e, ee), is: —
(a, aa) 3 pl. in various primitives hüchsen (nha'kscan), derivatives wäch-
se (bha'kson), subj. pret. ich nähme (na'am), diminutives mädelin (ma'dél),
plurals plätze (pla'tse), etc.: —(e, E) fr. in most of the above cases: —(a) 2 pl.
später (spach'tar): —(x)v 2 pl.
gnädig, ich thät, nän, säum (gna'mi',
I' ti, mi'n, a'v-zo) [observe, for Eng-
lish]: —(i) fr. in plurals, kätter (ki'l'tar),
comparatives and superlatives, ärger,
der kälteste (ir'gor, kr'lest), and conjuga-
tional forms, er fällt (flet): —(a) fr.
before r, ärger, du fütst (yor'gor, du
f bist): —(i) 2 pl. in a few words, wachsen (bhi'kson): —(o) rr., kätter
(ki'l'tar).
AI (140-156), usually written ei,
derived from original ei, gothic at, “in
good high German pronunciation (ai),”
is: —(aa) 3 pl. tn. en., breit fleisch
klein (braud flash klaus), and um-
laut becomes (a) in a few cases, breiter
kleiner (brax'tar klax'no): —(ai) gen.
tn., hence ecclesiastical geist, heilig,
and terminations hort, hort, have (ai)
gen.: —(a, o) 2 pl. tn. on, in uninflected
forms, especially before i, m, n, bein
(baun, boon), stein (ahtas, shtoo): —(di,
bi) in inflected forms, although the inflex-
ion is gen. lost, der kleinste (klá'st), mit dem
steinen (mi't shto), breiter (brö'tar),
weisen (bhoo'yn), and 1 pl. en. in uninf-
lected forms, fleisch (flósh): —(do) fr.
klein, beiner (klá'na, bii'na), which by
umlaut becomes (a's), breiter (brahs'ar): —
(be) fr. fleisch (flásh): —(oe) fr.
klein (klees), lieb (leeb): —(ei) 2 pl. in
inflected forms, reisf (réf): —(i) 2 pl.
in certain forms of verbs, replacing ag,
as du weist = sepest (du zat): —(di) 2 pl.
before m and n, eins (éen), heim (hin'hi): —
(a) gen. in unemphatic article ein;
and fr. in other unaccented syllables,
arbeit (arbt), gewohnheit (gbhoo'noot);
or is quite lost, wort (voort')
AU (157-163), original U, “in
good high German pronunciation (uu),”
is: —(a) sm., aus dem haus (naus'n
haus), especially before i, m, as faul
(faal): —(au) ad. gen. except W.: —(a)
1 pl. (aau'n haus): —(au) or (uu) W.,
haus (hoo'bus): —(uu) according to origin
in SW. and N., a. bere Fle Faur (of bruuk'ka fusht), but in N. often
(ai), broad Faur (brud'füst).
AEU, the umlaut of AU (164-170),
“in good high German pronunciation
(ay),” is: —(ai) fr., häuser, mässe
(zhái'zer, máis): —(ay) sm. “more
careful pronunciation in. en. ed.,”
(shái'zer, máye): —(at) 1 pl.: —(aas)
2 pl.: —(x's) 2 pl., trautlein (trau'tl'lin):
—(ei) W., mässe (máis): —(uy) where
au from u is still (uu), which in SW.
becomes (ii), fünot (fünot), häuser
(zhái'zer).
AU, or du, older os, gothic os, which
in Scandinavian, low German, on upper
Rhein, and in most high German dia-
lcts, is almost always distinguished in
pronunciation from the former AU (171-
178) “in good high German pronunciation
(au), the same as the former au,” is:
—(aa) E., auch baum staub traum (aa
baam staub traam): —(au) W., and ed.
gen. —(aa) rr., glauben (glá스'be), baum
(baam): —(du): —(oo) 5 pl. (boom):
—(u) 2 pl. (bóum): —(ux) 1 pl. in
several words when (a) is not com-
mon, glauben (glaub): 1 pl. gen.
staub (stax'ub): —(wy) 1 pl. in some
forms where (ou) is not heard, glauben
(glaub).
AEU = duw, the umlaut of the last
AU = du (179-182), is not distinguished
from du where the latter becomes (aas,
na, uy'), where du = (au), duw becomes
(dii), where du = (oo), duw becomes
(ee), where du = (uu), duw becomes
(xi, ee).
E (183-208), “in those words where
good high German pronunciation has
(a, na),” is: —(a, aa), as sehen (saa),
gesehen (gahna), gehen (gaab gaa); and
2 pl. rr., fed (fild).
E, “that long o of certain words,
which, from the most ancient times in
all high German dialects, although not
in the same way in all, is distinguished
from the usual short a,” “in good high
German pronunciation (oe),” “the a of
the French” (art. 71) [with which
(o) seems to be confused], is: —(ai) 2
pl., kleo, sehnen (klée, shhain), ich geho
(i go), and 1 pl. for (m) before oh,
here, schlecht (shháks, shhálkht): —(x,
na) fr., beten, lachen (bez'ten, lëk'en):
—(x) gen. before [lost] m and n “ob-
served by nasализation,” mensch (mex'ach): —(aa) gen. before r, herr (hérr'):
—(a) 2 pl., eho (xe), reh (ré): —(x) sm.
short e before r, orde (sord), and 1 pl.
before i, other consonants, gold
peifer (galf péifar): —(x) fr. long
e, kleo sehnen (klée'shnh'), —(ee)
E, gen., even “in those words which
Adelung pronounces with ne); educated
people of our parts pronounce almost all o like (oo),” and sm. before l,
“when it is not pronounced in conjunction with it (mit diesem verbunden),” as gelb (geroil): (e) before l, gen. E. even ed., feld, geld (old, gold), and even (l) alone in 1 pl.: (e) before r in 1 pl. en., as ernst (ernst): (e) rr., as beten (beit'en); (e) E. en. en., “in most words which Adelung classes as (m),” as geben (gis'en), bleich (bleikh), “some of these words are peculiar to small districts”: (e), “before l, the (i) is mutilated in a peculiar way, which cannot be described, and must be heard.” E. in several pl. even ed., as stellen (sh't'ln), zählen (za'ni'n), and rr. before (r), herbst (shi'j'ret): (e), obscurely by nasilation before m and n: (e) before m and n 2 pl., dem (de'am): (e) 1 pl., seel, sehen, leder (li'z'al, shhi'bon, li'dar): (ti, ti, to) for o long, in several pl., schnee (shniz, shniz), geben (givn): (e) or “lost in unaccented root syllables” E. en., ordber (or'br), tagwerk (ta'bha), herberg (shhi'rb). E in initial syllables (200-216). Bér, ge, have generally (6). Bér-is am. only pronounced beforeLoanwords, as (be, bi, bi), and is otherwise lost, as b(i) erßen, b(i) den/en, b(i) halten, rr. (bi) long and accented, b(i)-feq, b(i)-haaq, b(i)-klem. Ge-ir fr. (ge, ge), “only in substantives, adjectives, and adverbs before Loanwords,” otherwise (g); fr. also the e being lost, g itself disappears before Loanwords, as biert=gibet, etc. Ent= (in't, un't) sm., and rr. (un't). Ver-very often (vor). E final (217-235). E as ending in nom. sing. of subst., “in good high German pronunciation unaccented (e),” is lost, gen. E. en. en. and fr. when used for -en fem., and sm. when used for -en mas.; but e from old -iis is kept as (-a, -t) in monie zuwe kurze lange gute, but it is omitted in N. E, as unaccented in dat. sing. and nom. and acc. pl. of subs., is gen. lost. E, as old adverbial ending for adjectives and participles, on the Danube is (e), on the Lower Inn (i), gar'tsaz gar'tsai entirely, (n-ta) neatly, etc. E, as nom. ending of adj. after der, die, das, is lost, gen. E. en. en., but rr. kept as (i, e). E, as fem. ending of adj. derived from old iis, is (ia, i, i) sm., eine rechte (e re'khts, a re'khts), more fr. (a re'khts), and sm. lost, eine gute (a guot). E in nom. and acc. pl. neut. derived from is, and of mas. and fem. derived from e and o, remains fr. as (e), gute herren (gwe'de), and fr. as (o), (guo'ta). “On the upper Neb, tn. en. the remarkable distinction is made, that e neut. from is is (a), and e mas. and fem. from e and o is lost, (dei) =diese herren, frauen; (dei)a =dieso weibere; (goud shfi o'kson, kei), gute schoene ochsen, kuhes; (goudo shi'ne'pfns), gute schoene pferde. Question: Wie viel Ochsen, Kuhes? Ans. (feio fivm zaks). Qu. Wie viel Pferde? Ans. (fei're fimf zaks). Traces of this very old distinction are found elsewhere. Between the Lech and Inn uneducated countrymen, to the questions: Wie viel aapfel, wie viel birnen? will reply, (fiar fivm zeks); but to the question: Wie viel häuser, kinder? E will reply, (to're fyrmf zekes). E as ending of the 1 pers. sing. pres., and 1 and 3 pers. pres., and, 3 pers. subj. of verbs, is lost, gen. E. en. en., as ich esse, wasche, macht, könnt, machtets (i is, xoaqgh, makh, kunt, makhtast). E in -en, -en, -en, -en, -et, is sm. (am), more fr. (a), or is quite lost, depending on preceding consonant, see under l, m, n, r, v, t below; “certain participles in end, et, by retaining e in pronunciation, have passed entirely over into the class of adj. and subs., E. en. en., as das (re'vad, shi'wad; ge'kati). [The important hearing of this German final e treatment on English final e has made me give this account at greater length.] E, derived from original (235-245), Gothic ei [for the other ei see A] “in good high German pronunciation (a)'a," is: (as) rr. in a few words, sei (sai); E regularly before t, as weii (bhahl); (a) E, gen. E. en. en. en. in more careful pronunciation: (di) in 1 pl.: (xes) in 3 pl., weia, ihr and (bheaa, ihr khe). W. gen. E. en. en., drea (dree): (i) according to origin S., and rr. in other places, as drea (dri), shrebben (shribh). (e) 1 pl. in bey mir (bo mia). EU (246-261), see also AEU = awm, “in good high German pronunciation (aw)," is: (as) E. rr. before l, as nauelzh (nay-zA); and in neut., drea (dra): (a) E, gen. E. en. en. en., as neu (nay): (a) 1 pl., es reut (rout) mich: (aw) on lower Mayn, especially tn., feuer (fa'vher): (di) fr., Deutsch (dildah): (aw) sm. before n, freund (frade): (aw) 2 pl., neu deutsch (naux dastab): —
§ 2. No. 8. i. BAVARIAN DIALECTAL CHANGES.

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(çı) lower Mayn, in. cn. ed. :—(ju) 1 pl., neu (niu):—(ii), properly (yy), 2 pl., deutsch (diitah):—(i) short 2 pl. in pronoun euch, when forming an unaccented suffix:—(iu) sm., neu (niu):—

(dii) sm.—(ou) 1 pl. —(di) sm.—(yy) 1 pl. "In none of these cases does eu sound according to its constituents, as the Spaniards pronounce it in Europa, namely (ę́), the Spanish sound is, I think, (ę́).

I, and also where ę́ is usually written for a merely long i (282–293), is:

(ści) E. cn. in Katharina (Katrá), Quirinusa (Kirá), anis furnis horribis paradisi (náis furnis nubris paradisi), in der Stadt (a ja da shtod, a ja-d shtod). [The interest attacking to the change of (ii) into (ści) induces me to add the following note at length:—

"Manuscript of the book of laws (Recht-buch) of 1332: EIN DER STAT, EIN DER STAT, for in der Stadt, in die Stadt. The form ein for the original in has maintained itself in the written language only in composition as (himein, eingehen). Written language has generally restored the original long i in many forms in which—following a high German inclination which was active even in very early times (nach einem schon sehr frühe wirksame hoch-deutschen Länge)—had been resolved into i. Thus, in the xiii. and xiv. centuries, not only was the present diminutive termination ein (na) was used for, but also the adjectival terminations -leich and -lein were pronounced -leicht and -lein, as: MINNIGELICH, HERLICH, WEIBLEICH, AUBLICH, HUZELICH, HÜRNICH.

Just as now we say latein from 'Latin,’ so formerly they said: MARTIN for Martin, CHRISTEN for 'Christian; and as we now have Artemey, Prost, they formerly used: SOPHIE, MAUR, PHILOSOPHY, etc., resolving the termination of 'a, -e, -i into ei:—(ści) before r gen., mir (mir), hirsch (hierstir), but is sm. pure, as (mi, shihs); sm. in other places, nicht (niht), nichts (nihs), ihm (iham), euch (iux), nieder (nie-dair):—(u) rr., as tisch (tisch), kind (kiund), fuchs (fuch):—(ii) gen. in. cn. in phrases like hab ich dich, lasse ich dich, thäte ich dir, denke ich mir (hoo-bodi, las-si, da-todo, daw-kome); and in many unaccented syllables, as -inn, -leich, -in, -lein = -lein:—lost sm. in inf. -ig, -lin = -lein, inn; gen. in. cn. in hat sie, ist sie, sind sie, gib es ihm, ihnen, lasst ihm (hats, ists, zinta, gips’-n, lau’n); and ich is lost in das werf ich dich, wenn ich dir es sage, so will ich dir es machen (do behr-fel, bheen dair zog, zu hul ders ma-hke).

IE (294–315), "Where the old language has ę́, io, ie, and io is a real diphthong in the southern high German dialect; in good high German pronunciation (ii)." The old diphthong io gave rise to io by obscurring u, and eu by obsurring i. The ie readily passes into i, and ew into ı of long. Verbs conjugated like bieten may in southern places interchange ie with eu, pronounced as (ści iu iu iu i), in 2 and 3 pers. sing. pres., and sm. other tenses and words. IE is called:—(ści iu) in 2 and 3 pers. sing. pres. of verbs conjugated like bieten:—(ii) in die, wie, je (ı, shi, i),—(ści) sm., as (ści, bhi, i), lieb, tief (lief, tief);—(ii) sm. in 2 and 3 pers. sing. pres. of verbs like bieten:—

(iu) sm. in last case, and some others, as biegen (biu-gg),—as (ści) or (n, a) before m and n sm.:—(ii) sm. in lieb (liib), and gen., wie die (vi die); these last two forms vary in other places:—

(ści) in the whole upper Rhine and Donau territory from the Voeses to Hungary, in. cn. and even ed. (die bhia lieb, lam’d) jemand:—(iu) rr. in particular cases, (tiuff diub) tief dieb:—

(ści) sm. in certain words and forms (töib, töib):—(ści) sm. dii:—(ści) or is lost in suffixed pron. sie, as ich habe sie (ikhnuh-ba), gib mir sie (ge-mersha).

O, short, often inclining to u, and in gothic u (316–324), see O = ę, is called:—

㈠ (ści) sm. lengthened before m and n, von sow hom baron (ziak oem bharaun):—

㈡ (ści) sm. before ı, kohi (nahul):—

㈢ (ści) sm. inclining to ı, fr., boden gold (booden gold), but (ści) is occasionally heard:—㈠ or (ści) rr. in some words before l, soldat solcher (scaldas-t
Bavaridialectal Changes.

B. (394-413) is:—(b), "pure Italian b," gen. tn. cn., at the end of words, lei(b); in the middle of words before consonants, or gi(b); uncertainly at the beginning of words, oscillating between (p, b) in (b)ey, (b)ier, (b)au, (b)rand:—(f) in a few words and places, as (a)er, gel(f)icht, kno(f)auk; ps(f)el, schnau(f)en, eui(f)el:—(p) gen. tn. cn., "pure Italian p, not an affected German p, after which a certain amount of breath may be perceived," at the

Consonants.
beginning of words "where the high German, with an uncertainty peculiar to himself, cannot make any consistent distinction between p and b, so that in romance languages he is prone to confuse beau and peau, bund and bound; a fault which declaimers seek to remedy by introducing p- in certain after-breath, especially in foreign words, so that for (p)anner, (p)ein, (P)alermo, (P)aul, one hears (p-pl)anner, (p-pl)ein, (P-pl)alermo, (P-pl)aul. This seems to have been the origin of the middle Rhenish (p-h), and high German pf at the beginning of non-German words. And it is to the circumstance that initial b has been used as p from the earliest times that there are so few genuine German words beginning with p" [see 1097, a\' , 1113, a\'. 1129, a\', 1136, a.]:—(p) before lost t, er git(p) = giot\', in which case, as always in such elisions, the remaining consonant is more strongly pronounced [that is, either (kipp) or (k1p), see p. 799, note, on energetic Italian consonants]; "it is also a rule that final consonants are strengthened when a terminal syllable follows, even when it consists of a lost vowel":—(pf) [probably (ppb)] when the initial syllable is reduced to (b), is welded on to a following (uh) or (rh), as (pfendt) behende, (pf)rait bereit:—(bb) except initially, gen. tn. cn., obacht, in the beginning of words from the Latin, (Rhena) Benedictus; "in -ben, this b pronounced as (bb) is fused into (bmm), that is (m)" [this is not distinct enough, compare the Westmorland and Cumberland (b) in this situation]:—often lost E. (bue) gro xhol kar] bube grub halb korb, sm. in the end middle, (uhen, gen gan) haben, geben [comparable to our loss of medial v].

C (414-415) is in E. words of Latin origin perfect (k), as in Italian:—se, sk, is sm. called st, sp.

CH, not initial (416-435), is as a rule (kh, kh\'), the following are exceptions. CH is:—(f) in E. cn., seif(f)t for seif, gift(f)t for gicht [compare our usual (f) for the lost guttural]:—(g) sm. in -lich followed by a vowel:—(gh, gb) E. cn. tn. at the end of uninflected words, (bogh) bach, (imagh) ich mache:—(k) before a gen., in -bach final and a few words:—(g) in the termination -lich, fruend\{liq, hers\{liq [compare our dialectal -ling for -ly, from ages. -lig]:—lost, fr. in various places, at end, (i) ich, (t\{d\) tuch; in middle after l, (h\{d\)ar welcher; after r, (a)ria) eine kirche; before s, (bha\{r\)so soachen; before t, (-it) -icht, (nit) nicht. It is in similar cases sometimes inserted, acheuwurm = asei [woodhouse], knichtel = knutel, (rou\{k\'}th\'}n) nuthe, (o\{k\'}them) othen [for athem breath].

D (436-461) is:—(d) pure final, medial between vowels, initial where the high German waivers between (t, d):—(g) rr. before l, (si\{g\}) sittel, a seat; rr. after n [it does not appear whether his ng means (q) simply or not, and as this change of nd into ng is interesting in connection with our participial -ing, I give his orthography in Roman letters: beng binden, bleng blind, feng finden, gefongo\{g\} gefunden, empfongo\{g\} empfunden, keng kinder, o\{l\}engo\{g\} linde]:—(r) before ending em, (b\{u\}ram) boden:—(z) gen. en. tn. initial, no constant distinction between (d, t) being made; E. cn. tn. at end and in middle before lost vowel, (xhant) hände:—lost, sm. at end, (bo) bad, (kah\{l\}) geseth: sm. between a vowel and final em, en, (bom) bodem; fr. after l, m, n, and before a terminal s, sm, en, or, the l, m, n, is then strengthened, (annor feller) ander felder, (bhu nor) scunder; sm. at the beginning of da, der, die, das, etc., (er-x i die taat) the dass ich dieses thiste; (r-sa ta) desto, (s)haim = daheim [interested in relation to the vexed question of dialectal 'at = that']. "When the article appears simply as (d), and the following word begins with an explosant, the (d) cannot be heard alone [für sich selbst]. The preparation made by the tongue to pronounce it can only be perceived by the greater distinctness [entschiedenheit] with which the initial sound of the following word is then heard," as in the region of upper Rhine and Danube [using his orthography in Roman letters], 'Bueben die bueben, 'Cutschen die Kutschen, 'Dieb' die Diebe, 'Gans 'Güns: die Gans die Gänse, 'Kunst die Kunst, 'Füllen die Füße, 'Tage die Tages, 'Zunge (die Zunge). The examples are quoted at length, because of the analogous case of the dialectal t for the in English, where I think (t\{t\}) is often heard, (1325 c). Certainly (t\{br\}b-n\{n\}), where the tongue is placed in position for (t) and the lips in that for (b), and (t\{b\}) must be distinguished from (ts\{s\}), which is rather (t\{bh\}) with a much louder
position of the lipo—is quite different in effect from (.buu‘b’n). The release from (t, b) simultaneously on to the vowel (uu) produces a perceptibly different glide as well as a distinct ‘hardness of edge,’ so to translate ent.

schiedenheit. Similarly for (t=kunst). But in (t, t, suq) nothing but (‘t, t, suq, .t, suq) occurs to me as possible.” “On the contrary, when this (t) occurs after vowels, it has the appearance of forming part of the word, and hence a radical initial (t) is sm. omitted as if it were merely the article,” (an ai-ks’l) for deichsel [carriage pole]. “And it is sm. prefixed where not radical,” (dor.

ar’born) everhobstien. [There seems to be a similar usage in am adder, a n, in English.]”

F (452-462) is:—(v) E. en. te. 

ed after vowels, as grau(y)t, kra(y)t, but elsewhere (f)—(pf) rr. initial.—(bb) rr. medial. FF, answering to low German [and English] p, is sm. (v) and sm. (f). F is rr. lost.

G (463-490) is:—(g), “pure French 

g,” fr. at end and middle of words, aw(g), ja(g)d, and regularly after n, [meaning (gg) f] but sm. only im-

mediately before consonants, as ma(g)d:— 

waver between (k, g) initially:— 

(k) sm. at end or middle, especially after d, s, t:—(gh, gh), “also in good high German pronunciation,” fr. at end or after vowels, in the termination -ly, sm. before consonants:— changes according to ancient custom into (b) before d, and in certain verbal termina-

tions st and t: jaid for jagd, maid for magd, du fraseit, er fraseit, gefolst, er gefolst, etc., from. This (st) is more usual along the Alpe than N. of Danube, and has the sounds described under EI, from (me) onwards.” [This is interesting in relation to the formation of diphthongs in English from ags. -ag, -ag]:—(k) sm. final after n that (as k) is said for (q) in Din(k), gesan(k), etc.—(q) rr. in ending -ig:—(t) fr. initial before l, n, (t)lanz = glanz, (t, m) genug, (t, nu-mu) genemen [compare English (dl) for (gl), and presumed Cumberland (maa) for know; but is not this (t, n) properly (d, n) f]:—(bb) rr. medial, (pluk-ben) piagen:—lost, fr. final and medial, before consonants, and final vowelless st, em, en, es, et, and sm. in 
an for -agen, the preceding vowel glides on to the n and is nasalised, so that all trace of g disappears; sm. the n is made (q), and the preceding vowel

not nasalised. The prefix go, reduced to (g), is heard before an expletive only by its greater distinctness, see (d) for dis, under D above. “G is sm. added in pronunciation to syllables ending in a vowel or I, n, r [using his spelling], E. rr. schangen schasun, ang au, hangen häunen, make hay, knieng knien; ilg, ilg litte, galg galg [interesting for the Westmorland usages, and also in Robert of Brunne];

sm. to s, sch, as fleing fleiss, michgen mischen.

If (491-502) is:—g [with some of its pronunciations] sm. in middle and end, and even commencement of some foreign words, as (grook’es) Hieronym

uus.—(g) fr. in the end and middle (in the Alps, in the Zillerthal, also at beginning) of words, and immediately before consonants:—

(bb) rr. medially, (gozaa’bha) geschen:— 

—lost, “as in good high German, in the middle and at end of words where spoken as above”:—fr. at beginning of suffixes her, hin, when following consonants, (a-bo, a-bi) for herab, hinab, sm. in -heit, (bou’sat) boseit. “H is sm. prefixed to words beginning with a consonant, as (nho)baus = abaus = hinab; (ub)art = art = ort; (nh)idrucken = idrucken [chew the cud]; (nh)inter = unter.” [These omissions and additions initially contrast strongly with the English habits.]”

J (503-506) initial is fr. (g), “that is, passes into the distinct consonant (g), just as so becomes (b),” (Gwuk! Jacb), and is added finally, especially after s, hence old s y t.

K (507-520) is: (kh, zb) sm. at end of stem-syllables after l, n, r:—(g) sm. at end of uninflected words; and after n [that is, (gg) is used for (qk):—(rr) (nh), especially after q, (heqnha) bank:—(k) pure, as in French, Italian, or Spanish, very gen. medially, sm. 

finally, gen. initially before l, n, r:—

(kh) “like a pure k with subsequent sensible breath, and also in all high Germany, en. te. ed.” initially before a vowel, (kh)alt, (kh)ind, (kh)om-

men, (kh)urs; sm. before a consonant (kh)lein, (kh)necht; in the same places medially and finally:—(t) rr. initially before l and n, (t, laa, (j, la) klum, (t, laa) ke, (t, nakht) knecht:—

lost rr. finally (muwu) musik. [The interest attaching to post-aspiration (1136, a) induces me to give the following note at length.]” “In low Germany
§ 2. No. 8. 1. BAVARIAN DIALECTAL CHANGES.

k does not receive the breath after it, which is common in high German; and this pronunciation ought to prevail generally if we upper Germans had only first learned not to confuse pure k with g,—because we should otherwise confuse g6, ge, gi, etc., with ka, ke, ki, etc., just as we now fail to distinguish gl, gn, gr, from kl, kn, kr. In Ca
tullus's verse: 'Chommoda dicebat si quando commoda vellet,' the ch appears to answer precisely to our k-h. [Ca
tullus's epigram is numbered 82 and 84, the whole of it is valuable.] This hard breathing (stark Hauchem) is common to many mountain people, as well as to us highlanders. Thus in the Apen
nines, the 'Gorgia florintina' is remarkable, and has earned for Florentines the nick-names 'hoboi, hahafagivoli,' because they persistently replace s by k. The Andalusian breathes the s in Arabic words, where other Spaniards omit it: 'Alhambra, Almohada, Alba
haceta, Atahona.' In the patois of the Voges, a strong breathing, like our ch, replaces even r, s and ch-choch (sex six), coc (coceae, les cuisses), gucho'' (garcon), mdcho'' (maison), ech6 (nece
cello, oiseau), etch (vert).'' [We see here the usual confusions about aspiration, post-aspirations, and guttural hisses.]

L (562-564), 'a certain obscure vowel-sound attaches to the semi-vowels (1 m n r), the sudden termination of which is what makes them really con
sonants; hence it acts as a pure consonant solely on those vowels which follow it in the same syllable, but on the preceding it acts to some extent (gewissermas
esen) as a vowel, by either forming a diphthong with that, is, slurred (legiert), or quite purely and not united with it at all, that is, unstressed (nicht legiert).''

There is a difficulty in exactly inter
preting the above into palaeotype. It
seems as if the first case meant ('l), or
where ('') forms a diphthong with pre
ceding vowel, so that all gold gulden =
(d'l) gol'd d'u'd'n), a complete fracture being established, and thus faul, pro
perly (faul), becomes (f'al), see under AU (1369, d). The second case would then be simply pure l, as (olg) alt, not (6'l).] L is:—(i) rr. finally, as
kaat for (kaat) Katharina:—
(i, j') after a, o, u, (6'id) alt [producing a suffracture], and, when after e, i,
this vowel becomes ['(j)', or indeter
minate palatal breath?]:—(l) fr. as

"generally in North Germany, only after e, i," (bald) k'ud; this (l) is gener-
ally preserved when a consonant has been omitted between it and preceding vowel, as (a) adel:—(l) gen. after e,
6, u, and an altered e, i, o, u becoming
(s, a, o, a). Final EL becomes wholly
('l) gen. on. tn. after liguals, and nearly ('l) sm. in stem-syllables, where the e or o would be otherwise ('j), as
(ern) h6lle. Initial FL, GL, KL, PL,
r. take ('l), as (blood) blatt. L is also
rr. (r), or lost before vowels, or added. LL medial does not shorten preceding vowel in E., so that fall qual
rhyme.

M and N (564-565) frequently nasalize the preceding vowel in Bavaria when it is (a, e, o), or when these are the first elements of a preceding diph
thong, making them (a, e, o), but do not affect a preceding (i, u, o). Such
sounds as (lam me6 na rai6 r, traum schoe6 n), common in North Germany,
never occur, but are replaced by (la m
ma6 n r, tra6m abx n). The nasali
zation is only omitted when an intervening consonant has been lost.

M (566-561) sm. sounds as (n) at end of stem-syllables, and even in dat.
sing.; after l, n, and also initially, it is
sm. (bh).

N (562-609) in stem-syllables, be
fore d and s, is sm. (m, mb, mp), and is sometimes m finally. N is gen. lost at end of stem-syllables, when no vowel
follows, and the preceding vowel is then nasalized. [Much is here omitted, as not of interest for present purposes.]
The final EN becomes (o n, 'n), very
frequently (o), and is often only shown by nasalising the preceding vowel. The ('n) alone,—becoming (m) after labials—is preserved in the E., and the
(o) alone in W., but, to avoid hiatus, the W. inserts the m before a following vowel. The E. also reinserts the m omitted in stem-syllables before follow
ing vowel. These habits give rise to an inserted pure euphonic n, where there was none originally, as wie-ni
sag = wie ich sage. In some words the
n of the article has thus become fixed, as (noest) = ast, and similarly an original n is omitted, as ganz aturl = natürlich.

NG (612-614) is generally (q), but
sm. (m), as (de dum du-mad du-mes)
for der dung (dunger) dungen; (ahu-
mar) = hunger; and -um is used for
-sung in E.

P (615-618) is (p), rr. (b): gy rarely
(by) final, and sm. (phh, pshh, ph?) initial — p-hann, p-kerd, p-haia, p-häfer — Pfanne, Pferd, Pfalz, Pfaffer.

Qu 620 is regarded as kw or gw, and the w is often omitted.

R 621-637, which is generally (r), changes the preceding (a) to (a, he, ãa), (u) to (oua), (e) to (a, e, eã, ia), (i) to (ma), (i) to (i, sa), (o) to (a, e, ão, oua), (e) to (oua), (e) to (i), (u) to (a, ãa, o, ãi, ãu), as already seen under the vowels. R initial "in some regions near the Alps, on the Rot and Ilz, etc., is pronounced with a very perceptible aspiration, a sound which seems to be the same as the old rs, as in HaopPFent, Hbaban," which W. writes as Hbr. [He has used ãa for gh.] Whether this sound Hbr is (rb) or (gh) it is difficult to say. In his own symbols he writes a' Hrah, a' Hirng, a Hronf, ghhrad, ghhour, ghhrind =geritten, and he says: "Before d, t, s, only the ãh of this Hbr is heard, as ãehh'd = erd, ãehh'd = kerd, fuhn't fort," etc. [which may mean (n'ogh, nh'og, fugh), etc.] In art. 633, referring to this place, he says, "At sounds as ãh or ch," which gives (kh) and not (gh). The phenomenon is very interesting, and should be examined. It may be only used after all.] R is: —(l) in a few cases: —(r) in W. almost universally; this is the case in part of E., with r, rr, at the end of stem-syllables, but rr is constantly considered as simple r in E. [which means that the preceding vowel is not "stopped," but may be lengthened, or glides on to the consonant with a long vowel glide; in fact is regarded and treated precisely as a long vowel, as in English]; the r, rr, have their due effect only before a following vowel. R may sm. be replaced by in the forms frirem verieren, but not in gefriæn verlieren; and sm. becomes s before s. [These interchanges of (r, s) are old, and valuable to note as existing.] R between vowels and consonants in stem-syllables is fr. lost, (dæf dæsf) dorf, and even after a consonant and before a vowel, as (ghod) grade, (sheqk) shrunk. In final syllables, when no vowel follows, R is usually lost in E., and is consequently euphonically inserted between vowels where there was no original r [precisely as in English], and this euphonic r occasionally comes to be fixed on to the following word, as (s ro'uzn) ein amen [beam]. An obscure vowel (o) is inserted between r and the following consonant in W., as (doraf) dorf [just as in our Irish after trilled r, in (wetrk) work, etc.].

S, SS, SZ 638-633. [Schmeller writes as for s, s, ss, of ordinary spelling, which comes from an old high German s with a tail, something like 3, and corresponds to Scandinavian and low German ts; and s, ss, for those s, as, which correspond to s in Scandinavian and low German. The ss is used after a vowel to a "stop" or "sharpen" it.]

S in E. en. in. ad. "is always soft = (s), not merely where it is so in good high German pronunciation, but even before t at uninflated forms," as (d) t, (i) t; bi(s)t [possibly (en, izd), as t=(d) at the end of uninflated forms in E., see below; (est, estz, ezzt) are, however, all possible. In the same places SS is (s) at end of uninflated forms, guei(s), lew(s), Prew(s), roz(s), and rr. in uninflated. SZ = s at end of uninflated forms, E. en. in. ad. S = (s), almost gen. en. in. ad after consonants, as daeh(s), niech(s); and E. en. after vowels in inflated forms; E. gen. before t in inflated forms, est(a)z, fa(st)en. SZ = (s) in the middle and at the end of inflated forms, in E., and sm. of some uninflated forms, "as in good high German pronunciation," as he(s), sm(s). S = (zh) initially, before p, t, s, quite gen. en. in. ad., and even before b in names of places, as Regensburg (r-yentsburg), Miesbach (mis-zbo), and occasionally before a vowel, as (zh)mat = mat [Schmeller uses here his sign for (zh), see SCH.]; S = (zh) fr. after st at end of words and syllables, usm(œ)zh, vouzh(zh), fur(œ)zh = für sieh; almost gen. en. in. ad after r and before t, dur(œ)zh, or also dur(œ)zh = durst. [Schmeller here distinguishes his two signs (zh, sh), and both are possible, (turtsh)z; most probable; his signs for (zh, sh) being (ko, hko, differ so slightly that confusion is inevitable, and hence I go by his original references to this place in his art. 92.] "S = (zh, zh) before p, t, and after every sound, from the upper Isar to the Voges, from the Speessart range to the Saar, en. en. ad.," Ang(œ)zh, bi(œ)zh, Ca(œ)per, Ha(œ)pol, he(œ)zh, it(œ)zh, hœnm(œ)zh, hr(œ)zh, lew(œ)zig, M(œ)zh, seyz(œ)zh, Schar(œ)zh, die scho(œ)zh. [Here I have given all his examples, because he refers to this art. 654, in both art. 92
for (zh), where the reference is misprinted 644, and in art. 93 for (sh), so that the variations, which are extremely remarkable, are intentional. The sound (zh) is generally unknown in Germany, its introduction in Bavaria, and generally the use of (z, b, d, g) final, are the exact German counterparts of the Somersetshire initial (z, zh, v) for (s, sh, f). To a north German these final (z, zh) are simply impossibilities, without long training.] In E. cm. in.

\[ \text{sch} \] = (sh) always medially, but finally it is (zh), except in E. before a lost final e. [Schmeller here, art. 667, note, says that this is the case "in good high German pronunciation, but only after long vowels and diphthongs: Eau(\(zh\)), Flo(\(zh\), dweit(\(zh\), whereas on the Nab they say mon(\(zh\), dweit(\(sh\))." Now, independently of the impossibility of (\(d\),t,\(zh\)), which should at least be (\(d\),t,\(zh\)), I certainly never noticed any high German pronunciation of final \[ \text{sch} \] as (zh), nor have I seen it noticed as occurring. Rapp (Phys. d. Spr. 4, 42), referring to Schmeller's upper German (zh), seems to have overlooked this reference to high German. Rapp considers it "more exact to say that popular speech everywhere uses neither (sh) nor (zh), but an indifferent sound lying between them, for which our theory has no sign." This couldn't be (\(zh\)), which would show itself in the usual way as (shazh) before and (shazh) after voiced letters. The interest to us lies in the Western English dialectal usages, their intimate relation with West Saxon, the use of Saxon f as v, the probable development of (th) from an original (dh), the dialectal habits of confusing voiced and voiceless letters, with the received sharp distinctions. Philologically these confusions are of great importance.

\[ T \] (668-681) initial \( (\text{t}) \), "pure Italian (t), not (th, \text{tnh}), but is often confused with \( d \)." [Schmeller complains much, in a note, p. 150, of that pronunciation, first, in the German pronunciation of foreign words, as T-hitan, T-hitius, T-hartarey, T-hee, T-hactus, T-hempsel, and adds:] "This inserted \( h \) after initial \( t \) is quite inappropriate in foreign words, but it is disgusting (unwellig) and affected (affectirt), and as it were a mere mockery of our hardness of hearing (wie Spott auf unsere Heftigkeit), when we hear it used in genuine German words by declaimers, actors, etc., so that we have to hear Tag, Tod, deutch, theuer, That, as T-heg, T-hod, t-heutsch, t-heuer, T-hat, etc.," and also almost universally in the middle and end of many words. But in uninflected forms, final \( t \), \( tt \), often become \( (d) \), which disappears before \( l \) and \( n \), as \( \text{oth}(d) \), blad(\(d) \), Go(\(d) \); (ber, \(d\),l,n) bettelm. [Here, again, Schmeller has a note implying that \( t \) final is \( (d) \) "in good high German pronunciation only after
long vowels and diphthongs: Blōd, brand, Hōd, Rad Rēa, rōd rōt, wēld wēldwēt, stōn Zāvēt. His symbols are left uninterpreted. This pronunciation is not usually admitted. TW medial becomes (p), gom. en. tn. (IPA 'pos) stōcā stōcē, and E. (arp'm nep'm 'sōm 'sōm,d) all = athēm. T or TT medial is sometimes (r), as (a'rəm) athēm, (bhīdar) wētter. T is often lost, in conjunction endings, after s, ech; but it is sometimes added after s, ch, f.

