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# Anglistische Forschungen

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*With the author's compliments*

## A Grammar

of the

# Dialect of Adlington

(Lancashire)

by

Alexander Hargreaves



Heidelberg

Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung

1904

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## Preface.

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The present work is an attempt to construct a dialect grammar on a sound scientific plan. The general scheme of the work is modelled on Professor Wright's *Grammar of the Windhill Dialect*, but I have treated the subject with Middle English and not Old English as a starting point. In this way I hope greater unity has been secured in tracing the development of the sounds as spoken in the dialect at the present day.

To Professor Schröer of Cöln I am indebted for the idea of writing the grammar, and to Professors Luick of Graz, and Hoops of Heidelberg for many a friendly hint. Prof. Luick especially was always very willing to give me advice and suggestions, and the work owes very much to him. I take this opportunity of expressing my gratitude to all three. I also beg to thank my old friend Mr. Abbott of Adlington for the words of the local ballad *John Walker*, and Mr. John Heywood of Manchester for permission to print Waugh's *Come whoam to thy childer and me* in the phonetic notation I have adopted. This latter poem has been chosen in order to afford a ready comparison with Waugh's notation which for philological purposes, and to all but the native, is almost valueless.

Adlington, Lanc. 1903.

A. Hargreaves.

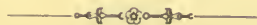


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## Abbreviations.

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The following are the principal abbreviations used:

- AF. = Anglo-French.  
 Ags. G. = Sievers, Angelsächsische Grammatik; dritte Auflage.  
 Angl. = Anglian.  
 Björkman = Björkman, Scandinavian Loanwords.  
 Du. = Dutch.  
 EDD. = Wright, English Dialect Dictionary.  
 EEP. = Ellis, Early English Pronunciation.  
 HES. = Sweet, History of English Sounds.  
 ME. = Middle English.  
 MLG. = Middle Low German.  
 NED. = Murray and Bradley, New English Dictionary.  
 NEG. = Sweet, New English Grammar.  
 OE. = Old English.  
 P. u. B. Beiträge = Paul u. Braune's Beiträge.  
 Stratmann = Stratmann, Middle English Dictionary.  
 WS. = West Saxon.
-

**Misprint.**

P. 12, l. 9 fr. bott. read  $\hat{o}$  instead of  $\hat{p}$ .

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## Introduction.

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Adlington is a mining and manufacturing village (pop. about 5,000) in the hundred of Leyland. It lies about 3 miles to the South of Chorley, and is thus almost in the middle of the triangle formed by Wigan, Bolton and Chorley.

The dialect spoken in the district is, as will be seen, in some respects rather mixed. This is no doubt due to the growth of the population during the last fifty years, and to the migratory habits of the inhabitants, caused by the industrial nature of their work. But the people do not, as a rule, move far away, nor do the newcomers come from any great distance. Ellis E. E. P. vol 5, p. 329 includes the district in «western North Midland». It is almost exactly in the centre of div. 22, of which Ellis distinguishes six varieties. But none of his varieties corresponds to the Adlington dialect, the nearest thereto being var. 11.

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# Phonology.

## Chapter I.

### Pronunciation.

#### 1. The Vowels.

§ 1. The Adlington dialect contains the following vowels:

Short Vowels: *a, ä, e, i, o, u, y, ə.*

Long Vowels: *ā, ä, ē, ē̄, ī, ō, ō̄, ū, ȳ.*

Diphthongs: *aī, āe, eī, īə, oī, oū, uə, ui, yī.*

Triphthongs: *aiə.*

A brief description of the Adlington vowel system follows. The notation adopted is, in general, that of Sweet's «Primer of Phonetics».

*a* (mid-back-wide) like the *a* in German *Mann*: *lad* lad, *aks* ask, *lad-qər* ladder.

*ā* (mid-back-wide) like the *ā* in German *Haar*: *tām* time, *t/fält* child, *wāld* wild.

*aī* = *a* + *ī*. The *ī* is high-front-narrow and is long. This diphthong only occurs before *f*: *flaīf* flash, *waīf* wash.

*āe* = *ā* + *e*. This diphthong chiefly appears at the end of words. The first part of it is long, the second



very short. There is an escape of breath at the end of words where the *āe* is final, like a decreasing voiceless *h*: *þāe* thigh, *risāet* recite, *skāe* sky.

*aiə* = *a* + *i* + *ə*: *aiərn* iron, *faïər* fire.

*ä* occurs only before *r* and can be produced by pronouncing *ər* continuously and meanwhile opening the mouth wide. It can thus be described as between *ər* and *ar*. The tip of the tongue is bent backwards and upwards. The *a* and the *r* are united, and here also at the end of a word a slight spirant is perceptible: *där* dare, *wärtf* to ache.

*ā* is the corresponding long sound: *fār* far, *fārm* farm, *wārm* warm.

*e* (mid-front-wide). As in English *men*, *help* etc.: *best* best, *net* net, *sel* to sell.

*ē* (mid-front-narrow). As in German *See*: *nēm* name, *tēm* tame, *wēv* wave.

*ĕ* (mid-front-wide) but a little lowered. It is practically the same sound as in English *men* and German *Männer* but long: *bĕt* without, *rĕnd* round, *tĕn* town.

*eī* = *e* + *ī*. The *e* is as in *men*, the *ī* is long and very high (high-front-narrow): *fēit* fight, *fleīf* flesh, *wēit* weight.

*i* (high-front-wide) as in English *hit*: *it* hit, *pin* pin, *win* win.

*ī* (high-front-narrow) like the *ī* in German *sie*, *Biene*: *krīp* creep, *nīt* night, *rīt* right.

*iə* = *ī* + *ə*: *bīərd* beard, *īər* hear, *tlīən* clean.

*o* (mid-back-wide-round) like the *o* in German *Stock*: *frozn* frozen, *moni* many.

*ō* (mid-back-narrow-round) like the *o* in German *so*: *dlōri* glory, *nō* know, *rōd* road.

ō (low-back-narrow-round) as in English *saw*, *fall*:  
*drō* draw, *nō* gnaw.

oī = o + ī. This is not Sweet's *oi* as in *boil*, *coil*.  
 The ī is long and is high-front-narrow as in German  
*Biene*: *boil* boil, *toil* toil.

oū = o + ū. This is a more open sound than Sweet's  
*ou* and lies between his *ou* and his *au*. The ū is long; other-  
 wise the diphthong is very similar to a Swabian's pronun-  
 ciation of the German word *Haus*: *foūt* fought, *koad* cold.

u (high-back-wide-round) like the *u* in English *who*:  
*fut* foot, *tu* too, *u* who.

ū (high-back-narrow-round) like the *u* in German *du*:  
*mū* enough, *rād* repented, *fū* shoe.

Note. These two *u*'s are sometimes pronounced with a mixed  
 sound which is almost like an *eu* diphthong of which the first part  
 is very short.

u. This is a *u* sound very much lowered so that it  
 almost resembles an *o* sound. It is described by Ellis  
 E. E. P. as a transition sound from *ə* to *u*. It is best  
 described as a mid-back-round sound inclining to mixed,  
 in fact half mixed. The lips are only slightly rounded:  
*būt-tər* butter, *kūm* come, *ʊp* up.

uə = u + ə: *duər* door, *guə* go, *puər* poor.

ui = u + i: *ruin* ruin, *suit* suet.

ū = u + ī appears before sibilants: *būʃ* bush, *kūʃən*  
 cushion.

ə (mid-mixed-narrow) as *e* in German *Gabe*: *gə* go,  
*stəʃən* station, *fʊər* sure, *tə* to.

After gemination and at the end of a word this *ə*  
 develops a slight spirant: *būt-tər(h)* butter, *kop-pə(h)* Coppull  
 (a neighbouring village).