W (682-687), "as a w contracted to a consonant (zum Consenanten verkürzt), has usually the sound known in German," [certainly (bh) so far south as Bavaria. How can German (bh) be considered as a compressed (u)? A key is furnished by Helmholz, who says (Lehre von den Tonempfindungen, 3rd ed. p. 166, and p. 167 of my translation): 'for the vowels of the lower series, O (o in more) and U (oo in poor), the opening of the mouth is contracted by means of the lips, more for U than for O, while the cavity is enlarged as much as possible by depression of the tongue" (1283, b). This makes German w = (A₀), with tongue as if for (A), quite low, whereas English w has the tongue high. The proportion (A₀): (bh) = (u): (w), is perfectly correct. I have always assumed German w = English oo. This must be my faulty appreciation."

"This sound is sometimes so indistinct (unentsprechend) as to be scarcely observed," thus rr. (aal) wēlī, (ar'geq) ar'gwohn, (mi, dikhe) mit-wochen [corresponding to our (Grininsh) Greenweich]. "Sometimes it is too consonantal, and becomes quite (b), as (B)urzgarten for Wuergzarten," (bail, bos, bn) wēlī, wāsā, wō and after b, n, it becomes (m). Possibly mir for wir, common in all High German, has a similar origin. W is often inserted between vowels as a consonantal termination of an open syllable, (lets grebh-i) jēt set gewiich, (blos, jōshb-i) wās thuweich.

Z (688-690) initially = (t,s), after vowels sm. (s), finally, "in uninforced forms, it is soft" (d,z), as Bid(ik)d(z), Kio(d,z), Pla(ik)d(z) [which Schmeller admits to be good high German after vowels and diphthongs, as Kreus, Schweis, Gris, that is, (krāy,d,z, shōhī d,z, gāi d,z); this must be taken with his remarks on Sck (1387,e)], but before (even lost) inflectional syllables it becomes "sharp" (t,s), as (mi,t'n krāt,s) mit dem Kreus.

"On the Sharpening and non-Sharpening of Consonants" (691). [The German phrase "sharpening consonant" shows that it "stops" a vowel, that is, that the preceding vowel is short, and glides strongly on to the consonant.] "The peculiarity of the dialect east of the [river] Lech, [in Bavaria], in pronouncing a consonant at the end of uninfluenced forms soft [voiced], and lengthening the preceding vowel, when transferred to the pronunciation of literary German, is offensive to educated ears whenever the consonant should be sharp [voiceless] and preceding vowel short. Before the inflectional syllables the consonants receive their proper sharpening, and the lengthened consonants are generally shown by their diphthongal [fractured] dialectal pronunciation. Now when the native is speaking high German, he pronounces simple vowels, but it is repugnant to his feelings to lengthen them before the sharpened [voiceless] consonants. Hence he unsuspiciously shortens the long vowel before ch, taking the place of his own (gh), in brachen, Sprache, riechen, Buchen, fuchen, Kuchen; also before f in Schäfer, schlagen, streifen, trauf; before k in Ekel, Heken, spucken, erschreck, stak, buk; before z, with short vowel and distinct as, instead of with lengthened vowel before a somewhat (gemildertem) as [meaning (z) or (z)'], in Blöss, Flöss, Fäss, geniessen, gießen, gräszer, gräsen, and after this analogy, the South Germans say bitte für biten, blutten für blitten, Güter für Güter, ratten für raten, etc. This is properly a provincialism, to be avoided by educated speakers. Yet a similar error seems to have crept into the received high German pronunciation, in so far as a short vowel is used in several words before it, as Blatter, Natter, Pfatter, Mutter, whereas most dialects lengthen it as a, a." [This passage is quoted mainly to show how local habits override historical usage with respect to quantity, and especially to show the influence which voiced and voiceless consonants have over the real or apparent or accepted quantity of the preceding vowel, and to confirm my previously-expressed opinion (1274, b) that vowel-quantity, as an existing phenomenon in living languages and dialects, has to be entirely restudied on a new basis.]
ii. Winkler on Low German and Friesian Dialects.

In a note to p. 1323 I gave the title of Winkler's great Dialecticon, into which I had then merely peeped. It was not till after receiving the first proofs of the preceding abstract of Schmeller's researches on the comparative phonology of the Bavarian section of High German dialects, that I became fully aware of the necessity of devoting even more space to giving an account of Winkler's collections of Low German and Friesian dialects. Schmeller's researches shew the influence of precisely similar forces to those which have acted in producing the varieties of our own dialectal pronunciation, working on a sister language. Winkler's researches shew how the pronunciation of the same language as our own varies over its native, extra-British area. Schmeller's researches present most important analogies, and thus explain seeming anomalies. Winkler's collections, by being spread over such a wide region, remove the anomalies at once, and shew them to be part of one organic system.

English is a Low German language, much altered in its present condition, both in sound, as we have had occasion to see, and construction, under the influence of well-known special circumstances which have reversed the usual rule (20, a), and have made the emigrant language alter with far greater rapidity than the stay-at-home. On the flat lands in the Netherlands and North Germany the Low German language has, except in the single province of Holland, ceased to be a literary language. It has therefore been allowed to change organically, in its native air, instead of in the forcing-houses of literature. It is chiefly now a collection of peasant tongues, like our own dialects, with here and there some solitary exceptions, where the old citizens still cling to the old tongue they knew as children, or some poet, like our own Burns, gives it a more than local life.¹ There has been no reason for codification and uniformation. The language of education is merely High German, Dutch, and French, though the clergy have occasionally found it necessary to speak to the peasant in the only language which goes to his heart. Pronunciation, vocabulary, and grammar differ almost from village to village.

Low German is therefore much older than its apparent date, much older than English, much older than the English dialects. As I have gone one by one through the surprising collection of examples which Winkler has been happy enough to find and print, I have had most strongly forced upon me the conviction that Low German is two or three centuries older than our own dialects, and that it therefore presents us with a resuscitation of the Early English which we have hitherto met with only in the dead shape of old manuscripts. It gives a new meaning and force to our old orthographies and our old manuscripts; it shews in situ the dejecta membra which have been thrown piecemeal on our islands, and will, I think, allow us to reconstruct our language after its true type.

¹ Mr. Klaassen of Emden, an East Friesian, tells me that in his own country, as well as in England, dialects must be collected now or never. Even street labourers in Emden (specimen 37) now speak High German.
It may be said that this is all well known; that our Anglo-Saxon and Old Saxon MSS. and our many Low German specimens have done all this already. But MSS. represent shades of dialectal forms very few and very far between, doctored by literary men in the first instance, who, knowing Latin, and hence knowing a language grammatically taught, have endeavoured to force "improved" constructions on to their own language (we are still doing so), and, considering medieval Latin orthography another name for perfection, have endeavoured to give a regularity to the written forms of pronunciation which did not exist in reality. No blame is meant to attach to these efforts, which, had the language really fought its way to the literary stage, would have been most valuable, and, no doubt, have been most valuable, in paving the way for the dialect which ultimately prevailed. It is only for the history of language that such treatment of language is lamentable. For that, it poisons the stream at the source, and throws the observer and systematiser on false tracks. But further still, the MSS. we possess are but rarely original. They have been transcribed, and re-transcribed, and "edited" by early writers, to whom the very conception of correct tradition was unknown, and who indeed wished to "adapt" them to general use. Excluding then the horrors perpetrated by more modern editors, which the most modern are learning to eschew, the consequence is that the best old writings were the most exposed to literary deformation. It is difficult frequently to discover amid the mass of change what was the meaning of the author:—it is almost impossible to determine what were the sounds he actually used or meant to represent. The manuscript record of language reminds us, then, of the geological record of life. It gapes with "missing links," and the very links it furnishes are so broken, unconnected, disguised, charred, silicified, distributed, that it requires immense ability and insight to piece them into a whole.

Such collections as Winkler's furnish the missing links, erect the fossil animals, and make them breathe and live. We have no longer to guess how such a radical change as we foresee on examining our museums could have occurred,—we see it occurring! And it is this feeling that has induced me to devote so much space to an account of Winkler's collections. Those who can read Dutch should study the original, and pursue it into its details. In the mean time I believe that even the following mutilated presentation of his work will prove one of the most essential parts of mine, by making my readers feel what must have been that Early English, to which we owe the texts that our Societies are now issuing, those English dialects which still prevail in a continually dwindling state, and finally the English language itself as it exists to-day.

Winkler's work presents many difficulties to an Englishman. In the first place, it contains 948 closely-printed pages of Dutch, a language which few Englishmen read with the necessary fluency. In the next place, the Parable of the Prodigal Son, which was selected as fullest of peasant life, is presented in versions written by very numerous contributors, and each in his own orthography, very
little, if at all modified by Winkler himself, and often insufficiently explained. These orthographies are, however, greatly more intelligible than those used by Englishmen, as, for example, in No. 10 of this section, because the High German, Friesian, and Dutch orthographies are themselves much more phonetical, and hence form a much secure basis, to those that know them, than our own. But, in the first place, the generality of Englishmen do not know them. Then their sounds are decidedly different in different parts of the countries, where German and Dutch are spoken as the languages of educated people. And, lastly, the sounds to be represented were frequently not to be found in these languages, and hence signs for them had to be supplied conventionally, and of course different writers have fancied different orthographical expedients. Hence a direct comparison of the different dialects from the letters used in Winkler’s book is not possible. It seemed to me therefore that I should be doing some service if I merely reduced the whole, albeit it but approximatively, to my own palaeotype. In working out this conception, I have, however, met with considerable difficulty, and I am fully aware how faulty many of my interpretations of these versions must be, especially in delicate distinctions of sound. But I trust that I come near enough for a reader who glances through the following extracts to arrive at general conclusions.

As regards High German, a long residence in Dresden, and considerable attention paid to the varieties of local pronunciations, have made me tolerably well acquainted with its sounds; but I have not resided and scarcely passed through the Low German districts. This occasioned me great difficulties. I have not felt sure as to the sounds given in High German on the spot from which the writer came to the vowels a (ä, a, ah), ë (e, e, ë), or o (o, o, o); and as to the diphthongs ei (eï, ai, ëï), and eu (ôi, ëi, őy, ỹy, oh’y, oo’y). I have therefore, except when especially warned, contented myself with (a, e, o, ei, oo’y). I selected (ei) because the late Prof. Goldstücker of Königsberg objected to my calling ei (äi), which is the general Middle German sound; and I selected (oo’y) because Rapp gives this or (oh’y) as the North-East German pronunciation of eu, and because, where eu was used, the sound (ōi) appeared impossible; whereas even Donders would have said (oo’r); see (1292, d) and (1101, b) for the Dutch and (1117, o) for the German. The o might be (oe, o), I have selected (oe). Thus my vowels are (a, e, i, o, u, ø, y,) and (e) for the unaccented e, unless specially warned that other sounds were meant, and then I have selected the others in the series on (1285, ab) which seemed to be indicated by Winkler. I have treated the Dutch spelling in the same manner, so that Dutch eu appears as (œe), u short as (œ), us as (œi), etc. For particulars of Dutch vowels I was fortunate in having Mr. Sweet’s trustworthy report given on p. 1292. For Friesian I have had mainly to rely on Winkler. But I received some valuable ëææ æææ hints from two West Friesian gentlemen born at Grouw (see specimen 87* below), and an East Friesian lady born at Emden (see specimen 37 below). The reality of the fractures, together with many points of interest
which I have detailed in the specimens cited, and in the notes appended to them, were thus made clear to me.

The consonants presented another difficulty. I have given p, b, k, as written, and used (t, d) for t, d, although the latter ought almost certainly to be (t, d). It is a point of considerable interest in relation to English usage, which I have not yet been able to settle. My impression is that the dental (t, d) are original even in English, but this is scarcely more than an impression. The (pt, tj, kp), see (1097, a' 1129, c), I have not even thought of discriminating. There were a few allusions to them, but not safe enough for me to deal with. The g is a great difficulty. Finding that the Emden lady used (gh) or even (ch), although the specimen was written on a High German basis, and hence had simple g in all cases, I have used (gh) for g throughout; but my West Friesian authorities more generally used simple g (gh) initially. This (gh) will be right for Dutch dialects no doubt, but may be erroneous initially for the North-East of Germany.

As to b, d, final, I have "followed copy," but no doubt the rules of Dutch, given at (1114, b, c), are carried out pretty generally. My Friesian authorities did not wholly agree in their practice, and I did not think it safe, therefore, to change anything.

The initial s in German I have treated as (z), and the initial sch as (sh) in the German and (skh) in Dutch. I have felt doubt at times whether the German writer's sch did not also occasionally mean (skh) in Low German. The Dutch sj I have generally left indefinitely as (aj), the Polish sound, intermediate between (s, sh), and only rarely made it (sh) when this seemed certain. The sj in Friesic I have made (tj, tj, ti-), the latter before a vowel. My Emden authority repudiated (tah) in such places, but my West Friesian authorities were more distinctly in favour of (tah), although (tsi-) still seemed to linger. Certainly (si-, ti-, tsi-), diphthongising with the following vowel, were older forms. The case is similar to our nation, nature. The final Brussels "sneeze" (see specimen 156), which Winkler writes fjsj, I have left as (tjsj), which may be called (t.sh) or (t.shj), with very energetic (.shj).

The glottal r (r) is not sufficiently marked in Winkler. All the final r’s in the North of Germany are very doubtful. They are not the Italian lip-trilled (r), and at times fall into (r), perhaps, see (1098, c). I have generally left them, but have sometimes written (r). There is also a peculiar d on the North Coast of Germany, into which r falls, and I am almost inclined to consider this as (ra), which is certainly not an r in the usual sense of a trill, and which is ready to become (d, dh, l, z) or a vowel. This is not marked by Winkler, and hence is left unnoticed.

The w I have given as (bh), except where it is expressly stated to be "English w." In the Netherlands this will probably be right, and all my authorities used it in Friesian. The v I have left (v), even in the specimens written on a High German basis; but my Emden authority said (‘v), and told me that the sound lay "between" (f) and (v); and one of my West Friesian authorities
volute Teed the same remark. An ini Tial (fv-) will be quite near
enough, like the High German ini Taal (sz-) and our final (-sz), see
(1104, c). The difference between v, w, was strongly marked by all
three. See also Mr. Sweet's remarks (1292, c).

The a I have left as simple (n). It is no doubt often (n, h, h),
see (1132, d), and was distinctly so spoken by my Friesian
authorities; but as it is also frequently omitted altogether, and
also frequently misplaced, or regularly used where no a is written,
I felt too much doubt to venture upon any but a conventional sign.

Some other peculiarities are noted as they arise in the specimens.
The account of the pronunciation of Antwerp (specimen 160) and
Ghent (specimen 168) prefixed to the specimens, and the complete
transcription of the Parable in the West Friesian pronunciation
(specimen 87*), will be of assistance.

As to the length of the vowels, I have often felt much un-
certainty, especially in North Germany, but I have followed the rule
of marking the vowel as short unless the writer clearly indicated
that it was long. Perhaps I have been wrong in treating Dutch
oe and ie as representing (uu, ii); Mr. Sweet and Land both say
that these vowels are short in literary Dutch (that is, pure
Hollandish), except before r, but this gives no way of expressing
the long sound in the dialects. It did not seem to be a sufficient
reason to make the vowel long in Low because it was long in
High German. There are too many examples of exactly contrary
usage in this respect, see the Bavarian usages on p. 1368, col. 2.
In literary Dutch, as in English, length often determines quality,
but not so dialectally, and we have Winkler talking of "imperfect
vowels" (short in closed syllables) being made "perfect" or "half
perfect" (long or medial in open syllables). In such cases of
course the converse is also true, and quality gives the feeling of
length, see (1271, b).

These remarks are sufficient to show the difficulties to be over-
come in this reduction, and the amount of allowance that has con-
sequently to be made by the reader for the necessarily imperfect
transcription here presented. Enough however remains, I trust, to
make the result very valuable to the student of comparative
phonology, the basis of comparative etymology.

Winkler's work gives 186 numbered and some unnumbered
versions of the Parable of the Prodigal Son, Luke xv. 11-32. The
unnumbered ones are chiefly older forms from books, and there are
also a few other book forms, and the two last numbered specimens
are in a species of slang, very peculiar and interesting in other con-
nections, but not in the present. Hence I have confined my at-
tention to the first 184 numbered versions. It might be thought
that the number could have been materially reduced without in-
convenience. But many links of the chain would thus have been
snapped, and the completeness with which Low German and Friesian
will be represented in this book from the borders of Russia to the
Land's End in England, and from Magdeburg in Germany to
Caithness in Scotland, would thus have been defeated. It is the
very completeness of the view, in which all these forms of speech are represented in one alphabet, thus rendering comparison easy and direct, that forms its great value to the student. And though the subject translated is not the same in England as abroad, yet there are practically only two subjects, Winkler's Parable and my Comparative Specimen; for Prince L. L. Bonaparte's Songs of Solomon are given below in glossec, and not in palaeotype. It would, of course, have been impossible to reproduce the whole Parable in palaeotype. Hence a selection of a few verses and phrases has been made, the same for each as far as was practicable, which was not always the case, on account of the very free treatment of the subject by some of the translators. As indeed each verse is frequently treated very differently, I have thought it best to prefix in English the general character of each fraction of verse given, and when anything out of the way occurs, to annex the translation in the specimen itself. All such notes and additions are bracketed, so as not to interfere with the general palaeotype. Each verse is numbered for the same reason. Sometimes a few additional words are given. As another basis of comparison, I prefix the literary High German and Dutch versions, as given in the usual editions used in churches, and I have added the pronunciation, as well as I could.—not distinguishing (t, d) however. The Authorised English Version according to the original edition will be found above, p. 1178, and the present literary English pronunciation of it, as given by Mr. Melville Bell and myself, occurs on p. 1171. The older Wycliffite Version and its conjectural pronunciation are given on p. 740; the Anglo-Saxon Version and conjectural pronunciation on p. 534; the Modern Icelandic Version of Mr. Magnússon, with the pronunciation as gathered from his own lips, on p. 550; and the Gothic Version with conjectural pronunciation on p. 561. Hence the comparison can be carried backwards to the oldest records, and most divergent modern forms. It would of course have been advisable to have the Danish and Swedish versions, and especially the various Norwegian dialectal forms, to compare; but these I am not able to give.

The arrangement is geographical. The countries and provinces are numbered with Roman numerals, and distinguished by capital and small capital letters. Winkler's Dutch name is generally placed first, and then the German, English or French added, with a reference to the volume and page of his book. Where he has distinguished linguistic districts, as the Low German and Friesian, by separate sub-headings, these have also been introduced in small capitals. The place to which each version relates is numbered in the usual Arabic numerals, and printed in Italics, first as given by Winkler, and then, if necessary, in English or French, and its style as district, city, town, small country town, village, or hamlet, is added. As the names thus given are not very well known, and indeed were sometimes not to be found on maps, I have added the latitude and longitude from Keith Johnstone's Index Geographicus, which is generally correct enough for finding the place, although I have detected a few glaring errors occasionally. When the name
could not be found even there, I have added the name of some town or village which is mentioned by Winkler as adjacent, and which could be there found. The reader will therefore find no difficulty in referring each version to its proper locality. The reference to Winkler is added as before, and occasionally a few words of explanation are subjoined to the title of the specimen; but the necessity for brevity has caused me generally to omit such remarks, and always to abridge what I have given. They are generally on Winkler’s authority, and substantially in his words.

These arrangements preclude the necessity of an index. The student fixing on any word in any verse can trace it through its various forms with great rapidity. The words selected had always especial reference to our English habits. Thus:—

The omission or retention of final -e or -en is shown by: 11 had, 12 dealt, 15 the swine, to feed, heed or watch, 18 I have, 22 the best robe, shoes, his feet, 23 a or the fattened calf, 24 is found, 25 his eldest son, in the field, near the house, he heard, 29 with my friends. It will also be found in some versions, especially in Belgium, that -e has been added on, so that the use and disuse of the -e has become a mere matter of feeling, independently of any supposed origin.

The passage of a, not always original, (ii) or (ee) to an (ai) form is well shewn by: 11 two, 12 he, dealt, 15 swine, 22 his, 24 my, 31 my, ever with me. It will be seen how local such changes are, and how impossible would be the hypothesis of an original (ai) sound of e in English. The word 12 dealt was selected with especial reference to the forms in Havelok, supra p. 473, and it thus appears that there is no occasion to assume Danish influence for such a form as to deyde, but that Low German forms fully suffice; and subsequently, when we come to English dialects in the East of Yorkshire, we shall see how rooted such forms still are in England.

The changes of the (uu) and (oo) are well shewn by the words:
11 sons, 22 shoes, feet, 24 dead, 25 son, house, 27 brother.

The changes of (a) may be traced in: 1 man, 18 father, 22 clothes, 23 calf, 25 came.

The changes of (e) in: 1 man in the form menech, 11 dealt, Gothic aí, 25 field, 27 friends properly (i). For or falling into ar see 15 farrow.

In addition to this, the great number of fractures which occur, especially in the Friesian dialects, are very observable. An examination will, I think, fully justify the application of the laws (supra p. 1307) which I had previously deduced from English and Bavarian dialects only. But this is a subject requiring extensive additional inquiries.

For the consonants the chief points of interest seem to be the following. The lost r and interchange or loss of h have been already referred to. But the approach of d to (dh) in parts of North Friesian (at least according to Winkler, my East and West Friesian authorities knew nothing of it, and it may be a Danism in North Friesian), and of w to (w) in the same (according to Winkler again), marks the tendency more fully developed in English. It is ob-
servable that we have English dialects (as in Kent) where the (dh) of pronouns sinks to (d). The loss of (dh) in most Low German dialects and its preservation in Anglosaxon, English, and Danish (the last only final and medial), or its transformation into (th), is a point which still requires investigation.

The loss of final -d, either by passing through (r) or (h) and then vocalising to (o), or by passing through (u) and then vocalising to (i), is remarkable. We have the old Latin and modern Italian loss of final -d in quite another domain. But in Low German it presents peculiar features, and it is further complicated by its medial disappearance. Compare especially the various forms of 11 had, 15 feed or heed, 18 father, 22 clothes, 27 brother, and again after l, 25 field, and after n, 24 found, and 29 friends. The treatment of n in such cases as (q) in many dialects is singular, as is also the frequent lengthening of the vowel preceding (q). The change of (q) final into (qk) was perhaps more frequent than is marked. That l in 23 calf should have been almost uniformly retained is, in consideration of the loss of d, and frequent loss of l before s in 25 as, very remarkable. But the word was frequently dissyllabic, and has some very strange forms.

The (gh) has already been referred to. On the locality whence our ancestors came, its existence is undoubted. Even Holsteiners are accused of saying (khuń’-tar Khot), and we know that Berliners indulge in (jnu-ter Jot). The change of (gh) to (j) is not unfrequent in the word 18, 31, you. Combined with the elaborate Icelandic treatment of g (see p. 543), and the English reductions of Anglosaxon g, it renders the guttural character of this last letter (512, d) nearly certain.

These hints are merely for the purpose of drawing attention to some salient points which have engaged our attention hitherto. The Low German seems almost to settle some of these disputed points, especially long i, ei and ai, and final -s. As to the open and close e and o, their treatment has been remarkably different. They have generally been distinguished by the different courses which they have run; but this has by no means always favoured the change of the close to (ii, uu), and the preservation of the open. On the contrary, the close tend to (ei, óu), and the open to (i, u). This fracturing is very remarkable at Antwerp (specimen 160), and when completed by a juncturing, would often lead to precisely opposite results, making the open vowels thin, as (ii, uu), and the close vowels diphthongal, as (ei, óu), which result again in broad (ë, oo, œ, åå). In the examples as written, when no actual change was made in orthography, I was obliged to take refuge in an indifferent (e, o); but when any marks or directions justified me, I have distinguished (œ, e, ë, æ) and (o, o, œ). Winkler himself comes from Leeuwarden in Friesland, where, however, a variety of Low German, not Friesian, is spoken (specimen 91), so that I cannot feel certain that I have rightly understood these indications. Mr. Sweet tells me that there is no (ë) in literary Dutch, but only (ëi), the rules in grammars being purely orthographical. But Winkler continually inveighs against the prevalence of Hollandish
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pronunciation. The general consideration of this very difficult subject of the double pronunciation of s and ð, especially in reference to Early English, on which Mr. Sweet has recently made some important studies, in his "History of English Sounds" (Trans. Phil. Soc. 1873–4, pp. 461–623), is reserved for Ch. XII. (supra pp. 1318–21).

Preliminary Versions.

i. English version corresponding to the general forms of Low German versions in the passages selected from Luke xv.

11 a certain man (mensch, married man, churl, rich man, father) had two sons (lads, young ones, young men, unmarried men, servants). There was once (one time, one turn) a man (etc.) who had two sons (etc.).

12 and he (the father, the old man) divided (dealt) his (the) property (goods, estate) among them (both, each other). and he did it. and he gave each his part (portion, lot, effects). he gave them-people (usual polite Dutch ambliciend for them) their (etc.). he gave the younger his mother’s inheritance.

15 to feed (heed, watch, guard) swine (farrow). to be a swindedriver, swineherd.

18 father, I have sinned (done wrong, misbehaved, done sins, done evil, done unseemly) before (towards) you.

22 (haste and) bring (fetch, haul) forth immediately (quickly, nimbly, in an instant) the best (gladdest, smartest, Sunday’s, Easter’s) robe (pack of dress, chest-dress, store-clothes, breeches with silver seams) and put (draw) it on him,

and give (do, put) a ring (finger-ring, gold-ring) on his hand (finger) and (new) shoes (with buckles, boots) on his feet (legs, used politely for feet).

23 the fatted (masted, fat) calf.

24 for this my son (son of mine, man, lad) was (as good as) dead, and he is found (caught) again.

26 but (meanwhile) the eldest son was in (on, upon) the field (acre, mark, for work, for some days, and knew nothing of it), and as he then (now) nearer to (close to, within a bowshot of) the house (farmyard) came, he heard music (singing) and dancing (playing).

27 your brother.

29 that I might (can, may) make merry (have a feast, jollification) with my friends (mates, comrades, companions). to treat my friends (etc.) to eat it (the kid) up with my friends (etc.).

31 my son (child, young one), thou (you) art (are) always (ever, all times, always all times) with me.

Lukas, Hoofdstuk 15.

ii. Dutch Version.

Ordinary Spelling.

11 een zeker mensch had twee zonen.

12 en hij deelde hun het goed.

15 om de zwijnen te weiden.

18 vader, ik heb gezondigd tegen (voor) u.

22 brengt hier voort het beste kleed, en doet het hem aan, en geeft eenen ring aan zijne hand, en schoeoen aan de voeten.

23 het gemeste kalf.

24 want deze mijn zoon was dood, en is gevonden.

25 en zijn oudste zoon was in het veld, en als hij kwam, en het huis genaakte, hoorde hij het gezang en het gerei.

27 uw broeder.

29 op dat ik met mijne vrienden mogt vrolijk zijn.

31 kind, gij zijt altijd bij mij.
iii. High German Version.

Ordinary Spelling.

11 ein mensch hatte zween sohne. 11 tin mensch ha-to tabbene zzn.
12 und er theilte ihnen das gut. 12 und er tāi-lte i-nn das guut.
15 der saeu zu hueten. 15 deor zāi-rs tea hyy-t’n.
18 vater, ich habe gesundiget vor dir. 18 faato, skj hij saa-bo gesyn-
22 bringet das beste kleid hervor, digkeit foer dir.
und that ihn an, und geber ih einen 22 brrijt dat bste klaid hortet,
fingerreif an seine hand, und schueh an und tunt ihn an, und geber ih sim s’n
seine fuess. frorrraif an zai-ne handt, wat shuu-o
23 ein gemasstetes kalb. an zai-ne fyy-sa.
24 denn dieser mein sohn war todt, 23 tin gemasstes kalb.
und ist gefunden worden. 24 dann dii zer main zoon bhaaz
toedt, und is gefswnden bhord’n.
25 aber der selteste sohn war auf 25 ahb bor dar elktste zoon bhaar
dem felde, und als er naa-zu tsenn
der selteste sohn war auf dem felde, und als er nah-tu zu hau-so kaam, horteto oer das ganz- und den rai-gijhun.
27 dein bruder 27 dann bruuder.
29 dass ich mit meinen freunden 29 das skj mit mai-nen fröindes
froehlich waere. frw-ljik bheaer.
31 mein sohn, du bist allezeit bei mir. 31 main zoon, duu bist a-le-tsha
bái miir.

ABSTRACT OF WINKLER’S UNIVERSAL LOW GERMAN AND FRIESIAN DIALECTION.

I. RUSSIA. I. 1.

[The German inhabitants of Estho-
nia, Livonia and Curland were origi-
inally Low German; and though High
German is now exclusively spoken, it
has a strong Low German colouring.]

II. GERMANY. I. 3.

[North of a line from Aix-la-Cha-
pelle, Cologne or Bonn by Göttingen
and Wittenberg to Berlin, and thence
to Koenigberg, the language is Low
German, except two little parts of
Oldenburg and Schleswig, where Frie-
sian prevails, and some parts of Pome-
rania and East and West Prussia, where
Cassubian, Polish and Lithuanian are
spoken. This part of the Low German
language is divided into Low Saxon
and Low Frankish, and is generally
called plattdeutsch, and plattdeutsch
(plat-tdoitsh).]

III. EAST PRUSSIA. I. 6.

11 en mensch ha-de tabbene zennas.
12 on hei deelte ena dat hhood.
15 deo sör-to nwce de. 18 vaaard, enk ze bo gheyndiget vet dii. 22
bright dat bste kleed nertet, on
doort en dat an, on gheef em
zeen frierrif an zii-ne hand, on
shoo en zii-ne foet. 23 een
ghomme-stet kalf. 24 den dier-s en mu-
zaan bhaar doot, on hei oes ghefwoode
bhoertde. 25 aab bor deo oester aan
bharr oop de ferlda. on en hei nes
tom nuus en zenn heorten de dat
ghaaz en dan reighan. 27 diin
brooder. 29 dat enk med mi-nen
fröind en froelik bheere.
31 en main zeen, duun best a-le-tsha
bit miir.

IV. WEST PRUSSIA. I. 12.

11 aab bhaar maa unen dat néi
tod deh heen. 12 on hei deere
do ena zin ghauad.
16 de shhiin tuum
heente. 18 vaaard, enk heeb abbaa
zindiket veer dii. 22 haaild zu dat
bste kleed on treld-em dat an,
on ghremeht-an en-n riqk an zii-ne
hand on shoo up de feet.
23 eem
maatkaib. 24 den dis miin zenn
bhaar doo diik,
on hei es nuu bhe-der-
faaq. 25 aab bhaar an ieler en
zhenn bhaar up det feld,
on en hei
zheerh keem an-t nuus daa hheord
heii riq-qa oek daniste.
27 diin
broorder. 29 dat enk kun lo-tshik zii-miir
frind. 31 en main zenn, duun best a-morth
bi mii.

V. POMERANIA. I. 20.

11 en minsh haar tbhee zecken. [described umlaut of (AA), between (EE) and (OE), opener than the first, daller than the second; it may be only (oh), it may be (uh); it is most probably one of the three (ee, oh, uh.).] 12 un ne deel-ide en dat ghoost. 15 de zhibbi too teec-o-den. 18 vaadar, ik hef sy ndikht vor dii. 22 briigt dat besta kleet ner un doott om dat an, un ghet om ee-nan fiqor-rijik an zii-ne hant un shoo up zii-ne fect. 23 en man-kef-lf. 24 den dees min zecken bhas doot, un is fun-nun boh-rn. 25 de oelde zecken oec-verst bhas up-n-feld un as ne dikh't an-t huus kam, nroder he dat si-quen un da-nteun. 27 diin brooder. 29 dat ik mit mii-ne fry'n-n luwitik bhii. 31 minn zecken, duu by ster me mi mi.

4. Rugen, island (54 n 30, 12 e 30). I. 25. 11 en minsh haar tbhee zecken. 12 un ne deelt en dat ghoost. 16 de zecken to teec-o-den. 18 vaadar, ik heb syn-dicht vor dii. 22 briigt dat besta kleet ner un trekt om dat an, un ghet om ee-nan fiqor-reep an zii-ne hand un shaa aan zii-ne foet. 23 en ut-tung kalf. 24 den diis min zecken bhaas doot, un is fun-nun boh-rden. 25 een-heer de oel-sta zecken bhaas in 'n feld, un as ne dikh't an d't huus keem hytt ne dat zii-quen un da-nteun. 27 diin broo-ver. 29 dat ik mit mii-ne fry'n-n kun froeck-liek zii. 31 minn zecken, duu bist a't-tiid bi mi.

VI. Brandenburg. I. 28.

5. Neumark, district about Frankfurt on the Oder, town (52 n 21, 14 e 32). I. 29. 11 ta-ha-de -n minsh haar zecken. 12 un de ol deel-te [spelled dheel-te] dat ghoost. 15 de zhibhi neee-on. 18 VAA'r, ik heebb syn-nicht vor dii. 22 seekt dat besta kleet foekar un trekt-t om an, un stackt om 'n rigk an zii hand, un ghoeckbt om shoo fer zii boen. 23 'n gom-bst-kab. 24 den diser minn zecken bhiih doot un zii is bheer-fun-n. 25 Aab-bher de oelde zecken bheer up-feld, un aar' nau huutz keem hytt-r dat ghao-zu an ghedaunte. 27 diin brdor. 29 dat ik mit mii-ne fry'n-freewlik zii kun. 31 minn zecken, doo bist a't-tiid bi mi.

VII. Saxen, in English Prussian Saxony. I. 33.
[About Magdeburg; the kingdom and dukedoms of Saxony are Upper Saxon.]

6. Altmark, district from Suelwedel, town (52 n 51, 11 e 9), to Stendal, town (56 n 36, 11 e 51). I. 34. 11 een minsh haar tbhee zecken. 12 un de VAA'der gheef-t-om. 15 de zhibhi ne teec-o-ghan. 18 VAA'dor, ik hef mi zoole sleekht bedaa-ghan. 22 briigt dat best kleet, un trekt-st-om an, un ghet om ee-nan fiqor-riq an zii-ne hand un shoo-ee an zii-ne fecte. 23 een gom-bst kalf. 24 dys minn zecken bhas doot, un is bheer funden. 25 de oelde zecken von-feld rin kam thn dat si-quen un da-nteun heert. 27 zii bruaddor. 31 minn zecken, duu bist a't-tiid bi mi.

7. Meitendorf, village, in environs of Magdeburg (52 n 9, 11 e 38). I. 37. 11 et bhas an minsha de harte tbhee zii-ne. 12 un nee-dei-ido unnder eer zein als. 15 de zhibhi ne teec-yon. 18 VAA'dor, ik har syn-nde daan vor dik. 22 haalt mi dat besta kleet vor 'n bo'den un trekt om dat an, un 'n rigk doan zii-ne fiqar un shauw-an zii-ne foer-ta. 23 en foet-kalf. 24 den diser min kint bhas dood en ik nebe om nuu funden. 25 derbhii-le bhas da grot-tete van de zecken op 'n feld. As de VAA-e bi dat huus kam dun harte ni de muzi kie un dat ghazique. 27 diin bruandor. 29 dat ik miik kun-dit luwik baa-kam mit mi-ne fryn. 31 minn kint, duu bist ales tiid bi mik.

8. Hohen Dodelenberg, village, in environs of Magdeburg, see No. 7. I. 41. 11 et bhaar maal en mensch, der harte tabhee jurunz. 12 un nee-dei-ido unnder see zii-ne hoof. 15 de zhibhine te teec-yon. 18 VAA'dor, ik nebe syn sadaan vor dik. 22 seeyk dat besta kleet voor un trekst om an 'n rigk doant an zii-ne nee-un shauw-an zii-ne foer-ta. 23 'n kalf dat om-st is. 24 den diser minn zoeeme bhaar doot, un hei is asuun. 25 der-bhii-le bhaar da grot-tete van de zoeeme op'n fels, un als hei dikke an-t huus kam dun harte nei de muzieek en dat ghedaunte. 27 diin
bráudder. 29 dat ik mikt he'se'ken lu'skip maa'kon mit mi'ns fried-shap. 31 miin kint, duu bist a'łatiti bi mikt ihebht.

VIII. MECKLENB. I. 46.

11 daar bhsa maal eens en man, de' heaar tbehe zeezens. 12 en de va'ter deel's en dat farmeaghe'en. 15 de zhibhin to he'ce dan. 18 va'ter, ik mëf mi fersy'night ghee'ghe'n dii. 22 briq't den a'lerbe'ston rok heer en trekt om den an, un stekt on non riq an'n fiqer un gheebht em shoan an zi'iis foc'te. 23 'n fe'ta' kalf. 24 bhiih dës miin zeezen as dodd bhsa, un he is bher or funon. 25 de cé'leste zeezen a'lerhe bhsa up 'fed, un as he na'au ne nuus kam hy'we do muzi'ik un dat da'ntesant. 27 diin broor'ar. 29 dat ik mit miinu fry'n 'n mi lu-stigh ho'ten kun. 31 miin zeezen, duu byst a'lbhegh bi mi.

11 dor bhsa mal en man, dëi har tibeii zeezens. 12 un mëi déi'ta un'zei dat farmeegan. 15 de zhibhin tu' na'vetn. 18 va'tar, ik neeb zwyndight vor dii. 22 briq't dat be'ste' kleed herna un trekt om dat an un gehbeht om éínan fiquerr'iq an zee'nen hand en shu' an zii'n sa'yt. 23 en me'stal'kuh. 24 den de'ze'na bhsa dodd, un is fu'nan bho'r'n. 25 de ke'leste zeezen bher bhsa up dan fe'lin, un as he nee'ghber an'i nuus kam, hy'ti dat zi'qon un da'ntesant. 27 diin brâu'ar. 29 dat ik mit miinu fry'n fréecz'likh bhirr. 31 miin zeezen, duu byst tu' zee're 'every' stü'n bi mi.

IX. Holstein. I. 54.

11 een minsh har tbhehe zeezens. 12 un he deel'se za dat ghuud. 15 de zhibhin tu huy'ayn. 18 fa'der, ik neeb zyn'dight vor dii. 22 briq't dat be'ste' kleed har'fær', un doot of om an, un ghebeht om an fiquerr'iq an zee'nen hand, un shoan an zee foc't. 23 en maak'ru. 24 den di'ës miin zeezen bheer doud, un is fyn bho'r'n. 25 aas'her de cé'leste zeezen bheer op dat feld, un as he nee'ghber an'i nuus koem, na'vlohe de dat zi'qun om dat da'ntsan. 27 diin broor'ar. 29 dat ik mit miinu from
freec'li bheer. 31 miin zeezen, duu biss y'mar bi mi.

11 en man har tbhehe zeezens. 12 un de ool deel dat ghuud. 15 de zhibhin to he'ce dan. 18 vaad'ar, ik mëf mi akeht bodaa'ghe'n ghee'ghe'n dii. 22 briq't de be'ste' antooguh en trekt om dan an, un stekt om en riq an'n fiquer un gheebht em shoan an a foc't. 23 en maajstkal'f. 24 den miin zeezen mür bheer dot, un is bheer fun. 25 aas'ber de cé'leste zeezen bheer to feld un as he nee'gh bi't nuus koem, hoor de dat zi'qun an dan'ts'. 27 diin broor'ar. 29 dat ik mal mit miinu fry'n lu'stigh bheer. 31 miin ruq, duu byst a'ldiagb bi mi.

X. Schleswig. I. 62.

a. Low German in Schleswig. I. 63.

11 en man har tbhehe zeezens. 12 un zoo deel'ar da oo'lo ziin ghuod. 15 as swindri'var. 18 va'ar, ik nees groo'ts syn bogaan'ko vor dii. 22 maa dat be'ste' von miin kleer'oirer ziir a'remo livi ['body'], go'na fiquerr'iq vor ziir hem en mi nuo foon vor ziir foc't. 23 en fe'ta' kal'f. 24 hee'heer doud, un is wern'dor funon. 25 aas'ber de cé'leste zeezen bheer op dat feld; un as he nuu on de bheeh naa'nuus in de neegh dat zi'qun un da'ntsan to na'vetn kreegh. 27 din broor'ar. 29 um mi mit miinu fry'n freec'likh zo'in to lëa'tan. 31 miin zeezen, duu bist a'lütid bi mi.

b. Friesian in Schleswig. I. 70.

[In these Friesian dialects the short i is said by Winkler to be "nearly perfect," by which he apparently means that it is pure (i), and not (i), (i'), (e), or other Dutch sounds of short i. These dialects seem also to have (dh), see note to specimen 14.]

14. Bökingerharde variety of the Moring dialect, which is spoken in a district containing Niesbuit, town (54 n 34, 8 e 49). I. 78.
11 an mon mëi t比利时es. 12 an ne diild sam at ghuod. 15 da sshibhin to shur'dorn [(soerdorn) simply f]. 19 too'te, ik neebh me fersy'night in dea.
22 brej'q da besta klud'dha shurt an tii's ham øn; døu ham an ghon'le'q awur a fi'qor an skur awur a fej't. 23 an fat kruellb. 24 ainh bha kær for min bii'dha zaarna bhas dyd, un as bhi'dhar fynan bhoardan. 25 òu'ers da a'let saam bhas to fej'lda, an as ar ta'gdua ['thought'] to-d nys kóm nîrd ar at siu'qan [(shu'qan)?] an do'msin. 27 dan brou'dhar. 29 dat ik ma min fry'na fre'ëlik bheeze kyy. 31 man saam, dyey best a'let bai mee.

((klud'dha, bii'dha, bhi'dhar, broû'dhar) are spelled by Winkler with th, as kluthe, bithe, wither, brother, and similarly lithan to suffer, etha to eat, wether wether, or kid, bletth blithe, tofretthe content, German zusfrieden, but lowt only has a crossed 8, which he says is "a soft th as in English, sounding almost as s." I have supposed that where he wrote th, he meant the same thing, that is, (th), or to a Dutchman almost (z). Similarly in specimen 15.)

15. Karrharde, district about Steddand town (54 n 44, 8 e 56). I. 81. 11 en mon néi thëbew sorena. 12 an m dill am dat ghuord. 15 de sbihin zu ghi'ow. 18 ton, ik sbih in forse'necht jin dece. 22 briaq dat best kla'dade shurt an tii-t ham øn; duu ham en go'liq awur a feqor an skur awur a fej't. 23 en fat kruellb. 24 awur da hefor min bii'dha se'nne bhas dud, an hee es bhi'dhar fy nan bhoardan. 25 ainh bha da a'let sak bhas to fej'lda, an as ar ta'gdua ['thought'] to-d nys kóm nîrd ar at siu'qan [(shu'qan)?] an do'msin. 27 dan brou'dhar. 29 dat ik me min fry'na fre'ëlik bheeze kyy. 31 man sen, dyey best a'tiid bai mee. [See note to specimen 14.]

16. Gosharder dialect about Hattstedt, Breedsland and Husum, town (54 n 28, 9 e 7). I. 84. 11 diir bher en me nehe, dîi néi tben senens. 12 un di fan dor diu'det dat ghuor hûm hamon. 16 bhu sbihin'ha-w'ordor. 18 fau'dor, ik nie se'n'dighet, for dii. 22 briqret dat best kla'dade shurtu an tii-t ham øn, un steeg'dhat ham en go'liq'om a fi'qor un tiret ham shu'rya øn. 23 en faut kûfl. 24 den man sen bhar dûd, un ik néi ham we'dor fynan. 25 di a'letsen bher te fe'y-ëla; es mîi nyu te nys ghilih miirt ni al fon fi'-ri'som ['all from far'] dat siu'qan [(shu'qan)?] un dat seplin ['play']. 27 dan brou'dhar. 29 dat

ik mîi fry'na bebeh'ti kyy. 31 man lii'bau ju'qyu, dyey best t'mar bai mee.

17. Annraum, island (54 n 38, 8 e 20). I. 89. 11 an man nad tâu sømens. 12 an niall dials ja [this (zh) is doubtful] at ghuod. 15 a sbihin to hûrdin. 18 atj ik haa za'naig at jindu. 22 briaq ham a best klu'dader an tji'i-mus ham un, an dûu-m ham an faqorriq awur a nun an skur awur a fel. 23 an fat kruellb. 24 awur desheir man sen bheq dûd, an hee as bhe'der fyndhnen ['softened English th', nearly like sh or zå and ë>, here written, 'sounds generally as dj or dy'] bhoardan. 25 man di eelat sen bheq awur-fial, an ya bhat nài'or to-d nys kaam an nîrd at siu'qen [(shu'qan)?] an da'msin. 27 dan bru'dhar. 29 dat ik mîi mee min fri'nord hóigh ghi kyd. 31 man sen, dyey best a'tiid bi mee.

18. Sylt, island (54n54,8e21). I. 94. 11 en man ned tâu dree'qer ['servants, lads']. 12 en de faa'dhar dii-lat jam dîit gud. 16 de sbihin to jieretion. 18 faa'dhar! ik haa ze ndikhtet tco'w'han jiu. 22 briq dit beest klu'dader jaart, en tii øm ham; an hee hâm en frqorriq aan sin hundh, en skuur aur ain fet. 23 en fat kuûlet. 24 for desj'rom min drezh bhoç dryd, en es bhe dhar fyndhand uu'dhan. 25 man de fallat drezh blir yp marx, en ya hîi nîi biit hys kaam jërt nîi dit siu'qen [(shu'qan)?] an da'msin. 27 diin bru'dhar. 29 dat ik mîe miin fri'nord mîi sens fry'gho kyd. 31 miin drezh, dyey best a'tiid bi mee.

19. Holgoland, island (54 n 11, 7 e 53). I. 99. 11 diir bhir ñan'maal 'n man, dee niid tâu siu'qon. 12 en daa deele de ool man sam dzet ghooed. 15 de sbihin to hûrdarn. 18. faar! ik haa syn deen. 22 briqet de best kla'dor dût, en tiid hamam det un, an dood hem 'r riq om sein fi'qor, an skuur o'var sein fu'at. 23 'n fat ka'lkven. 24 de mîi zon hat dûd bheen, an es bher fin bhuurn. 25 oovar de oudst sorn bhir un-t-feld, en as hee nîi bi de shûys ['sounds at present like niis'], according to Winkler] kin niàrd ne det siu'qon en sprti'qon. 27 diin brur. 29 dat ik met mîi fren freghnoht bheer kiid. 31 mîi lij soj, dees nas al'tô tîron bai mii bheen.
XI. TERRITORY OF THE FREE CITIES OF LÜBECK, HAMBURG AND BREMEN. I. 103.

20. Schüttep, village near Lübeck (53 n 52, 10 s 61). I. 104. [To serve in place of a Lübeck specimen, which Winkler could not obtain.]

11 een minah har tbhhe zoens. 12 un nee dee lde dat ghood un'ner eer. 16 de sbhhi noo-dan. 18 vaa'dar, ik nev syn dan for dii. 22 haalit mi dat be'st kleed heruut, un tee -t em an, un doot en een riq an zin hand un shoo an zin feet. 23 een ma'st kalf.

24 den bhat min zoens is bhas dood, un is bhee'dar fun. 25 de ce'e'st zoens ceevvers bhas in -t feld, un as nee-gheer an -t nuus keem her dat xi'qen un da'nsen. 27 diu brood'er.

29 dat ik mi mit mi'i'n's fryndun luv'stigh no'len. 31 min zoens, dud byset a'li'i'di bi mi.


11 een minah har tbhhe zoens. 12 un nee dee lde dat ghood ma'q syn. 16 de sbhhi noo-dan. 18 vaa'dar, ik nev syn dight vee dii. 22 briqt dat be'st kleed heruut un trekt et em an, un ghevet om ee'enäfigrarik an zi'nia hand un shoo an zi'nia focet.

23 een ma'sted kalf. 24 den dy'so miin zoens bhas dood, un nee is bhee'dar fun. 25 a'bbers ziin ce'e'st zoens bhas up -n feld, un as ne dat nuus nee gheer kom daz xi'qanda dat xi'qen un dat da'nsen. 27 diu brood'er.

29 up dat ik mit mi'i'n's fryndun luv'stigh bhee'zon kyn. 31 min zoens, dud byset yz y'ars bi mi.


11 daar bhas un minah de har tbhhe z'qans. 12 un nee dee lde dat ghood un'ner zem. 16 dat hee dea de sbhhi noo-dan shul. 18 vaa'dar, ik nebv syn'ight ghe'e'ghan dii. 22 haalit mi dat be'st kleed heruut un teet id em an, un strekt om ee naan riq an zii'nea hand un trekt om shoo an. 23 en me'er'ete kall'.

24 diu min zoens for (ca; see spec. 3, v. 11; here however it is said to be "a middle sound between ae and ae or o and a German, and that it sounds at Bremen very nearly as oe or ai"); that is (ee); this would favour the supposition that the sounds were nearer (ah) or (oh),] bhas
dood, un is nuu bhee'dar fun,un. 25 a'a'var de ce'e'st zoens bhas up dan feld, un as nea dana bi nuu'za keem hoo'erti dee dat xi'qanda un da'nsend. 27 diu brood'er. 29 dat ik meel ['once'] mit mi'i'n'n frum'das ferg'hne'er'gheen zin shul. 31 miin kind, dud buy'ss y'yer' bi mi.

XII. HANOVER, BRUNSWICK, SCHAUMBURG, OLDENBURG. I. 122.

23. Deister, district (52 n 16, 9 s 28). I. 124. [A remnant of the old Hanoverian speech of the Calemburg species.]

11 e minahe ha'te tbbhe ti'qan. 12 un h ei' te'le un'ner zel dat a'rifel. 15 de sbhhi'n te he'y'zan 18 vaa'dar, ek nev syn'ight vee yk. 22 briqt dat ghia'desta kleed, un trek et em an, un ghe'veet en riq an zi'nea hand un shoo'z an zii'nea focet. 23 dat fet emaa'kets kalf. 24 den dy'so miin zoon bhas doot, un nee is af'nun. 25 ziin ce'e'st zoens a'bber bhas up en feld, un as neh in de nu'eghda zii'nea haue kee kom meoerto. 31 min li'e'he kind, dud yz y'ar mar bei mek.

[Some additional words are given compared with German, on account of their vowel fructures.] 12 gutera, gëzner. 14 vortërt, verschrit, linn li'rein. 17 vë'le's vu's, 19 bhierst wurd. 27 bhier worder. 29 y'o' scheh. 32 gëz' guter.


11 a' bheer ins en minah, de'j' zur tbhhe'z zoens. 12 un ne'j deel syn dat ghoom. 16 de'j' sbhhi noo-dan. 18 vaa'dar, ik nev syn'ight ze'j'ghan soo. 22 briqt dat be'st tyghe ranc om dat an, un ghevet om en fi'qarik an de hand un shoo an de feld. 23 en me'hjst kalf. 24 den dy'so nuq bheer dood, un is bheer' fun'n [12 yno'n]. 26 bihi'l'dar buyer de ce'e'st zoens op fe'l'n, un as nej' bi nuu keem her hee'j dat xi'qen un da'nsen. 27 zo'n brood'er. 29 dit ik mit mi'i'n'n fry'n'n ferg'hnee'er'gheen bheere. 31 min zoens, dud bys att'idik bi mi.

[Additional illustrations compared with German.] 12 buen sey'te. 14 fy'q flag. 16 yno'm nuus'mond. 19 meo'jr
bhe'jirt mehr worthb. 20 see'jgh sah, ym um. 26 e'jnen einen, freog frug. 29 syy sikh, cee'hoo'teen ubrietren.

25. Altendorf, village (53n36, 9 o 27). I. 140. 11 en vaa'dar har thbee zoe'ken. 12 un de vaa'dar doel jym dat ghoud. 15 de ahhin te hoo'en dan. 18 vaa'dar, ik hebby un'reekht daan vuer dii. 22 briigt dat best kleed naar'ut un te-t' em an, un ghebht em on fi'qarrig an zin hand un shooh aan zin foec't. 23 an meq't" kalbkh. 24 den min zoe'ken bheer dood, un is bheer un naan. 25 aha'ber de o'laste zoeken bheer op 'm feld, un as he nee'q'gher naa' hoo koem heer he dat zi'q'en un da'naen. 27 din broo'dar. 29 dat ik mit mii un'n fruq'nd' forghno'q'ght bheaen koon. 31 min zoe'ken, duu byst soo' asked bi mii.

[Additional illustrations compared with German.] 12 ghoose' dan guten. 13 ghyq qing, hindoe-t' hindouch. 19 ik byn ich bin. 26 froog frug. 29 duu bheest du wooselt, ceo' hoo'g'aan ubergegan. 32 ghoose moo'da gutes muhths.

26. Rechtenfeth, village between Bremen and Bremerhaven (53n32, 8 o 84). I. 143. [The speech is Friso-Saxon.]

11 en minsk har thbee seo'nen. 12 un nee deelde jom dat ghoud. 15 de ssee'ghon te hoo'en. 18 vaa'dar, ik mef' zumichtig for dii. 22 briigt dat besto teychner un trek't om an, un ghebht om an fi'qarrig an zin hand un shooh aan zin foec't. 23 en meest'd kalb. 24 den diis, min zoe'ken bheer dood, un iz bheer fu'ndan. 25 de o'laste seo'en aaw'ber bheer op'n feld, un ass naa' hoo koem heer de dat zi'q'en un dat'naen. 27 din broo'er. 29 dat ik mit mii ne fru'da lustigh bheer. 31 min seo'en, du bist a'ljtid bi mii.

[Additional illustrations compared with German.] 12 zeo sagte. 14 faq feng. 16 buk bauch, hoo'm niemand. 29 syy sikh, aaw'vor'teen ubrietren.

a. Low German in Oldenburg. I. 146.

27. Eckwarden, village between Jahe river (53n 26, 8 o 12) and Weser river. I. 147. 11 ee'nnal ins ['once,' Dutch eens, a repetition] bheer d'r een man, de

har thbee zoe'ken. 12 un nee deelde jom dat ghoud. 16 de ahhin te hoo'en. 16 vaa'dar, ik hebby ghoorte'yn daan ghee'ghen dii. 22 haalt dat besto kleed her un teet em an, un stikt 'm 'n riq an' a hand, un shooh aaw' vor zin foec't. 23 'n meest kalb. 24 den diis min zoe'ken bheer doot, un is bheer fu'nan buu ru. 25 aha'ber de o'laste zoe'ken bheer up't feld, un an
ne dikt bi:ten nuus keem hovde ne
dat sigeon un dat da:ntzen. 27 dien broor. 29 dat ik mit miin fruns
erhau:ge:cht bhe:zen kun. 31 miin
dazen, dun burt a:lit bi mi.

[Additional illustrations compared
with German.] 13 erdce:r hindurch.
17 se:re sagte. 26 to body:en un zu
bedeutem. [N.B. Final r scarcely heard;
d, l, soft r confused, so that weeder
souds nearly we:de, we:de, we:re, worre, wella, wella, in Winkler's spell-
ing.]

b. FRIESIAN IN OLDENBURG.
I. 165.

30. Saggerland, district about
Friesoythe, town (58 n, 58 e). I. 168.
[The inhabitants are genuine Friesians
in descent, language, dress, and customs.]

11 dner bhas ins en ma:neke un
dii hi:de bhe:en suun:se. 12 doo de-
lerds de oor:de mon it sim too un raa:
t sim bhet sim to:kesim. 15 un da
shhi:na to bhaa:trou. 18 ba:ba:ge,
[father] ik her:be:en wendigheen zuun
dii. 22 ma:l:en mi ins [once] ghau
quickly do bote kloo:do:re miir,
an lue:kat sim do oon, niimot ok un
riq med, un dwoot [do, put] sim dii
oon oon noo:nda un nerk sim skro:ge
24 dien diz zuun fon mi bhas foor un
nus zoo ghoud as doud, un nuu her:be:bhi sim
bheit fiur:nden. 25 too bhi:lan bhas
di oor:le:s zuun op ti:feel too a:rbe:di-
djen [work]; man doo niis o:ends
[almost spoken s'evenda, says Winkler,
in the evening, old Friesian iomd] fon
t feel e:tor [after] huu:se bhe:in [away]
gig maan:rde nii det shu:qen un det
doo:nsen fon doo bhe:rukuply:ye:de
[workpeople]. 27 diin broor'. 29
det ik un mi ne frys:nd ok ins lystig:
hree:ze ku:du:na. 31 miin liou:
beet:nd, [the (r) scarcely heard] duu
best a:lit bi mi.

[Additional illustrations compared
with German.] 12 do be:en beider.
13 fraam'd fremd, seel:en geld, to liu:en
su leben. 14 lii:da: de:iden, ni:ka neen
nichts keim, broor'd brood. 15 dwoo
then, bhe:il bhi:li sim ok in ziin tronst
niimoe? wor will i:nh auch in seinen dienst
nehmen, buur bauer, saar:s:tu: sanda.
16 se:r'den gern. 17 hii bi:o ghe:le zik
erwacht echt, kwaal sagte [English
gwa:l], fuur:e:vi, sto:ru: darben,
neend mi:de gehab: hatte. 18 bli:ne
bleiden, kwo:de sagen. 20 bloor:ed
gebliekt. 21 lyy:de leute. 26 to
bity:de zu bedeuten. 29 siikt siik,
naa:n lii:ts buk kiinem kunen bock
[English little, (li-tik) in other posi-
tions].

31. Wangeroog, or in North
Friesland Wangerooge, island (58 n 47,
7 e 52). I. 171.
11 dor is himmoo:lan shoe:i [charl,
used for married man] bhi:ziin, dan sti
thhe:in fentor [unmarried men]. 12
daa farde:i dan oo':l mon ziin zil
[money, gela] un ghood fonoo:ma
[Dutch van elkander, from each other,
apart] un da beidh, un ro: oon dan
quuet sim dilet, saa fel av sim too
kaum. 15 un da shhi:na too wa:riu:
18 ba:ba:ge, [father,] maam: [mother] ik
zab sy:k:en dui. 22 ma:l:en ruim
mi ins [once] ki:tigh [quickly]
da best kloor:do:or [hitter] un
yptoo sim da oon; rei:k:at sim uk un
riq oon sim hau:un un nii skoo:or [new
shoes] oon oon foot. 23 en fauf kaft.
24 umde:tt din fent fon mi sa ghoud as
do:od bhee, un nuu her:be:bhi sim
bhi:do:or fuu:non. 25 un stu:ua:son:
bhee dan mon sim aint fent up:tt feel
bhi:in sim, to arbei:ben dan man zu
k'vans [in the evening'] naa nuus
ghiu:un un thikhek bii:ki minen bhee das
neerd nii dikt shoo:gan un dikt dorne:
27 diin broor'. 29 dait ik un mi
fry: naa:nmoel frau ku:nu:non. 31 miin
liou:at beet:en, duu best a:lit bi mi.

[th is both (th) and (dh); (dh) is
assigned in (bheid, kwi:dhiin, liudh,
up sti:diin, sim le:dhigh), in German
beide, sprechen, leiden, zur stelle, sein
leibtag; in (thikhek, thio:omten) Ger-
man dicht, dienstmachen, it is not
assigned but it is stated that no rule
can be given for the different use of
(th) and (dh); (eh, tj, dj) are con-
jectures for ej, tj, dj. Winkler in his
notes writes in v. 11, ejoel aekhet, but
an East Friesian lady would not hear
of (eh, tah) for her ej, tj, which are
nearly (ej, tj); see notes on specimen
87; the plural in s is remarkable,
as (suu:su, sky:pu) German hau:er.
schiffer. The whole dialect is remark-
able.]
32. 


11 'n minsk har tbhee zeëns. 12 un hee deel'd met-t ghood. 15 de shhiin to baad-tan. 18 vac'dar, ik heb zyndicht veer dii. 22 briig't best kleed her un doot hym-t an, un gheef't hym 'n fiqarriq an zii hand un shoan an zii foortan. 23 'n met'st kalf. 24 den dis miin bheer dood, un is bheer fun'du bhur'din. 25 man de olst zeen bheer up-t land, un nee naa bii-t nuus kweem heer he dat gha-fiq ['singing'] un-d ri-go'hdants ['country dance']. 27 diin breer. 29 dat 'ik mit miin fryn'dn lystigh bheer. 31 miin zeën, duu bist a'ttiid bi mi.

[Additional illustrations compared with German.] 12 zai sagt ge, paat part, theil. 16 heo'ri vernehy'a zyk er vermiethet sich. 17 ik vog'sh ich ver-gehe. 20 heo'ri moo'k zyk up er maeti sich auff. ['The r final is pronounced indistinctly or not at all; if unaccented e precedes it, e sounds almost as a, radar as vada. The r is a stammering-block for all Frisians and all Saxons that live near the coast.' This final r has therefore been omitted throughout this transcript.]

33. Nesse, village, near Nor- den, town (53 n 36, 7 e 12). I. 190.

11 en minsk har tbhee zeëns. 13 un de vac'dar deel'd heer dat ghood. 15 to shhiin baad-tan. 18 vac'dar, ik heb zyndicht veer dii. 22 briig't best styk kleed her un doot hym-t an, un gheef't hym 'n fiqarriq an zii hand un shoan an zii foortan. 23 'n mesd [most?] kalf. 24 den dis miin zeëns bheer dood, un is bheer fun'nu'n. 25 man de olsta zeëns bheer up't feld, un as he dikht bii-t nuus kheem, heer he dat zii q'r un spriq'n. 27 diin breer. 29 dat ik mit miin fryn'lystigh bheer. 31 miin zeëns, duu best a'ttiid bi mi.


11 en minsk har tbhee zeëns. 12 un hee varda-it dat ghood unter heer. 15 de shhiin to heer'don. 18 vac'dar, ik heb zyndicht voor dii. 22 haal dat best'a kleed her un trekx hum dat an, un gheef't hum 'n fiqarriq an zii hand un shoan an zii foortan. 23 'n fet kalf. 24 den dis miin zeën bheer dood, un is bheer fun'er. 25 aa'ber do olsta zeën bheer up't feld, un as he dikht bi nuus keem, heer he dat zii q'un un daa'zon. 27 diin breer. 29 dat ik mit miin fryn lystigh bheer'zun kun. 31 miin zeën, duu best a'ttiid bi mi.


11 en minsk ha' tibhi zeëns, 12 un heo'di deel heo's dat ghood. 15 de shhiin to heer'don. 18 vac'dar, ik heb zin daa' veer dii. 22 braigt dat moist ['most beautiful!', Dutch mooiste] kleed he'a un doot hum't an un gheef't hum 'n riq um zii firo' un shoen'en um zii footan. 23 'n fet kalf. 24 den dis miin zeën bheer dood, un heo'i is bheer fu'nun. 25 aa'ber heo'i olst zyn bheer up't feld, un as heo'i naa bii-t nuus kheem, heo'a heo'i dat zii q'un un spriq'en. 27 diin bre'a. 29 dat ik mit miin fryn'na mu'nts bheee. 31 miin zeën, duu best a'ttiid bi mi.

36. Borkum, island (53 n 44, 6 e 52). I. 201. [This dialect is nearer Groningenish than East Frisian.]

11 'n see'kor mi'naka har twii zeëns. 12 on heo'di'lo heer-t ghe'tbou. 15 de swi'non to waad-ton. 18 vac'dar, ik heb zyndicht teeghan dii. 22 breigt' besta' kleed her un trekx hum-t an on gheef't hum 'n riq an zii hand um shoan an de fousan. 23 'meate kalf. 24 want miin zeën was dood, on is heo'ri fow'ndan. 25 on zii olsta zeën was op't feld, on as heo'ri kheem, en op't nuus naa'dar, hoo'erde heo'ti zii q'un on daa'zon. 27 zoi breir. 29 dat ik mi mit miin fru'ndan varma'akan kun. 31 kind, duu best a'ttiid bi mi.

["The letter o in the words on, jongste, honger, hom, etc., is very obscure, almost exactly like High German u in und, hungere, etc.", and hence is here given as (o). "The w is the usual Frisian and English w." I have hitherto used the German and Dutch (bh) even for Frisian; but in this example I have employed (w). Is Winkler right here? I shall venture to use (bh), except when specially directed not to do so. My Emden authority said (bh) distinctly, even in (khabam), not (kwam, kucam). See notes to specimen 87.*]


[A lady, who is a native of Emden, kindly read over this version to me, and I give her pronunciation as well as I can remember, which is not very
distinctly, as there was not time to write anything from dictation. She found fault with some of the phrases, and supposed the writer to have been a German. I have followed her changes.

11 der bhas eons 'n minsk, de har [the (r) effective, but almost (r)] tbhej zoeens. 12 un de vaa'-r' deelde de boudell [distinctly, not merely 'nearly' as Winkler says] uvnar de bairdon [distinctly ( Así ), not ( Èq )]. 16 tu shhiri-ne bhaareen. 18 vaa'-r', ik bin 'n freer'l'k ghrüte sunder teegh don. 22 zee su'-r'en up-o stee-t'best pak kloor-bréen un ze su'-l'en zii zoeen dat a'-ntr'ékan, un suh nük 'n gii'-n rüq an d hand stee-k'en un su'-l'en suh sbëo'-n an sii foun-d'en. 23 'n fe l'k. 24 umdät-si sin suj tu de doode-n al hert mar, un bhas tu fridon kömen. 26 maan de o'-l'eta zoeen bhas up-o'rt feld bheet. as suh nun dikht bi suh kham bham, doo vee'-n na al fon fer-ent'-z'qen un speer-er'en un d'am-n. 27 jin broor. 29 dat ik mit mi-ne kläntan mii der bhat bi vee-mää'-kan kun. 31 miin suj, duu bist jaa a'-liid'en bi mii.

38. Leor, town (532 n 13, 7 o 27). I. 212. [My Emden authority said the writer of this was a native personally known to her, and the version good.]

11 dar bhas ins 'n man de-d'j mar tbhej zoeens. 12 un de o'-le de-d'j'de dat ghir'sou [mi-o'-on] onet teetaphthong, in rapid speaking sounds as ( o'-on ) un'de hör'er. 16 de shhi'-nè tro-maiden. 18 vaa'-där, ich hab mi d'vii ver-synigedt. 22 breqt de bste klor'-e neer un tent ko rüm an, un stëckt rüm 'n rüg ou de fiqer un tent ko sbëi'-n un de fio'-l'en. 23 'm stëk-kalf. 24 den kikt, dis miin zoeen bhas dood, un hej bi bheet fuun. 25 man de o'-l'eta zoeen bhas up'-t feld, un as hej di-khte bi'-t kham bham, hör'er nee dat z'i'-qen un spri'-qen. 27 diin brow'ir. 29 dat ik maal mi miet min fri'-nd lystgt bheerzen kun. 31 miin lej'-v' ro zoeen, duu bist a'-liid bi mii.

['(es)'] is a dull sound, like Dutch as, approaching Dutch ë. I have taken it as the London long ë. "The fracture æsou (quiou) in the Dutch words good, to, hoeven, sche, foten, etc., as pronounced in Leer, is difficult to render. In Dutch letters æsou would come nearest; the stress is on æ. In rapid speech the sound is nearly iou, iou (iou, jou). The æ (æ') sound in kóden, bróir, is nearest to Dutch wi'."

XIV. Westfalen, in English Westphalia. I. 216.

39. Wittlage, village, near Osnabrück, town (522 n 17, 8 o 3). I. 218. [Transitional from Frisian Saxon to Low-Saxon.]

11 ein minsk häre tbhej zoeernis. 12 un he deelde tu'-s'en de bireo-dan dat verryg'han. 15 dat hee de shhi'-nè hör'-ds. 18 vaa'-l, ik nee'bha synne dëm vor dii. 22 haa'-l'et dat b'st kléid un te'erst et em an, un shhi'- hóot un et rüq an de händ un et shoo an sii'-ne foco'-t. 23 an me'v'st at kalb. 24 den dy so miin zoeen's bhas daut, un is bhir fuunen. 26 sahbar de o'-l'eta zoeen bhas un de fii'-nda, un as he ne'ergo han dat suh kham, hör'er ne z'i'-qen un spel ['play']. 27 diin broor. 29 dat ik mi mit mi-ne frondi un varghneeg'ghan maka'-kade. 31 miin zoeern, duu bist a'-liid bi mii.

40. Vreden, town (522 n 3, 6 o 49). I. 221.

11 dar bhas es 'n man, deee' had tbhej sceen. 12 un he vor-deedee un'de hör'-ér verryg'han. 15 de várken te sceen. 18 vaa'-där, ik nee'synd dan taght dii. 22 haa'-l'et 't beste kleed un trek't 't om an, stëkt 'n rüg an sii'-ne hand un trek't om shoo an si'-ne foco'-t. 23 'm stëk-kalf. 24 den dy so sah'-ne bhas dood, un hee is bheet vuun. 25 doe bhas de o'-l'eta zoeen in'-t feld doo de noo kam un baa'-n at suh kham, hör'-ors hee de voi'-l ['violin'] un'-t d'am-n. 27 diin broor. 29 dat ik mit mi-ne frondi met pleesser 'a machen' ko moli'en. 31 miin sceen, duu bist a'-liid bi mii.

[Additional illustrations compared with German.] 13 vrs'amd friessen, veder'veort, daax durc'. 14 vor'-te'ad verzebrt. 16 kör'er [Eng. cotter]. 18 un euch. 19 ik byn ich bin. 20 ghyq gling, medl'igid mitteledig, em tu mört' [Eng. him to meat]. ['(es)'] is pronounced nearly as Dutch zoeern," varioously with (e, e'), see (1292, a'). "(æ') in (verryg'han) is between Dutch verrijgen and verweigen."]

41. Müнстер, town (512 n 57, 7 o 37). I. 224.

11 et bhas darmael'en man, de händ de tbhej zoeern. 12 un he vor- deedee siin verryg'ghen un der beid'en. 16 de shhi'-nè te hör'-erdem.
\section{Low German and Friesian Dialects}

18 Vaa'dor, ik he've mi varfêlt ghie'i-
gan dii. 22 nuu men, fiiks ['quickly']
un Haai'at den Sab'rân rok un tre'kat on an an, stie'ke kat om een'ean
riek an da sjor un ghivast om shoo've
an da too'te-ta. 23 on et kalv. 24 den
dye'se miinazu bhas dâu, un he is
bhie furon haal'ten. 25 undorde'sen
köham zin o'dda zaan fom fe'lda
nya huu'za, un as he in da neig'ha
bhas un da muziik'ik un dat da'sen
zu'n rda. 27 dii bru'at. 29 dat ik
mi met mi'nan fre'ndan he'de lu'thig
maak'ko ko'n. 31 miin zaan, duu
bli'vat yor mi bi.

[Additional illustrations compared
with German.] 12 too'kym zukommt.
13 lixe'van leben. 14 faek fing, to
lii'dan zu leiden. 15 bhu'dan wohnen,
ko-tan [Westphalian word, Eng. cote].
16 gie'rua germ. 17 bru't bood, stiwe'te
[Eng. store]. 21 bhi'eet wer'tch. 22
lii'ya'leun leuten. 23 laa'toat
us ie'x'ton [Eng. let us eat], ghu'dor
gu'ter. 26 rü pief, fraagh frug,
boddy'ndan besuden, 28 to fräi'dan
susfre'den. 29 nyms niemar.

42. Paderborn, town (51 n 43, 8 46). I. 229.

11 et bhas mol en man déi nálo
tbhe'i zyu'na. 12 doo déi'da déi Vay'
un ghiaelt-bh-at-nu tóakm. 15 de
sbi'na tóu hou'na. 18 Vay',
hek da zu'ndgíkha veör dii. 22 Haalt
mi den ber'stoun rok, un tre'kat na een'ait
an, stiekat' na ak an rig ari'an
fi'gen un ghi'bat na shu'ar an da fo'te.
23 dat ber'st kaft. 24 den dis'eu juque
bhas vor mi djet, un nei is noo bhier
funon. 25 un déi' osta juque bhas tar
tiit ghraad'at ['at that time exactly'] up
nen'la, an da nuu tar nei'ma kun
un dat ziq'an un spektu'kaal ne'erda.
27 dii bruaran. 29 dat ik mi'nan
fry ndan mi mol lu'thig maak'ko kun.
31 miin zu'n, duu bist o'tiit bi mi.

[Additional illustrations compared
with German.] 12 kii'nde'i kindes
thal, tuækym zokommt. 14 na gu'dto
hu'quzeet een grosse hungerton.
16 vorn'mad os vermiethet. 16 krie-
ghan kriegen. 17 breadh bröd, ghe-
nuag'gen. 26 rü pief, frow'ad fra'tse.
30 hau'rontyk huwen'zog.

43. Sauerland, district about
Soest, town (51 n 35, 8 7). I. 233.

11 et bhas mol on man, däi har tbehe'i
zyu'na. 12 un da ve'tor stiek'kha'de
['shed', divided] ty'gær [Dutch tussch-
en, between] diiz'en ber'gan [both,
(d) changed to (gh)]. 15 da abheine
maan ['heed', (d) omitted]. 18 Vaa',
i he've zyu'na doon tir'ghan dik. 22
ghoot un haalt da stoerdigh-ten
['statelest'] rok un tre'kat na ie'me
an un ghie'at ['give'] na riek an
da naund un shau an zeexa fai'ta.
23 en et kaal. 24 bhie'le'ak ['because'
] miée meun zu'n bhas daut, un sie'k zik
bhiir funon. 25 nü bhas aa'har de
o'lasto zu'n biurton op 'n me'la, un as
er kan um nooge' bhei nu'kho
[German hofer, farmyard] bhas, doo
nort o muuzika nton ['musicians']
spin'lar un zi'qaon. 27 deen bru'at.
29 dar ik trakhtom'nto fit'ron ['cele-
brate' as a church feast] ko'n mit
mee'nor fra'mod ton. 31 miée zuun,
biu bist y'mar un a'lecit bòe méé.