ɛ is the corresponding long sound: *fɛr* fair.

## 2. The Consonants.

§ 2. The Adlington dialect contains the following consonants:

*b, d, ɖ, f, g, j, k, l, m, n, v, p, r, s, ʃ, t, t̪, ɸ, ɔ̃, v, w, z, ʒ, ʒ̃.*

*b* (lip-stop-voice) like lit. English *b*. It occurs initially, medially and finally: *brid* bird, *kubərt* cupboard, *rub* to rub.

*d* (gum-stop-voice) like the English *d*. It occurs in all positions: *dāv* to dive, *dlas* glass, *redi* ready, *pēnd* pound.

*ɖ* expresses the sound of *d* before *r* or when the syllable contains *r*. The tongue is placed behind the top row of teeth about midway between the English palatal *t* and the teeth-open *ɸ*: *drāv* drive, *lad-ɖər* ladder. For further remarks see § 75, 3. Note 2.

*f* (lip-teeth-open-breath) like the lit. English *f*. It occurs in all positions: *fāv* five, *aftər* after, *kəf* calf.

*g* (back-stop-voice) like lit. English *g*. It occurs in all positions: *gəmləs* foolish, *figər* figure, *dog* dog.

*j* (front-open-voice) like lit. English *y* in *you*. It occurs a) initially: *jalə* yellow, *jed* head, b) as a glide sound combined with vowels, before and after gutturals and palatals: *kjap* cap, *kjatʃ* catch, *kjetl* kettle, *kjār* cower, *gjam* fun, *əgjen* again, *bajg* bag, *bejg* beg, *bajk* back. It is, however, not always pronounced and one can say for instance, either *giv*, *əgen* or *gživ*, *əgjen*. It seems to be most consistently pronounced after *k* and before *a*.

*k* (back-stop breath) like lit. English *k*. It occurs in all positions: *kəud* cold, *bakə* tobacco, *trʌk* truck.

*l* (gum-side-voice) resembling a German *l* more than an English one and without any previous glide. It occurs in all positions but is syllabic only in unaccented syllables: *liv* to live, *bild* to build, *wil* (adv.) well.

Examples of vocalic *l* are: *adl* to earn, *fel* to mend.

*m* (lip-nasal-voice) like lit. English *m*. It occurs in all positions: *mon* man, *trembl* tremble, *tām* time.

*n* (gum-nasal-voice) like lit. English *n*. It occurs as a consonant in all positions and as a vowel in unaccented syllables: *nit* night, *wunḍər* wonder, *kūmin* coming.

Examples of vocalic *n* are: *frozn* frozen, *ritn* written.

*ɣ* (back-nasal-voice) like *n* in lit. English *ŋ*: *briɣ*g bring, *piɣ*k think.

*p* (lip-stop-breath) like lit. English *p*. It occurs initially, medially and finally: *prēd* proud, *sɣpər* supper, *elp* help.

*r* (gum-open-voice). The tip of the tongue is pressed upwards and backwards close to the hard palate. This *r* is not trilled and occurs in all positions. It is equivalent to the lit. English *r* between vowels: *rēitf* to reach, *rɣɣ* wrong, *brouṭ* brought, *barə* barrow, *riwər* river.

*s* (blade-open-breath) like the *s* in lit. English *s*. It occurs in all positions: *sār*v serve, *prosl* thrush, *ēs* house.

*f* (blade-point-open-breath) like lit. English *sh* in shall. It occurs in all positions: *fēp* shape, *fəʃən* fashion, *wəif* to wash.

*t* (gum-stop-breath) like lit. English *t*. It occurs in all positions: *tām* time, *botl* bottle, *rat* rat.

*ʈ* is the corresponding hard sound to *ɖ* (see above and § 74): *trāb* tribe, *trū* true, *wētər* water.

*ʃ* (teeth-open-breath) like the *th* in lit. English *thin*. It occurs in all positions and may often replace and be replaced by *ʈ*: *ʃout* thought, *kwārʃər* or *kwārʈər* quarter, *dūʃ* death.

*ʒ* (teeth-open-voice) like the *th* in lit. English *then*.

It occurs in all positions and often replaces and is replaced by *ɔ̄*: *ɔ̄is* this, *wɔ̄ndər* wonder (or *wɔ̄ndər*), *smɔ̄d* smooth.

*v* (lip-teeth-open-voice) like the *v* in lit. English *vane*. It occurs in all positions: *vɔ̄ts* voice, *navi* navy, *nev* fist.

*w* (lip-back-open-voice) like lit. English *w* in *wet*. It occurs initially and medially: *wärm* warm, *wen* when, *ɔ̄wē* away.

*z* (blade-open-voice) like lit. English *z* in *freeze*. It is rare initially, commoner medially and finally: *ziyk* zinc, *buzərt* butterfly, *uz* us.

*ʒ* is a sound which begins like *z* but dies away to a hard *s*. It occurs chiefly at the end of words after soft consonants, and in unaccented words and syllables: *ladʒ* lads, *rōdʒ* roads, *ɔ̄ʒ* us (unaccented).

*ʒ̄* (blade-point-open-voice) like the *s* in lit. English *pleasure*. It chiefly occurs after *d* and *n*: *dʒudʒ̄* judge, *mezər* measure, *siŋʒ̄* to singe.

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## Chapter II.

### The Adlington vowels in accented syllables, and their sources.

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#### 1. Short Vowels.

##### *a*.

§ 3. 1. Adlington *a* in most cases corresponds to ME. *a* (§ 30. 1).

a) OE. *æ* (*a*) in originally closed syllables: *ap-pæ* apple, *patf* thatch, *watf* watch, *ðad* that, *glas* glass. — North. *æ* = WS. *y*, *e*: *bali* belly (see NED.).

b) Rarely OE. *a* (æ) in originally open syllables: *gam* game, *adlt* addled, *faðər* father, *waʦər* water.

c) OE. *ā*: *aks* ask.

d) OE. *ǣ*: *bad* bad, *lad-ðər* ladder.

e) OE. *ēa*: *laðər* lather (*loðər* is also used), *ʦap* chap.

f) OE. *eo*: *jalə* yellow.

g) AF. *a* in open syllables (§ 50): *banər* banner, *kari* carry, *batl* battle, *ʦapl* chapel.

h) AF. *a* in closed syllables: *ant* aunt, *paʦər* pasture, *lamp* lamp.

i) AF. *al*, *au* in *savidz* savage (§ 59. 4).

2. Adlington *a* corresponds to ME. *e*.

OE. *e* (§ 31. 5): *bant* vigour, *nattl* cross, illtempered.

3. Adlington *a* corresponds to ME. *u*.

OE. *u* (§ 34. 6): *radl* ruddle.

4. Adlington *a* corresponds to ME. *ā*.

OE. *a* (§ 35. 5): *swad* pod (of peas).

5. Adlington *a* corresponds to AF. *ei* (§ 58. 6.): *plat* plait, for which Shakespeare has also *plat*, see Schmidt Shakesp. Lex. II 870.

*ü.*

§ 4. 1. Adlington *ü* corresponds chiefly to ME. *e + r*. Here are included also those words which are usually found with ME. *i* because they must evidently have developed first to ME. *e* and then to Adlington *ü*. See § 31. 2.

a) OE. *e*, *eo* before *r*: *färi* ferry, *bäri* berry, *wärk* work.

b) OE. *ǣ*, *ē*: *ärin* herring, *ärənd* errand.

c) OE. *i*: *bärtf* birch.

d) OE. *y* before *r*: *bäri* bury, *märi* merry, *wäri* worry.

e) AF. *e* before *r + cons.* (§ 51. 2): *pärtf* perch.

f) AF. *i* before *r* (§ 53. 5): *märikl* miracle (also *mərikl*).