[Additional illustrations compared
with German.] 12 fyr'k for, tá.uk'y met
zukommt. 13 da bhe'e-e bheit die weite
welt, da juq'asta lait zeii bhiall zien
der jüngste ließ sich wohl sein. 14
da zu'nder ghie'ghend in diesem gegen,'t
fe'k juq'ema [ihn dat., [ie'ma] iihn acc.
ana an tu'oom en fing ihm an kaum
zu gehn. 16 buun ron bauer, ku'x'tan
[cote]. 16 doo har hái zeei ghere'n
da hättre er sehr gern, det leéif vul
gh'xten den be'j voll esse'n (?), van dem
riu'tai'go von dem rau'ghne, booo mee
da abheine'ma met fuardo see man die
schweine mit fütterte. 17 daah ghi'oer
tagelöhn, ter he'ina in der heimath,
igoo we duaut ich ger 'he hier tod.
20 bhore' bh'tma'idigh würd ze'chumú-
thigh, liap 'me in de màte lief ihm
eigen [Eng. to meet him], kysar
na kütse ihm ['r for -d, in weak
imperfect]. 23 bhoei bheit ie'x'ton wo
wollen esse'n. 24 vorluc'ken verloren.
26 biutan [Eng. dial. besuuten, without;
similarly (tut) out, (niu) now, (biu)
hau = wi, rü, frow'ad fra'tse, lu'ba los.
27 he'kel un ge'nard
[Eng. whole and sound]. 29 e'mad'nto
awortetete, gebaut gebot ([bei), (c) dis-
tincter than (i); (iu, òi, yk, ik, x')
have their stress vowel 'thus dis-
tinguished by Winkler].

XV. NEDER-RIJNLAND, in
English Lower Rhine, province.
I. 239.

44. Emmerik, in German, Em-
11 'n mins had tibee zoons. 12 en
he'i déi'lde zin varmco'ghen met an.
16 om de verkes te nuu'zen. 18
vaar'der, ik heb min verzeindigdhee ghaa ön. 22 gheu ('quick') broeg oem 't best kleed, trakte oet sm aan, en duun sm 'n riq aan xin hand en shuun aan xin fyyt. 23 't ghamieste kalf. 24 bhant deez'min zoon bhass dood, en nêi is bheer gheô-ônda. 25 zin oûlde xoon eex'hbar bhass oet veld, duu nêi nôu dikh bêh bhys khhâm, moeôr'd creative museums 'k en dan dans. 27 ôu bruur. 29 dat ik met min vri Ônda 'vreewlik partê-d' kon noôlda. 31 min zoon, ghêi bent a'tloos bêh min.

[I have generally not distinguished Dutch eu, u, except as long and short (ee, œ), considering it very uncertain whether in the specimens (œ, e) were consistently distinguished; but as Mr. Sweet gives (œ) for long Dutch eu (1292, e'), and as Winkler here states that his ð is used for short Dutch eu, "which cannot be easily rendered in Dutch letters," I have used (œ) for his ð in this example.]

45. Gelderen, in English Guel-
ders, town (51 n 31, 6 e 19). I. 244.
11 nee vaar'der had thhee zoeëm. 12 gheft mikh min ki'ndadeel ['give me my child's-share'] en de vaar'der déi dat. 15 oem de verkès te nuyôván. 21 vaar'der, ek heb gheôndigdhee teê-
gan sû. 22 ûa zol an zin 'n zoon nêi kleer gheôván, oem eem'n riq an de fêqers stee'ke en oem nêi shuun a'tre'ke. 23 een katkı. 24 bhant ghêi mot bhe'ê ['for you must know'] deee' mi'rôa zon bhôr ver mikh veerloôr, mar hen het zikh bokert ['he has reformèd, converted, himself'] en on nâu bheer min kind. bhôi nêi nôu te zaa man bhoren, 25 khhôm den e eûa zon van't veld tery'gh en naôr'de dat siiqân en daann's. 27 din bryytr. 29 dat ek mikh met min vri ùd den lystihgh maak'ke kon. 31 min kind, duu blyfste oem'er bêh mikh.

46. Meurs, in German Mörs,
country, and town (51 n 27, 6 e 37). I. 247.
11 nee man had thhee zoeën. 12 on he de'like ûeën het ghud. 15 oem de pooc'ken te nuyôván. 18 fan'der, ik heb zoeën gheal'daân for dikh. 22 briqdat best kleed niir on trekkend eem aan, on gheoed-eem eks fêqer'iq aan xin hand, on shuun aan xin fyyt. 23 en ghamieste kalf. 24 den deez'min nêi'n zoon bhôr dood, on sii bhûr gheôô'den. 25 maar de eûa zoon bhôr op et feld, on xii ne korte

be-t huus kbooom, naôr'de na dat spoec'lon un daann. 29 dat ik ena mid min fre'ôjnh freôwlik koos ziin. 31 mi'rôa zoon, dûu boes oem'er bee mikh gheô'bhec's.

47. Dusseldorf, in German Duusseldorf, town (51 n 13, 6 e 46). I. 250.
11 ne man had thbee hi'gh Germ-
man form] jo'qes. 12 deo de'da eem'n dar vâer de eef'sÔha ('inheri-
tance'). 15 dea verkès te noôe'da. 18 vâer, ek han ghêôndigdhee ghee-
gan deek. 22 brqt oet dar stel at besto kleed, on traktat oet oen aan, on dod'm en reeq on de naeq ['hand'] on shoon aan de fœees. 23 dat fe's kalf. 24 den nêe mi'rôa boq bhôr dood, on sii bhôr gheôô'qa bhoo'da. 25 et sii bhôr gheôô'qo bhôr eêbhar op den feld; as sii nôo ['now'] no huus koom, noô'dan'ô speel on daann's. 27 dii broô'dâr. 29 dat ek met min freônda a ees ha'elda kunnt. 31 styk ['see'] joq, duu boes i'mar bêh mikh.

11 ne vâer hat thbee hi'ghen. 12 un xii déi'ten dat vermoo'cq'a uqer zee. 15 de verkès te noôe'da. 18 vâer! ik han mi'rôa vârxyôndigdhee ghte-
gan deeer. 22 fêq ['quick'] broqt im dar bêzta rok eru's, traktat en iem aan, doot eem'n riq aan xin hand on shoon aan xin fôoës. 23 dat maakalhô. 24 dan diis'e, mi'qo zon, bhôr duit, un noo es xii bêd'âr fuq'na bhoo'da. 25 et bhôr xvor siiqôn ['his'] mi'rôa zon oen feld, als dûu naat kiim ghiq un ob et huus aankoom hoop nêi dii mi'rôa xoon un dat daann's. 27 dii broô'daâr. 29 dat ik met miqô ['my'] fryndan ens a favor'khan [diminu-
tive from French festin] ha'elda kunnt. 31 styk ['see'] joq, dûu boes i'mar bêh meer.

[Additional illustrations compared with German.] 12 xêt aage tees kyt zukommt. 13 bhys wee's ['man-
ner']. 15 boor bauër. 16 keen xilh goofer ze im kein wele gab oie iek. 19 bhêreet worth. 20 flav form. 27 kre'ghian kriegen.

49. Bonn, town (50n43, 7e5).
1. 258.
11 ne man hat thbee hi'ghen. 12 on x dan dat voo'moo'cq'a uqo seo deel's. 15 de xûy te noôe'da. 18 vâer,
ik hám mikh vorỳndigh gheir'ghe dihk. 22 ghesabhi'id ['quickly'], breqt em -t bësta kleed er-ru's, doot ot em aan, on stekht ce-na riqk aan ziq hand on shoon aan ziq facex. 23 't gheamhë wëtall. 24 den disë miqë zon bhoor duut, on es bhi'da ghos'gu'boov. 25 at bhooer bëver ziq'ě zist zon on den feld. als dis nee koom on dem nuus noo bhoo, hytt-ë de muunz'ik on dan danc. 27 diq'ë bro'dor. 29 dat ikh met miqë frond ce na frëy'domolitsik [German frwdemolizeit, 'joy-meal-time,' jollification] gohalaan hët. 31 miqë leev'ë zon, duu bes i'amar bëi mir.

[Additional illustrations compared with German.] 12 zet nöte. 14 nuq'ëshnuwet hungrenrot. 17 bruud bredl. 26 reef rief, kne'klaa kneche. 29 ghospho'va ghegeb.

50. Aken, in German Aachen, in French and English Air-la-Chapelle, town (50 n 46, 6 e 8). I. 261.

11 dy'ë mën näi tsbeñt saq'g'eha. 12 ghef mikh miqë 'onde. dar 'urà ['old man'] dogh dat. 15 da verks hëvës. 16 vëxal, ik han beq'ëlikh [German benigl-leig, 'like a rascal'] gheam'g'ëngigt an dar ur'mol. 22 breqt nem de bëvis'ta montay, en trektd dei nem an; ghef nem neq a'xan ['on the'] haqq ['hand'] 'n shoq ['shoes'] a'xa pu'uta ['feet'], either an interchange of f and p, or related to Dutch pooten, paws; in Zeeland (puu'ton puu'tas) are hands, and in Leewarden, in children's language, both hands and feet are called (puu'ton, puu'tkas) or (p'u'tan, p'u'tkas); compare the English nursery term, 'little patches'. 23 en fett käulf. — [This specimen contains only 23 verses.]

XVI. NEDERLAND, in English THE NETHERLANDS or kingdom of HOLLAND. I. 265.

[Winkler prefers calling the present kingdom of Holland, the North Netherlands, and the kingdom of Belgium, the South Netherlands. This is chiefly because the whole language is Low German. See No. XXVIII.]

XVII. LIMBURG, North-Netherlandish or Dutch portion. I. 269.


11 dàa bhaas ins na maan, dee hat tbi'ë zoeæen. 12 an duu verdeid'dan er zo ghoo' o'der z'n tbi'ë zoeæen. 15 oem da ver'ksa tè moeæë'. 18 vass'dar, ikheb teeg'gho oek zhuurh gheam'ndigh. 22 brique se'fons ['fast,' a Flemish word] ein van de bësta kléir'ë an doot-at-am an; ghe'em no riqk aan z'n vij'qer an doot m s'oeæen ['zoeæen'] aan z'n vëset. 23 't vet'ët kaaf. 24 bhant deo zoon van mikh bhaas duut an nuu is er bheer ghavo'n'da. 25 den a'bëstë zoon bhaa' op-t feld, on bhi er tarecka kaam, on el kort bëi z'n nuus bhaa, huyr'dan er dàa ziq'a an daans. 27 oëer broor. 29 oem m'n vroom ins ['once'] to trakt'ëet ['treat']. 31 hytt ins mëi, joq, dikh bi atl'd bi's mikh.

52. Sittard, town (51 n 0, 5 e 52). I. 277.

11 na mëih hëst tbeæ zoeæen. 12 on hee ver'de'id'an o'er moeæen't ghout. 15 om da ver'k'sa të moeæë ['heed,' (n) lost, (d) changed to (q)]. 18 vass'dar, ikheb gah'zun'mich, teeg'han oek. 22 brique nuu rokt tuu zii ghou ['good,' W.] kleer an doogh za'm an, on ghefzë zoeæem no riqk aan zii enj an shoon aan da vëset. 23 't vit käuf. 24 bhant miëna zoon bhaa doot, en ëhe ban'an'm bheer ghéem'nu'fja. 25 an den saust's zoon dre bhaa'an in-t feldj, on bhi er ce'veesh [Dutch heemwaarts, 'homewards'] koom, duu heem'roon nuw-t xiq'an en-t da'son. 27 dëi bröur. 29 om'dat ikk mit miën zoeæen oekh ins da gijek [Dutch gck, German giek, English guck; here for 'mad fun'], koos af ghee'ëva. 31 kindj, duu bis altiid bi mikh.—[The Limburgers pronounce g = (gh) in Dutch as (gj) or nearly (j), and also palatalise s, n, and change st, si, sn, into (shh, shh, shn). Possibly the (dj) may become (dzh).]

53. Roermond, town (51 n 12, 6 e 0). I. 280.

11 ci'ëna zee-kora mins nad tbeæ zoeæen. 12 an he dëi'da xeær -t ghood. 16 om da ver'ksa të moeæ'. 18 vass'dar, igkheb toen'gë gah'da'ën teeg'han oekh. 22 brique vaart 't bësta kléir'ë, on doot 't nem aan, on ghef ci'ëna riqk aan zii handj en skhoon aan da vëset. 23 't vit'ët kaaf. 24 bhant deeks miën'no zoon bhaas doot, an is tareck ghavo'n'da. 25 an xür'ëna al'dsten zoon bhas in-t veldj,
on bhii dez kbhaam en kort bii-t nuus kbhaam, neocer-de nee sanka "[song]" en dans. 27 oeer broor. 29 det igh mit miin vrenj eins lees-tigh zeen kos. 31 kindj, duu boes ait idi bii migh.

54. Yenlo, town (51 n 22, 6 s 10). I. 283.
11 eene koe-keo maa hieh deen. 12 en ne deel-ta ooe-t-ghood. 15 oem de verkaas ta kuja. 18 vas-dar, ik heb zent ghadaan taa-ghan og. 22 breq bedeín [bed for heed, 'with one,' 'at once'] -t beeto kleid héi, en doot t-eem aan, gheef éina riek aan ziin hand, en skhoo aan de veeet. 23 't vet kalf. 24 bhant deee ze miin zoon bhas dôdoed, en is tara-ke ghe-ovoande. 25 en ziin-non aitldo zoon bhas in -t veld, en bhie dez kbhaam en kort bej-t nuus kbhaam, neyvare deen zatq en dans. 29 det ik mit miin vrenj eins leestigh ziin kos. 31 kind, dikh bis ait idi bii meji en miint ['mine'] is ti-tiint ['thin'].

55. Weert, town (51 n 16, 5 s 43). I. 286.
11 daa bhaas na mine, des hieai thieh deen. 12 en hie skhoo-de -t in de helft. 16 met de verkaas. 18 vas-dar, ik heb zoengh ghadaan ver ein. 22 laupji en maalt voort 't skhoo-sta kleid en doogh t-eem aan, akh éi-ene riek aan ziin vweer en skhoo aan ziin veet. 23 a vet kaaf. 24 bhant miir nee zoon, dez gha zeetj, bhas doo-at en bhs neben oem vreem [Dutch wederom, 'again'] ghaaova. 26 mer ['but'] bhii-din aawesito oo en ao are here said to be between o en a, but ao nearer o, en ao nearer a; I have hence transcribed them as (aa, ao) respectively] zoon uut 't veljd hoo-overs [Dutch huisswoarte, 'housewards,' homewards] kbhaam, en z'n nuus haa-dordjaa, hooer-djaa nee-t ghskeetel ['sound'] van-t ghespeciel on-t daane. 27 oeer broer. 29 oem en mit miin vrenj en fiesto. 31 miir nee zoon, umdett joo bi mikh gholiiv-te zeetj es al miin hgood ver dikh.

56. Stamproi, village (51 n 12, 5 s 43). I. 290. [This is a specimen of the Kempenland, a large, mostly barren and heathy district in Dutch and Belgian Limburg, which, owing to isolation, has preserved many peculiar words and expressions.]

11 'no mine ha thii' zoonen. 12 en ha verdii-djon en ghe oor ein. 15 oem verrokaat nee-sheen. 18 vassieer, [formerly (tsaai)] ik heb neen ghe- daan taa-gehaa ekh. 22 laupji meer ghow ['quickly'] de beeto kleer maalen, en doot zo-n-en aan: dootj oem éi-nan riek in zin vweer en skhoo aan ziin veet. 23 met net kaaf. 24 bhant de zoon drr ik me-njdjaen ['minded, thought'] det doo't bhas, es hibrom vonjen. 25 ziin-en aaitde zoon bhas op-t veldj, bhii deh nee-vars ['homewards'] kbhaam, en doo-n-der bi-t nuus kwaaam, neeerdjan-t-er det binnan-t speelo ghih ['heard that within play was going on']. 27 oeer broer. 29 om en mit miin vrenj kereomi ['Christmas,' feasting] te hevan ['hold']. 31 joq, duu best ait idi bimikh.

[Additional illustrations compared with German.] 17 zeet sagt [bet 12 sagt (zacht)]. 18 zeggheen segen. 19 miil meer. 20 kompasi [compass], used also in Belgium and Zeelann, where medeijingen is as unknown as kompass is in northern Netherlands.]

XVIII. Noord - Brabant, in English Dutch Brabant. I. 294. [Closely related to No. XXX. 152, etc.]

57. Helmond, town (51 n 28, 5 s 39).
11 one mens haa thiei'e scena.
12 en tuu niil za vador dairi-djaq ['dealing,' dividing]. 15 die maaka n'm verkaas-ey-er. 18 vassieer, 'k heb'-er kne-
va ghadaan [German ich habe neben gethalten, I have done beside—
what is right, i.e. wrong, a euphem-
ism] tigha áu. 22 ghaa ghaa ['go quickly'] in hóis en vat 't skhaa asta jerska, det i-t aandy ['on-do,' don] en skhuan an z'n vooert; en miin-dem enen riek en ziin hand. 23 t'vat kalf. 24 bhant mone yooj hieezer bhar zoovaceel as daad on nau heb k'm bhoroen [Dutch wederom, again]. 25 en zoon astu-je yooq bhas op-t veld, oo es i tóis ['to die' to the house] kbham, hooer-don i-t tiqe on-t daane, 27 áu brun-jere. 29 dor ik m'n ka-remaa to op kos traakteer. 31 manoo yooja, 'k heb ik eeval al nee heve hijer, on war ik heb is eeval ook t-aú.

58. Sambeek, village in the north-east part of North Brabant, the
so-called Land of Kuik (51°37', 56°58'). I. 299.

11 der bhasa-w ['was once', (ae)] is the remains of eens 'm inns dui tbee zoons ha'. 12 on de vaar-deélide z'n ghuud en ghaaaf-'m zii porsii. 15 om de veerkes te hoocon. 18 vaar-daar, 'k-heb bit'or ghazhe'ndigk tsee'ghan ô. 22 haal-s gau ['quickly'] ma zoondabai ['Sunday's'] speel'en ydt de kiis en trek'-m dui-s an, en duu-m cen rinik an zii haant en skhyun en de vuyt. 23 't ve tale kal. 24 bhaante dees'za mai-na zoon bhasa doot, en ii is bher ghavorde. 25 en de erste zoon bhasa in-t veld, maar tuur ii kort beoi hyya kwam, meee-rda ii-t ghazq' en ghadma's. 27 uu blyy. 29 om ris ['once', apparently daar-ens, German dareins] vroo-lik met me vryan-d te bheerza. 31 noeeer en ujuq, sji bint en blu'ft a-titiid beoi mee.


11 'ma mins ha tbee zoeens. 12 en de vaar's deriddles tronsen ['contra-
cotion of Dutch hunlieden', 'them'] af. 15 op de veerkes te paa'so ['attend']. 18 vaar'sar, 'k hee'-t meee' ghadada-en 'k bin eneen ske'ke'nts. 22 laag me de besta keel ['Dutch kiel, a peculiar frock worn by the Brabanters] en laat 'm an'skii'te en duu'-m 'ne riq aan zene hand en skuu'm aan de vuctor. 23 'tg hema'stale kal. 24 bhant dees'za meen zoon bhar dood', en ii is avords. 25 en on d'our-dste zoon bhar oep d'n a'kar, en kwamp op meei's aan, en meee-rda-o lit ['some-
what'] af huu'-or omen-der ['was jolly']. 27 soo brouuer. 29 oem te veroerito. 31 joqk, ghee zei's at'sleid beoi mee.

60. Rijsbergen, village (51°31', 4°41'). I. 306.

11 na zee-koro meens han tbee zoonen. 12 en de vaar'dar ghalaat aan a'sl'bai bhal-or tuuk'skham. 15 daar moos in de veerkes hyya. 18 vaar'dar, 'k heb mislaan teeq'ghe zoo. 22 haal's de beo'stale kleer en skhii't za'm aan, en duu'-m 'en riq aan zene vuyt en skhuan aan z'n vucte. 23 't ve tale kal. 24 bhant deese zoonen bhas dood, en is bher ghavorde. 25 den oor-dste zoonen bhar in-t veld, en toen op de bher ['wharf,' barn, homestead] kkhuan, noord'en in dat-er gha-
spald en gheda-net bhuir. 27 war'tielan
63. Tielerswaard, district (51 m 53, 5 o 27). I. 322.
11 'n mins na tbbee zoons. 12 en i ae'k de heli - t ghuud. 15 om de vretkes te hyv'g. 18 vaa'der! 'k kheen kbaaard ['sin'] ghaa'daan teegh'kan oun. 22 breg'qda gheli - t bestra kla's'd en trekt-ot-am aan, en gheef-om -anon riq aan te ha'nd, en skhuun aan de vuur-te. 23 't vete'at kalf. 24 bhant de'eze m'n zoon bhas dood, e'ii is ghevo'nda. 25 en z'n ou'dste zoon bhas in-t veld, en tuu iei hoo'k khaan, noor'don ii-i siq'on en -t myyzi'k. 27 uu bryy'or. 29 da kek m'n vri'nde kon vroe'lik bheer'za. 31 kei'nd! ghe'zi za'iat'tei'bi'd bai ma'i.

64. Uddel, village (52 m 16, 5 o 46). I. 326.
11 'n mins aar'ghons had tbbee joo'qens. 12 en niu dooq-t ['did it']. 15 om de kee'na en te hyu'ja. 18 vaa'ar, ik nebe'i nii zoe best omma'k met uu. 22 krigh't bestra ghoro'j ['ghore'i'], clothing, in Frieland gorp'i is 'horse-cloth' yrt de ka's'ta, en trekt-ot-am an, en steekt-an riq an z'n viger en laat ni skhuun-an en duun. 23 't vete'tsa van de kyy'jaas [or (kyy'shaes), 'calf.' occurs in other Gelder dialects, but Winkler does not know its origin.] dhii bhehe'taran ['water,' that is, fatten, eat and drink]. 24 bhant di'ei miin zoons bhas yyt de tiid, en is bheer eko'man. 25 tuu de oildst' dzoq bi nyy'ks khbaam, noor'de nii -ghazi'q on ghobhi'i' as van-on hee'e viziit. 27 un broer. 29 dat ik-s met-t joo'qo volk shkik ['jollification' same as Dutch gek] sol na'bi'en. 31 joo'qen, si bheer'e a'slitid bi miin.

11 'n man dii tbbee joo'qen had. 12 en z'n vaa'ar dii dee bheh it-m vreeggh on ghaaf 'm z'n part. 15 om op de kee'na te paasen. 18 vaa'ar, 'k kne' nii ghuida ada'an teegh'kan juu. 22 breg'q zoo ghoo a ze kynt ['as fast as ye can'] de bestra kleer niir en trekt 'm dii an, en dhuut-am-an riq an z'n viger on trekt 'm ook skhuunan [or (siq'nan)] an. 23 't fii'nta vete'at kalf. 24 bhant de'eze jooq van mee bhas dood, en xoo nee bheee'hm bheer ta'ro'ge ove'n'den. 25 de ou'sto jooq, dii bhas ot-land, en tuu dii bheer op nyy's an gheoo', en kort bi nyy's khbaam, tuu noor'de ii i-e siq'gon en da'n'sen. 27 z'n broear.

66. Scherpenzeel, village (52 m 4, 6 o 30). I. 333.
11 dar bhas en 'n man dii tbbee zuuns had. 12 en daa ghaaf z'n vaa'der-am. 15 om de vretkes te neece-en. 18 vaa'der, 'k met zon odaan en zuu-k's kleet bhsaanda'del. 22 ghaat daa'dalik ['quickly'] da bestra kleer haal'an en trekt-om dii an, en duu'sa riq an z'n ha'nd en gheef-om skhuun [or (siq'um)] an z'n vuur-ta. 23 't sme'te kalf. 24 bhant m'n zuun bhas dood, en ii is bheere'm ove'n'den. 25 en z'n ou'sto zuun bhas op-ot laend, en tuu dii dikht boi nyy'ks khbaam, noor'den ii ii siq'gon an da'n'sen. 27 je broe'er. 29 om-s vroe'lik te bhsa'n min m'n kam'mera'ds. 31 kiend! iei bint a'khoos boi me'i.

67. Dinzperlo, village (51 m 52, 6 o 30). I. 337.
11 iim's had tbbee zoons. 12 en va'aard de'i'di oer-t ghuud. 15 om de vretkes te hyu'dan. 18 va'aard, ik heb o泽reedh'k teegh'kan oun. 22 haal't bestra kleed en trekt-ot-am an, en dhuud-am-an a riq an de hand, as skhuuns-an an de vy'ta. 23 't vete'at kalf. 24 bhant di'ei miin zoon'a bhas dood, an is ove'n'an. 25 en zin oildst' joo'qo bhas op-land, e too a kort bu [like a short Dutch i followed by j, possibly (beizh), which is on the way to (bei' boi')] 't nyy's khbaam, noor'de haat-t siq'gon en da'n'sen. 27 uu bry't. 29 om met mi'iiu vrae'nd vroe'lik te bhe'eren. 31 kiend, iei bont a'kiid bi mi.

68. Varseveld, village (51 m 57, 6 o 28). I. 340.
11 iimes na da tbbee zons [a brighter (that is, open) sound than o in French somme]. 12 en nii de'i'den oer-t ghuud. 15 om de vrettens te hyu'yan. 18 va'aard! ik heb o泽reedh'k teegh'kan oun. 22 krigh de bestra kleer niir on duut zo-em an, stek-on riq an zii'nan hand en skhuun-an de vy'ta. 23 't sme'te kalf. 24 bhant di'ei mi'iiu zona bhas dood, e'ii is bheer ove'n'an. 25 en zii'nan oildst' zona bhas op-land, en as ee kort bij nyy's khbaam, noor'den ee-t siq'gon an da'n'sen. 27 uu bry't. 29 om mi met mi'iiu kam'mera'da vroe'lik te ma'skan. 31 kiend, iei bont a'slitid bi mi.

11 daar bhas ens-eone man, dui tbhii zeens h'ad. 12 m'ai ghiqk daa'se'me tot de dii-liqk Aav'ær. 15 oem de vatorks te hy'yz. 18 vaa'dor, ik he'bo m'ai bozond'ghed tew'ghen ou [ou] is said to be obscure, that is, close. 22 haalet-on na'ik kle're, en pret'ket 'm dat an; duu'um-eone go'olden riqk an dan vij'er en skhunne an da yv'te. 23 't m'esta kalf. 24 oemda't 'k mi'me xéna bee hrekew'ghen he'bo. 26 dan oldsten ze'na kham tew'ghen dan aav'ond van't land, en xec'da'da, duu nogh bhid van huus bhas, al dat ghoo's'q en ghoo'yq. 27 zin birocer. 29 oem min vre'nde te trakteeron. 31 m'in kind, duu bote toek a'ltiid bi'ei m'ai.

70. *Zutphen*, town (52 n 8, 6 s 12). I. 346.

11 ee'mand had tbhie zeene. 12 en nee děi'on wéer-t ghuud. 15 oem da vatorks te hy'ez. 18 vaa'ader, ik heb gozond'ghed te ghaan uu. 22 breqt hir veer't 't besta kleed en doot-st om-an, en ghee'ltom-an riq an z'hand en skhoo'en an de voo'en. 23 't ghoo'mesta kalf. 24 bhant d'ien minzu zeen bhas doed, en is ghoo'vondo. 25 en an oldsten zeen bhas in-t veld, en teex kehamb an-t hyys naa'derden, hoo'vondo en-t ghoo'q an-t ghoo'da'ns. 27 uu brocer. 29 dat ik met min vri'vond vrooo'lik mokh hoo'zeen. 31 kind, i bint a'ltiid bii min.

XX. *Utrecht*. I. 349.


11 'n zeeker mins had tbheel zuu'ns. 12 en ni děi'da nem't ghuud. 15 om de vatoks te béi'en. 18 vaa'dor, ik heb gozond'ghed te ghe'gon juu. 22 breqt de besta kleere'hir en duu kom dit aan, en ghee't a riq an z'hand en skhoo'en aan de beerna. 23 't ghame'sta half. 24 bhant deee'ze miq zuu bhas doed, an i is avo'zen. 25 z'n ou'sta zuu'ns bhas in-t veld, an tuu duii kehamb en dikht be'1-t huus kehamb, hoo'drda nii-t ghez'q an-t ghoo'ares' ['nois']. 27 uu brocer. 29 dat ik miq vri'vand skik kon he'ben. 31 kiq'd! i bint a'ltiid bi miq ['the (i) in (miq) is somewhat longer than the usual short (i), so that the word sounds between (miin) and (miq); this pronunciation of (u) as (q) was usual in peasant speech of the xvith and xviiith centuries in other Dutch dialects, especially in Holland. It is still found in some dialects on the lower Rhine.']

72. *Utrecht*, city (52 n 5, 5 s 7). I. 353. [Older dialect, formerly common in Utrecht, and still spoken by older small-tradesmen or workmen.]

11 der bhas is 'n ma'en en dui ad tbhie zeene [(ma'n)], 'clear, or open short a rather lengthened, followed by obscure e,' (ad), "the A very weakly aspirated, and sometimes quite mute", (ad). 19 de nda zo de buul ['household stuff, all property']. 15 om de vatorks te hy'ez. 18 vaa'jar, ik heb ghoo'med'ghed teew'ghen jou. 22 breqi di'be'ektre'en, in trek xam an, in ghif'en-an riq an z'hand in skhuun an z'beena. 24 bhat ma zeen bhas dada, in ii is bhoo'erm ghoo'venda. 25 maar z'n ou'sta zeeen bhas op-t la'nd, in tuu duii dikh be'1-t hoo'kmh' tuu hoo'vondo ii-t ghoo'q in de da'ns. 27 so bruur. 29 om mi'ma [for (mit ma), that is, (met ma)] ka'measa's pret ['feast'] te maalka. 31 joq'a, j'ei bint a'ltiid be'iet mee.

73. *Utrecht*, city, I. 357. [See specimen 72. This is the dialect of the lowest classes heard in low porthouses in the back slums. As this does not follow the verses enough to give parallels, and is curious, I transcribe the whole.]

dar bhas os ['once'] 'n man, dui nad tbhees zyyns. da jo'qsta zoe ['said']: vaa'ader, geeh ma m'n erfenis ['inheritance, Dutch erafenis', daa ghais ik da ba's'io ('wide') bhe'erold in. z'n vaa'dor deet ['did it?']; in ['and'] a' Hortes ['short-time'] dar an ma'x-tokh y't ['the young one cut out', went off]. maar ['but'] al hek'ghou ['all whole quickly'] bhas ai zu li'iva ghe'letsi ['money'] naa de maan ['after the mouth, swallowed up'], de ghoo'st porsii ['portion'] ha'da de mooi'en me'sis ['the pretty misses, girls'] m'agfahov'ka ['stolen from him'], bhat dar ghooq dui ri'dijyt ['constantly'] naa tuu. nou dees dui zuu bes ['his best'] om ii'bhers ['somewhere'] an-t bherk te ko'ma, maar i kon nii'bhers tere'kh ['to-right,' he could succeed]
nowhere] omitted i dar zoo ro-tigh yy’-tazgh [‘because he looked so nasty’].
Ho i liip lans da hyy’-za [‘he ran along the houses’] to akbooi’-so om
’n snee’-tei braad [‘to beg for a slice of bread’]. op-t la’-qa les [‘at last’]
khbam dii bai’-i imand, dii -m n-aa-t-
land lii khaan [‘let go’] om da verrkes
m da hyy’-ja. da fond i ‘n erh [Dutch
erg, ‘terrible’] lek [‘bad’] bherk in i
doxk [‘thought’] in z’n aighes: bhaa
bin ik tuu ghek’oma? ike zee
m bheer naa m naa daar tuu khaan, in
vraagh’o ott ii m n as knekh bhal
ghobry’-ko, bhan nêu lei-k tokh
ermuui. zoo gheeze’d, zoo ghedaan
; maar
tuu z’n vaa-dar-m an zaghe ko’m, liipp
i aighes naa-m tuu in vray’-lda van
bla’iskap. hoi’i had net [‘exactly’]
’n ka’-lof vet gheme’s, in daa moos voort
ghesla’-kh bho’rds in daa bhr’ n krooth
fees [‘a great feast’] ghevi’rd [‘celebrated’,
German, gefeiert]. tuu da
oo’to zy’-n na syy’-s kham, dokth ik
bhat zoyi dor tokh tuu daum vree’da da
zo zoo ’n preh’sa, in vray’gheda
an ’n kne’-khi, an dii varte’lda-m ’t
hre’-ghava’. tuu bhiird in erhk
booe [‘angry’], bhan i bhas ’n rekhto
lex’-jaas [‘bad one’] z’n vaa-dar ghoq
naa-m tuu, in zee: sorkhi, kom nów
tokk bija, bhan ja bruur, dii bhekh
khabeer’i is [‘who has been away’]
, is beher taor’-kh khaoko’ma! maar
u ni, in zee: hre’! ike eb
’aat’i khuood [‘good, well’] op’ghebra
[‘given heed’], in zee neb nooth nooit
’n geoi’tsi [‘little goat’] voort for mee
ghesla’-kh, maar voor hœm, dill al z’n
leeve nii gekha’-kh heit, in dill al sa
gheli bai’-de huurr’-tan ghobro’k heit,
voor zoo-n ro-tazgh maak in zoo ’n
staunsi [‘for such a nasty fellow you
make such state’].

XXI. OEVERSEL. I. 360.
74. Oldenzaal, city (52 n 19, 6 s 56). I. 362.
11 eerie haad da bhee zoons. 12 en
ha dei’de erer’t ghhood. 15 om da
zhibh’a to hœd’on. 18 vaa’-dar, ik
me’be zord ada’an tay’-ghan 00. 22
breug voort ’t k’-stentyyggh en trekt-
ste-an om, an doot’m-anon rijk an de
mand on skhoe an de voo’ta. 23 ’t
gheme’sto kalf. 24 bhan dag’on miinnen
zoo’n bhas doot, on see is bhee avenon
. 28 on zii’man otsa zyna bhass, in-t-vel, an doo o bu’-tuu touns kham,
woerd-t-z’qen an da’-neen. 27 en
broex. 29 om mi’mo vrerdns
bhiila ta her’-ban. 31 kind, doun bi
a’toos bi mi. 75. Deventer, town (52 n 15, 6 s 9). I. 374.
11 see’-ar ii’mand had tbyh rons.
12 en heerd’ilta-d, 15 om da vearkens
om to parson. 18 vaa’-dar, ik neb
zoe’ndiggh goer uu. 22 breg daad’elik
[‘workfully, immediately’] -t beste
kleed miir an doo ’m dat an, an doo-
eem’an riq an da hand an skhowaan an
da voo’tan. 23 ’t ghamo’ste kalf. 24
bhan deer ze zol bhas doot, an om avs-
doon. 25 an zin o’ld Ian zona inis t-
vel, an tuun dek khbamp an-t-nyy
naardon, hecrednd-ee-t ghazaq-arq st
ghed’ans. 27 uu broer. 29 om mi’mo
vrerdns in mi’rinden -s [‘once’]
vreec’ik la maakun. 31 kind, ibi
11 dar bhas’-es om [‘was once a’]
man dii tbthe zoons [‘(a) is the short-
est possible long o, not the short o of
Dutch ladder, but nearly so’]. 12 an
vaa’-dar dee’lda zin ghund in thbhi’-
ran. 15 om op da verrkes to parson. 18
vaa’dar, k-e-b-t cee, eel sleekth skam’t.
22 alt [‘fetch’] ’t besta kleed op om
duut-o-stom an, streekt-on rikk an mi
viqar an trekt-am skuun-an an. 23 ’t
vet-a kalf. 24 bhan miin zna’ bhas
doort, an om avs’-dun. 25 an o’tid’s
om [‘(a) prefixed, but (b) omitted in’ (a),
eel, bho, yyu, yya] zon’na bhas’ik bi yya,
as tuun a bheer dikht ba’-t yys kham,
ecerdan ee-t ziqan om da’-neen. 27
uu broex. 29 om a-iin fee’-sin’
o’ldian mi mi’n vrerdns. 31 kind, ibi
a’tiild bi mi. 77. Zwartsluis, town (52 n 38,
6 s 12). I. 381.
11 om vaa’d ad tbthe zoono. 12 en
ha dii’de erre’t ghuuet. 15 om da
verkens tu bhiel’-on. 18 vaa’-dar, ik
eb zoe’ndiggh tseek’-ghan uu. 22
breug ’t besta kleet iir, an duut’-d
om en ghheet em ’n rijkk an ziin
[‘hand’] an schnu’un an da voo’tan.
23 ’t gheme’ste kalf. 24 bhan miin
zona bhas doot, an iheer avsone.
25 an zii oleta zon’ne bhas in-t-hamm
en an ee-dighe bi-t-yys khbamp,
come’t ’t ghaazed’ek en-t-gharaan.
27 uur breug. 29 al ik iis met miin
vrendan vreec’ik kon bheer’-tan. 31
kiint, i bi a’tiild bi mi. 

LOW GERMAN AND FRIESIAN DIALECTS. CHAP. XI.
II. DRENTHE. I. 387.

78. Meppel, town (52 n 42, 6 s 11). I. 388.

11 na zee-kar men's na da bhéi zeevens. 12 an hoi ghaf-t aem. 15 an daa maes hoi de op da zhibb'n ta pa'sen. 18 mwa'dar, jak heba ghlrott kba'da edaan. 22 mael ghou 'n zoon'dpak ['the Sunday's pack' of clothes] en laat 'm da ontre'kon, an gheef 'm ook 'n riq an en ziin viqar en na'i ashkoonan. 23 't diikste kalf. 24 bhant ik mee'nde dat miin zoon'no doot hbs, an-k hieb hie bor a'veerdan. 25 da o'ldste zoon'no hbs er neet bai, an duu dee bai'hy kba'da hieon'no hoi dat ala'ran. 27 ziin breer. 29 om 's plieizi'ir te maaka'ken met miin kamer-a'a. 31 miin kiind! ik kant a'lidit bai'mi bli'v'yan.

79. Zeevelo, village (52 n 48, 6 s 44). I. 391.

11 daar bhas iis 'n maeens an dui na'da bhii'zoonen. 12 on da vaddar ghaaf hie maeens zoon part 't ghout h'ne. 16 om zoon zhibb'n ta hyy-on. 19 'k hie hie zoon'dgibih veeer d'ai. 22 krii'gho mai'handigh 't best ghout h's unt uut 't ka'ment ['cabinet'], an trek 't hne am, on gheef am-on riq an en ziin viqar en skhuun an da vou'ttan. 23 't ve'ta kalf. 24 bhant miin zoonen bhas dood, an hie bheeerv'no. 26 on ziin o'ldste zoonen bhas krek ['direct, correctly, exactly'] in-te-veld, an duu noikih bai'hy hoo kba'da, duu hoo'erde hii dat zo zoon'an on daa'ntan. 27 diin breer. 29 da-k ar met miin kia'tan is plieizi'ir van koen maa'kan. 31 doud zuis jaa a'lidit bai'mi'

XXIII. GRININGEN. I. 396.

80. Selingen, village (52 n 57, 7 s 10). I. 400.

11 dar bhas iis 'n man en da'i har bhéi zeevens. 12 an hao déil'da hooer-t ghout ton. 16 bhaaf haa op de zhibb'na pa'sen skol. 18 'k kan't nikh veeer juu vernbhoordan. 22 ghaat men en haalit 't a'ơde'besta kléid, on duu hoom dat an; duu hoom ook-an riq an de viqar en deet-vols ['boots'] an de vou'tan ['with these boots on the feet' compare the 'shoes on the legs', frequent hereafter, see spec. 101]. 23 't a'jordikste kalf. 24 'k dookh'ne nikh onders as dat hoo doot hbs, an syinh'i leef tokh nogh hoi is fot bheer an is taf nóu bheer. 25 on da o'lste zoonen bhas op-t land, on doud do'i bi hoo kba'da, hoo'erde hoi dai ziin viqar on dan'non. 27 zuu broc'er [compare (voned) called (vourney) asked]. 29 dat 'k hie plieizi'ir maa'kan kon. 31 miin joq! dou bie jaa a'lidit bi miit.

81. Oldambt, district, containing Winsum, town (53 n 8, 6 s 57). I. 404.

11 or bhas is 'n vaa'dar déi tethi zoonen na. 12 an o'i moeuk dat elk bi ziin part kba'da. 15 om op zoon zhibb'n ta pa'sen. 18 'k heb zoon'dgibih teegh'en jou. 22 ghaat i hen on trekt hom 't na'i zoon'dgibhspark an, an dou i hom on riq an en ziin viqar, on skhuun on an da vou'ttan. 23 't ve'ta kalf. 24 bhant diis miin zoonen bhas stour'en, on is bheer te re'khto. 26 on ziin o'ldste zoonen bhas op-t land, on daa déi men ghout on o'rdon bi ['close by,' Winkler has not been able to trace this word] hoo bhas hoo'erde o'i-t speer'en on dan'non. 27 diin breer. 29 da-k miit miin kamer'a'gon is bli'ede kon maa'kan. 31 miin joq, duu bie bieh on deec'er ['day and night, local'] bii'mii.

[Winkler remarks that most writers in this and the Groningen dialect write y = 'o' and ce = 'ee, e' in Dutch. In his opinion the real sound is (e), not (e'), nor (ai). But where e is an original diphthong, as in ei, meid, lieden = egg, maid, suffer, the sound approaches (ai), and cannot be considered anything else in some mouths. Such remarks are important in respect to the confusion of writing e, a'i, in Early English and modern High German. In these transcriptions my (e)i, (e)i, (e'i) indicate Winkler's e'i, a'i, y, wi.]
mit miin vro-den bliid ['bliithe'] bheer'zan kon. 31 kiind, duu bia's a'ltiid bii mi.

83. Ulrum, village (53 n 22, 6 e 19). I. 411.
11 daar bhas rias ['ounce'] 'n man dái tbbái zoeen naa. 12 on hí dái-dído-t ghóod t'ee-sken ['kh'] hóecer. 15 om op zhibhi'en naa to paas'ën. 18 vaa'der, ik heb mi bozie-níghd an jun. 22 briqt 't o'venstaams ['at the hour,' at once] 't a'larb'e'sta pak kléi'er hóecer, on treet 't nom an, on dockh nom 'n riq om viqor, on skóon on om vóon-tan. 23 't veto kalz. 24 om di'sa miin zoeen bhas dood, on is bheer'vo'nan. 25 in zii o'cta zoeen bhas op-t laand, on dóu dée dikht bi nuus khabam, hóecyr'a hóecer zíqon an daa's'en. 27 julun bre'iir [but (tractive) asked]. 29 om mit miin vro'ndan rias plezii'r to maak'kon. 31 kiind, dóu bia's sa a'ltiid bii mi.

84. Groningen, city (53 n 13, 6 e 34). I. 415.
11 dor bhas rias 'n man dái tbbái zoeen had. 12 en dóu dái-dído hó'i hóecer uut bhat zo kríghen ko'nen. 15 om op de zhibhi'en naa to paas'ën. 18 vaa'der, ik heb zo'ndíghd teegh'en joo. 22 breq híir vort 't bëste klied en treet 't nom an, en dóu-on-on riq om zii viqor, on skhóun on zii vóon-tan. 23 't veto kalz. 24 bhan t'ee-ski, on zii zoeen van wo'íi bhas ghóod as dood, on is bheer'vo'nan. 25 de o'cta zoeen bhas jyost op-t veld on dóu a dikht bai'hýys khabam, hóecyr'a hó ei de myzyiik, en hóu ze da'a'nest in de riig'hga ['rows,' as in country dances]. 26 joo bre'iir [also ( commercial) asked]. 29 om mit miin vro'ndan bhat plezii'r [printed plezeir, I have presumed by mistake for plezeir] to maak'kon. 31 jo'qo, dóu biss a'ltiid bai'mi. [Winkler remarks that t, v, s, f, are constantly pronounced by the small tradesmen as (d, b, z, v).]

85. Den Ham, village (53 n 17, 6 e 27). I. 419.
11 see'kar man had tbbái [not (6i), rather (éei)] zoeen. 12 in hó'i vor-dído-t ghóod o'nder hóecer. 15 om op de zhibhi'en naa to paas'ën. 18 vaa'der, ik heb zo'ndíghd teegh'en joo. 22 breq híir vort ['forth'] 't bëste klied, in treet hóom dat an, in duu-on-on riq om zii viqor, on skhóun on zii vóon-tan, 23 't veto kalz. 24 bhan dí'da zoeen van miin bhas dood, a is bheer'to'na. 25 mar de o'lda zoeen bhas op-t laand, in dóu dée bai hýys khabam, hóecyr a-t zíqon an daa's'en. 27 julun bre'iir [(riip) called, (tractive) asked]. 29 dat 'k ook rias met miin vro'nden plezii'r maak'kon. 31 jo'qo, duu bia's a'ltiid bii mi.

86. Grijpekerk, village (53 n 16, 6 e 17). I. 421.
11 'n man had tbbái jo'qo. 12 en hó'í parte hóecr't ghuud. 15 met de zhibhi'en. 18 vaa'der, ik heb vär'ke'rd handelde teegh'en joo. 22 briqt híir deaal del de bëste klee'ten, in laa'om dit antrek'on, in ghees-fa'nd riq om viqor, in skhóon on zii vóon-tan. 23 't veto kalz. 24 bhan miin jo'qo bhas dood, in nón neb 'k him bheer'vo'nan. 25 in zii o'lda zoeen bhas naa't laand, in duu dit bheer'om khabam, in dikht bai hýys bhas, hoote'n hó'i-t alarm. 27 joo bruur [(riip) called, (tractive) asked]. 29 om mit miin vro'ndan-s plezii'r to maak'kon. 31 miin jo'qo, joo bin sa a'ltiid bai'mi.

XXIV. FRIESLAND. I. 424.

a. FRIESIAN IN FRIESLAND. I. 428.

87. Friesland, province (53 n 5, 5 e 60). I. 433. [The present Dialectus Communis of the whole province. The spelling of the original is that of G. Colmjon, and no explanation is given, being of course well known—in Friesland, as this dialect is spoken with tolerable uniformity over the whole province, except at Hindeloopen and in Schiermonnikoog. Hence my interpretation is more than usually doubtful.

—the above was written before I had had the assistance of my two authorities from Grouw (see the next specimen), but I let it stand, together with the interpretation I had given, in order to show the difficulties I had to contend with, and the degree of approximation to correctness which my renderings may be supposed to furnish.]

11 dar wíir ['the (6i)] is very doubtful to me, but Winkler speaks of the Friesian w being the same as the English, and hence I have used it for this Dialectus Communis, but I think (hh) more probable] 'n'kear on man (minsko) end do'í ni' twaa só'non. 12 end ho'íe di'idó dia'ron't ghuud. 15 um de
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ba-rghen to wéi’dran. 18 héit [‘father’],
ik hab suu-dígha théin [written t’in],
and may be (tein, tsín, tin), and the
last is probable] ru. 22 briq forth ’t
be-ste pak kléan jhir [written hjir,
possibly only (jir, jír) is said] and
tééan him do‘i’o’n, and jòu him on
riq o’n sin hand, and sko’n o’n do’
fo’-ten. 23 ‘t me’ste kéal. 24 when
[written huent] di’as so’n fen mo’i wi’r
dés, and nuu is werfur’u. 25 and sin
a’ldsta so’n wi’r in-t field, and doo da’i
néi huus ghuq, and dhi-khté [written
thihte] bo’i huus ka’m, méar’dé na’i -
sin’qan and -t dru-nu’ran. 27 din bro’r.
29 dat ik méi miin friu’nde ek ris
froolik wées mu’khté. 31 be’ra,
du biat as’tid bo’mi.

87*. Grouc, village (53 n. 6,
5 650).
[Mention is made of this place in
Winkler I. 428, but no specimen is
given. I was fortunate enough to find
two London merchants, who were born
in this village, and who spoke the
dialect as boys.—Mr. de Fries, and Mr.
ván de Meulen, and they were so kind as
to read me the specimen 87 separately.
I made notes of their pronunciation at
the time, and wrote out the following
attempt to reproduce it, on the next
day. But on hearing the sounds for
the first time, with only one reading from
each native, I have doubtless
made many errors. The following
will, however, probably give a suffi-
ciently approximate representation
of the real sounds. As this dialect is,
of all others, most interesting in relation
to our own country speech, I give the
whole parable at length. The frac-
tures should be especially noticed, and
at the same time the difficulty I felt
occasionally in determining which
vowel had the stress, as in English
(p. 1312). The length of the vowels
varied with the two authorities in sev-
eral cases. The r seems to be generally
(r), varying to (l) rather than (v), and
I have written (l) throughout, following
Winkler’s spelling. The w seems to be
(bh), judging rather from the Eng-
lish of my authorities, who did not
then seem to use (w) at all. But a
(wh), etc., occurs, so that there is
a false appearance of (wa). The (sh,
tsh, dzh) seemed to be clearly de-
veloped of sj, tj, dj, although oc-
casionally I seemed to hear (si-, ti-,
di-). I did not attempt to distinguish
(t, d) from (t, d), but I believe the
dental form is correct. Where I have
written (t), I did not hear a trill, but
only a vocal effect. Sometimes the r
was quite lost. There was no great
certainty about (s, z), or about final
(t, d), and the two authorities did not
always agree. The g was certainly not
always (gh, oh), but was frequently
simple (g).

I adopt Mr. de Fries’s pronunciation
and variations from the text of Wink-
ler’s specimen 87, simply because I
heard him read first; but I add any
variants that I noticed in Mr. van de
Meulen. F. and M. indicate my two
authorities.

The following couplet I give as it
was pronounced first by Mr. de Fries,
and secondly by Mr. van de Meulen.

1. (burtar bréa en taiiz
dar dat net see’za keen is geen
epri-khté Friiz).

2. (burtar bréa en grii-ne tabliis,
dii dat net see’za kan a net en
ro-khté Friiis.)

I am inclined to consider the second
most correct. This couplet reminded
me of one I had seem cited in Mr. C. C.
Robinson’s writings, as current in
Halifax, Yorkshire.

3. (gáuíd bré’d, bot-or, on tshizi,
iz gáuíd El-ideks en gáuíd Friiiz),
implies a felt resemblance between
the pronunciations. Mr. C. C. Robin-
son says that (net) is used for not,
and that the same fracture as (iir) is not
unheard in Halifax, but is more
characteristic of Leeds, where also
(bot-or) is used. Mr. Robinson had
no fault himself in the correctness of
the assumption that Halifaxish is like
Friesian; but it occurred to me that it
would be interesting to contrast this
very singular Yorkshire dialect (236 of
the following classification), which has
adopted the popular Friesian test as a
rhyme of its own, verse by verse, with
the Grouw Friesian version, which I
had already obtained. Mr. Robinson
was kind enough to attempt a version,
which I here annex, with notes prin-
cipally due to his observations. The
resemblance is very far from close, but
there is sufficient similarity of pronun-
ciation to justify such a popular rhyme.

Here then follow, first, the Dialectus

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Communis of Friesland in the orthography adopted by Winkler, with, on the opposite column, a verbal translation, the English words which differ from the Friesian being in Italic.

Then, also in parallel columns, come the Friesian pronunciation taken from Mr. de Fries, with the variants of Mr. van de Meulen, who agreed with the former generally, and the Halifax rendering of the English verbal translation of the Friesian by Mr. C. C. Robinson, who strove to keep to that version for the sake of comparison, as far as was consistent with not straining the dialect.

Finally, I add notes, referring verse by verse to both the Friesian and Halifax versions, giving translations or other remarks which were suggested by the text.

1. Winkler's Friesian Orthography.

11 der wierienkear en man (minskie) end dy hie twa soannen.
12 de jungste fen dy twa sei tajin sin heit: heit! jow my 't diel fen 't gud dat my takum. end hy diende hiaren 't gud.

13 end net fulle dagen der nei (end en bitsje letter) forsamm'e de jungste soan alles by enoar, teach forth up reis nei en fir land end brocht der al sin gud der thruch in en oerdwealsk libben.

14 do er alles der thruch brocht hie kaem der en greate krapt ean item (hungersead) in dat selde land, end hy biguhn brekme to liyen.

15 end hy gung hinne end gung by ien fen de borgers fen dat land end dy stiurde him up sin land um de borgen to weidjen.

16 end hy woe wol jerna sin bük folite mei 't bargefoer; mar nimmem joesch him dat.

17 do kaem er to himselm end hy sei: ho fulle fen m'n heite fulk habbe oerloedig hiar brea end ik kum um fen hunger!

18 ik seil upstean end nei 's heite's gean end ik seil tajin 's heit sidze: heit! ik hab stundige tajin de himel end foar (tajin) ju.

19 end nu bin ik net mear wirdig juw soan to hieetten; mettsje my mar lik as ien fen juw arbeiders.

20 end hy stoe up end gung nei sin heit ta. end do er yette fir fen him of wier, seach sin heit him al, end dy waerd mei inerlike barmhertigens
oandien; hy rûn up him ta, foel him um sin hale end patte him.

21 end de soan sei tajin him: heit!
i ik hab sûndige tajin de himel end foar ju, end ik bin net langer wîrdich juw soan to hitten.

22 de heit likwol sei tajin sin fulk: bring forth 't beste pak klean hjir end taicen dy oan end jow him en ring oan sin hand skoen oan de foetten.

23 end bring 't meste keal end slacht it; lit ûs ite end frolik wêse.

24 hwent disse soan fen my wier dea end nu is er wier liben wirden; hy wier forlern end nu is er werfûn. end hia bigûnen frolik to wirden.

25 end sin aldste soan wier in 't field en do dy neî hûs gung end thichte by hûs kaem, hoarde hy 't sougen end 't dûsen end.

26 end hy rôp ien fen sin heite feinten by him end frege him hwet dat to bitszitten hie.

27 end dy sei tajin hem: din broer is kund end jimne heit heth 't meste keal slachte, um 't er him sûnd wer kringe heth.

28 mar hy waerd nidich end wol net in 'e hûs gean: do gung sin heit neî bûte end bea him der um.

29 hy likwol joech sin heit to 'n andert: siuch! sa fulle jierren taicenje ik ju al end ik hab nea net hwat tajin jauw sin dien end dochs habbe ju yu nimmer sin bokje jown, dat ik met min friûnden ek 'ris frolik wëse muchte.

30 mar nu disse soan fen ju kummen is, dy juw gûd mei hoeren der thruch brocht heth, nu habbe ju 't fetmesto keal for him slachte.

31 do sei de heit tajin him: bern!
du bist altid bij my end al hwet mines is, is dines ek.

32 me moast den frolik end blid wêse; hwent disse broer fen dy wier dea end hy is wer liben wirden; end hy wier forlern end nu is er werfûn. inward compassion on-done [= attacked]; he ran him to, fell him round his neck and patted [= caressed] him.

21 and the son said against him: father! I have sinned against the heaven and before you, and I am not longer worthy your son to be high.

22 the father like-well said against his folk: bring forth the best pack clothes here, and tug [= draw, put] him them on, and give him a ring on his hand and shoone on the feet:

23 and bring the masted [= fattened] calf and slay it; let us eat and frolicsome [= merry] be.

24 because this son of me were dead and now is he again living become; he were lost and now is he again-found. and they began frolicsome to become.

25 and his oldest son were in the field and then [= when] that-one after house ganged, and thick [= close] by house came, heard he the singing and the dancing.

26 and he rooped [= called] one of his father men by him and asked him what that to mean had.

27 and that-one said against him: thy brother is come and your father hath the masted calf slain, for it [= because] he him sound again caught hath.

28 but he became angry and would not in the house go; then ganged his father after be-out and begged him there for.

29 he like-well gave his father to an answer: see! so many years serve I you all, and I have never not what against you sin done, and though [= yet] have you never none buck-ling [= kid] given, that I with my friends also once frolicsome be might.

30 but now this son of you come is, that your good with whores these through brought hath, now have you the fat-masted calf for him slain.

31 then said the father against him: bairn! thou be'st all-tido [= always] by me and all what mine is, is thine eke.

32 men [= one, Fr. on, Old English me] must then frolicsome and blithe be; because this brother of thee were dead and he is again living become; and he were lost and now is he again-found.
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23 xend breq-t morsta1 kel2 en slakt et: let na ii'nt en froo'lek bheeez.

24 bheent de'so suan [soon M] xen mae bhir déa en noù os o bheex le'ban bheer-don; xhe'ri bhir' failse-n3 en noù os o bheer'e'n [bheer-fou M].

25 en baboon4 froolek ta bheer-don.


26 en xhe'ri roop i'n fien sin xhe's'la1 fer'ntan be'ri xhem en freeghia xhem bheet dat ta bitheeter2 3 xhe's.

27 en dii sa'i tehen xhem: dia bruus os koedm1 en ser'ma xhe'ri xheat2 't me'sto kael sae'khia, coma o xhem suund bheex kriigia xheat.

28 man xhe'ri bhaax niidok1 en bhuu2 mat in3 xhna4 ge7; doo goeq sin xhe'ri baa'tt en baa xhem der ocem.

29 xhe'ri li'khbool sukk sin xhe's'it te-a antset1 [antbead M] xhekk [sekok M] sa ferla seren tehaas2 ek xou, en ek xhab nes naet bheet tehen Jou en di', en dokh ha'be Jou me nemar non bokka Jou, det ek mae mi xhe'man2 sak-roes4 froo'lek bheex ma'ekhta.


31 doo sa'i da xhe's'it tehen xhem: bann [ Knee' M]1 dOu best a'liid beema [be'ri xem M], en al bheet mit'mes es, es dii'nes xek.

32 me moes1 deen froolek xeld bheex; bheant de's2 bruus faen da'ri bhir' déa en xhe'ri os o bheex le'ban bheer-don; en xhe'ri bhir' forla'sen en noù os o bheere'xen [bheer-fou M].

en gi-im a req on-t and,7 en xhe'e'ri xet fit (fit).8

23 en breq-t fed koof, en seet-tet;9 leet-es, en bi marri.4

24 koz dhiu led-s xais we di'd6 en nees i'k xer'rie'n; i we laest, en nees i'k sam5 agri'n en dhe bigon: ta bi gam'mam.7

25 en-t ñer'k4 led war-i't tloowia,7 en wena went tol'edz t-te'z,9 en cam tloos9 be7, i is10 t-seq in en doo-sin.

26 en-i koold wan a ix far'dha3 men bi im, en ekst im wat it war.4

27 en-i sed tol-im: dhì braw'dha-s kom, en dii far'dheos xalved-t fed koof for-im kuu'min bek see'nd.3

28 bot-i get med5 en wod'nt goo in,7 soo is far'dha went xe't, en baa'd4 im tal.

29 dhen i spek ta-t far'dhar i dhes rue'd,9 sez-i: nobba't 'xii ese's mon's 'xaj' oo-v saavd jool,9 en nees i'k marri' xam, xuk z oon xalved-t fed koof for-im.

30 bod 'nee et dhes led a xee'rz9 ex kuur'm, aet 'nee get' thoo wat xee'vy xun,9 xee' zoov glaan'en, en 'nee' z oon xalved-t fed koof for-im.

31 dhen sed t-xar'dhar tol-im: bee'n,8 'dhua-z6 oo'las bi-me, en ool et-s xais dhiu aaloon.5

32 wi-men dhen bi marri en ded-som3 lak, kos dhiu braw'dhar-o-dhe was diid, en-i was lost, en nees ise' braig'i'n.


11 Fr. 1) approaching (kéar). 2) at times approaching (mon, mon, man), and sometimes rather lengthened, as also in (tan, xhen), both F and M. 3) although written dy, both F and M agree here. 4) "almost three o's," as M said; but I sometimes thought I heard (so'oe, soo'non). F called attention to the resemblance and difference between the word and Dutch zoon, zwan.

Ha. 5) Mr. Robinson marks (tá-im). as a general rule I have marked the medial vowel in dipthongs as short in
dialectal transcriptions, its real length is in such cases rather variable. 6) "lads," there is a great tendency to this thinning in the more refined speech.

12 Fr. 1) the sound which I have here throughout written (e) seemed at times (a) or (a), and may have been (ah); the English (u) may certainly be always used. 2) this vowel hovered between (u, e), but on the whole (e) seemed to be nearest. 3) the diphthongs y, ei, were both pronounced alike, but both seemed unixed, and hovered among (y, ei, wi, ei, wi) for the first element, and (w1, wi, wi, twe, we) for the second. As I use (e) in fen (fen), I write (wi) as a compromise throughout. 4) the (ah) was distinct in both F and M, and hence probably in all the other Friesian specimens it ought to be used. But occasionally I seemed to hear (ti, ti-). The vowel was unixed as (e, e), at least I could not feel certain, except that it was not (a), and not (i, i). 5) (i) had distinct (i), not (e), and hence is clearly (i) shortened by rapid utterance. 6) (uh) was generally distinct (uh), not simple (u). This is the general word for father, as (mum) for mother. F and M did not know tete, tata. 7) the (g) seemed clear, not (gh, ch), as in Dutch, but in Emden, sp. 37, it was (ghou). (u) seemed to vary as (wo), thus (gu'd, gu'ed, guar'd), exactly as in English, in both F and M. (d) final was distinctly not (t); I did not sufficiently notice the dental (d) to be sure of it. 8) (me) for (masi) when without force, showing that (ma, mae, maei) were the probable stages; it is not a change of (si) into (ee). 9) the short vowel in (ta) must be noticed, it was quite run on to the consonant, as I have indicated. 10) in Winkler (di'lda), but F knew only (dee'lda) 11) here F and M differed materially, one ignoring the inserted (i), and keeping the aspirate, and the other allowing the aspirate to be driven out by the inserted (i); both occur in English dialects.

Ha. 12) youngest, no t. 13) till = to the father, the r vanishes frequently. 14) when the word stands isolated, or when it ends a sentence, or is followed by a word beginning with a vowel, then the r must necessarily be heard; in other positions the word is, by rule, deprived of the r."—C. C. K.

istically, (de' or e' or oon) 'deal us out us = our own.'

13 Fr. 1) here I seemed to hear (gh) clearly. 2) Dutch ma, German nach, 'after, towards.' 3) F's (bi-tah), not (bi-tah), may have really been (bi-tah), as M lengthened the vowel: short (i) seems most probable, as a representative of long (ii). 4) both F and M agreed in long (aa), though the original has short (a). 5) I doubt the (aa), it may have been only (unu); (aa) does not seem to occur intentionally, but only to be generated by following consonants. 6) the (ea) was here distinct; it is the German sog (sooq). 7) (i)est, both F and M agreed, in (ea), in trilled (r), and in final (i), and not (th) or (dh). F said that so far (th) being Friesian, he had had very great difficulty in mastering it. 8) (lam), at times (laan), and nearly (laan), quite as in Scotch. 9) (brokht) with (o) rather than (s). 10) (al) was always very like (al). 11) Winkler, noting the Hindeloopenish (sp. 89) form oerwulde, which he considers to be more correct, translates it into Dutch as overwelderig, over-luxurious or wanton, and derives it from old Friesian woeld, English 'wealth.' as respects the d, however, we must remember the old Saxon forms glot-wulde, gold-wulde, ðã-wulke, for riches in the plural, see Schmeller's glossary to the Helian, sub wulde.

Ha. 12) a piece at after, a little after that, observe short (i), not (i). 13) gathered, this is quite Friesian. 14) 'made his road.' 15) till-wards = towards. 16) a far land, the refined (lend) is most usually heard, the unre fined is (lond). 17) brought himself through all that he had. 18) over-high, or, equally common, (ewn-aden-ti) 'over dainty.' 19) living.'
7. "could not bide" or last out.

15 Fr. 1) both F and M agreed in (sh), but with F the (i) seemed to have exhausted itself in making this change, while in M the (i) remained with its original stress. The Dutch has made the juncture (yy) in sturen (styrmen) to steer, or send. 2) (dzh) was clear in each, the word stands for Dutch seidien (bhu'i:dan), and the change of (d) into (dzh), instead of (z), or simple omission, as in (lie'ion) v. 14, is noticeable, the two seem to point to an intermediate (bhu'zdjon), which would easily fall into either. The word is connected with English weed, with the.

Ha. 3) "agatowards," on his gate or road; although gaag is known so near as the Craven district, it is not used in Halifax. 4) "townsmen," burguesses, citizens. 5) relative at = that in meaning, but the derivation is disputed. 6) "woods." 7) "root," give roots to, feed.

16 Fr. 1) (seu'm') was pronounced by both F and M as obsolete, they did not know it, and both used the Dutch word graag, "eager, desirous, hungry," but F seemed to say (graakt), possibly my mishearing for (graakh), while M said (graag). 2) this seems to be Dutch roeder "fodder," with the (d) omitted. It is curious that (uu) is sometimes spelled oo as in Dutch, and sometimes oo. 3) "more," and hence "but," as French mais = Latin magis. 4) Dutch and German niemand. 5) although I noted (juung), F may have said (jaugh).

Ha. 6) "he would fair have eaten." 7) "pigment" is "any offally mess, unworthy food, a mixture of ingredients of any kind; one of the commonest of South Yorkshire words; it has nothing whatever to do with paint, and would not be understood dialectally in this sense."—C. C. R.

17 Fr. 1) see v. 14, note 1. 2) this was from M, I have not noted F; observe the final (m). 3) the (dough) as in Dutch, a short faint deep guttural vowel sound, possibly (dooh), very peculiar in character. 4) see v. 12, note 11; it is the old English here. 5) final (d) omitted, the fracture strong, the (a) clear.

Ha. 6) "himself," the vowel in (seel) is rather medial than long. "in the villages about Halifax and Keighley, and generally in the Lower Craven district (classification, variety 23a), the l is usually followed by n, as (isee'ln, waase'in, esse'ln, misee'ln, dbsee'lnz), and these are casual Halifax forms; so also n is added in (min, meln) for mill. sometimes the l is lost to the ear in (sen) for self, and when l is heard in this word, n is lost, as (seel). I have also often heard people add on an m.”—C. C. R. 7) "(bre'ld), usually (bri'sld) in South Yorkshire, and many Halifax speakers use this sound; the vowel in this word, is unsettled and varies in localities but little distant from each other.”—C. C. R.

18 Fr. 1) the (c) in sicil was not noticed in pronunciation, it seems to be entirely etymological. 2) (c)n, and not (c'an), in each. 3) (us), this is merely remembered, not noted, in other Friesian I find (ys). 4) both F and M objected to the a in sidze, but F seemed to lengthen the vowel. 5) neither F nor M acknowledged sin = (suun), but I seemed to hear (zoon) from one, and (son) from the other; the (a) was slight, "more of a z" as F said, and may have been (az). 6) here there was the same difference in the length of the vowel as in note 4. 7) both objected to foar, and Winkler says "or bifoar, but tejinn is better Friesian." The Greek εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τῶν θεῶν, σου seems to have led all translators to adopt a real Hebrewism in this place. 8) both F and M said (sou) exactly as in v. 12 for 'give,' and objected to the jw of Winkler.

Ha. 9) "I shall," or Iss. 10) "sinned." 11) "(foo) is common in this position in the southern dialects (classification, subdialect 23); at Halifax it is called (taw).”—C. C. R.

19 Fr. 1) I am not quite certain whether F said (nou) or (nou), but I think the latter; and M certainly did say so. 2) F gave the two first, and said that (bheugh) was commonest, "as if written with Dutch ku." M omitted the (d), and made two syllables. 3) same variety as in v. 12, note 11. 4) this (ar's) may have been accidental.

Ha. 5) "now," "here (nee), because of the following (o) for I; (are) is the usual form in Lower Craven; (net) is also used.”—C. C. R. 6) "I am not." 7) "worth being called." 8) "(hin) is in v. 21 (a b), both forms are in use, but the first is considered to be most refined.”—C. C. R. 8) "nought but," only. 9) "workers."
to *stōy (stum), but M said (stum) could be used, though (stui) was more common. 3) F said (im-tv) was not heard, M said it was still used "by old-fashioned people." 5) (AA), the (t) of off dropped. 5) F did not pronounce the d or attend to the £ in ae, but M did both. 6) both seem to be old-fashioned words. 7) this is another confusion of short and long. 7) this was from M, I have not noted F. 9) 'patted, not 'kissed,' as I was told, but Winkler says, on the Hindeloopenish paaikje (specimen 89, v. 20), "kissed, from paaikje, to" kiss; the usual Friesian is patsje, patsje; een seen, 'a kiss,' is in Hindeloopenish en patsje, and in usual Friesian en patsje, and formerly, as still found in Gysbert Japicx, p. 165:"

"See 7) to the. "In the Leeds dialect (tot, tod), the latter emphatic and before a pause; in Halifax the heavy sound may be either (tot, tot), but seems most like the latter."—C. C. R. 10) 'while.' 11) 'off on him,' off of or from him. 13) 'overmastered at the. (or we shalt e-t sit on im), 'was sloughed, or choked with sobs, at the sight of him.' 13) Mr. Robinson says there is no other word for carres than pat; carres would not be understood, at least when spoken.

21 Fr. and Ha. see the notes on the parallel passage, v. 18. 22 Fr. 1) not (breog) or (breqk) 2) see v. 13, note 7. 3) M admitted (the' n), but said (tho'bkh), German zog (tsohk), was more usual. 4) see (len), v. 13, note 8. 3) I hesitated as to (fud·ton) or (fur·ton), the (u) was clear, but the force seemed to vary.

Ha. 9) 'clothes here.' 1) 'on the hand.' 9) 'feet,' either with short (l) or short (r). (faw't) is occasionally heard for foot in Halifax and Lower Craven, but it is more general towards the north."—C. C. R.

23 Fr. 1) 'masted, fed on mast, as beeoh-mast, oak-mast, hence fattened. 1) the (f) lost.

Ha. 3) 'laughter it. 4) 'let us eat and be merry.'

24 Fr. 1) I did not observe any aspirate or approach to (whe·nunt), but I may have overlooked it. 2) no trace of (r) or (a) in the second syllable certainly, in the first I am doubtful. 3) (be·, be·e) 'again,' Dutch we'der with omitted (d), as our old wh'er for whether, the last syllable (fo'n, fön), seemed to vary thus, but the distinction is too fine to insist on. 4) see v. 14, note 6, the (q) was in this case noted from both F and M.

Ha. 3) 'this lad of mine was dead.' 9) 'found.' 7) 'gamesome.' 25 Fr. 1) the (d) was not heard, the (a) was nearly (A). 2) the final (d) of F was distinct, and the final (t) of M quite as clear, the (e) of (ie) was distinct, and hence the force doubtful (ie, ie). 3) no (th), German dieht, 'close.' 4) the (sh) arises from the coalescent article (t), (sh-o'qun) is the word otherwise; this servers to shew the correctness of the analysis (sh). 5) as (du-un·nah·en) is implied by the spelling, it was probably also so heard.

Ha. 3) 'oldest.' 1) 'in the close' or field. 2) 'the house.' 3) 'close,' adv. observe the difference between (t) and (q), (too·is, tooe). 10) 'heard.'

26 Fr. 1) uninflected genitive. 2) Dutch beuden (bo-doe'ı·den) signify. 3) Ha. 3) uninflected genitive. 4) 'asked him what it wor was,' observe that both (was) and (wor) occur in this example, and compare (475, c).

27 Fr. 1) the final (d) distinct, almost the vulgar English cowed. 2) final (t), not (th).

Ha. 5) 'for him coming back sound,' on account of his coming back sound.

28 Fr. 1) properly (envious), Dutch misdijig, German meidisch. 2) as both F and M say (buu), probably wo is a misprint for woe, which is written in v. 16. 3) I presume in 'e hüs is a misprint for in't hüs, I did not particularly notice the t. 4) the (s) seems due to the following (g). 5) German bat ihm darum.

Ha. 6) 'gat mad.' 7) 'go in,' viz. to the house; the word house is generally omitted in ordinary speech, and invariably in the dialect. observe that the sound is here (go), but in v. 18 it was (gw); when the fracture occurs, the vowel changes, and whether the fracture should be used or not depends upon the context. we find therefore in one word, having an original (aa) vowel, ags, gdn, both an (oo) and an (uu) sound subsisting side by side in the same dialect; of course (goe) comes through (gas, gas, gaa, goe), and (gw') through (guta, gua, gas, gw'); but the example is extremely instructive, and shews the necessity of great caution in older cases. 6) Mr. Robinson says that the past participle of be is scouted, except in 'begged and prayed.'
29 Fr. 1) anert was not acknowledged; the two forms given were merely Dutch antwoord, with the second syllable obscured and r omitted. 2) a form of Dutch dieme, serve; this is taken as tienje, and so becomes (tahen-na). 3) F almost said (freen-wen), I have not noted M. 4) German auch dereinst.

Ha. 6) 'in this road,' in this way.
7) 'how, a regular change. 8) 'year,' the singular of quantity. 9) 'served you-all.' 10) 'wrong.' 11) 'but.' 12) 'you have never seen none of a kid given,' observe the order of the words. 13) 'I and all.' the words 'and all' are a very common expletive in several dialects. 14) might. 15) 'those that I know'; Mr. Robinson observes that the word friend is very rarely heard in dialect speech.

30 Fr. (good, guod); I did notice this variable force in v. 12: this (wem) is evidently obtained thus:

88. Workum, town (52 n 58, 5 26). I. 441. [As it was still generally spoken up to the year 1800.]

11 dar bii ri seen mi'zalok, do'i ni' tsha so'enan. 12 in no'i deel-o so'ren 't ghuil. 15 om de bahr'gan to wei'dan. 18 hoiti! ik nev suur-nldighe tahn [or (tiin)] jou. 22 brix sier daak lik de be're klaan, in doogb om sien hun in omm; in jen'i min en riq oon sien haan in sku'nan oon o fu'tan. 23 't mesta keal. 24 bhant di zo soon fan ma'i bhi'r des, in no'i os bhu 'ru'don. 25 in do man sien aad sta soon bhii in-t fild [or (fields)], in doo d'ai koom, in boi-'t nuus bhi'r hef'ro ha'i-t sio'qan end-t spi-lhom. 27 jou bro'r. 29 dat ik maai min friven-'man froo-lik bhe'za mo'ktha. 31 bo'rin, do'n biste al'tit bo'i ma'i.


11 sii'kar mi'zaloka heeb tsha noons. 12 in ni deel'ga sem-t ghooit. 15 om op da bahr'gan to pu'wren. 18 feer, ieb meb suur-nldighen tien ji. 22 brix hier daak lik 't beste pak klaan, in duulan it him oon, in jaan him en riq oon sien haand, in skoon oon sien fu'ten. 23 't mest a kual. 24 bhant di'zai miin soon bher'dan, in xii iiis wor fu'rdon. 25 in sien eel'st soon ween in-t fild in daew xii tikht bi hyy's [nuu's?] kaam, heef'ga xii-t ghesu'q in-t ghe'domana. 27 diin bro'r. 29 dot ik mii min free'-dan ek ris no'klik ['agreeable, genoeglik') bhe'za kaaat.