2. Adlington *ä* corresponds rarely to ME. *a* + *r* final and before vowels = OE. *a*, *ea*, *æ* (§ 30. 2c): *där* dare, *bärə* barrow, *märə* marrow, *närə* narrow.

Note. We have, however, more often *barə*, *marə*, *narə*.

*e.*

§ 5. 1. Adlington *e* in most cases corresponds to ME. *e* (§ 31. 1).

a) OE. *e*, *eo*, Scand. *e* in closed syllables: *edz* hedge, *elp* help, *melt* melt, *fel* shell, *weft* weft.

b) Rarely OE. *e* (*eo*) in open syllables: *evn* heaven, *peni* penny.

c) OE. *ēo*: *brest* breast, *devl* devil, *frend* friend.

d) OE. *ǣ*, *ē* < Germanic *ai* and *ǣ*: *bled-dər* bladder, *elþ* health, *les* less, *ment* meant.

e) OE. *ē*, *æ*: *bled* bled, *kept* kept, *met* met.

f) OE. *a*, *æ*: *ed-dər* dragon-fly, *es* ashes, *gedər* gather, *wen* when, *weder* whether.

g) AF. *ē* (§ 51. 1): *tent* tent, *vesil* or *vesl* vessel.

h) AF. *e* (§ 52. 3): *selər* cellar, *trezər* treasure.

2. Adlington *e* corresponds to ME. *ē* (§ 37. 3).

a) OE. *ǣ*: *redi* ready, *spred* spread.

b) OE. *ēa*: *bred* bread, *led* lead, *red* red.

3. Adlington *e* probably corresponds to ME. *ā* = OE. *a* in *blegbri* blackberry, where the *e* seems to be due to shortening of the plural form *blēgbriz* = ME. *blākeberies*, OE. *blaceberian*.

4. Adlington *e* corresponds to AF. *i* (§ 53. 6): *rens* to rinse.

*i.*

§ 6. 1. Adlington *i* corresponds in most cases to ME. *i* (§ 32. 1).

- a) OE. *i*: *bitn* bitten, *lid* lid, *wik* alive.  
 b) rarely OE. *e*: *grin* grin, *rid* rid.  
 c) OE. *y*: *bridȝ* bridge, *kiȝg* king, *þin* thin.  
 d) OE. *ɪ*: *fiƿƿ* fifth, *wimin* women.  
 e) Angl. *ē*, WS. *ǣ*: *ridl* riddle, *sili* silly. See Morsbach MEG. p. 144.  
 f) OE. *ȝ*: *ȝrip* drip, *tin* to shut, close.  
 g) AF. *i* in closed syllables (§ 53. 3): *ritf* rich, *simpl* simple.  
 h) AF. *i* in open syllables: *piti* pity, *finif* finish.

2. Adlington *i* corresponds to ME. *e*, late ME. *i* (§ 31. 4).

a) OE. *e*: *siȝȝ* singe, *striȝg* string (*streyg* is more common), *fiðer* feather.

Note. The last word has been confounded with its derivative *fiðere* wing, in ME. See Morsbach MEG. p. 144.

b) ON. *e*: *skip* basket, *sniftar* to sniff.

3. Adlington *i* corresponds to ME. *ɪ* (§ 39. 4).  
 OE. *ȝ*: *id* to hide.

4. Adlington *i* corresponds to ME. *ē* (§ 36. 2).

a) Angl. *ē*, WS. *ēa*: *rik* rick (cp. Kluge-Lutz sv. *rick*; according to Skeat Conc. Et. Dict., New Edition, NE. *rick* comes from OE. *-hrycce* in *corn-hrycce*).

b) OE. *eo*: *bin* been, *sik* sick.

*o*.

§ 7. 1. Adlington *o* generally corresponds to ME. *o* (§ 33. 1).

a) OE. *o*, Scand. *o* in closed syllables: *frost* frost, *kottl* cockle, *stop* stop, *tlod* to throw.

b) OE. *o* in open syllables: *bodi* body, *frozn* frozen, *spokn* spoken.



c) OE. *a*, *o* before nasals: *kom* komb, *kon* can, *jon* yonder, *moni* many.

d) OE. *o*: *blosam* blossom, *fodər* fodder, *soft* soft.

e) OE. *e*, North. *o*: *fotf* to fetch. Cp. Sievers Ags. Gr.<sup>3</sup> 416 anm. 15 b. Bülbring E. Stud. 27,73 foll. Mätzner ME. Wörterb. II 85.

f) AF. *o* (§ 54. 2): *promis* promise, *rob* rob.

2. Adlington *o* corresponds to ME. *a*.

a) OE. *æ* after *w* (§ 30. 4): *wod* what.

b) AF. *a* before *l* + cons. (§ 50. 5): *oltər* altar.

3. Adlington *o* corresponds to ME. *ō*.

OE. *ā* (§ 41. 4): *olidi* holiday.

4. Adlington *o* corresponds to ME. *u* before *r* (§ 34. 2).

a) OE. *u*: *dor* door (*duər* is also used), *for* further, *kos* to curse (*kus* is more common).

b) OE. *y*, *i*: *tfortf* church.

c) AF. *ü* (§ 56. 3): *ort* to hurt.

*u.*

§ 8. 1. Adlington *u* is a somewhat rare sound, corresponding generally to ME. *ū*, OE. *ū* (§ 40. 4): *but* boot, *du* do, *sut* soot, *tu* too.

2. Adlington *u* corresponds to ME. *u* [*ü*].

a) AF. *u* (§ 55. 5): *put* pullet.

b) AF. *ü* (§ 56. 4): *flut* flute, *jus* use (sb.).

c) AF. *üi* (§ 57. 1): *frut* fruit.

d) AF. *eu*: *dzuti* duty.

Note. The word *duty* does not occur in AF. but it has been formed from AF. *due*.

3. Adlington *u* corresponds to ME. *eu*.

a) AF. *eau*: *bjuti* beauty.

Note. The pronunciation of nearly all these words varies between *u* and *ū*.

*u.*

§ 9. 1. Adlington *u* corresponds generally to ME. *u* (§ 34. 1).

a) OE. *u* in closed syllables: *būl* bull, *drūnk* drunk, *kūp* cup, *ūndærd* hundred.

b) OE. *u* in open syllables: *kūd* cud, *sumær* summer, *uni* honey.

c) OE. *y*: *būndl* bundle, *krūtf* crutch, *fūt* shut.

d) OE. *ū*: *dust* dust, *ūzbund* husband.

e) OE. *i* (*u*) after *w*: *wūs* worse, *wūst* worst.

f) OE. *eo* after *w*: *wūþ* worth.

g) AF. *u* (§ 55. 1): *kūntri* country.

h) AF. *ū* (§ 56. 1): *džūdž* judge, *džūst* just.

2. Adlington *u* corresponds to ME. *o* (§ 33. 4).

OE. *o*: *tluk* cluck, *þuyg* thong. *dug* dog and *tlug* clog also occur but these words are usually pronounced *dog* and *tlog*.

3. Adlington *u* corresponds to ME. *i* (§ 32. 3).

a) OE. *y*: *fust* first, *fūtl* shuttle.

b) OE. *i* after *w*: *wūmun* woman.

4. Adlington *u* corresponds to ME. *ō* (§ 40. 2).

OE. *ō*: *mūnþ* month, *mūðær* mother, *(t)tuðær* the other.

5. Adlington *u* corresponds to ME. *ū*.

a) OE. *ū* (§ 42. 2): *dūk* duck, *plūm* plum.

b) older *ough* = OE. *ōh*, *ōg* and *ūh* (§ 42. 3): *tluf* clough, *tuf* tough, *ruf* rough.

*o.*

§ 10. 1. Adlington *o* corresponds chiefly to ME. *i* (§ 32. 4).