90. Schiermonnikoog, island (53 n 28, 6 12). I. 468. [In Friesian (ski-ronmuntseak) or (ski-ron-muntseak).]

11 dar bhiir reis 'n man, in dii xiea tbaa joo'es. 12 in har heit ['father'] deel'-de har 't ghyyd. 15 om har sbhiin-me na hyy'dan. 18 ik nev sekun'me diin tahn [or (tiin)] jou. 22 brix nieuwe 't boest pak klais, in tekkhit xii oon, in jor'kum 'n riq oon sien naaun, in sky'ne'en oon sien looten. 23 't maat kal. 24 bhant di joo'qi bheia dain, in xii is bhiir siaan. 25 in de oordsta soen bhiea in-t laaun, in daa-t or nooi hyys to yya're, in ti-khta bie koom, xee'na xii sio'qan in daau-nuwan. 27 diin bryyar. 29 dot ik mii min frie'naa reis plesier me'ta khy-a. 31 bo'rin, do biste ola daas'gan bie mii.

[There has been much difficulty in translating the symbols. The (un) seems not to occur. (On dao jwud = (daa zuy'd), Winkler says it is 'the people,' Dutch de lieden,' usual Friesian liu, liuwe, which word is in some places called liue, liuwer, and in others liwucc, ? (liua, liya, liuwa). 'L and r are for Friesians, as for their national relations the English, difficult letters to pronounce, and are often omitted,
and hence the Schiermonnikoogers omit l and r in the combinations lj, rj."
Then he gives examples, juwed for liu, as the Hindeloopers say leend = (leëd)?; juocht for riucht, gjoocht for allucht, so that gjoocht in juocht = high German schlicht und recht, is a shibboleth of these islanders; and may be (sif'khit in ry'khit) (1397, 7). Another curious point is the use of -(-s) for (-th, -dh) final, or of (db) or (d) medial, even in participles, as fortmores = (fortaars), high German verzocht, 'devoured,' usual Friesian fortard.
"The Friescians on the continent have frequently softened the old th to d." Examples are stjuaren, 'stayed, stirred, sent,' usual stürden; we, sig 'worthy,' uc, sen 'become,' hee, ts 'heard,' terce 'earth,' here 'hard.'

b. Low German in Friesland.

I. 461.

91. Leeuwarden, city (53 n 12, 5 e 47). I. 468. [This is where Winkler resides.]
11 dar bhaar-os-an man, in dii nāda thbi'ə seec'na. 12 in duu fardeed də da ou-da man war -t ghyyd. 15 op a bahrghon te pa'san. 18 fas'dar, ik hēx sjorda deen teec'g'han jōu. 20 breq nīr ghou ris 't bestra pak kloer'on, in trek kim dat an, in gheevo-os-an riq an siin han, in skuy'nan an siin fyytan. 23 t'me'sta kalf. 24 bhant dir'za seec'fan ma'oi bhaar dood, in nōu bheer-m bheero'm fon'nan. 25 in de man siin əūs'ta seec'nan bhaar op-t lan, in duu dī bheero'm khham, in dikhto bāi n'yss khham, noord i nuu -t sa soqon in danstan. 27 jōu bruur. 29 daa -k uuk -s met miin fri'ndan froo'lik bhee'za mo'khto. 31 kiin, dōu bist o'maqe ailtid bāi ma'ii.

92. Dokkum, town (53 n 19, 6 e 0). I. 477.
11 dar bhaar-os-an man, in dii nāda thbi'ə seec'na. 12 in nāi ghaf nor noor ghoe'd ("a very short perfect o precedes a long, perfect, and somewhat lengthened u, on which the stress falls,") this is the noun goods; the adjective good is (ghu'd). 16 om op a bar'reghon te pa'son. 18 fas'dar, ik sōndighed teec' [and (teec'ghan)] fa'sdar. 22 brik daa'dalik da bestra klo'er'or nīr, in duu xim dīi an, in gheevo-os-an riq an siin han, in skuy'nan an o fuуть'. 23 t'me'sta kalf.

24 bhant dir'za seec'fan ma'oi bhaar dood in nōu is erfo'nnan. 25 in siin əūs'ta seec'nan bhaar in-t lan, in duu-t or dikht bāi n'yss khham, noord-ət siqon in-t danstan. 27 jōu bruur. 29 dāt ik ok'-a froo'lik bhee'za kon met miin fri'ndan. 31 kiin, dōu bist ailtid bāi ma'ii.

11 'man (n mins) had thbi'ə seec'na. 12 in nāi deec'lda nuyr -t ghoe'd. ("the imperfect u in put" = (poet, pat), see (1292, a), Dutch for pitt, or well, "with preceding perfect a.") 15 op a bahrghon te pa'san. 18 hēt, ik hēx sjorda deend teec'g'han jōu. 22 brik 'm nīr siin bestra kloer'on, in trek see 'm an, in gheevo-os-an riq an siin han, in skuy'nan an o fuуть'. 23 t'me'sta kalf. 24 bhant dir'za seec'fan ma'oi bhaar doe'd in ii is bheero'm fon'nan. 25 in siin əūs'ta seec'nan bhaar op-t lan, in duu dī dikht bāi n'yss khham, noord ii -t siqon, in -t danstan. 27 jōu bruur. 29 daa -k met miin fri'ndan -s froo'lik bhee'za mokht. 31 kiin, dōu bist ailtid bāi mi. [We find 20 (lii)'p ran, (fi'll) fell, (in duu-t i nach 'n heel ind fan 'm o bhar) 'and when he yet a whole end from him off was,' (o) for (of) off, with (f) suppressed.]

94. Nes op't Ameland, village of Nes in the island of Ameland (53 n 27, 5 e 45). I. 486.
11 'n see'kar minek nad thbi'ə seec'na. 12 gheevo ma'oi 't deel fan tghu'd. in do faas'dar ghaf so elk siin paag't. 15 om da bahrghon te nuy' dən. 18 ik rei ma an jōu besondighed. 22 brik -t bestra pak kloer'or nīr, in trek -t im an, in gheevo 'riq an siin han, in skuy'nan an o fuуть'. 23 t'me'sta kalf. 24 bhant dooce'za miin seec'nan bhaar doe'd, in is bheero'fo'nnan. 25 mar do man siin əūs'ta seec'nan bhaar op-t lan, in duu dii kam, in dikht bāi -t n'yss ko'rran bhar, noord i nāi -t siqon in danstan. 26 iin [one]. 27 jōu bruur. 29 om met miin frī'ndan froo'lik t bhee'za. 31 miin kiin, jōu bīna ailtid bāi mi. ("The pure long (ii) has often been changed into the Hollander (a'), but the Amelanders are not consistent, and you may hear them say: (bō'si sōgha ailtid te'id, in niit tiid), 'we all-teed (tiid) say tiis (te'id), and not teed (tiid).""
"" Such in-
consistencies are valuable for showing the unconsciousness of transitions.] 95. *Het Bildt*, parish, a Dutch *gemeente*, and lordship, Dutch *grieterij*, containing St. Anna-Parochie, village (53 n 17, 6 e 40). I. 492. 11 dar bheaer ø 'n man, dii had tbhe seeconan. 12 an nøi par to ðæ eur t ghuud ytt ønandar. 16 om ðæ færkons to bhlái-on. 18 nait, ik høv mei ðosoðighd toseen jøu. 22 øose-ø beøtø kleed forø t likht an duun him dat an, on gheef him 'n riq an sin nand, an skuu'nan an ø fuu'tan. 23 't færðøm kást. 24 bhaa ðaøoø seecon fan miinan bheer doø, an nøi is fonan. 25 ðæ eur da man sin øourdø seecon bheaer in ø feld, an duu dii bheeroom kam, an dikkøtø ba'ø -ø høys bheaer, nooord iiø t ghasiq øn øt ghaspréq. 27 jøu buuør. 29 dat ik met miin ghuu'dan friøndan øm frosølik bheear mo'køtha. 31 kiind, døu bist a'øtøiid ba'i meiø.

96. Noordwalde, village (52 n 53, 6 ø 8). I. 498. 11 'ø zee'kør meøøs na'dø bëhii'ø zoeconan. 12 øn nøi dii'dø koøtø 't ghuud. 16 om ðæ varøkons to ðyu'dø. 18 nöet, ik høe zoe'døigøkø teergø jøu. 22 bregg hiøt aarøstøns 'øt bëstø klïid, an øtrekøm høm øn, an gheef 'ø riqø an sin naand an skuu'nan, øn ø bëi'tan. 23 't vètø kaal. 24 bhaa diizø seeconan van miø bhas døod, an nou ø høv veenø. 25 on øi øløtø seeconan baas op ø a'kør, an oøu ii këbbøm, on bëy bhas, nooør'dø høt'ø riqø on juu'løn ['rêvel', Dutch word]. 27 jøu buuør. 29 om mit miin kamerøadøn frosølik to bheer'ø. 31 kiind, øn bin a'øtøiid biø miø.

XXV. Noord-Holland, in English Province of North Holland. II. 1.

97. Wester-Schelling, west part of island of ter-Schelling (53 n 20, 5 ø 13). II. 10. 11 dir of bhaas in mins, dii hii tibhoo sins. 12 in ta ['father'] zoook ['gave'] elk sii ø'ndøl ['share']. 15 om op ø barøghøn to ðaøan. 18 ta, ik na øøødøigø teøhrøn [ør (таин)] øo. 22 høl'a ghoøu doø bèstø kløø, dokk 'ø nim øn, støk 'ø riq øn øiø firiq, in dokk skuoøn øn øiø fonan. 23 't meøtø këal. 24 bhaa miin sin, dii for yys deed bhas, is bher fàq ['found,' or 'caught']. 25 do AA'døta sin bhaas iin -ø t frïld [or (fïld)] in daa mi, biøt nøi høys taa gheen, tikkøtø bi koom neer'dø hii ø nlqøqan in ø spïløjø. 27 diiøn buuør. 29 om miø miøi miin fëqqøn frosølik to måtøtøn. 31 okh, miin bóørn, doø bïstø o'mas a'øtøiid biø miø.

98. Ooster-Schelling, east part of island of ter-Schelling (53 n 20, 5 ø 20). II. 15. 11 dar bhaas ris 'ø min, in hii tibhoo sins. 12 in diø man deekøø øt ghuud. 15 om op ø barøghøn to ðaøan. 18 ta, ik høgø'tø soønda tåhin [or (doøn)] ta biðriøøn. 22 brier doø bèstø kløøn, in dokk luiøm dii øn, in jokk himøn riq øn øiø haan, in skuoøn øn øiø fonan. 23 't faøøtø keøl. 24 bhaa ðaøø seecon fan miøi bhaas deeed, in hii is bher foon. 25 in do AA'døta sin bhaas op -ø t frïld [or (fïld)], in as øiø tikkøtø bi høys koom, neer'dø hii ø nlqøqan in ø spïløjø. 27 diiøn buuør. 29 dak ik miø miøi fëqqøn frosølik bhe'ø 'køuø. 31 miin sin, doø bist a'øtøiid biø miø.

99. Middles, village, middle-of-the-land of ter-Schelling (53 n 20, 5 ø 15). II. 18. 11 dar bhaar ris-an mins, dii had tibhii'ø seecon. 12 in nøi deei'døa harø-t ghuud. 15 om op ø barøghøn to ðaøan. 18 ta, ik høf øøødøigø teøhrøn taøgøn. 22 naal ghoøu -ø bèstø kleed, in duu'n him dat an, in duu'n hiøm-an riqø øn øiø fiqø, in skuoøn øn øiø fuu'tøn. 24 bhaa miin seecon dii ik miøi'nda ['thought'] dat dood bhaar, is bher fonan. 25 do øoordø seecon bhaas in ø feld, in duu nøi naa høys ghqø, in dikkøtø ba'i këbbøm, nooørdø hiiø t'ø riqøøn in øt daøøan. 27 diiøn buuør. 29 om møi mit miin maatøs ['mates'] ris frosølik to maakøn. 31 miin jøqøø, døu bist i'mas a'tooø biø møiø.

100. Flieland, island (53 n 15, 5 ø 0). II. 22. 11 deeer bhaas dris 'ø man, hen dii ad tibhii'ø seecon. 12 hen taat deei'ldø -ø ghuudø noøndør øm hen sin høur'døtan buuør. 15øm doø sahoø'nøn to bhirøn. 18 taat, nikøb øøødøigø teøhrøn jøu. 22 bregg joløi ['you', Dutch giitlieden] 't knappøtø pak iir, hen trekøø øm man, hen gheef 'ø riqø øn øiø saq ['hand'], øn skuoøn øn øiø fuu'tøn. 23 't kalf dat bhe nóø -ø ok
mest e'ben. 24 bhagt deco-rza min seen
bhas dood, han o'i nia foradan. 25 hen
de man sin nourd'ate seen bhas
to x tofeld, tuu dii nce iis ['near
house'] kbham, oor'dan o'i-t ghaesq
men-t gbham-fa. 27 ja bruur. 29
som ris froorlik to bheereen met min
maata. 31 kiind, ja bint haltoed boi
mee.

[Observe the regular omission and
insertion of (u), (iis), for house, is
said to have “a very peculiar sound
between (iis) and (ne).” (dris), once,
shews the form (ris) to be dereognst.]

11 deer bhas oir's 'man dii tbhii
seecens had. 12 an van dassar deed-at.
15 om op de forres to pows. 18 taat,
ik nebb ghroo'za sonda deen teesg ha
jou. 22 briq in 'n amore'ttwa ['in
an are-marla!] in a moment ['mee
besta rok nii an duuom -di an, an
geef him-am riq an sin hand, an
skuurna an sin bine ['put shoes on
his legs']. Winkler says he has been
asked by a maidservant at Haerlem to
wipe his legs (instead of his feet) on
the doormat: meccheer! sel ucece assay-
brief je breve de feeg? see spec. 80,
for bolts on feet. 23 't fet metsta kolf.
24 bhant deco-ra seecen bhas foar
moi net ['neat', quite] so ghudd as
dood, an o'i is bheero romfa. 29
om de oor'see seecen bhas op't land, an
du u bheero'za kbham, an dikht boi
hirys bhas, noerd i sique an spec-ele.
27 ja bruur. 29 om mit me frii'dan
oir's ' parts-i' en to legha. 31 kiind,
roi 't binc hemo o'lan mee.

102. Wieringen, island (52n55,
5 e 0). II. 30.
11 deer bhas oir's 'man dii tbhii
joq'es had. 12 iiin fan di joq'es, de
joq'esta, fruthu an taat ['dad'] om
sin memes ['manny's'] bohhi'si;
on dat kreegh i. 15 om de faarkes to
bhid'er-on. 18 ii in seechy'g han taat
segha dat ik somiidhe nef. 22 maar
sin taat seechy'g han keene,
that sa sin besta klee breaq maosta,
en oan untreka maosta, en dat sa-
rig an sin hand, an skuurna an sin
bir'e duuom maosta. 23 't meesta kalf.
24 bhant sin seecen dii in dokht dat
dood bhas, bhas nou bheero'za foq'en.
25 maar tuu kbham dii aar 'other
joq'es fan-t laq-t huys, an di noor'de
huu-r soq'en an daqset bhii'dir. 27 aiiin
bruur. 29 bheer hai mit naito joqes
ris klukht [local word for 'pleasure']
mea maaka mo'khia. 31 kiin, o'i bin
aitoos boi mee.

103. Schagen, country town
(52 n 47, 4 e 47). II. 35.
11 dar bhas-ar's 'n van dassar an dii
mad tbhii seecena. 12 hai ghoo a
deen maat uu oavor om-am 'n porsii
to ghee'reen, deek in aaspraak op
had. 15 om de vaark'se pana. 18 m'n vadsar
is zoon giiui'ka keen-at, als k-ar's uu
't uu gheeou, an zeeda dat -st-a ma
spaat ['food'] daa -k zoo raar deen
hep, dan, deek ik, zoou'k bheer in
hees ko'ma ma'ga. 22 hai moest in
i'en dii sti'ka snaa maaxt aet duum,
on de knekht met uu ghee maas-l, an dii
most in untreka, an in kreegh 'n gheera
riq an 'n zee'kvar, an skuurna an.
23 't meec'talk. 24 bhant m'n zeecen
bhas ghee ghooed as deed, nou is in
o'vroorhaas bheer o'porand [Dutch
operants an, upwards on] ko'man. 25
theu'z in uu 'n snaa klar maat
maada, bhas da oor'st seecen noh o'
land, an tuu ze bhat omen ne'mbei
[Dutch om ende bij, nearly] skheer-
marke-vond bhas, nat in derr an tuu
ghoo in uu hees uu tuu, maar tuu in
bhat dikhtor boi hees'ka kbham, noord in dat
ze kao oisialik ['awfully'] vreel haa.
27 ja bruur. 29 tuu ik
iimaaan-dgha kamaraan boi m'n had.
31 m'n joq'en, jeer bin aitoos boi m'n
beest.

[The open long e and o are clearly
pronounced and kept distinct from the
close long e and o. The open long
in West Friese pronunciation sounds
“almost like the Friesian diphthong
eaa,” or (eaa, eoo), “and the open long
e nearly agrees with the Friesian ea,
(eaa, dea, o); but I have put (ee, oo)
in the transcription, for the fracture
was not sufficiently clearly indicated.]
11 dar bhas ors 'e'regh ro'i keer dìi tbehe zoëns nad. 12 ma taat, je moste ma'm in ma muurders bhebo'i s gheever. 15 op z'n varrens in-t land te pas'en. 18 taat, zoondhied heb ik, voor jou. 22 steekt jå'le'i di joq dar's ghau fern in de ple-nas ['clothing'] dat ii-her bheer kader ['smart'] oë-zii't. 23 't ve'te-kalef. 24 bhant me juq-bas zoo ghuud as dood maar nô'us kan aëles nohgh bheer in-t ef er ko'ma. 25 maar nô'us dëi d'ûrdste zoëns dìi khhamb-t 'oës van-t land en dii noor'da dat labbái ['upoar,'row, used in all Dutch dialects] on dìi zagh dat spetka'kal. 27 z'n bruur. 29 dat ik m'n é'i'gha mit me kamera'te ver'di'verte'ee kon. 31 jøøs, jøi bi'ne o'mars a'ltid'ên en om'trent me.

107. Ùrk, island (52n40,5e37).

16 om op de varrens op te pas'en. 18 taata'ik ev o'seقنidhgh tyy'ghan jun. 22 briq iir dàa'delik 't be'sto klî'd, in trek-ot-am an, in ghii'f-em-on riq an z'n aand, in skhû'nen an z'n bi'n'en. 23 't ghe'me'sto kal'. 24 bhant m'n zyyn bhas dood, in ii is heer ëvu'n'den. 25 in d'ûrdste zyyn bhas in -t laad, in duu o'i kort be'i-t 'oçes khhamb, oord ii-t ghe'sa'q in -t gheda'nas. 27 je bryyr. 29 dat ik mit m'n vri'neden ok er-e汭œ'lik bheero'mocht. 31 keend, bi'bin o'mars a'ltoes be'm'n. "Dën Lông a has four sounds, as long o in goom, s瞳om (oo); as o (La) in doar, toate; as pure a (aa) in dagen, maak; and finally as e (ee) in mejar, waxerdiq, etc." Although initial A is omitted, it is not unduly inserted.
29 om mit m’n maats ør-s vroolik ta bheeza. 31 ka’ind, jei bi’n a’ta’id bej ma.

11 deere bhas ør-s n man dii tbhee zœcens had. 12 an tuu vordee-dës da vaa’dar z’n ghud. 16 om de varaks to drai’en [‘drive,’ Dutch]. 18 vaa’dar, ik heb øzo’n-dighed teœgha jœu. 22 breq de besta klee’ra hir, en trek-øm dii an, an gheef-am’an riq an z’n hand, en skhuu-n an z’n bi’n’as. 23 ‘t v’e-ta’ kal. 24 bhall doen-s zœcen van mee bhas aste-rra, an is bhee ovo’nd. 25 en z’n òûs’ta zœcen bhas in-t land an tuu dii deer øt ghoq, en diikt bej ho’is khbam, noordon iï-t ghazaq an de myyziirk. 27 jeo bruur. 28 om mit ka’maraa’s ør-s pret to xòto’ [‘hold’]. 31 zœcen, jei bent a’ta’id bej ma.

110. Zaankant or coast about Zaandam, in English Saardam, town (62 n 26, 4ø 49). II. 65.
11 deere bhas iïs ‘n man, an dii had tbhee zœcens. 12 an de vaa’dar deel’an-t ghuud. 15 oën de vaa’dar te poar. 18 vaa’dar, ‘k nev øzo’n-dighed teœgha jœu. 22 haal an’stons [‘at the hour’, immediately] ‘t mooist’a kleed, on duu-m dat an; steek-en riq an z’n hand, en trek skhuu-n an z’n vuur’ta. 23 ‘t mësta ka’lf. 24 bhall doen-s zœcen van mee bhas aste-rra, an is øvo’nd. 25 en z’n òûs’ta zœcen bhas in-t veld en duu-i-ø-ta’s kwam [‘the wi of òû, etc., is nearly be- tween øt (si) and of (d)’], noordo bi-t ziqo‘ on da’as. 27 jeo bruur. 29 oën mit ma vrie’nd bhat plakiziir ta nevra. 31 kind, jei bint o’mar’s ola’dagh bej ma.

111. Heemskerk, village (52n30, 4ø 41). II. 68.
11 deere bhas ørei’s ‘n man, an dii had tbhee zœcens. 12 an tuu ghal do vaa’dar’am z’n por-si, an liit ‘m ghaeen. 15 sam, bhàï [‘yes, feed’] ma vaa’dar meaz. 18 vaa’dar, ik heb øzo’n-dighed teœgha jœu. 22 haal de besta plei’n’as, on duu-øm dii an, an gheef-am’an riq an z’n hand, en skhuu-n an z’n bi’n’as. 23 ‘t v’e-ta’ kal. 24 bhall ma zœcen bhas dood, on is berom [Dutch wederom ‘again’] okoma. 25 on z’n òûs’ta zœcen bhas in-t veld, en tuu dii nam hôis khbam, noordo iï al in de vurt’a ‘t ziqo‘ on-s spri’stí. 27 jeo free-rra. 29 oën mit ma vrie’nd vroolik ta bheeza. 31 kind, jei bent a’ta’id bai meee.

112. Egmond aan Zee, village (52 n 36, 4ø 38). II. 71.
11 deere bhas ‘n man dii a’da tbhii zœcna. 12 nen øi dec-e’da z’n ghud o’qar [Dutch onder ‘among’] dardøi [for heurui, Dutch amsteden, literally them people]. 15 nom hop da vaa’dar te poar. 18 taat, nik e’bha zoqidigh teœgha jœu. 22 breq prakhtkai [‘immediately’, a word in daily use among the Egmonduit fishermen, of unknown origin] ‘t zindaghse pak [‘Sunday’s pack’], nen trek’t im an, han gheef-im’an riq, an z’n aq [‘hand’], en skhuu-n an z’n bi’n’as. 23 ‘t ghamee’rra kal. 24 bhaat ma zœcen bhas dood, nan ài bi’n bha oka khbam, oordi ài rà’kolotik ziqo‘ on da’as. 27 jeo bruur. 29 nom ris mit ma marka’ blàid ta bheeza. 31 kind, jei bent a’ta’id bai meee.

11 deere bhas ørei’s ‘n man, an dii had tbhii zœcens. 12 an tuu ghal de vaa’dar’am z’n por-si, an liit ‘m ghaeen. 15 jam, bhàï [‘yes, feed’] ma vaa’dar meaz. 18 vaa’dar, ik heb øzo’n-dighed teœgha jœu. 22 haal de besta plei’n’as, on duu-s’øm dii an, an gheef-am’an riq an z’n hand, an skhuu-n an z’n bi’n’as. 23 ‘t v’e-ta’ kal. 24 bhall ma zœcen bhas dood, on is berom [Dutch wederom ‘again’] okoma. 25 on z’n òûs’ta zœcen bhas in-t veld, en tuu dii nam hôis khbam, noordo iï al in de vurt’a ‘t ziqo‘ on-s spri’stí. 27 jeo free-rra. 29 oën mit ma vrie’nd vroolik ta bheeza. 31 kind, jei bent a’ta’id bai meee.

[On the west coast of Holland generally, long ø is [œ], èi and øi are [øai, ai], si is [si, i], close è is [ii]; ò is usually left out and put in exactly contrariwise, but this is not so in Zandvoort.]

114. Haarlem, city (52 n 23, 4ø 38). II. 79.
[‘The present mode of speech in Haarlem is undoubtedly that which, of all used in the province of Holland, and hence in the Netherlands, approaches nearest to the genuine Netherlandish;]
it is nearest to the present literary language. Genuine Haarlemish, as far as it exists, is certainly not spoken by more than half the inhabitants; the other half, including many strangers, speak modern Hollandish."
The "g" is very strongly guttural, and I and n final cause the insertion of (i) before, and (a) after, the preceding short vowel, as (khio'ëlda) for gudén (gae'ldan).
Both the specimens 114 and 115 are dated, August 1870.
11 dor bhas orëisi's 'there-once-once,' a repetition) 'n man, on dii nad thbbe zoons. 12 on de va'a'dar ver-dee'idan z'n bu'u-lëha [or (bu'u lëha)] an khaf-of z'n porsii'. 13 om z'n vor'kes te bhëi'a. 18 va'a'dar, 'k neph khao-zöndikh teegha sou. 22 brëg me réis khâu ['quickly'] ma bës'ta rasa [='I'sa,'bundle,'a Dutch French word] huir, on duu-m dii an, on duu-n riq an z'n had, on skhuuna an z'n bee'ína. 23 't vet khomista ka'íf'. 24 bhant me zoon bhas dood, on noo is-í ti khavonds. 25 on z'n ousta zoon bhas op 't land, on tnu dii dikt bhëi't xau'is kham, noo-ordon ii-ë khazaa a on-t kha'ads. 27 ja bruur. 29 om-s-an fee-si ('feast') mit ma vri'nda ta heba. 31 bielj ['well'] jo'qa, sa'í bent a'to'id bëi mee.

115. Haarlem, see specimen 114. II. 82.
["Modern Hollandish," that is, literary Dutch, called "of course almost exclusively in the province of Holland the polite (beschaaftde) pronunciation of the Netherlands." See pp. 1292, and 1377, d.]
11 ii'mand had thbee zoons. 12 on tuu vordeel'do da va'a'dar z'n ghuud. 15 om da várkès te bhëi'a. 18 va'a'dar, ik heb ghoz'o'ndigd teeghan yu. ([yr]) is a contraction for (yyvee), still used by ladies' maids, and that a contraction for (yy e'e'la) wo edele, 'your nobility,' gú' (ghai'i) is used in writing.
22 brëg-'s ghoo' -t bësta pak kee're xiir, on duu-m dat an, on duu-n riq an z'n had, on skhuuna an z'n vuúu to.
23 't vet khomista ka'íf'. 24 bhant me zoon bhas dood, on ii is bheer ghovo'nda. 25 on ousta zoon bhas op 't veld, on tnu i dikt bhëi't xau'is kham, noo-ordon xau'it ghazaa on-t ghadams. 27 ya bruur. 29 om-s-an me vri'nda feest te këna viirë ('celebrate'). 31 ma joo'qa, se bent i'ms as'to'id bëi mee.

116. Amsterdam, city (52a22, 4 e 53). II. 93.
[The better classes speak literary Dutch, small tradesmen and journey-men still speak Amsterdamish, which was original Friesian; in the xvth and xvth centuries it was still half Friesian; in the xvnth and beginning of the xvinth it agreed most closely with the speech of Leeuwarden, specimen 91; and Winkler thinks that old Amsterdamish is nearer to Friesian than the present Friesian itself, and refers to the verses of Gijsbrand Adriaenssen Bredero for proofs. The "watering" of its spirit began in the latter part of the xvinth century, and now barely half of the genuine Amster-damers speak Amsterdamish. "Busy intercourse with fellow-countrymen and strangers, improved education, greater wish to read, and above all fashion, which rejects all that is original, or that is inherited, has made old Amsterdamish what it is." Winkler recognizes at present nineteen varieties of Amsterdamish, and gives as the following specimen, the Kalverstraatish, or speech of Kalver Street, which runs South from the Palace; this mode of speech is spoken in parts which are "eer fassoeendelijk" ('very fashionable'), and is corrupted by "elegante expressions" ('elegant expressions'); but by old gentlemen, born and bred in the Heeregracht and Keizergracht, it is still spoken purely. Modern inhabitants of Kalver Street speak Frankish, High German, Italian, Flemish or Brabantish, or Jewish and modern Hollandish.]
11 dor bhas-orëisi's 'n man-on [the hyphens are here all in the original, and shew rather a different union of words that used in English] dii nat thbee zoons. 12 on no'í ghuat 'm zoovec-l'as om tuu'kkham. 16 ghaa mar na bu'ito-n-op ma lant, tan kee-12 op ['then can ye upon'] ma va'rokes pawsa. 18 olik-il nep ghoezon'digd tox'gha-yyvee. 22 naal jo'í reis-as-to-bhint m'zoondi'g'as rok niir-an 'trek 'm dii-an, an bësta 'm-as 'n fassoeendelik mans kind 'as a fashionable man's child' 'n riq-an z'n viquer; an sa, skhuuna mot-i'-jook-an he'ba! zeghi! breq ma bësta nyya ma'ar mee, sa on duu'm dii-j-an z'n vuute. 23 't ghameta ko-lef. 24 bhant me zoon bliss zoo ghuat-as doot-on 'k neb 'm bheero'm ghovo'nda. 26 on d ouste
117. *Laren*, village (52 n 15, 5 o 13). II. 98.

11 'n zee-kearn mins a'da thibhe zoeans. 12 on o't deede'a noam't ghood. 15 om do var-keks te no-ee-an. 18 vaad'er, ik eb saeândighd teo-gehan jou. 22 breq ghoo'-t be-esta kleed iir, on doo-ot em an, on gheef o'm-an riq an z'nu aq, on skho'oonan an z'nu bee-eran. 23 't vet-ke kalf. 24 bhant dì deez zoean te mmee bhaas dou'd, on is ovo'doon. 25 z'n oot'se zoeen bhaas op-t veld, on too o't khabh on korte boi's e khabh, ovo're noa'ghi'o qeqi an ghoo'da. 27 sa breer, 29 om met m'nu vie'ndan is vroolik te bhezeran. 31 ki'nd, zoi' biu alaid boi meee.

118. *Huizen*, village (52 n 18, 5 o 14). II. 102.

11 'n mins had thibhe zoeenan. 12 on noe' deelde z'n ghood. 15 om do var-kons te be'ien. 18 vaad'er, ik eb saeândighd teo-gehan jou. 22 breq daalak 't be-sta pak en döou-t noom an, gheef-o'm-an riq an z'nu noq, on skhooo'nan an z'nu bee-eran. 23 't vet-kehr. 24 waqt deecos zoeen te meen bhas dou'd, on is ovo'doon. 25 on do oot'se zoean bhaas op t laq'd, on too ci' nix dikh boi's o'khabh, zagh nii 'n ghroo'-te vaara qeqi [Dutch: *voeranderen, 'change*]; zeq zo'gen, speer'dan en da'qetan. 27 sa breer, 29 om met m'n vie'nden vroolik te bhezeran. 31 ko'ind, zo' biint alaid boi meee.

**XXVI. ZUID-HOLLAND, in English Province of South Holland.** II. 105.


11 der bhaas orsii 'n man dì thibhe zoeen had. 12 on o'wha man a'ree'e'dan z'n gheid an ghood. 15 om do var-ceeks to noo'arian. 18 vaad'er, ik eb saeandighd teo-gehan jou. 22 breq 'z ghoo'-t oot'daghshko ghood nìr o trekt-ot-o'm an, on steek-o'n riq an z'n viqar, en trek-om skhuur'an an. 23 't vet-o kalf. 24 bhant deecos zoeen te meen bhas dou'd ["long e with the accent, and a faint aftersound of e"] on ik beb 'm bheer a'ornda. 25 saam oto'se zoeen bhaas 't land in aghaan, on tuu dì bheer op noo'is an ghooq, on o da bhoef [Dutch: *worf*, 'wharf, homestead], nooord nai za xiqan en da'an. 29 om met m'na kameraa's skhik te me.'ba. 31 kind, zoi' biint o'mar a'tlaaid bai meee.

120. *Leiden*, city (52 n 10, 4 o 30). II. 111.

["The Speech of Leiden is undoubtedly by far the ugliest (de lelijkst), most unpleasant, and most countryish (pijalt) sounding in all Holland.

The open country is said to be *piat*, 'flat,' in contradistinction to the town, so that when those who speak Low—that is Lowland—German, talk of a *piat* pronunciation, they mean one which prevails in the country, which is so flat that the plain is not even broken by a collection of houses! All the terms *high*, *low*, *flat*, *upper*, applied to German, have reference to the conformation of the country, like Lowland and Highland applied to Scotch. The educated speak literary Dutch.

11 der bhaas oris 'n man dì thibhe zoe-n had. 12 on tuu deel-de da vaad'er z'n ghood met arloöy ["the diphthong ui is not pure oi (6)], but has something of the *o* sound," and Winkler writes *owi*, which I interpret (65).] 15 om do vaar-keks te paa. 18 vaad'er ik eb zo'nda ghoo'dan teighgo jou. 22 maal oris ghaan zerdas pak, on trek-o'tem an, an stëik 'n ghooq'riq an z'n viqar, en trek-o'skhuur'an an z'n vuut. 23 't ghemo-ste kar-lef. 24 want deecos zoeen te meen bhas dou'd, on m'na is beheir taregh ghoo'sua. [The (ei, aii) are here separated, according as Winkler writes *ei, ai, but he says *ei and *aj are not pure *ei, but are somewhat prolonged, as *a-ai.*] 25 on da man z'n oot'se zoeen bhaas op t'land, on tuu dì ghoo'dan ad mit bheer-raka, on naa noya ghooq on dikh beaia noya khabh, noordd an tat zo'qan en da'nta. 27 sa breer. 29 om mimo ['with my'] kameraa's vrooi'aliik te bhëriza. 31 jo, zoi' biint a'tlaaid bai máisain.

121. *Katwijk aan Zee*, village (52 n 12, 4 o 23). II. 122.
11 der bhas oris 'n man, dii tbhee roqee rabi, dii in 'n peuer seeer restrained as (or (at)) awer ['older'] as d-awer. 12 in tai duelde da veewder z'n gheleel in ghud, in ghat 'm z'n pors bi (or (pors)). 16 om de veorkoe to bhaari. 18 veewder, ik heb eexiendigd toegeghe joo. 22 xeel orisi ghoen-t mooi ista pak kleere, in treek-stam-an, in gheef-an-en riq an z'n viqor, in skhuu-ne an z'n biina. 23 't vete kalf. 24 bhant deerc zeene zeeen van mee bhas dood, in nau me-be bhee-m bheer svev'de. 25 de kustea zeene zeeen bhas in-t veld, in tui dii-t nae's kham, hoordi-iit ziqen in-t damsen. 27 joo bruur. 29 dat ik mit me kameraa's eri's vrool'lik kon bheeze. 31 ma roqee, rabi bint a'ltai'd bai mee.

122. Schoevening, village (62 n 16, 4 e 16). If. 126.
11 der bhas oris 'n man, en odi ad thhi zi-zeeen. 12 en z'n veewder dreeelde da buul of voor zeen ['him', Dutch zieu, proper 'his'] en z'n bruur. 15 om z'n vurakkes tu huui-de [remnant of hoeden (muurden)]. 18 veewder, ik ebb eexiendigd toegeghe joo. 22 laag deesel'lik 't beest gheuud, en duut-am dat an, en duu-n riq an z'n an en ghee en skhuuu-an z'n biina. 23 't oemest ka'l-f. 24 bhant deerc zeene van mee bhas dood ['written dead], and said to be the 'Frisian and English aa in boat,' the former is (6a, o, o'), the latter is certainly not so in lettered English], en ii is bheero-skoevna. 26 en de man z'n duoste zeene dii bhas op 't land, en tui dii neee ees ['house'] ghiq, oo'ro-n-iit z'i ziq en damna. 27 joo bruur. 29 om mit me kameraa's eri's vrool'lik te bheeze. 31 jooi ['young one'], jei'ben a'ltai'd bai mee.

123. 's Gravenhage, in English The Hague, city (62 n 3, 4 e 18). If. 131.
11 der bhas oris 'n man, en odi had tbhee zaana. 12 en tuu daeefulde da veerab z'n ghud en deu'lii. 16 om de vurakkes te huui-vna. 18 veewder, ik heep ghoendigd toe'ghon yy. 22 breeg hiir ris ghau-t beste kleid en duut-st-em an, en gesiet-em-en riq an z'n hand, en skhuu-ne en z'n vuut'e. 23 't gheemest kal'l. 24 bhant deerca zaan van mee bhas daad, en nou bewer-em-teoe'gh ghevond. 25 en z'n duoste zaan bhas in 't veld, en tuu dii khamon en dikht bueh-t naei's bhas, hoordi-n-iit-ghezaq en-t ghe-dam's. 27 joo bruur. 29 om der met mo vra'nda vaa'liik maei to bheeza. 31 m'n kind, jaw bin a'loos به m'n. 31 's en o are very broad; e comes near ai, and o near ao (aa). 31 ei, ui, ou, iy, are close and pinched (benevens); et, yt, are almost long French é; ui is with second ee in French heureusement, and ou is very near oe (ou)." In the text I have followed his spelling, where I have used (ei) to express an "imperfect, obscure" ai, because he says that where it stands for s long, it must not be spoken "perfect" nor "too clearly," and that long a "approaches the bleating o (ees)" which I have represented by (ah)."