- a) OE. *i*: *er* her.
- b) OE. *ī*: *stōrəp* stirrup (also *stārəp*).
- c) AF. *i* (§ 35. 5): *mārikl* miracle (also *mārikl*), *spərit* spirit.

2. Adlington *ə* corresponds to ME. *u* (§ 34. 4).

a) OE. *u*: *tərƿ* turf (*torf* is more common), *fərə* furrow.

b) OE. *eo* (*u*) after *w*: *wərʃip* worship.

3. Adlington *ə* corresponds to ME. *a* (§ 30. 9).

OE. *æ*: *wər* was (*wor* is more common).

4. Adlington *ə* corresponds to ME. *ē* (§ 36. 6).

OE. *ē*: *jər* year.

## 2. Long Vowels.

*ā*.

§ 11. 1. Adlington *ā* corresponds almost everywhere to ME. *ī* (§ 39. 1).

a) OE. *ī*: *ālānd* island, *fāv* five, *tām* time, *wāf* wife.

b) OE. *i* before *ld*, *nd*, *mb*: *blānd* blind, *fānd* find, *tlām* climb, *tfālt* child, *wāld* wild.

c) OE. *ī* + *g*: *nān* nine.

d) OE. *ȳ*: *āv* hive, *lās* lice, *mās* mice.

e) AF. *i* (§ 53. 1): *bābl* bible, *fān* fine, *nās* nice, *tās* entice.

f) AF. *i* + *n̄* (lat. *ign*): *rizān* resign, *sān* sign.

2. Adlington *ā* is of uncertain origin in *tāp-ōr* to tip over = to swoon.

Note. The etymology of *tāt* tight is somewhat doubtful. It is supposed by Pogatscher Eng. Studien 27, 271 ff. and Much P. B. Beiträge 17, 145 to be from a Germanic *\*tenhtaz* and related to OE. *tōh*, *getenge*. Kluge, Etymological Dictionary, and Kluge-Lutz, Engl. Et. 212, had assumed it to be from Scand *þétrr* but the development of *þ* to *t* is irregular.

*ä.*

§ 12. *ä* is a vowel, which, like *å*, only appears before *r*.

1. Adlington *ä* corresponds generally to ME. *e* before *r* + cons. For the development, see § 31. 2.

a) OE. *e, eo*: *ärt* heart, *bärm* barm, *därk* dark, *lärn* learn.

b) OE. *i*: *lärd* third, *wärl* whirl (Scand. *hvirfla*).

c) OE. *eo*: *därlin* darling, *färðin* farthing.

d) AF. *e* (§ 51. 2): *ärb* herb, *närv* nerve, *särmən* sermon.

2. Adlington *ä* corresponds to ME. *a* before *r* + cons. (§ 30. 2).

a) OE. *a, æ, ea*: *ärd* hard, *kärt* cart (or from Scand. *kartr?*), *pärk* park.

b) OE. *ā*: *lärk* lark.

c) AF. *a* (§ 50. 3): *bärbər* barber, *kwärt* quart, *pärt* part.

3. Adlington *ä* corresponds to ME. *ū*.

a) OE. *ū* before *r* (§ 42. 4): *sär* sour, *fär* shower.

b) AF. *u* before *r* (§ 55. 3): *är* hour, *flär* flower, flour, *tär* tower.

*ē.*

§ 13. 1. Adlington *ē* corresponds generally to ME. *a* (§ 35. 1).

a) OE. *a, æ* in open syllables: *bēð* bathe, *bi-ēv* to be-have, *blēz* blaze, *skēl* scale, *wēv* to wave.

b) AF. *a* in open syllables (§ 50. 2): *bēkn* bacon, *plēt* plate, *tēbl* table.

c) AF. *a* in closed syllables: *kēs* case, *wēst* waste.

2. Adlington *ē* corresponds to ME. *ai* (§ 43. 1).

a) OE. *æg*: *dē* day, *fēn* fain, *tēl* tail.

b) OE. *eg*: *ēl* ail, *rēn* rain.

c) WS. *ǣ*, Angl. *ē*: *grē* gray, *jē* yea.

d) OE. *ǣ* (*i*-umlaut of *ā*): *tlē* clay.

e) OE. *ēg*, *ēh* (*ēah*): *ē* hay, *nēbor* neighbour.

f) Scand. *ei*: *bēt* bait, *fēk* fake, trick, *wēk* weak (but see Björkman Scand. Loanwords in ME. p. 52, n. 3).

g) AF. *ai*, *ei* (§ 58. 1): *fēl* fail, *grēn* grain, *plēn* plain.

3. Adlington *ē* corresponds to ME. *a* (§ 30. 7).

OE. *ea*: *ēf* half (also *ōf*).

4. Adlington *ē* corresponds to ME. *ē* (§ 36. 5).

OE. *ēo*: *wēkin* wick.

5. Adlington *e* corresponds to ME. *ē* (§ 37. 4).

OE. *ǣ*: *sē* sea.

ē.

§ 14. 1. Adlington *ē* corresponds generally to ME. *ā* (§ 42. 1).

a) OE. *ā*: *ē* how, *ēt* out, *tlēt* clout, *pēnd* pound.

b) AF. *u* (§ 55. 2): *dēt* doubt, *amēnt* amount, *krēn* crown, *rēnd* round.

Note 1. Adl. *mēðert* mole (beside which also *mōūdiwārp* occurs) seems to stand for *\*mūðrat* mouth-rat, a folk-etymological interpretation of *\*mold-rat*. See the form *moudier-rat* mole in Wright, Engl. Dial. Dict. sv. *Moudie*.

Note 2. Adl. *pēk* pustule points to an unrecorded ME. *pōūk*, *pūk*, not to ME. *pocke*. Cp. *pouk* in Wright, Engl. Dial. Dict.

2. Adlington *ē* corresponds to ME. *ai*.

AF. *ai* (§ 58. 7): *mēstər* master (also *mēsþər*).

ī.

§ 15. 1. Adlington *ī* corresponds chiefly to ME. *ē* (§ 36. 1).

a) OE. *ē* for *ǣ* in monosyllables: *ī* he, *mī* me, *ðī* thee.

b) OE. *ē* for *ǣ* before lengthening groups: *fīld* field, *fīld* shield. -- Also in *wīl* well (adv.).

c) Angl. *e*, WS. *ǣ* (Teutonic *ǣ*): *īl* eel, *īwin* evening, *nīdl* needle, *sīd* seed.

d) Angl. *ē* (Umlaut of *ēa*): *bīlīv* believe, *nīd* need, *stīpl* steeple.

e) Angl. *ē* for *ēa* and *ēo* before gutturals: *bīkn* beacon, *ḍrī* tiresome.

f) Angl. *æ* (Umlaut of *ō*): *bītl* beetle (hammer), *fīd* feed, *grīn* green.

g) OE. *ēo*: *dīp* deep, *fīrī* free, *līf* lief, *nī* knee.

h) OE. *y*: *īvl* evil.

i) AF. *ē* (§ 52. 1): *mīstīf* mischief, *pīs* piece.

2. Adlington *ī* corresponds to ME. *i* (§ 32. 2).

a) OE. *i* before sibilants: *dīf* dish, *fīf* fish.

b) OE. *i* before *ht*: *bīrt* bright, *nīt* night, *sīt* sight.

3. Adlington *ī* corresponds to ME. *ī* (§ 39. 6).

OE. *-ig-*: *stīl* stile.

4. Adlington *ī* corresponds to ME. *ē* = OE. *e* in open syllable before *s* (§ 38. 3): *bīzōm* besom, *wīzl* weasel.

5. Adlington *ī* corresponds to ME. *ē* before *s*:

AF. *e* < *ai* (§ 58. 3): *pīs* peace.