124. 's Gravesande, village (61 n 59, 4 e 10). If. 134.
11 der bhas is 'n man, dii tbheee zeecen had. 12 en op 't laepe lest ['at the long last'], deerc z'n zani-te en dréne mos z'u vas-'aar belh tua'gher-vea, en zoo kreeg-de-i z'in z'in ('he got his mind,' got what he wanted). 15 om de veorkoe te huui-ea. 18 vas-'aar, ik heb me erg slecht kee'gh-e see gheedraagh. 22 breeg in 'n omzziii'ntake [or (-tso)] de besta kleere dui jo'ven den, en duu z-e m an, en gheef-ee-en ghoue riq an z'n viqor en skhuu-ne an z'n vuut-ea. 23 't vetgghemest kalf. 24 bhant deerc zeene van mee bhas dood, en nou is-t-i bheero-g ghevond. 25 tuu dat zoo plaa had, bhas dan duu zee-ee in't veld, en tui dii van 't land khamon, en dikhte bei nae's bhas, hoordi-n-iit-ghezaq en-t ghedaans. 27 joo bruur. 29 dat ik m'me vra'nda ris vrool'lik mokh ('might') bheeze. 31 okh, me kind, see ben omers altdi be'i mee.

125. Groote-Ammers, village (61 n 64, 4 e 49). If. 138.
11 der bhas-ee 'n man en odi had tbhee zeecen. 12 en de vas-'aar delivereder-st en-t gheuud. 16 om de veorkoes te huui-vna. 18 vas-'aar, ik mee ghoendigd toe'ghon joo. 22 breeg me m'n besta kleere, en duu ze-m an, en ghee-en riq an z'n hand, en skhuu-ne an z'n vuut-ea. 23 't vet-e kal'l. 24 bhant m'n zeecen rite bhas dood, en mii is ghevond. 25 de man z'n duoste zeecen bhas op 't veld, en tuun mii bij 't nyys khamen, hoorde nii -t ghezaq en ghedaans. 27 jee
126. Gorinchem, town (51n49, 4 e 59). II. 140.

11 daar bhas in man mi tbheezoona. 12 en tuu deelds da vaadar s' n ghuud. 15 om op de vaarakes te paasa. 18 vaadar 'k heb zee sleekht gheeleef dat't skhana-da-n is vaeer s'ou. 22 haal is ghuu, zee i, 't m'ooi'ste kleed, en trek-aat om is ['once'] aan, en-on riq mot i aan z' n hand ne'vee, en duut-on skhuun on ok aan z'n vuuta. 23 't veta kalf. 24 omdaa mona-ro'qan op d' on hol bhas ghaghaan ['had gone to the hole', as it were 'to the bottom,' the word hol is very idiomatically used in Dutch], an noo bheer booo waritar is ['and is now above water again']; noi bhas op-onen dhbaal-bhegh ['lost path'], an ii is bheer te rekht. 25 noo bhas d' ons{o}e joqan net ['exactly'] op 't land, an tuu ni aal noo is tuu-kkham, dook ii ['thought he']: bha noor-k vaeer-an ghaziq en-on ghada na? 27 je bryrr. 29 om is mi m vin'nda en smeele [Dutch 'feast', gomandize]. 31 joqeqskee, zee bent o'mars a't'sei be' m mee.

127. Rotterdam, city (51n55, 4 e 29). II. 145.

11 der bhas iu 'n man dui tbheezeen ada. 12 in de vaadar ghaaf om 'n porsie; 15 om de vaarakes op te pasas. 22 haal mo is ghaan de be'sta kleer an o'ts kast, in duut-on dui an; gheefer-on riq aq z'n viqar, in skhuun an z'n vuuta.' 23 't veta kalf. 24 bhaant ma zoon de i-ro 'k dook ['thought'] dat dood bhas, heb ik bheeroo gha'vonda. 25 tuu on noo braaf an da ghaq bhaas, kkham de oorsa zeenn dii van 't ghav-aal nogh niit on [this (an) is a mere expletive associated with (niit)] bhist, in i noorda ze ziq an daasen. 27 je bruur. 29 dat-i [that he, the words are reported in the third person] voor noem of z'n vin'nda nogh nooit soo o'r'tgheem-aald ['fetched out'] had. 31 kind, zee bent o'mars bari mei.

['The sound ai must not be pronounced too broadly (voluminous), it is intermediate between ei and ai; the orthography ai, with high German a, comes nearest to the sound.' Hence my (ai). Compare the note om (ai) at the end of specimen 123.]

128. Vlaarding, city (51n54, 4 e 21). II. 150.

11 dar bhas a'reis 'n man, in dui a tdheezoena. 12 in tuu dees-daanii-t. 15 om de vaarakes te dui'vaa [remnant of (wac-d'one)]. 18 vaaradar, ik eb izonidigh too ghaan s'ou. 22 zaalt zealii 'n be'sta kleer-a-s iir, in duut-on dui an, in steekt-on reaq an z'n hand, en gheef-on skhuunan an z'n vuuta. 23 't gheme sta ka'll. 24 bhaant doveezo zeena van mee bhas dood, in ii is a'venda. 25 z'n oorsa zeenn bhas in -t veld; in tuu dui kkham in dikht bai 'z een vaard ons kikk kham, ok-kandaan 't z'qen in daasen. 27 je bruur. 29 om mit m vin'nda voo'lik te bhee. 31 kind, rii ben o'mars a't'sei be' m mee.

129. Dorrecht, in English Dort, city (51 n 49, 4 e 41). II. 154.

11 dar bhas oes na man, an dii had tbheezeens. 12 en tuu ghaaf de vaadar-am z'n zin ['mind'] en de zoon kreegh de hel. 15 om op de verkans te paasa. 18 vaadar, 'k heb ghoozondigh tooqenberguy. 22 vaadar, de be'sta kleer, trek-aat om dii an, duut na riq an z'n hand, en skhuunan an z'n vuuta. 23 't ghemeesta ka'llef.

bhat bir hir hup je see man-neen zoon dui bhee dookta dat dood bhas, an ii is bheer gha'svonda. 25 de oorsa zeenn dii op-t veld an-t ar'seberan ['work'] bhas, bhas in-t gheeeel ['altogether'] niit in z'n skihik ['delight'] tuu-d diikh bai 't oo is kikk, en-t ghaat en-t ghada naa noorda. 29 om met mi vin'nda voo'lik te bheezeen. 31 kind, zee bent a't'sei be' m mee ghoo'heest.

130. Oud-Belieerland, village (51 n 48, 4 e 55). II. 167.

11 deeser bhas ris 'n man, an dii had tbheezeens. 12 an tuu deelds da vaadar z'n ghuud. 15 om de vaaraks te bhi'ts. 18 vaarder, ik heb ghoozondigh teeqe'en s'ou. 22 breet ris ghau m'n be'sta spoel voor dan dagh, en duut zo-on an; gheef ook-an riq an z'n hand, en skhuunan an z'n vuuta. 23 't ghemeesta ka'llef. 24 bhaant doo'se zeenn van me bhas dood, an ghoo'voqa. 25 en de man z'n oorsa zeenn bhas in-t veld, an tuu dui kkham en dikht bai 'oos kikk, tuu noorda ii-t z'qen on daasen. 27 je bruur. 29 dat ik mit m vin'ndon ook ri voo'lik mokh bheerese. 31 kind, sa bin a'tloos be' m'min.
131. Brielle, or den Briel, town (51 n 53, 40 e 10). II. 160.

11 der bhas is 'n man ([mān] in country Briellish), dii hab thie zoona.
12 on no'v vurde'eids-t gheud onder welir' [Dutch hunlieden, 'them'] bērē ('both'). 15 op da varkoes te pasta.
18 vav'dor, ik heb zoonda gheda'na teeghe zuo. 22 breq 't beste klād xiir en duut-t'am an, duut-am-an riq an z'n viqer, on skhuun an z'n vuuta. 23 't vett'ghes'te kal. 24 bhant me zoon dii bhas dood, on noū osta zoond gli abord zoua. 25 an da man z'n osta zoond dii bhas op 't land, on tuu-di de-ki'ksa bē,-t noōs khamn, noordi'da [contracted form of (hoort-

132. De Tinte, hamlet of Oostvoorne, village (51 n 64, 4 e 6). II. 163.

11 deeser bhas is 'n man dii thbsa' neen had. 12 en de vav'dor deet.
15 om de varkos te fhe'ien. 18 vav'dor, ik heb khamn ghedaen' teeghe jōu. 22 breq deeser daik 't besta klāde'xiir, on trek-st'am an, on duu-n riq an z'n hand, on skhuun an z'n bērēn. 23 on th'se'me kalf. 24 bhant deewe'do zoond van mee bhas daad, on is ghu'ndu. 25 on z'n osta bhas in 't land, on tuu dii kert bōi hyys khamn, noor-

133. Nieuwe Tonge, village (51 n 43, 4 e 10). II. 167.

11 der bhas is 'n man, in dii hab thbsen neens. 12 in tuu der'da-man- naa z'n ghuut. 15 om de varkos te bha'khten ['watch']. 18 vav'dar, 'k nea'hōs ghezode'ndigh teeghe jūn.

22 briqit is għa'-t beste klād'd xiir, in duut-t'am an, in gheef-t'am-on riqg an z'n hand, in skhuun an z'n vur'ton. 23 't ghæmestead kalf. 24 bhant deewe'zoene van mee bhas do'd in ii is ghavond. 25 z'n osta zoene bhas in-t veld, in tuu 'n khamn in-t hyys ghōnæ'kta [Dutch, 'neared'], tuu hoort'-n t-zīqan in-t spriqan. 27 do bruur. 29 dat ik mit m'n vri'ndan ook is vroliik mokht bheerza. 31 kind, jii bint a'tiitd bii m'n.

134. Ouddorp, village on West-voorne, formerly an island (51 n 48, 3 e 57). II. 172.

11 'n zee'ker minse had thbsas' joqaa. 12 on z'n voo'dor ghas-t om. 15 om da verkos-te bhēi'en [observe the gerundial final (-e), to vordener]. 18 voo'dor, ik ei zondo baghoos' teeghen jūn. 22 briq hēu de beste kleer'on xiir om an te duun'm [gerund], gheef-am-on riq an z'n viqer on skhuun an z'n bērēn. 23 't me'skalk. 24 bhant deewe'zoone van mee bhas do'd, on is nue bheeroom evoqo. 25 en z'n osta zoone bhas in 't veld, en tuu in bhēih ['away'] ghīq bi hyys baghoh's te kome, hoorda i't trommeit [French tumeurs, in a form spread over all the Netherlands]. 27 do bruur. 29 om is locot [see sp. 131] te e'bho mit mo kameraa. 31 kind, jii bint a'tiitd bii miun.

XXVII. Zeeland. II. 176.

135. Burg, village on Schou-

136. Tolern, island (51 n 42, 3 e 59). II. 182.

11 'n zee'ker men's ad thbsen' nooana. 12 in de dees'lds zo't gheud. 15 om de vekens te bēi'ei. 18 vav'dor, ik na ghazondigh teeghe jūn. 22 briqit -ot beste pak kleer'on iir, in duut-am dat an, in gheef-on riq an z'n and, in skhuun an z'n fuv'ton. 23 't ghæmestead kolt. 24 bhant deewe'zoone van mee bhas do'd, in ii is ghavond. 25 in z'n osta zoene bhas in-t veld; in tuu in di'khtei yys khamn, oord-dei's ghezaar in-t ghedaen. 27 do bruur. 29 da-k mi bii mi'ndan is vroliik kon bheerza. 31 kind, jii bin olt'so bii m'n.

136. Tolen, island (51 n 32, 4 e 6). II. 185.

11 'n zee'ker mense A [had, the final consonants are commonly omitted] thbsen' zoone. 12 on i dees'lds eider [Dutch hunlieden 'them,' universally
used in Zeeland) 't ghund. 16 om de verkens te bhaakhten. 18 vaa'dar, k-o- ["I have"] kheeved ghadsae teeghan m. juu. 22 briôq m'n ghun't besta kleered, en duut om dat an, en gheedt-se'm-on riqek an z'n en, en skhuunnon an z'n vuut-an. 23 't gheemsta kalf. 24 bhant m'n zoece'-na bhas za ghund as död', en is vrom [Dutch seederom, again] ghavonds. 25 en z'n ouste zoece'-na bhas op-t land en tuun-on van't land vrom kbbam en a ["quite, Dutch al"] dikhtie bi iis bhas, oor'dee ii da-zo zoqoon en da-zo danston. 27 sa bruur. 29 om mee m'n vrii'den is pleesii'-t e'bom. 31 kind, see bint o'liidt bii m'n.

137. Zuiid Beveland in English South Beveland, island (51.527, 3.552). II. 190. [Lowland language of the greatest part of the island of Wolfaartsdijk.]
11 di bhas is 'a man, dîi tbbaa' zoece's a. 12 en i verdaz'-ldan 't ghund. 15 om de verkens te bhaakhten. 18 vaa'dar, 'k see zondae ede'm teeghan juu. 22 seelt iir 'n best pak kleeren en leest-am dat an duu', en gheedt-on riqek an z'n aan'n ["hands "], en skhuunnon an z'n vuut-an. 23 't vete kalf. 24 bhant iir ma zoece'-na bhas doe, en ii is evondo. 25 en z'n ouste zoece'-na bhas in 't veld; en a's vrom kbbam, en kord bi yrs kbbam, oor'den ii-t ghezaq-on on't ghadan. 27 sa bruur. 29 om ok is mi m'n kamerasses plaziit ti ouen ["hold'"]. 31 kind, jii bin a'liidt bii mee.

[The word (di), v. 11, is written dir, and Winkler notes that this r is not spoken, but serves to give the preceding vowel its sound in short syllables; this is theoretically (di), but practically (de). Similarly for (mi), v. 29.]

11 'neecekor mensa at thba' zoece-non. 12 on da dei z'n vaa'dar. 15 om de verkens te bhaakhten. 18 vaa'dar, k-e-o- ["I have"] kheeved ghadsae teeghan juu. 22 briôq iir is 'n mooiel pak ghund, en duut-on dat an en gheedt-se'm-on riqek an z'n viir'qer, en skhuunnon an z'n vuut-an. 23 't beste kalf. 24 bhant m'n zoece'-na bhas dao, on i is evoqon. 25 en z'n ouste zoece'-na bhas op-t veld, en as dii yyt 't veld nir yrs kbbam, oor'den ii-zo ziiqoon en apr'iqoon. 27 sa bruur. 29 om mi m'e kamerasses is pleesii't zeem ["have"]. 31 joqoon, see bint o'liidt bii mee.

139. Goes, or ter Goes, town (51.529, 3.53). III. 196. [Winkler remarks that the close and open a and e are distinctly separated, and i, oe, are diphthongal.]
11 'n man a thbaa' zoece-men. 12 en tuu verdaz'-ldan i ool'dar 't ghund. 15 om de verkens te bhêîen. 18 vaa'dar, ik see kheeved eznidgth teeghan jruu. 22 briôq iir daaduk 't besta klia'd, en duut 't an en, en gheedt-e'n niqek an z'n en, en skhuunnon an z'n vuut-an. 23 't gheve't kalf. 24 bhant dîi zoece'-na van mee bhas död, en is ghavonds. 25 en z'n ouste zoece'-na bhas op-t land, an tuun-on dikhtie bi yrs kbbam, oor'den ii-t ghezaq on't ghadan. 27 sa bruur. 29 da-k mee m'n vriindan is pleesii't ze kon. 31 kind, jii bin a'liidt bii mee.

11 di bhas is 'a man, dîi tbbaa' zoece's a. 12 en i verdaz'-lden 't ghund. 15 om de verkens te bhaakhten. 18 vaa'dar, k-e-o- kheeved ede'm teeghan juu. 22 seelt iir 't besto pak ghund, en leest-on dat an duu, en gheedt-on-on riqek an z'n viir'qer, en skhuunnon an z'n vuut-on. 23 't vete kalf. 24 bhant ii m'n zoece'-na bhas dao, en ii is vrom evondo. 25 en z'n ouste zoece'-na bhas in 't veld, on a's vrom kbbam, en kord bi yrs kbbam, oor'den ii-t ziiqon on't danston. 27 sa bruur. 29 om ok is mi m'n kamerasses plaziit t'en. 31 kind, jii bint o'm'as a'liidt bii m'n.

11 der bhas is 'a man en diei aa thbaa' zoece's. 12 en de vaa'dar ekkheede'na ghund en ghaas dan juuqon z'n erfpoi ["inheritance-portion'']. 15 om op de verkens te paessen. 18 vaa'dar, k-e-o- ["I have"] repeeted pronoun, frequent hereafter] zonde' ghadsae teeghan juu. 22 briôq ghaan de besta plecna, en duut-on dii an, en gheedt-on-on riqek an z'n viir'qer en skhuunnon an z'n vuut-an. 23 't ghasma-sta kaf't. 24 bhant 't is net 'n of dees zoece's van mee död ghebhiit eit, en bheo ghaa-vondoan. 25 en z'n ouste zoece's bhas
op-t veld, en as en bheero-me kbbam, en kort bit-t of [Dutch hof, farm-yard] bhas, oör-don ii-t gheziiq en gheespiir-q. 27 sa bruur. 29 om m’ in kemaa’s is te trekteer, en vröö-lik mi mee’kaare ['mates', Dutch makteer, comerade] te ziin. 31 juun, see bint aaltiid bii mee.

142. Arnemuiden, small town (51 n 29, 3 e 30). II. 204.

11 ’n zee-kor me’oo’s a tibben kzaana. 12 en z’n ghaf m’z’n posse- [or (poos)] ‘portion’. 15 om op de verenks to paasen. 18 vaa’dar, k-e-k ghröot zood edeear teergoon juu. 22 briiq ir tan eerst’n ’t besta kler’d, en duut st an z’n liif, en gheef en riikq an z’n viir-qar, en skhuun-an an z’n vuuten 23 ’t ghoma-sta kar’al.

24 bhan m’z’oo’s bhas dood, en k-e-d-[o] ‘I have I him’ bhoir-o-me soo’onde. 25 en zinna oorste zaa’nee bhaa-t-sor nii bi, mer ii bhas in t feld, en as-en korte bi z’n vaa’dar yys kbbam, oerd ii ziir-q en spiriir-q. 27 zo bruur. 29 om mee min v’rie’enn is ’n vröö-likken soo-ven [‘evening’] t-ou’en [‘to hold’]. 31 juun’oon, see bint o-m’e aaltiid bii mee.

143. Hulst, town (51 n 17, 4 e 3). II. 209.

[The s and g are confused; Hulster men will say een hoode got for een goede hoed ‘a good hat,’ een hoode ring for een gouden ring ‘a gold ring,’ een goutes tafel for een houten tafel ‘wooden table.’ This confusion occurs among the lower classes, especially those who cannot read, and is not uncommon in Zeeland and Flanders. It is not shown in the specimen.]

11 ’n zee’keren mens-aa’ali tibben zaana. 12 on-ali da’ird-on ’t khuud. 15 om de verenks te bhaa’ri. 18 vaa’dar, ik eeb-’k ghezo’ndigd teeghen-ou. 22 briiq ir vaar’t ’t besta kler’t-on duut-st-on aan, en gheef -onan riikq-an ’n-ant-on skhuun-an aan z’n v’aat’en. 23 ’t gheve’ta kalf. 24 bhan dees man’n zoon bhaa daat-an-in-iis ghevondo. 25 en ziim-nun -ouste zoon bhas-in-t-telt; en as-i-kbbam en-t-si gheaa’at, oor’di-a-iit gheza’qk en-t laabhaat [supposed to be connected with French Aubade, and not with lawai, specimen 106]. 27 uu bruur. 29 dad-ik mee-ma röö’nd de mokh vroo-lak zain. 31 kind, ghái zait-aaltiid bii maan.

144. Aksel, or Axl, town (51 n 17, 3 e 55). II. 212.

[The Roman Catholic peasantry in the southern part of the Akkel district speak as in specimen 143, but the Protestants as follows. The close and open e, o, are said to be very distinctly separated.]

11 er bhas maar’ghan iim-dain diit tibbe zoo’nen aa. 12 de oun vaa’dar deel oerd-der ytt bhas so nooddigh aan, om te koe’n leev’en. 16 beeteen en seerkerans op te paas-en an te vuur-en. 18 vaa’dar, k-een zoe’ka zonde ghadaa’nn an mii-modal ghund mee juu ghane’deld [‘handled,’ dealt]. 22 breqt-am dan nie’bhen laqroq, en duut-er gtho’n kno’don an z’n soo’me’bii’en [‘gold studs on his shirt-front,’ hemdeoord or boezem, the pro-digal son is treated as an Akkel peasant lad], en zo’lvero bruur-kit’en [‘silver breeches-seams’] an, en skhuun-me ghiispen [‘buckles’]. 23 en woor’dar zeo’lon [‘we shall’] kuur’ke [‘cakes,’ take the place of the calf] laa’tan ba’ken. 24 bhan man zoo’na bhas voor ons zoo ghund as dood, en ii is ghavo’nden. 25 dan ou’sten van de zaana bhas in-t land, en tuun in di’khter bi yys kbbam, oordan ii miir’qen en spiriir’qen. 27 zo bruur. 30 om pleisiir t-seen mee d’aand na juuqors. 31 bel [‘well’], man juuqon, see bint aal’ti’n biu maan.

145. Kadsand, village and district, formerly an island (51 n 21, 3 e 24). II. 216.

11 ‘aa bhas ees ’n mens duii tibben zaana. 12 in i daal’dan’t khuud onder oerd’ear. 15 de op de verenks te paasen. 18 vaa’dar, ik zoon deeghen juu. 22 alt ’t mooi’ste ghund, in duut st ‘m an, in duud ’n riikq an z’n viir’qar, in skhuun-an an z’n vuutt’en. 23 ’t gheve’ta kalf. 24 bhan man z’oo’sen ir bhas dood, in ii is ghavo’nn. 25 in z’n ou’ste zaana bhas in-t land, in as-i kbbam, in kort bi yys bhas, oor’den ii-t ghoza’qk in-t ghedaans. 27 zo bruur. 29 om mee mee-vrii’den ees-en pleziir-iighen dagh t-seen. 31 juuqon, see zait-aaltiid bii mee.


11 ’n zee’ker mens a tibbe zaana. 12 en i daal’d-a -t khuud oor’den oerd’ear. 16 om de verenks te ba’khteen. 18 vaa’dar, ik en [‘have’] khaat
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ghedaa'n teegh'n ruu. 22 aal 't beste kiel, 'in dutt-o't am an, in duud-en riiq an 'z 'nd, en skheun'an an 'z vuurt'an. 23 't gheve'to kalf. 24 bhant deee-za zoee van mee bhas dood, in ii is ghavo'n'dan. 25 in 'z aar-aar zoee bhas op 't land, in 'z dikht bi yss kham, oor'dan ii-t ghezaq in-t gheda'n. 27 sa bruur. 29 oon mee me vi-ri'den leeo-tighe te ziia. 31 kind, rei bind a'tiidi bi mee.

147. Aardenburg, town (51°16', 3°27'). II. 222.
11 daa bhas 'n keer [and (akoo-) 'once,' Dutch enkoer, much used in Belgium] 'n man dui a 'thtee zoee's. 12 en ii verde'el'dan 't ghued. 15 om de fotekenen te bahkhtana. 18 vaa'dar, 'k deee-o-kik [this repetition of personal pronoun is common in Flanders] zoand'aa teegh'n ruu. 22 aal-o-keer 't beste kiel'd en duur'dem an 'an, on-an riikq an 'z viiqer, en skhuu'en on an 'z vuurt'an. 23 't vete kalf. 24 bhan d'n deee-o-m 'n zoee-no dui bhas dood, ii is ghovo'n'en. 25 s 'n oord-ta zoee-en bhas in 't land, en as i kham, et-yss naa'da'don, oor'dan ii-t-zit'en en in de ronde daanse. 27 sa bruur. 29 oon mee m'n maat-a sees leeo'te-t'en ['to have']. 31 m'n kind, ghee zii ghi a'tiidi bi mee.

148. Eede and Helle, villages (51°n 14', 3°27'). II. 225.
[Really East-Flemish, much mixed with French.]
11 nen zee'mote'rin mei'maa 'aa ttheer' zoee's. 12 en zona vaa'dara porten zaar oord da skyeekaz ['surrection']. 16 om de sbheen te bahkhtana. 18 vaa'dar, k-cee-o-kik [the pronoun tripled?] meedaa'n zee'ghens on. 22 brekt ier voort 't beste kiel'd, on dui'gho't-eem aane, en laot-em oen-riikq an 'z 'n'aand, en skhuuns an 'z vuurt'an. 23 't gho'me'to kalf. 24 bhant den deee-o mensan zoee'en bhas 'aa'do'dood, en iis bhedeer'm ghovo'n'en. 25 en s 'n aizt'en zoee'en bhas op de stik'en en oor-o't kaamz en 0-eis genaa'tkoghe, oor'dan ii den saq on-t ghawv-khte. 27 oor'en bruur. 29 opdaak mee m'n viendeekens em's ghee-stich mokht sainz. 31 kind, ghee se' ghi a'tiidi bi mia.'

[Observe the gerundial dative (to bha'khtana) v. 15; Winkler remarks that this linguistically correct form, which has almost entirely disappeared in North Netherlands, is still in full use in this and many other Flemish dialects, and that the dative is even used after independent nouns, as v. 13, bachten letterd doagene, 'after little (a few) days.']

XXVIII. ZUID - NEDERLAND, in English BELGIUM. II. 230.

XXIX. Limburg, Belgian portion. II. 234. Compare No. XVII. 51, etc., p. 1589.

149. Helchteren, village (51°3', 5°23'). II. 235.
11 dui' bhaas ins ona-mins dee' bhii zoee's na. 12 en de vaa'dar lyyt 'a kiner ['let his children'] daa'laan. 15 en de parkhtor dream de verka nau'yan. 18 vaa'dar, iik kem zoe gheda'on teegh' ohkh. 22 duii dace de vaa'dar see fos ['quickly,' see specimen 61] z'n beste klirru haas'laan. 23 o vet kalf. 24 da zona-joq trek [Dutch terug, 'back'] ghakome bhaas. 25 oortots 'a ['meanwhile'] kham den aas'te zoone oot het veld, en bhe'i ['when'] or in noo' hyy'ra xiq'an da'da'son... 27 uur byryt. 29 en veec rikh emo'meonz ['have they'] za lee'ven zoo' ghiin ['none'] koze'meis ['Christmas, fair-time, feasting'] ghbaas'ghen. 31 joq, ghiin'skiit a'tiidi biu miikh.

150. Hasselt, town (50°56', 5°20'). II. 238.
[The sound of ooz in koome, etc., and oo in vloog, go (quickly), zoom, lies between o, eu, and a, but "one must be a Hasseltler to force one's tongue to it." I have written (oe) as a compromise.] 11 de bhezer ins ne man dia tthee zeen na. 12 doon ['then'] verdii'ida de vaaar 't ghoud tosen ['between,' Dutch twaaschen] miin tbe'era. 15 upp s 'zn bheniq vor z'n veerkse te hiere. 18 vaa'dar, iik neb hieet ghara'd teegh'ya ykhe. 22 nasi'lde's ins ghoe 't beete klid, en douteh [oe 'douteh] oom de aan, en stake-em oen-riik in zoone'vqor, en skhaan in z'n veet. 23 't vet kalf. 24 bhant men-o-kken haax bhoek dood, an noo' em om bhirr [Dutch woeders, 'again'] trech [Dutch terug, 'back'] ghaovene. 25 maal zona-an-data zooen bhooer on 't veel'dah [may be ('veltah, 'veltah, 'veldeh)] en bha'm 'm in 't trech koeh'me kort an xee'mee ghekoo'me.
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bheorer, wiirden om da-se an-t ze'ken en an-t daas-en [the first (n) lost] bheorer. 27 urr breair 29 vor m'n kamer-rar-ten ins te trakteero. 31 juuq, dahee [written dej'r, may be (tied)] xert r'landaam rass mihk.

11 doo bhas eno-kiir (see specimen 147) ena-man, dea a tbhi juu-ques. 12 en de Vaar dii'de en ghaf t'cem. 15 mostar enem brefe na-buur as verrekos-se't ['as farrow-hard'] veryrno ['hire']. 18 paa, khe-cob ghezo-nidghe teeghe uuukh. 22 olt ['fetch'] sefos niwe kliir en o paarr niwe stiri-vols voer oom aan te duun, en en-gheoo'n r'eqk voer en zene-vi'qar te-stee'ko. 23't vet kalfr. 24 bhant mena-zoon diaa as, bhas dood, en se ee nou ghow'arna. 25 mer dan ouste bhas bao'ta ['without'] uup t'feld, en as am ontrent d'etj'ghi okh fit'hig stage van oos' ['about 30 or 50 steps from house'] bhas, uur-rden om zii'qan en spiri'ga. 27 uur bryyr. 29 om meen man vri'nde in kompani'i-ee'ten. 31 zoon, ghee xet r'landaam rass mihk.

154. Tienen, in French Tiervmont (50° 38, 4° 56). II. 266.
11 dso' bhal na kir 'n mins dam' tbhii juu-ques a, 12 en de Vaar eet t'ghudhu gheede'd. 15 vor de verrekas 't yye'ro. 18 VAA'dar [this should mean 'little father,' but may be a misprint, as the word is (vaarder) in v. 21], ikh en onghelzak gh'ad 'I have wrong had' teeghen ook. 22 ralit ana-kir aghocoo ['Dutch al gasoe' 'all quickly'] de be'sta klee'res des' ghe viigt ['find', Dutch vinden] en trekt-ceem 'dee' anan, en stekt em ena-r'iqk in zene-vi'qar en skhuun in z'n vuu'ta. 23 de Vet mac'ta ('calf,' also (mo'ta, mac'^ta, mo'c'ta), (mo'tieii) in Overijssel means 'stuff'). 24 bhant mena-juuq ii bhas dood, en seo ez hiir troeg ghow'ora. 25 ondertoetse ['meanwhile'] bhas dan as-daste zoon uup 't veld, en as-tor troeg kamp en bekan't ['near'] an z'n eens [or (meesh) 'house'] bhas, yyo'ed-tor siz'qen en spri'ga. 27 ze babei. 29 vor men vri'ndaan ins o fie'e'sko te ghee'vo. 31 okh juuq, ghee zed o'mas al'see'dr bess mihk.

[On the word slavodder, 'whore,' v. 30, Winkler remarks that it is properly the word slodder, 'sloven,' with a join inserted (som laach cr in) in the Flemish way, thus: slaa-udder, and in the same way West Flemings make the North Netherlandish stee, 'slut,' into slaa-eede, with the same meaning; similarly in spec. 147, v. 14, the word schabouweelik occurs, which is schauweelik, 'showily,' with a Flemish insertion of ab.]
155. Louvain, in French Louvain, city (50° 53', 4° 43'). II. 261. 
11 doo ['a simple sound, nearly long Dutch oo', nearest French eu, and approaching German u'] bhas ne man dhi tbheee zouoms a. 12 on de voor vredeee'-doen-in dan 't ghout. 16 uum or do vererkas t'-aa-aa ['aa-aa, oo-oo, noo-noo, hoo-hou'] from (hoo'-de) 'hold', the usual (ruu-dan) 'keep' is unknown at Louvain. 18 voordar, k-oom ghemist, k-oom zoo veel koed ghodo tee'ghe aa. 22 dilt sefes ot besta kleet en duoot-o-a om on; stekt onen-riq on zoon-vi-qor en duoot-om skhuunen on. 23 't vet kalf. 24 bhant mene-zoon bhas dood, en a's ghovona. 25 soo-moo, dan ouddate zoon bhas terval'-tend ['whiling, staying'] uup 't velt, an as da'ree bhee khhamb en bakaa'inst ['almost'], en a's bhas, coo'nder-om vaa baai-ta daas ze doo bee'-zigh bhoe're mee ziyqan en darnee. 27 uu brii. 29 uum man vrii'-ndan ins te trakteer-ron. 31 moo kint, ghai' za'id a'la'a'id ma'ai. 
[(a'i) is said to 'sound nearly like the English boy, but the (i) is very obscurely pronounced,' more as (a']) perhaps, but it is a mere variety of (ai).]

156. Brussel, in French Bruxelles, in English Brussels, city (50° 52', 4° 21'). II. 266. 
[The 'sneeze' of the Brusselers is stated not to be exactly Dutch gi, or French ch, or German sch, but resembling all, and to have something of l and n mouillees in it; hence I write it (nj) or (shj). J. F. Willems wrote it j, as hijt 'hot,' and S. C. A. Willems wrote it jach, as hitisch, and Winkler writes it gj. The Brussels population and the country about is distinctly low German, not French. The following version is the genuine old language of the lower city.]

11 duu bhas one-kii one-man dhi tibhii'-jo zouoon an. 12 en da voor ghaaf uun nder ze poot ['part']. 15 uum da verkerke t'-aa-aa. 18 voor, t'-ees bhoor ['true'] k em-ik Azerbaijan, ghii'il ['Dutch geheet, altogether'] Veen khood ghodoon tee'ghen an. 22 spoiil saaln iaj al ghaaf, o'tje ['fetch'] e akhooli ['beautiful'] nyyt klii't voen ['fore'] om uun te duun, stekt om onen-riq uun zama-vi'qor, on gheest-on-e poor skhuunen uun z'n vuut'o. 23 e vet kalf. 24 bhant mene-zoon dhoo bhos dooid, en naa ema bhee 'm bhee ghovona. 25 moo dan ouddate zoon bhas booteen nu't feltje ghebeehest, en as en zee ahbad [Dutch sete creat, somewhat] in de ghysby're ['neighbourhood'] van z'n Oois khhamb, goiden aal-t-i-si'qon en daa'son. 27 a bryy. 29 om mee m'na kameraodoon ij bhas te snoe'-lon. 31 zoon, ghee zaai ghaa i'mas a'la'a'id bhai ma't-oiis.

157. Noord-Brussel, Schaerbeka, etc., the suburbs on the North of Brussels, see No. 156. II. 273. 
11 doo bhas one-zee-'kara man dhi tibhii' zouo'non an. 12 en de voor ditjejen ceel-'lan ceelo [Dutch hunieden repeated] poot. 15 uum z'n verkees ghiu'le te sloopga [Dutch gade te sloopa, 'notice to strike,' to mind]. 18 voor, t-es bhoor koom teegh'an a khood ghadduun. 22 ghee ghfaa e klii'don de juu'qa, en i'n ['one'] van de besta; duutijem om enen-riq on zama-vi'qor, en skhuunen om z'n vyyt'en. 23 't vet kalf. 24 bhant mene-zoon bhas dooid, en aa e bhee ghovona. 25 dmm daa'sta zoon bhas in 't feld gheblii'e, moo as en soo z'n duis khhamb, iec'-'dan a myyee'k, daa'son en zank. 27 ceelo bryy. 29 uum mee man vrii'-ijem moo'itoaad t'-aa-aa. 31 juu'qa, ghee zaat a'laa bas ma.

XXXI. Antwerpen, in French Antwerpen, in English Antwerp. II. 279.

158. Tielen, village, near Turnhout, town (51°19', 4°57'). II. 281. 
11 dor bhas es ne vaa'dar mee tibhii' zouo'non. 12 Zee, de vaa'dar dhu' bhas drooo'ver konte'n, en i liit z'n juu'qas daa'lan. 16 da verkees deeh hayaan. 18 vaa'dar k-een veele kaad ghdoo'daan. 22 duut om ghuu skhoon dhii qaan, an-ne riqik aa z'n vii'qer on-skhuun z'aan z'n vuut'a. 23 't vet kalf. 24 bhant mene-zoon bhas dood, en ik em tero'ggh ghovona. 25 jaa'mor dan eredtou jouq'an bhas dan uup 't veld aan 't bhe'rkon, en as e tee'ghen's a'aavas ['evening'] oon nois aa khhamb, oordan ve vaas da labhaid an-a kost or ghanen kop aa krei'gh'en ['and he could there no head on get,' and he could not understand it.] 27 a bryy. 29 om m'on vrii'-ndan es te trakteer-ron. 31 juu'qa, ghee zaat uumess a'laa bai mai.
159. Mol, town (51n12, 567).
II. 284.
11 daa bhas 'nu man dii' tbhnu' zvouzn lai ' [had]. 12 on de vaa'dar vordas'ids dan 't ghuud. 16 de vekos' y'ya. 21 vae'dor, 'k om onghelisk. 22 brekt seef 't bveel kloed, ou dun ghuo 't aard, steekt-on rick a zona-veqer ou duut-on akhunn-nan aan. 3' 't vet ka'at. 24 bhant manu zoon bhas doot, an ii is ghovona. 25 dan au'sta zoon bhas ke'san dii'n to'id oit; as 'i' bei-bhamp, yv'van an i' va boita-to labhaat. 29 om mee m'n vreo'ndan u'p 't eetan. 31 do vaa'de zee-m dan dat hoi a'la boi'm bhas.

160. Antwerp, in French Anvers, in English Antwerp (51n 13, 4 23). II. 293.
[Considering Antwerp pronunciation to be the 'type' of South Netherlands or Belgian forms of speech, Winkler gives rather a long account of it, which is here condensed.

A long is oo, nearer o than a, almost the French ë in fantôme [that is, (aA)]. When without stress, it is like a common short o, (o, o), as maar—mor.
A short is very like e short or German œ short; man, had, kwam, sound as German mainn, add, kwamn [that is, (a)]. But when it has the stress, it sounds as half long A, nearly as French œ(e) [that is, (a)].

E long and close becomes among the lower classes ei, or rather eoi, eoi that is, (éi, éé, éà) or (éi, éé, éà).

E long and open becomes a diphthong ë or ië, exactly like the Friesian ië or ia, and this is general Belgian that is, (ië, ië'). When without stress, it becomes in Antwerp simple i [(i, i, e, e')].

E heavy, "de zware e," is a blunting sound between e and o, the ao found in many Hollands forms of speech, the French faire, père [as distinct from (x)], given to short e above, this is certainly (see). It often occurs before r, where the genuine Netherlands has aa or e, as gerne.
In Friesic towns, Groningen, etc., these words have ee. The same e or ao sound is used in other words at Antwerp, which in Belgium generally have ei (éi). The final -ar, -aar, have (e).

E short before r becomes a short, as work, kerk, sterk — wark, kark, stark [with (e) ?].

IE diphthong has the pure, not the Hollands, pronunciation [that is, (i), not (i'i)]. The lowest class, however, change it to a close long e followed by i, as sieel = zoeij [that is, (zéil, zoe'il)].

I short is pure i, as in German, especially when it has the stress [that is, (i), not (i, e, e)'.

O close and long is generally as in genuine Dutch [oo] F, but the lowest speakers add on an obscure w, as koumen for komen (kou'mon); zoon, koning, are soem, kenwik (soem, zeon; kweenik, kenwik).

O or OO open and long is pronounced ooë, that is, as oo with an aftersound of unaccented e, just like Friesian ooë or oo [that is, (uu', uu')]. This pronunciation is peculiar to Antwerp, Limburg, and part of Belgian Brabant. But in the two Flanders and part of Belgian Brabant this o is called ee, (yy'), as schuum or schiën (skyn, skyy'n).

O short has generally in Belgium three sounds; 1) regular, in top (top, top f); 2) as Hollands oe, or German u (nu, u), in most words, where Hollands has the obscure short o [apparently (o, o)], as oop for op; 3) before r, as short eu, or as German ö [perhaps (o), and not (o), may be meant]. Many of these words have short u [(u) in my transcription].

U long retains its sound generally (yy'); but when followed by e, as in weu, duuen, and also in mu, it becomes au or auoe (tu).

U short in Antwerp and all Belgium, except occasionally in Flanders, is pure u, like German ü (y), as at for hat (yt).

I and EI under the stress become aai or ai or vai (ñai, ñi, ai'); without the stress, they fall into simple a.
UI, AAI, are both ooì (60i), as oois for huis.

OEI and OOI are both oei or oej (dùi, ðù) at Antwerp. In OOI the i is sometimes lost, and the long open oo becomes oeë (nu') at Antwerp, as (nu't) = nooit.

AUW and OUW are both auoe (tu).
EEW is ëëë, "that is, the long open oe, which in Antwerp becomes ëë or iëë (ii'), ending with a ëë" [(ii'f)]. IEUW is generally oef (ii', iëf) ?.

I is not pronounced in Antwerp, the two Flanders, and the western part of the province of Antwerp, and Bel-
gian Brabant. In Eastern Antwerp and in East Brabant, as well as in Limburg, \( h \) is pronounced.

N before some consonants becomes \( ng \) (q), as kingd for kind. N is omitted in the termination \( en \), where the next word does not begin with a vowel, as was moeten alle denne warke.

T is omitted in dat, wat, niet, met, etc., as is also common in Zeeland and North Brabant.

D between two vowels is frequently \( s \) or \( j \), as spoeden for spoden.

Cases do not differ in adjectives, but genders do. Article: masc. 'ne (ne) before all consonants but \( b, d, h, t \), and 'nen (non) before these and vowels; feminine 'n always; neuter \( e \) (a) before all consonants but \( b, d, h, t \), and 's before these and vowels. Definite: masc. de, den; fem. de; neunt 't. Possessive: m. m'n, m'nen; f. 'm'n; n. me, m'n. Demonstrative: m. diez, diezen; f. die; n. dat.

In pronouns: gij or ge placed after a verb becomes de, an oor de nie? = hoort gij niet. Hij, otherwise a or aar, becomes in that position em, as zal em komen = zal hij komen; but older people preserve i in this case. Wij, not under stress, becomes me. As object of a verb, the third person plural is always ze; of a proposition, always ons.

A long vowel in verbs is shortened in 3 pr. sg., in 2 pr. pres., and in imp., ik neem, a mènt, we nèmen, ge nèmt, ze nèmen; nèm, nèmt.

11 dor bhes is na mën en dii'n ed tbihi' zo'vem. 12 on a-z-ee en ii'dor zo kùqhediditt'ito ['child's portion'] ghegheevaa. 16 uum de vaartoeke t' u'vaa. 18 vaarad, k-em kbbaa ghedo'neeghzhe au. 22 me'ne, ghaz, brecht paaz'be'zeta ['nasal best', the custom being to put on new clothes at Easter] k'il'd en duu ghee-tom aan, stekt onan-roqk on zuno-ii'or, en trakte skhuu'nen on z'nu'vua. 23't vet ka'laaf. 24 bhant mano zoecen bhes duu'd, on a-zi'is trygh gheove'ta. 25 mor tarbh'hi'lot bhes den au'ito zoecen uup't veld; en as am bheer kbbhem, en el dikht baz' so'io bhes, uu'rdan om ziq'un en daans. 27 uu byryr. 29 uu m'n vriq'dan is te trakte-er. 31 sii, ju'qaa, ghee za ghiai a'ta ba maaai.

161. Lier, in French Lierre, town (51 n 8, 4 e 34). II. 297.

11 na man ad tbihi' zo'o'n. 12 on a vordiil'dan-ot ghund o'nder zo'o'n. 15 om zan vaar'rokaas te-e'baas. 18 vaard, k-on tze'ghon aa ghazondigh. 22 brecht dan i'irsten te'bard ['tabard', 'frock, a Dutch word] daa bresten, duut-om-em ouen, stek-em non-rriqk on z'n en, en skhuunan on z'n vuu'tan. 23 aa'nekaltu. 24 oom-t maan zoond doud bhas, en is bheeruu'm ghavo'na. 25 mor daa'dste zoond bhas op't veld, en tuun a bheer kbbhem, en z'n 'oouz nou'ar'dens, oor'dan-aat ghazagq. 27 uu byyrr. 29 om mee man vriinde te-se'ten. 31 zooon, ghaz saad a'taas baas maa.

162. Mechelen, in English Mechlin, in French Malines (51 n 2, 4 e 23). II. 299.

11 dor bhas na kii ne man, dii tbihi' ju'que aa. 12 on de vaardor vordiil'den oor'le paalt. 15 uum de verkaas ghooi ta sla'ighs. 18 vaardor, k-em ghazoadighd teeghon aa. 22 gheef al ghaz a kliid on'verst dat er or, gheef-om non-rriqk aan z'n en, en skhuunan aan z'n vuu'ta. 23't vet kaltu. 24 bhant mano ru'q bhas duu'd, en a-zi is bheer ghavo'na. 25 aam-mor don aa'dste zoond dii bhas up et veld as daa vaeer viel; en ghala'k om nor oioos kbbhem, oor'dan-on dor a labhaart van zii'qen en spiri qaa. 27 uu byyrr. 29 um mee m'n vriinde na kii bhaai te zai'n. 31 ghee za ghiai uum naa a'taaid ba maaai.

St. Amands, village (51n3, 4 e 12). II. 302.

11 dou bhas na man dii' tbihi' zo'o'nan aa. 12 on en d'oo'ardar ghaf t'an. 15 de verkaas ghooi slaa'ghan. 18 voo'erdar, k-em kbbhoud ghedo'non teegh'on aa. 22 gheef al ghaz a kliid on duq'an; ii'n van de besta; stekt dan non-rriqk ouen saini'q vaar, en gheefem skhuunan ouen zai'n vuu'ta. 23't vet ghsomok'kal. 24 bhant ons kiindi bhas duu'd, en a'se bheer ghavo'na. 25 de aa'tson zoond bhas tu'n feld ghobleevan, en a's en noor ce'is kbbh, uu'rdan aai daa bee'zigh bhó'ran mee to zii'qan on ta dan. 27 a byryr. 29 um na kii're mee main vriinde kermin te-avan. 31 gha ziit uum na a'taaid ba maaai.

XXXII. OOST - VLAANDEREN, in English EAST FLANDERS. II. 306.

St. Nicolaas, town (51 n 10, 4 e 7). II. 308.
11 döur bhas ne kii' ne mens, dii thhii' zoonea AA. 12 en de voo'dar ghaf z-elk cr'dor pőurt. 15 om de verkses te bha'khten. 18 vou'dor, k-fi misdoun. 22 eust cr'dor ['haaste ye'] on oült al ghas de besta kleere en duu zo-em oon; stikt-on-ne riigk on zii'me vii'qor, en skhunnen an zii'm vu'nten. 23 't vet kalf. 24 bhaant marne zoon bhas doot, en ai is bheer ghewone. 25 dan sa'dete zoon kkhams intse'en van -t veld bheer, en as ai nohgh en buo-ghaxhoec ('a bow-shoat') van oei's bhas, koot ai alt myyzi'i-k, on-t labhät'o'oren. 27 oö bruur. 29 en main vri'onden nei ne keer lört't sonneenen. 31 ghee zii ghaf a'leet bai mai.

165. Ecklo, town (51 n 12, 3° 33'). II. 311.

11 tor bhas ne kii' ne rwi'kon eero [Dutch hear, gentleman] dii thhii' zoonea AA. 12 en de vaa'dore verdii'-leegh cr'dor ze'i' ghuurt. 16 de verkses te bha'khten. 18 vaa'dore, k-on mislaan vozer en. 22 briigt iir al ghe'he [Dutch gaama, quickly] zii'me besta deiqen, in dgo'he-tam an, in stek-om no-riigk an zii'me vii'qare, in skhunnen a zii'm vu'nten. 23 't vet kalf. 24 bhaant monzoone bhas dyy't, in o'i is bheero ghewonen. 25 dan buin ['in the mean time'] bhas zii'nem eeb'ste zoonee in den a'kore, in o den dii'nan bheere kii'rdgeho in an oei's kkhamp, in yy'ri'geho zii'qen in labhät'e'bben. 27 oon bruure. 29 om mai'mee mai'mi vri'onden nei kii'r bhal te duun. 31 tuut, tuut, mai' kind, gh-x zii'ghi sli'iid mei ghebeb'est.

166. Maldegem, village (51n13, 3° 27'). II. 315.

11 dor bhaar ne keer'-ke nem rwi'ke man, dii thee zoonea AA. 12 ee laa'otor? [?] moos telee'en. 15 bhaar ghewoneen ['forced'] van de zhooreem te bha'khten. 18 vaa'dor, ek en meeslaan teeghun un. 22-24 ee liip-tam teeghmen ['he ran towards him'], vlahgh an zoenen-al ['flew at his neck'], kei'qor, en ee deel ['did', caused] van bloi'skhaa ['from blithefulness'] omdat ee daar bhaate, 'n vet kaal sla'khten. 25-30 en andere zoonee bokla'g'bm en ['complained'] daar oorre dat ee a'kon ['ever', Dutch al kooren] bhaar'ge ghebeb'est bhaare, en dat dii locore ['scamp'] b'sy' ghuund o'taal bhiito. 31, 32 maar de vaa'dor zei: me kend! t-on os oon meer of reekht ['it-not is not more of=than right'] das mee dare voor loco'te ['feasting'] ma'ak'en; buant uu'ruo bhaar'de dood, em ee vaarre'zen ['risen from the dead'], ee bhaar vaarloo'ren ['lost'], en ee ee bheere ghewoendren.

167. Kleit, a hamlet belonging to parish of Maldegem, 166. II. 319.

11 de bhaar ne keer'ke ne ree'ke man met tbbhe zeene. 12 de rooste vruughe zeen deelgoe. 15 most de zheenmen bha'khten. 18 vaa'dore, ek een ['have'] meeslaan teeghe uu. 22-24 ee viilt om on dan nee'ke en ee deo en vet kaalf sla'khten om ko'mere 's t'u-bhun van bloi'skhaap oom de zoonen vooze [Dutch zijn zoon, his son] gakome bhaato. 25-30 maar en stru'ten bruurte bhaate daar kaald ome, dat ee a'kas bhaar'ge ghebeb'est en dat zeen vaa'dor vozer em nii on dee'. 31, 32 maar de vaa'dor zei: meen kend, laat ons bloi'se'een, bhaant uu'ruo bhaar'aad deel, en ee vaarre'zen, ee bhaar vaarloo'ren, en ee ee bheer gheekteerd ['returned'].

168. Gent, in French Gand, in English Ghent, city (51 n 2, 3° 44'). II. 325.

[There are two principal modes of speech. One, the Newbridge Gentish, formerly spoken in the street of Nieuwe-Brug or Neder-Schelde, used principally by small tradesmen and workpeople. This is lower (plitter) than ordinary Gentish, and much drawled (seepend, lijerig). The present Newbridge mode is really the general old Gentish. The other Gentish is spoken generally by the citizens, and even the upper classes who use their mother tongue; modern Hollandish is "fortunately" not used, even in church or in most schools.

In this Gentish almost all short vowels are lengthened, as kaate or kate for kat, bruige or bruughe for brug, steemme for stem, etc. The short i and e of other dialects becomes  yi (yi), as drijka, zijnga, wijnkel, achiijns, mijns, (mensch).

Long a isaa (aa) and before r often sounds as a diphthong like French oi in voir (uoo).]
Open e or ee is a diphthong ëë (i'ë) or nearer ëë, ëë (xe, 'ee').

Heavy e (the (sem) of Flemish generally) is ii, and this is the sound of short o before r, as giird, scwiird, begiire; stiirk, biirg, kierk, wiirke.

Open long o becomes ou (yy'), as buun, buued = Dutch buun, brood.

Close long o becomes eu (exx), as veugel, vogel.

Long u retains its sound (yy), but usu generally adds on an unaccented e (-a).

The iy is ai (ki) or even aai (aai).

The ei is also usually ai, but in some words eeë, ëë (ee', kë'), as giëtte, giët, schëën, scheiden.

The ui becomes aai (aai).

The ou and au are French ë (xz) in some words, and Dutch iy (i') in others; but when followed by d, are always ëë (kux'); schëvé is both schauou or schadouw, 'shade, shadow,' and schouw or schooestern, 'chimney'; when followed by l, these ou, au, are generally iy (i'), as stijt, stout, 'bald.'

The i in ing is not merely long (i), but has the secondary stress, as deelinge, lesinge. [This is quite Chaucerian.]

The old termination -ege, -igge, is in full use, as naasterigge, naaister, 'seamstress.'

The termination -is becomes -esse, as geschiedessen, and -laer, properly -leer, becomes -lire as dompelire, dumpeleer, 'dipper.'

The termination ou becomes om, as voxelom for voxalou, swallow (bird); but woeude, woeudenaer, becomes woeve, woerver.

Shovet before r becomes long a or aa (AA), as oar, oor, arm = arm, warm. The A is not pronounced.

Unaccented -e is often added, as moedere, oncle (hemel, 'heaven'), endo (hend, 'shirt'), etc.

When i and r occur in the middle of a syllable, they are frequently omitted, and r before s is regularly mute, as oes, als, ges for gers, gras, as in Friesie busi for burst, borst, 'burst, breast, brush.'

But ch is heard in musche, bossche, mijnche, menschen, where it is omitted in Hollandish.

For mp, they use np or nt, as lant, lamp. Medial a either falls into i or j is mute. Final foreign je is called de, as famincte, familie.

Uiëder, sulder, guider and zulder are used for hen or hun, wij, gi, sij. Hij is often called jië, as 'k om den te 'k ik nig geweest, 't wise jië geweest (konb-nekteik nij ghebeepest, te-ta'si ghebeepest), literally 'I not am it I not been, it has he been,' = 'twasn't me, 'twas him.

Gentish.

11 ter bhasa na kii'r na men, in aÁ tibhi' zooëns. 12 in aÁ i'dil-deghës ty-lëder saït. 15 om de vireks te bha-khten. 18 vaa'dare, k-xq misda'an teeg'hen ec. 22 aÁ aÁ na bï zi zi'lo'gho mo' bhasa, riip aÁ aÁ 'ziom 'he called one') van zain knekhtë, in aÁ ghebii'dagh een-t bee'sta dor'a t-AÁ'lo' om een an te duun, een paar skhuur na' ghe-e wea, in na ro'i op sa'in vo'aqer te stëqke. 23 't besta kaal. 24 omda na'mí'no zooëna, dë brëty 'dead') bhas, bheere gha'vondna ec. 25 omda ndor'yy-she khaam dan eëba's-ta zooëna op-t land; in aÁ aÁ om t'uument dem sa'rs 'house') khaam, yy-deg'h aÁ-labhaite in de speec'man. 27 ee brueva. 29 oom mäin vir'indo mëe te trakteere. 31 maar, ma'í'na jëqenë, gheee zait oom'arast a'ttäid bï mäi.

169. Tongval van de worklieden in de wijk der Nieuwe-brug te Gen, speech of the work-people in Newbridge Street, Gent, see specimen 168.

11 na vaa'dare aÁ tibhi' zooëns. 12 an de vaa'dare ghaaf ec eem. 16 de vireks. 18 vaa'dare, k-xq misda'an teeg'hen ec. 22 aÁ aÁ'ldere lyypt om zain bee'sta kii'r, in duu een an niec paar skhuuenan en, in stekt een na ro'iq op sa'ni vo'aqer. 23 't voeteek kaal. 24 bhant ma'me zooëns bhasa gheesto'ru, in aÁ e bheere lee'v ot gheb'hoare. 26 in aÁ in eëba's-ta zooëna na'ais khaam, yy-radgha fi van voete-ma'ik in't labhia't. 27 ee brueva 29 om mäi mee mäin kamara'ta'ry yyk na kii't' amazëra. 31 kiind, al bhadk'kaouiat, ët-tir-bhaa.

170. Wetteren, small town (51 ° 0, 3 ° 52). II. 331.

11 daar bhas na kii'n na meisk, dii tibhi' zooëns aÁ. 12 an aÁ'i'dil-daghe aÁ'ldere -t ghuud. 15 om de vireks te bha-khten. 18 voo'der, k-xq misda'an teeg'hen ec. 22 aÁ aÁ'ldere! breqt te-së-t be'sta kii'd en duun't hem aÁ'n; stek niq aÁ'zi'in and, en skhuu'n aÁ'zi'in vu'ten. 23 't vet kaal. 24 bhant ma'me'na zooëna bhas dy'd, en o' aÁ
Section 2. No. 8. ii. LOW GERMAN AND FRIESIAN DIALECTS.

Ghovonden. 25 maart den aa'deata xoa'ne bhas in-t veld, en as a'ibehe kii'radghe on teergmon a'is khhiam, yy'ry'dghon on, it der bi'nan myyziik', ghespee'ld en ghada'net bhidh. 27 du bruur. 29 om ne kii'r mee'min vrionden keerne'staaen ('hold'). 31 roqen, ghee zeit'atly's be'i me'.

171. Vnoise, town (50 n 51, 4 e 1). II. 334.

11 dua' bhas ne kii'n ne mensh, dibibh zuun'nan aa. 12 en de vnuar ghaaf om za puu'arrt. 15 om de vwerp te bha'khten. 18 vuuar'a, k-em kula'd ghedaun'aa teergmon aa. 22 spudejij'ell en, duut om sef'se skiiyr'en ['beautiful'] diiq'an uua'n, en stek ne riigk uua'zaa'na vi'qer, on skhuunun uua'zaan vuut'men. 23 o vejitj'jalf. 24 bhant ilk pen'sandan [Dutch pinnete, thought] daa maane zuun dii'yed bhas, en aa es van-eeer [van her, 'again'] ghovon. 26 dan aa'ata zuun khhamp uua'ta'se van-t veldjij, en as an bok'ans ['near'] t'ee'se bhas, iy'yyer'den a ziiq'en dan'men. 27 aa bruir. 29 om maane vrionen kermes'naa'sen. 31 roqen, ghe'tjij ghee aite'd la ba ma.

[On (dise, tji), the 'sneeze,' see specimen 106. On (uua)] Winkler says the sound is somewhat (enizigna) diphthongal, especially before r, and then sounds exactly like the French or in oor. In spec. 170 he had not made that remark. See introductory note to spec. 168, on long a (1423, a').]

172. Eichem, village near Voorde, village (50 n 49, 3 e 60). II. 338.

11 dar bhas ne kii'r ne maan dibibh'luuen oo. 12 en a virdi'ti'djaghan ei'or-t guhoud. 16 om de vo'irkes te bha'khten. 18 vaar, k-em teergmon aa ghaz'ondigheid. 22 oot'jor [Dutch haast u, 'haste you'], briig a ghee t'ii'ste ['the first'] klid'd laa ghe vendijj ['find'], duuv'od em aan, stekt-on ne-rigk op d-and on skhuunun aa za'in vuu'ten. 23 o vaatij kalf. 24 bhant mo'inn zuun bhas dii'yed, on aa es bhee ghovon. 25 maar za'inn ou'i-sten zoon bhas op-t veldjij, en as an bhee khkham, iy'yar'daghan on spee'en on sq'ir. 27 a bryyy. 29 om mee'min vrionen op-t eenan. 31 soon, ghaii zaid a'itly'ee bhai main.

173. Geerardabergen, Geer-
oudabergen, Geertheberg, or Griesberg, in French Grammont, town (50 n 46, 4 e 47). II. 341.

11 tor bhas ne kii'r ne maan, dibibh'zoin shines aai. 12 en da va'ir dibii'rdaghe-t ghoud teekhan za zoina. 15 om de var'kiah te bha'khten. 18 'k zaan om ze'gghon ['I shall say to him'] daa-k kaad ghedaun' en teergmon em. 22 teerere leort, oltish a ghaa man splinteren' ['my splinter-new'] pl'oenje en duu za-en aam; stikt ne riigk za zaa'na viq'er ['in ng, the g is omitted, and w nasalised as in French.' This direction I take to be one given by the translator, and that it was meant to convey the sound of (q) to French speakers; the above direction occurs elsewhere. I continue to use (q), but shall note the (a), on skhuunun zaan vuut'en. 23 't vet kalf. 24 bhant maane zooma bhas diyy'ed, en aa es van-eeer ghovon. 26 mor den asthon zooma dii' bhas teerbhailigh op-t land; en aa en bhee'ka khhamp en dat an bai t'ee'se bhas, iy'yy'or'dogh en-t labh'irt van-t myzyiiik'en van-t gha-zak'sal. 27 a bryyy'ra. 29 om mee man vrionen ne kii'r taa-faliqiq t-ar'oon. 31 roqen, iy'or ne kii'r, zai gha ghaii nii a'ltaid be maai?

174. Oudenaarde, in French Audenarde, town (50 n 51, 3 e 36). II. 346.

11 tor bhas ne kii'r ne zeek'kare mens dibibh'zoonens aai. 12 en de vaal'der vardiil'dagho-t ghuuht. 16 om de vwerp te bha'khten. 18 vaal'dor, kee misad'aan teergmon aee. 22 ghee teerere, haalt-at beste kliid' on duu-t'om an, duut-on ne riigk aa za'ine viq'er, on skhuunen aa za'i vuu'ten. 23 't fet kalf. 24 bhant maine zoone bhas dy'd, en ii aa noii bhee'roo ghovon. 25 dan ou'ste zooma bhas op-t feld, en ii en bhi'staghe ['wist, 'know'] vaa niit. oii en noii, al bhee'rr kii'en, zaam bis naad'ardeghe ['nearer'], yy'ry'eil' dan za zuu'qen en zoo nan da'nighen doen maa'khiighen. 27 a'ee bhuu're. 29 om main vrionen mee te trakteen. 31 kind, uu es tok meecer gholal da-ghee zoeken dei'qen van a'ee bhuu'rra keent zee'ghen; ghaii, ghe zait a'ltiy's bai mai.

175. Deinze or Deurne, town (50 n 58, 3 e 31). II. 349.

11 dor bhas ne kii'r ne man, dibibh'zoonens aai. 12 en de vaal'dor dii'il'dagho ond'er zee ghoud. 15 om de
virkens te bha'kh'ten. 18 VAA'dar, k-ke miisaa'n teergho aan'. 22 ee
dee om de be'ste klii'-tan AA'lan vooer
erre'nee xoene'n aan te duun, en ee
dee om 6 paar skhunan gheen, en nu
reok op erre'ne veeqyer see'ton.
23 't veetse kafl. 24 oomdas' mene'
nee xoene'n, dii-t dry' bhah, hbeere
gho-
voo'den ee. 25 binst dii milalon te'd
kbham don 'tana xoene'n, bas van op-
t
land; en oos ee omsretn de o'za
kkhamp, yy'redgh ee-t labba'it an de
spec'lane. 27 aa'j bruur'a. 29 om
mek vrii'den mee te trek'te'rean. 31
maar mene'n joqan tokih, gas erre
gho'ee omer a'leten boi mi'se'.

XXXIII. West-Vlaanderen,
in English West Flanders. II.
352.

176. Brugge, in French Bruges,
city (51° 13', 3° 12'). II. 356.
[Long a is pronounced oo (AA) before
d, t, i, m, r, s, z (except in plurals of
past tenses in verbs, where a is short
in singular, as ik bad, se beden', and
except some ò, j, f, g, m, has been lost,
as made for mangef), but is pure, as d
in French dite (naa d), but is pronounced,
f, j, k and m. And oex is pronounced
eech, which is old German, and is
still heard in some low German modes
of speech. And the version is too free
to be quoted exactly.]

11 dar bhah o ker o man, en ii aa
tbheee xeene'n. 12 VAA'dar, gheh'mo
['give me'] ghi -t gho'orna [Dutch het
geene, 'the that,' the thing or part]
daa'k ik muun en. 16 zhihins.
22 i dii om zoan be'sta klee'tan AA'lan.'
25-30 don uu'kten xoene'n bhah daa
zaluus [French jalouz] van, en zoi:
VAA'dar, t-on is tokh gheher'mete-
ere'd! jo duu meer vaaar dii allo-bar
['slobery fellow'] of daa zo Yaar
muun dii't. zaa, zoi de VAA'dar, vei'n'tja
['man'] t-on is maar reks lik of 't
zin muut ('it is however right like as
it must be,' it is quite right), zan
bruura bhah doud, en ii is varree'non
['arisen'] ; zoo is-t gheel simpal daa
me mi'n'dor [for wei weijhidan 'we
we-folk'] daa vi'ron. jo vi'qk ghe
['receive'] da baloo-niqa van zo ghuu
ghedragh ['of your good behaviour']
in bhal zo staan'a med it'doreen,
vooral 'd zo daa'f en laat ghi ons ool te
ghhaar ['together'] konten zien da
i nogh loek.

177. Oostende, in English

Oostend, town (51° 14', 2° 54'). II. 362.
[This is also very freely translated.]

11 tor bhah en keen et VAA'dar, en
3-aas tbehee xeene'n. 12 dit ghuu xel
ghaaf st om; ne ja, bhah mor' en
do'an, ee 16 om zoan zhihins te
bha'kh'ten. 18 VAA'dar, k-ke zoo
lee'tik ghedaan'mi juun ['I have so
ugly done with you']. 20-24 bhah daa
son VAA'dar mid om dei ?'k las saa-
ghaara ['what then his father with
him did, I let you it guess']. ghoou,
wa'neja ['jack,' diminutive of Johannes
called Johanna] zeit en ghou, kon
bi'nun, man veeht, 'ti zoon zoo biil' daa
ze daz xit, ma ghavaan seefens keme's
uudan en-t vet kolf most ar an, en
nogh enthat aqars ['something be-
sides'] en VAA'dar en xoene'n dei-an
in maa'tja ['had a fine feast']. 25
den uu'dee xoene'n, dui van ooarak
en dagh of tbheii yyt bhah, kkbham binst
dan mi-dalan'ti VAA zaan yu yee
t bheee ghoou. zaa-maar i oort'd-t myrruit
spec'lon, en ja varshhiit ['changes']
ol met en keer. 29 ja bhor ma bheh
zoo vrudn zee, dat i nii en bhith bhah
dat en dei, en J-sen'lda ni bi-nan-
ghaan. 31 maar VAA'dar kam yyt,
e u akhter en biteja bibelaburu'shs
['after a little coaxing'] jo tbhhee fek
['induced'] om tokh tuu bi saa
bruur'o. en zo ko'stan mee-kaaar, en-
pt
bhas vrii'den lik van te voo'ton.

178. Rooseslaar, in French
Roulers, town (50° 56', 3° 7'). II.
369.

11 t-bhos o ker ne man om ii aa
tbheee xeene'n. 12 om zo VAA'dara
daарьder'dt id i ol ze ghuud omdar'z
(tbheee xeene'n. 15 om der de zhihins
to bha'kh'ten. 18 VAA'dara, kee-kik
zo'nda ghedaan'tee'g'han teun. 22
aastja, aal-o om ker zaa nibb klair
en duu't-t, steket na riqik ip xene
viqara [see specimen 173] on duu
skhuun an zan vu't'ton. 23 't vet kolf.
24 ghe muu bheetaan ['wit, know
man-zeene'n boos daad, en ii en
bheere yyt'ghaka'man. 26 dan
uudstam zeene'n boos ip -t land
bezigh mee hber'kana, en en
bheere'kkh ham de sti'kon, en t-yu
na'a'de, i oort'dgho da ze van biu
trumpet'ghon en zuu'gan. 27 jan
broo're. 29 oomdas' aAK vaaar'ma
vrii'den zuu keene o ker ke'mes
uud'an. 31 maar juqan [here ne is
printed as usual], ghe zii ghi
o'hid bi mi.
179. Kortrijk, in French Courtrai, city (50° 55′, 3° 12′). II. 374.

[The Kortrijkers omit final d, especially before a consonant, as i eton me sin in ee sin oof, en i ile 'n broo in sin an = hij stond met zijn hoofd op zijn hoofd, en hij hield een brood in zijn hand, 'he stood with his hat on his head, and he held a bread-loaf in his hand.' Final n is so frequently omitted that the Kortrijkers are nicknamed ennebieten,' en-biteers.' Also l and r are frequently omitted. Sch is called sk. Final ū (ia) is constantly used as a diminutive.]

11 ne man a tibee zeevens. 12 en za kreeg'sh'en elk eelder dh'el. 16 dit dei em ghaan mee de zibhins. 18 vaa'der, k-en gheezondigh teexhen yu. 22 loop om't beeste kris ondu-t om sau an; en duu-ne riik an zii an en, duu skhuwhan [as sch, and not sk, is written, I copy it] aan zii vuute.

23 't vet kolf. 24 bhan mi-ne zoeke-bha bha dha, en ni be bhee-ro ghavonde. 28 duu om dat zoeke-bha dah daar bin an 't lan, os en bheero kee'r'de van de sti'kan, en bi-i y's y's van zii vaa'der bhaa, oor-de-i zii'ken en dansen. 27 yu bruha. 29 om mee miin vri'nden te keremecen. 31 juq'en, gee zii oitiid bi mii.

180. Iperen, in French Ypres, city (50° 58′, 2° 53′). II. 378.

11 daa bhos en dii tibee zeevens a'de. 12 en de vaa'de deex-tet. 16 om de zibhins te bha-khten. 18 vaa'der, k-en meezunovedgh [this (me) for (tha) in participles is said to sound just as é in the French tre] teexhen juun. 22 briiket e keer zee're [quickly] en niec'-bhan bruk en en niec'-bhe kaza kek, en duu-se-m an'duun. stekt e riik an zii wii'nder en gheet-on niec'-bhe [(niece'-bhe) may be the proper word; niec' is printed twice and niec' once, but en does not appear to be otherwise replaced by] skhuun. 23 't vet kolf. 24 me juq'en [see specimen 173 on (q)] bhos dood, en-an en bheero xevood. 26 za'maas, os dan uu'de zoeke-bha van-t lant kham, bhaa dat-on bhos ghaa bheerken, en dat-on bi i'ys bha bham, en oore-dan en zii'gen en spii'ren. 27 't broo'to. 29 om epe t-cet'en ['to eat it up'] mee man vri'nden. 31 juq'en, en-ne ehi nii te klaa'gen; ghe zii an t'nieckerhtens}

tuu tj'maa'vens ['from morning to evening,' Dutch ochtend, avonds] bi miin.

181. Popperinghen, town (50° 52′, 2° 43′). II. 382.

11 t-bhos en keek-e mens, dii tibee zeevens a'de. 12 en de vaa'der deex'te eelder-t ghuit. 16 om de zibhins te bha-khten. 18 vaa'dar, k-en keezon-digh teexhen juun. 22 briiket [see specimen 173 on (q)] ma zee're zoi be'ste kaza kek en duu-so'm an, stekt e riik an zo vii'wer en duu so skhuun an. 23 't vet kolf. 24 om dehi'le me zoeke-bha bhos dood, en-an is yf ekk'em'en. 25 tuun kan dan uu'de zoeke-bha van't stik, en os en ontr'n t-y's kam, en dat on s-oorde zii'ken en myyzi'ke speel'en. 27 zo broo'to. 29 om miin vri'nden te trakteeren. 31 zoq'en, zo xii ghih o'san [for olaan, that is, als aan, always] bi miin.

182. Veurne-Ambacht, district, manor of Veurne, town, in French Furnes (51° 4′, 2° 38′). II. 386.

11 t-bhos en keek-e man, en dii man a'de tibee zeevens. 12 en de vaa'de deex-lan eelder-t ghuit. 16 om te zibhins te bha-khten. 18 vaa'der, k-en daa leek mu'dan teexhen juun. 22 zee're ['haste'] om be'ste kaza kek vaa me zoeke-bha, duut-an z-an, en duut-on en paar skhuun an. 23 't kolf daa m-ke'vet on. 24 me zoeke-bha bhos dood, en-m-on en bheero xevooq'on [see specimen 176 on (q)]. 25 dan uu'de zoeke-bha bhe bie de biilte op de sti'kan os en yvy van zo bheerk kam, liik of en nie vee'te men van zan y's bhos, en oor-de daan'an en spii'ren en myyzi'ke speel'en. 27 i broo'to. 29 om mee me vri'nden en keek keremec'en t-u'nden. 31 zoeke-bha, i blyf ghi o'san bi miin.

XXXIV. FRANCE. II. 389.


[In the town itself the people generally speak Flemish, and but few French; the country round about the town is quite Flemish.]

11 t-bhas en keek en vaa'der dat en paar keeks a'de. 12 en den u'den braavon man, jaa, nem deel'de z'n forty'ty'na. 15 den buur ['boor,' peasant] ben ['well'], ek zoq [see specimen 174 on (q)] en op sen land men'en
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This completes the studies introducto to the consideration of our English dialects. It may be thought at first that too wide a range has been taken, but my own conviction is that the error lies in the other direction, and that these studies will prove insufficient for the complete phonologic study of our dialects, because I have found that, since most of them were in type, on attempting to deal with some existing cases which have come before me, my own knowledge has only too frequently made default. Thus in vowels, the oo and short u of Northumberland, taken as (u); the oo of West Somerset, of North and South Devon, of Norfolk and Suffolk, taken as (yy, fu), are still phonologic riddles, and I might greatly increase the list. In consonants, the different uvular r’s of Northumberland, and the (glottal or reverted) r’s of Wiltsbire, Gloucester, and Somerset; and even the trilled r’s of Scotland, Westmorland and Ireland (said to be different), are not yet discriminated phonetically with sufficient accuracy. For many of the diphthongs and fractures extreme difficulty is felt in determining the position of stress, the length of the elements, and the quality of the element not under the stress. The peculiarities of intonation, which are locally most characteristic, are as yet phonetically uncharacterized.

For those who simply regard dialectal talk as “funny,” “odd,” “curious,” “ridiculous,” or “vulgar,” such like difficulties do not exist. Even philologists, who have wrapped themselves up in their garment of Roman letters, as musicians in their equally tempered drab, will not care for them. But as no scientific theory of concord can be evolved from the blurred representation or rather caricature of consonance which this temperament can alone produce, so no scientific theory of organic change of words, which forms the staple of philology, can be deduced from the incomplete, dazzling, puzzling, varying, orthography which Latin letters can alone present. The great object of this work has been from beneath this heavy cloak to trace the living form, with the pure philological purpose of arriving at scientific theories which shall help us to derive the present from the past of language. The result can be but a rough approximation after all. But in forming an estimate for any work it is usual to calculate to farthings, and then lay on a broad margin for contingency. So here we must endeavour to trace to the minutest details, however absurdly small they may appear, and then allow a wide “debatable land” for inevitable errors. The nature of such a land is well enough shewn by an example in the preceding introductory remarks (pp. 1371–3). The nature of the details is shewn in Nos. 6 and 7 (pp. 1265–1357). The guide to an appreciation of the English laws of change will be found in the changes so carefully tabulated by Schmeller for Bavarian High German (pp. 1357–1368), a language descended from the same remote common ancestor as our own, and those which can be inferred from Winkler’s collections (pp. 1378–1428) for descendants on the original soil from the same progenitor. With this preparation we will endeavour to investigate the phonology of existing English dialects themselves, as a clue to the radically dialectal English of our forefathers.
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