6. Adlington *ī* corresponds to ME. *ei*.

OE. *ē + g* (§ 45. 2): *bīd* frightened.

*ō.*

§ 16. 1. Adlington *ō* corresponds principally to ME. *ō* (§ 41. 1).

a) OE. *o*: *fōt* float, *jōk* yoke (OE. *geocu*), *ōp* hope.

b) OE. *ā*: *bōt* boat (rarer *bust*), *lōf* loaf (rarer *luof*), *ōk* oak, *wōl* whole.

c) OE. *eo*: *lōz* lose, *tfo̅k* choke.

d) AF. *o* (§ 54. 1): *dlōri* glory, *stōri* story, *tlo̅k* cloak, *trōn* throne.

2. Adlington *ō* corresponds to ME. *a*.

a) OE. *a, æ, ea* before *l* (§ 30. 3): *fō* fall, *kō* kall, *ō* all, *wō* wall.

Note. These words are sometimes pronounced *ō̄*.

b) AF. *a* (§ 50. 4): *bō* ball (more rarely *bō̄*).

3. Adlington *ō* corresponds to ME. *ou* (§ 49. 1).

a) OE. *ā + w*: *blō* blow, *mō* mow, *snō* snow.

b) OE. *ō + w*: *grō* grow, *rō* to row.

4. Adlington *ō* corresponds to ME. *o*.

a) OE. *eo + l* (§ 33. 6): *jōk* yolk.

b) AF. *o* before *r* (§ 54. 3): *fōrdz* forge, *fōrs* force, *pōrtf* porch.

*ō̄*.

§ 17. 1. Adlington *ō̄* corresponds chiefly to ME. *o* (§ 33. 2).

a) OE. *o* before *r + cons.*: *nōrp* north, *ōs* horse, *wōrd* word.

b) OE. *eo* after *w*: *wōrld* world, *sōrd* sword, *wōrm* worm (OE. *weorm*).

c) AF. *o* before *r + cons.* (§ 54. 3.4): *fōrfit* forfeit, *fōrtfān* fortune, *kōrd* cord, *mōrsl* morsel, *ordor* order.

2. Adlington *ō̄* corresponds to ME. *a* before *l*.

a) OE. *a, æ, ea* followed by *lf, lk, ls, lt* (§ 30. 3b): *kōf* calf, *ōf* half (*ēf* is more used), *sōt* salt.

b) AF. *a* before *l* (§ 50. 4): *bō* ball (also *bō̄*), *fōs* false.

3. Adlington *ō̄* corresponds to ME. *au* (§ 44).

a) OE. *a + g, f, w*: *drō* draw, *ōk* hawk, *tlō* claw.

b) Scand. *au*: *gōm* heed, *gōmlōs* heedless.

c) AF. *au* (§ 59. 1): *kōsə* causeway.

*ū*.

§ 18. 1. Adlington *ū* corresponds chiefly to ME. *ū* (§ 40. 1).

- a) OE. *ō*: *kūk* cook, *rūst* roost, *stū(l)* stool, *tūl* tool.  
 b) OE. *ō* + *ɜ*: *bū* bough, *ənū* enough, *plū* plough.  
 c) AF. *o* (§ 54. 6): *fū* fool.

2. Adlington *ū* corresponds to ME. *ū*.

- a) OE. *ā*: *ðāz* those (§ 41. 6).  
 b) OE. *ā* > ME. *ū* > ME. *ū*: *tū* two (§ 40. 1 b).

3. Adlington *ū* (*jū*) corresponds to ME. *u* [*ū*].

- a) AF *ü* (§ 56. 2): *jūz* to use, *dlū* glue, *rūd* rude.  
 b) AF. *üi* (§ 57. 1): *pjū* pew, *frūt* fruit.  
 c) OE. *u* (§ 34. 3): *kūtor* coulter, *pū* pull, *brū* through.

4. Adlington *ū* (*jū*) corresponds to ME. *eu*.

- a) OE. *ēow* (§ 57. 1): *njū* new, *brū* brew, *rū* rue, *tfū* chew.

- b) OE. *ī* + *w* (§ 57. 2): *tfūzdi* Tuesday.

5. Adlington *ū* (*jū*) corresponds to ME. *eu* (§ 46).

- OE. *ēa* + *w*: *fjū* few, *dʒū* dew.

ɝ.

§ 19. Adlington *ɝ* is a somewhat rare sound; it appears only before *r*.

1. It corresponds to ME. *ā* = OE. *a*, *æ*, *ea* before *r* (§ 35. 2): *bɝr* bare, *ɝr* hare, *kjɝr* care, *stɝr* stare.

2. Adlington *ɝ* corresponds to ME. *ē* = OE. *e* before *r*, in open syllables (§ 37. 5): *bɝr* bear, *swɝr* swear.

3. Adlington *ɝ* corresponds to ME. *ē* = OE. *ea* (§ 31. 2 c): *fɝrn* fern.

4. Adlington *ɝ* corresponds to ME. *ē* = OE. *ē*, *ē* (§ 36. 6): *jɝr* year, *ɝr* hair.

5. Adlington *ɝ* corresponds to ME. *ai*.

- a) OE. *æg*, *ærg* (§ 43. 2): *fɝr* fair, *stɝr* stair.

- b) Scand. *ei*: *ðɝr* their.

c) AF. *ai*, *ei* (§ 58. 5): *ɝr* air, *fɝr* fair (sb.), *mɝr* mayor, *prɝr* prayer.



6. Adlington  $\bar{\sigma}$  corresponds to ME.  $\bar{u}$  = AF.  $u$  (§ 55. 4): *dist̄rb* disturb, *d̄z̄rni* journey.

Note. Adlington  $\bar{\sigma}$  corresponds in the negations *d̄r̄nd* do not, and *w̄r̄nd* will not to ME.  $\bar{o}$  = OE.  $\bar{o}$  and ME.  $\bar{i}$  = OE.  $\bar{i}$  respectively.

### 3. Diphthongs.

*āe.*

§ 20. Adlington  $\bar{ae}$  corresponds to ME.  $\bar{ī}$  (§ 39. 2).

a) OE. and Scand.  $\bar{ī}$ ,  $\bar{y}$ : *lāek* like, *pāek* pick (ME. \**pīken*, see § 32. 1 b), *strāek* strike, *pāe* thigh, *wāe* why.

b) OE.  $\bar{ea}$  > ME.  $\bar{ei}$  >  $\bar{ī}$ :  $\bar{ae}$  eye (pl. *īn*).

c) OE.  $y + g$ : *bāe* buy.

d) AF.  $\bar{i}$  (§ 53. 2): *krāe* cry, *risāet* recite, *tāeḡar* tiger, *tlāem̄ot* climate.

*aī.*

§ 21. Adlington  $\bar{ai}$  always corresponds to ME.  $\bar{a}$  before  $\bar{s}$ .

a) OE. and Scand.  $a$ ,  $\bar{æ}$  (§ 30. 5): *paīf* a great quantity (ME. *paschen*), *raīf* rash, *smāīf* smash, *waīf* wash.

b) AF.  $a$  (§ 50. 6): *faīf* to anger.

*eī.*

§ 22. 1. Adlington  $\bar{ei}$  corresponds to ME.  $\bar{ē}$ .

OE.  $\bar{e}$  (§ 38. 1): *meīl* meal, *speīk* speak, *wēīv* weave, *eīv* heave.

2. Adlington  $\bar{ei}$  corresponds to ME.  $\bar{ei}$  (§ 45. 1).

a) OE. and Scand.  $ea$ ,  $e$ ,  $\bar{æ}$  before  $ht$ : *eīt* eight, *streīt* straight, *wēīt* weight.

b) OE.  $eo$  before  $ht$ : *feīt* fight (§ 32. 2 b).

- c) OE.  $\bar{a}$  +  $g$ : *keī* key.
  - d) OE.  $\bar{e}$  +  $h$ : *eīt* height.
  - e) OE.  $\bar{e}a$ , late OE.  $\bar{e}$  +  $h$ : *eī* high.
  - f) AF. *ei* (§ 58. 4): *deīn* dean.
3. Adlington *eī* corresponds to ME. *e* (§ 31. 3).
- a) OE. *e*: *neīf* soft, tender.
  - b) OE.  $\bar{a}$ : *fleīf* flesh.
4. Adlington *eī* corresponds to ME.  $\bar{e}$  (§ 37. 6).
- a) OE.  $\bar{e}a$ : *fleīp* fleas (pl. only), *grett* great.
  - b) OE.  $\bar{a}$ : *bleīf* bleach.
  - c) AF.  $\bar{e}$  (§ 51. 3): *preīf* preach.

*īō.*

§ 23. 1. Adlington *īō* corresponds generally to ME.  $\bar{e}$  (§ 37. 1):

- a) OE.  $\bar{a}$  (*i*-umlaut of  $\bar{a}$ ): *dīwl* deal, *līōn* lean, *mīōn* mean, *tlīōn* clean.
- b) OE.  $\bar{e}a$ : *dīōp* death, *nīōr* near.
- c) OE. *e* in open syllable: *spīōr* spear.
- d) OE. *ea* (late OE.  $\bar{e}a$ ): *bīōrd* beard.
- e) AF.  $\bar{e}$  (§ 51. 4): *bīōs* beasts.
- f) AF. *ai*, *ei*, later  $\bar{e}$  (§ 58. 2): *īōzi* easy, *plīōz* please.

2. Adlington *īō* corresponds to ME.  $\bar{e}$  before *r* (§ 36. 3).

- a) Angl.  $\bar{e}$ , WS.  $\bar{a}$ : *bīōr* bier, *dīōr* there, *wīōr* where.
- b) Angl.  $\bar{e}$ , WS.  $\bar{a}$ : *īōr* to hear, *stīōr* steer.
- c) OE.  $\bar{e}$ ,  $\bar{e}o$ : *īōr* here, *bīōr* beer.
- d) AF.  $\bar{e}$  before *r* (§ 52. 2): *pīōr* pier, *tlīōr* clear.

3. Adlington *īō* corresponds to ME.  $\bar{e}$ .

OE. *īō* > *eo* (§ 38. 4): *rīōp* reap.

4. Adlington *īō* corresponds to ME.  $\bar{a}$  (§ 35. 4).

*īōmz* hames (cf. Du. *haam*).

*oī.*

§ 24. 1. Adlington *oī* corresponds to ME. *ȝ* (§ 41. 7).

OE. *o*: *koīl* coal, *oīl* hole, *loīz* lose (OE. *losian*?).

Note. In all the above mentioned words the pron. with *ō* is more usual.

2. Adlington *oī* corresponds to ME. *ī*.

OE. *ȝ* (§ 39. 5): *boīl* boil (subst.).

3. Adlington *oī* corresponds to ME. *oi*.

a) AF. *oi* (§ 60. 1): *boīl* boil, *dzoīnt* joint, *noīz* noise, *soīl* soil, *spoīl* spoil.

b) AF. *ūi* (§ 57. 2): *oīl* oil, *oīstər* oyster.

4. Adlington *oī* corresponds to ME. *ī*.

OF. *i* (§ 53: 7): *dzoīs* or *dzoīsiz* joists.

*oū.*

§ 25. 1. Adlington *oū* corresponds to ME. *ou* chiefly before *ht* (§ 49. 2).

a) OE. *o* < *ō*: *broūt* brought, *foūt* thought.

b) OE. *o*: *doūtər* daughter, *foūt* fought.

c) OE. *og* final and before *-en*: *floūn* flown, *troūf* trough (also *trof*).

d) OE. *ā*: *noūt* naught, *soūl* soul.

e) OE. *u*: *foū(d)ɔər* shoulder.

2. Adlington *oū* corresponds to ME. *ȝ* (§ 41. 3).

a) OE. *o*: *goūd* gold (rarely *gūld*).

b) OE. (Angl.) *a*, later *ā* before *ld*: *boūd* bold, *kōūd* cold, *oūd* old, *toūd* told.

3. Adlington *oū* corresponds to ME. *u* before *l*.

OE. *-ug-* (§ 42. 7): *foūl* fowl.

4. Adlington *oū* corresponds to ME. *o*.

a) OE. *ol* + cons. (§ 33. 3): *boūstər* bolster, *kōūt* colt, *toū* toll.

- b) AF. *o* (§ 54. 5): *roul* roll, *sou(d)-dʒər* soldier.  
 5) Adlington *oū* corresponds to AF. *u* (§ 55. 6):  
*boū* to bowl, *poūltri* poultry.  
 6. Adlington *oā* corresponds to AF. *oi, ui* (§ 60. 3):  
*koā* to scrape together (Fr. *cueillir*).

*uə.*

§ 26. 1. Adlington *uə* corresponds to ME. *ȝ* (§ 41. 2).

a) OE. *o*: *afuər* before, *nuəz* nose (*nōz* is more used),  
*skuər* score.

b) OE. *ā*: *buəp* both, *guə* go, *muər* more, *muəst* most  
 (also *muist*), *uəs* hoarse.

c) OE. *eo* (*o?*): *luəz* lose (*lōz* and *loīz* are more used).

d) AF. *ȝ* (§ 54. 7): *kuət* coat, *puər* pork (more usually  
*pōrk*).

2. Adlington *uə* corresponds to ME. *ȝ* (§ 40. 3).

a) OE. *o*: *buərd* board, *afuərd* afford. (The ME. vowel  
 is usually given as *o*, but would appear to have been *ȝ* in  
 the dialect.)

b) OE. *ō*: *fluər* floor, *muər* moor, *uər* whore.

3. Adlington *uə* corresponds to ME. *u*, before *r*.

a) OE. *u* (§ 34. 2): *duər* door.

b) AF. *u* (§ 55. 4): *kuərt* court.

*ui.*

§ 27. 1. Adlington *ui* corresponds to ME. *ü* =  
 AF. *ü* (§ 56. 5): *krui*l cruel.

2. Adlington *ui* corresponds to AF. *oi, ui* (§ 60. 4):  
*ruin* ruin, *suit* suet.

*uī.*

§ 28. Adlington *uī* always corresponds to ME. *u* before *f*.

- a) OE. *u, y* (§ 34. 1 c. note): *bluīf* blush, *ruīf* rush.
- b) OE. *ū* (§ 34. 1 d): *tūīf* tusk.
- c) AF. *o* (§ 54. 8): *bruīf* brush.
- d) AF. *oi, ui* (§ 60. 2): *būīfl* bushel, *kuīfōn* cushion.

#### 4. Triphthongs.

*aiō.*

§ 29. 1. Adlington *aiō* almost always corresponds to ME. *ī* (§ 39. 3).

- a) OE. *ī* before *r*: *aiōrn* iron, *spaiōr* spire, *waiōr* wire.
- b) OE. *ȳ* before *r*: *aiōr* hire, *faiōr* fire.
- c) AF. *i* (§ 53. 4): *laiōn* lion, *raiōt* riot.

2. Adlington *aiō* corresponds to ME. *ē*.

AF. *e* (§ 52. 2): *kweiōr* quire, *ūmpaiōr* umpire.

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### Chapter III.

## The Vowels of Accented Syllables treated historically.

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### A. The English Element.

#### 1. Short Vowels.

ME. *a.*

§ 30. 1. ME. *a.* appears in the Adl. dialect as *a*. This *a* is the ME. *a* and not a new *a* arising out of any development of ME. *a*. This may be at once seen on comparing groups of Mod. E. words with the corresponding words of the dialect. For instance Mod. E. *hand, glass*

and *swan* are each represented in the dialect by the same sound as in ME., namely *a*. The development of these words in Mod. E. has been as follows:

*hand*, ME. *a* > *æ*.  
*glass* » *a* > *æ* > *ǣ* > *ā*.  
*swan* » *a* > *o*.

Now as the dialect has in each case the same vowel as in ME. we must assume that it has remained at the ME. standpoint, and has never made any of the developments at all which have given us the present Mod. E. sounds. Otherwise we should have to assume some such sound changes as these

ME.  $a \begin{matrix} \nearrow \text{æ} \\ \leftarrow \text{ǣ} \\ \searrow \text{o} \end{matrix}$  dial. *a*.

which would, to say the least, be very improbable.

a) ME. *a* = OE. *a*, *æ*, *ea*, Scand. *a* in closed syllables and unknown sources: *adl* to earn, *aftør* after, *aks* axe (also *ajks*), *aksl* axel, *am* ham, *and* hand (rarely *ond*), *anþøm* anthem, *ayg* hang, *ayk* hank, *aykør* anchor, *aykl* ankle (also *antl*), *arə* arrow, *as* ass, *ask* hard, dry, *asp* hasp, *at* hat, *anvil* anvil, *bad* bad, *bag* bag (also *bajg*), *bak* back (also *bajk*), *band* band, *barə* barrow, *baþ* bath, *blak* black (also *blajk*), *bras* brass, *brast* burst (from the preterite form), *brat* apron (Keltic), *daft* silly, simple, *dlad* glad, *dlas* glass, *ðad* that, *fan* fan, *fast* fast, *flat* flat, *gab* impudence, *gad* to loiter, idle, *galbsiz* braces, fun, *kam* to tread shoes out of shape (Welsh), *kan* can (also *kjan*), *kant* eager, merry (W. Du. *kant*), *kap* cap (also *kjap*), *kasl* castle, *kaykør* to rust, *krab* crab, *kram* cram, *krapk* crank, *lad* lad, *lam* lamb, *land* land, *lap* lap (subs.), *las* lass, *last* last, *lat* lath, *mas* mass, *mast* mast, *narə* nar-

row, *raftər* rafter, *rag* rag (oftener *rajg*), *sad* sad, *sakləs* silly, simple (OE. *sactēas*), *sand* sand, *skab* scab (also *skjab*), *skrambl* to scramble, *skrat* scratch, *sparə* sparrow, *staf* staff, *stamp* stamp, *swalə* swallow, *swan* swan, *swap* to exchange, *talə* tallow, *tan* tan, *tap* tap, *tlam* to starve, famish (also *tlem*), *tlap* clap, *tlat* to inform, relate, *trap* trap, *tʃaf* chaff, *tʃat* small potato, *ʃatʃ* thatch, *waks* wax (also *wajks*), *want* to want, *wandər* wander, *wap* to spring, dart, jump, *wasp* wasp, *watʃ* watch.

b) ME. *a* = OE. *a*, *æ*, *ea*; Scand. *a* in open syllables: *flanin* flannel (Welsh *ghwanen*), *gaðər* to gather (also *geðər*), *slavər* slaver, *wakn* waken, *wagin* waggon, *gam* game (ME. *gamen*); — *faðər* father, *waʔər* water.

Note. *fəðər*, *wəʔər* are more used. See § 35. 1 a.

c) ME. *a* = OE. Scand. *ā*: *aks* ask (also *ajks*), *alf* to fasten, embrace (a wrestling term, Scand. *hāl̥sa*, ME. *halchen*; see NED. sv. *halse*), *grasp* grasp.

d) ME. *a* = OE. *ǣ*, chiefly umlaut of OE. *ā*: *ani* any (rarely *oni*), *ant* ant (seldom used), *fat* fat, *lad-ðər* ladder, *last* last (verb), *mad* mad, *madl* to puzzle, confuse.

e) ME. *a* = OE. *ēa*: *laðər* lather.

f) ME. *a* = Angl. *æ*, WS. *e*, *y*: *bali* belly (see NED.).

g) ME. *a* = OE. *eo*, fracture, or *u*-umlaut, of *e*: *jalə* yellow.

2. ME. *a* before *r* + cons. appears as *ā*, and before final and intervocalic *r* as *ä*. In this case ME. *a* would appear to have developed at first in the dialect to *æ*, as in lit. Engl., and then, instead of making the retrograde movement to *ā*, to have become narrowed in combining with the following *r*. After this it fell together with the development of ME. *e* + *r* (see § 31. 2) and has since remained at this stage.

a) ME. *a* before *r* + cons. appears as *ā*: α) OE.

*a*, *æ*, *ea*; *ård* hard, *ård* harm, *ård* arch, *bårk* bark (subs.), *kårt* cart (also *kjårt*, fr. Scand. *kartr*?), *mårk* mark, *pårk* park, *spårk* spark, *stårk* stark, *swårn* swarm, *fårp* sharp, *wårn* warm, *wårn* warn. —  $\beta$ ) AF. *a*: *bårli* barley. —  $\gamma$ ) OE. *ā*: *lårk* lark.

b) ME. *a* + *r* final and before vowels = OE. *a*, *ea*, *æ* appears as *ā*: *dår* dare (as negation *dårnd*), *bårð* barrow, *mårð* marrow, *nårð* narrow. (More often *barð*, *marð*, *narð*. See 1. a.) — But note *arð* arrow. See 1. a.

3. a) ME. *a* = OE. *a*, *æ*, *ea* appears as *ō* when followed by *l*. A parasitic *u* was apparently developed and then the *l* was dropped. The stages were probably: *a* + *l* > *aull* > *ou(l)* > *ou* > *ō*. See Luick *Anglia* XVI, p. 462 ff. *fō* fall, *kō* call, *ō* all, hall, *ōlæz* always, *ōredi* already, *smō* small, *wō* wall.

b) When ME. *a* was followed by *lf*, *lk*, *ls*, *lt*, it appears as *ō*: *kōf* calf, *ōf* half (*æf* is more used), *ōpmi* halfpenny, *bōk* to cry (Du.), *stōk* stalk, *mōt* malt, *ōtør* halter, *sōt* salt, *wōt* to overturn.

4. ME. *a* = OE. *a*, *æ* appears as *o*, chiefly before nasals and in some cases after *w*: *gondør* gander, *kom* comb, *kon* can (vb.), *mon* man, *moni* many, *omør* hammer, *pon* pan, *spon* span, *roykl* fester, *wod* what, *wor* was (emphatic).

Note. In other cases the sound is *a*: swan, tan etc. See 1 a. For ME. *a*, *o* = OE. *a*, *o* before *n* + gutt. See § 33. 4.

5. ME. *a* appears as *aī* before sibilants: *daiſ* dash (ME. *dasshe*—origin unknown), *laiſ* lash, *paiſ* a great quantity (ME. *paschen*), *raiſ* rash, *smaiſ* smash (Scand.), *waiſ* to wash (also *wēiſ*).

6. ME. *a* appears as *aj* or *ja* before and after gutturals: *ajks* to ask, *bajg* bag, *bajk* back, *blajk* black,



*drajg* drag, *flajks* flax, *rajg* rag, *slajk* slack, *wajg* wag; *kjan* can (sb.), *kjandl* candle, *kjap* cap, *kjat* cat, *skjab* scab.

Note. The majority of these words appear also under 1 a.

7. ME. *a* = OE. *ea* appears as *ē*: *ēf* half (see 3. b above). *kēl* to forestall (Scand. *kalla*).

8. ME. *a* = appears as *i*: *skit̃r* scatter (O. Du. *scateren*).

9. ME. *a* = OE. *ea* appears as *æ*: *wær* was (*wor* is more common).

Note. For *then*, *when* and other words usually found in ME. with the vowel *a*, see ME. *e* § 31, 1 f.

### ME. *e*.

§ 31. 1. ME. *e* appears as *e*.

a) ME. *e* = OE. *e*, *eo*, Scand. *e* in closed syllables and unknown sources: *bed* bed, *beg* beg (also *bejg*), *bel* bell, *belt* belt, *benf* bench, *best* best, *deg* to pour water (also *dejjg*), *delv* delve, *den* den, *dregz* dregs, *dlent* glance (appears in ME. as *glent* but the origin is uncertain), *dwel* dwell, *edz* hedge, edge, *eg* egg (sb.), also to egg, incite, *el* hell, *eld̃r* elder (tree), also as adj. older, in which meaning note the more usual pron. *oūd̃r*, *elm* elm, *elmit* helmet, *elp* help, *els* else, *em* hem, *en* hen, *eyg* hang (also *iyyg*, see 4. b), *felt* felt, *frenf* French, *jel* yell, *jelp* yelp, *jet* yet, *kent* Kent, *kres* cress, *leg* leg (also *lejjg*), *lent* Lent, *lejjp̃* length, *melt* melt, *men* men, *neb* neb, *nek* neck, *net* net, *pen* pen (vb., OE. *-pennian*), *rek* wreck, *ren* wren, *rest* rest, *sel* sell, *send* send, *sent* sent, *set* set, *setl* to settle, and as sb. sofa, *sledz* sledge, *smel* smell, *smelt* smelt, *snek* latch, *spel* spell, *stedi* steady, *stem* stem, *step* step, *streyyg* string (see 4. a), *streyyg̃p̃* strength, *stretf* stretch, *swel* swell, *swelt* to swelter, *fed* shed (sb.), *fel* shell, *felf* shelf, *tel* tell, *tlem* starve (also

*tlam*), *tfest* chest, *twelv* twelve, *twenti* twenty, *wel* web, *wed* wed, *wedz* wedge, *west* west, *wel* well (sb., adv. is *wīl*), *welp* whelp, *wenf* girl, *west* west.

b) ME. *e* = OE. *e*, *eo* in open syllables: *evn* heaven, *fell* to mend, repair (Scand.), *feðar* feather, *ilevn* eleven, *kell* kettle (Scand.), *ged* get, *leðar* leather, *nett* nettle, *peni* penny, *rekn* reckon, *sevn* seven.

*senjorz* sinews is from ME. *e* = OE. *eo* < *io* < *i*.

c) ME. *e* = OE. *ǣ*, *ē* < Germ. *ai* and *ā*: *bledðar* bladder, *elþ* health, *emti* empty, *ever* ever, *evri* every, *led* lead (prtc.), *les* less, *meda* meadow, *ment* meant, *nevər* never (also *nār*), *red* read (prtc.), *slept* slept, *sepstərt* starling, *wet* wet.

d) ME. *e* = OE. *ĕ*, *æ*: *bekn* beckon, *bled* bled, *bles* bless, *deþþ* depth, *fed* fed, *feli* fellow (Scand.), *kept* kept, *met* met, *nekst* next, *ten* ten, *þeft* theft.

e) ME. *e* = OE. *ēo*: *step* step-(father), *brest* breast, *devl* devil, *frend* friend.

f) ME. *e* = OE. *a*, *æ*: *blegbri* blackberry, *ed-ðar* dragonfly, *es* ashes, *et-ðarkrop* spider, *eʒ* has, *ed* had, *geðar* gather, *emp* hemp (OE. also *hēnep*, Morsbach MEG., § 107. A. 5), *sek* sack, *seʒarti* Saturday, *ðen* then, *wen* when, *wedðar* whether.

g) ME. *e* = OE. *y*: *dent* dint.

Note. These words would point to the fact that the development of OE. *æ* to ME. *e* was not confined to Kent, as is generally supposed. *ed-ðar* is frequently found in ME. as *nedre* and although *et-ðarkrop* is only found with *a*, it is not met with very often and was no doubt spoken with *e*. For *eʒ* had and *ed* had, *e* forms are numerous, especially for the latter. *emp* may have been influenced by the lit. lang., or be from OE. *hēnep*, but *sek* sack occurs with *e*. *seʒarti* must have had ME. *e* in Lanc. and occurs as such in Langland A. v. 12. *geðar* gather may have been influenced by the lit. language, but *ðen* then, *wen* when are always found with *e* in the Lanc. ME. poems Sir Gawayne and the allit. poem Patience &c. In

the Destruction of Troy and Joseph of Arimathie, both of which show traces of the West ME. dialect, we have *þan* and *then* as well as *whon* and *wen*. The *e* forms may very probably be the West Ml. ones.

2. ME. *e* before *r*, from all sources; appears as a) *ā*, b) *ä*. But cp. § 36. 7.

Here are included also those words which are only found in ME. with *i* + *r*, because this *i* must evidently have developed to *e* before making the change to *ü* (*ä*). The two groups of genuine ME. *e* and of *e* < *i*, then united with the group from ME. *a* + *r* (see § 30. 2). The various OE. sources of these *ä* : *ā*- words are given in chap. II, § 4. 12.

a) *ā*: *ārl* earl, *ārnist* earnest, *ārt* heart, *ārþ* hearth, *ārviſt* harvest<sup>1</sup>, *bārk* to bark, *bārm* barm, *bārn* barn, *dārlin* darling, *dārk* dark, *dwārf* dwarf, *fār* far (rarely *far*), *fārðin* farthing, *kjārv* carve, *jārd* yard, *lārn* learn, *mār* mar, *mārſ* marsh, *smārt* smart, *stār* star (rarely *star*), *spār* to inquire, *fārt*, *fārt* shirt (also *fort*), *stārv* starve, *tſār* char (coal), *tūþ-wārtſ*, *-wārtſ* tooth-ache, *þārd*, *þārd* third, *wārk* *wārk* work, *wārl*, *wārl* whirl, *wārp* warp, *wārt* wart.

b) *ä*: *ärənd* errand, *ärin* herring, *bār* rush, impetus (Scand.), *bāri* to bury, berry, *bārſ* birch, *bārþ* birth, *māri* merry, *þār(t)-tīn* thirteen (apparently influenced by *þārd* from OE. *þriðda*). The word *džārk* to jerk, strike heavily which also appears as *džārt*, *jārk*, is not found before the 16<sup>th</sup> cent.

3. ME. *e* appears as *eī* before *f*.

a) ME. *e* = OE. *e*: *neīſ* soft, tender.

b) ME. *e* = OE. *æ*: *ſteīſ* flesh.

<sup>1</sup> For the etymology of the word cp. now Hempl Journ. Germ. Phil. 4, 47—49.

4. ME. *e* appears as *i*.

a) ME. *e*, late ME. *i* = OE. *e*: *striyg* string (also *streyg*), *it̄ort* rough, would appear to be from ME. *heterlice*. See Stratman-Bradley.

b) ME. *e* = Scand. *e*: *iyg* hang (also *eyg*, see above 1. a); *skip* basket (ME. *skeppe* = Scand. *skeppa*) has probably been influenced by ME. *kipe* basket; *snift̄or* to sniff (ME. *snevien*).

5. ME. *e* appears as *a*.

ME. *e* = OE. *e*: *bant* vigour, force; probably derived from vb. *bend* on analogy of words from Latin or French, like *descend* — *descent*, *extend* — *extent*, Fr. *pendre* — *pente*; see NED., cp. also M. Du. *bant*. — *natlt* cross, illtempered.

ME. *i*.§ 32. 1. ME. *i* appears as *i*.

a) ME. *i* = OE. *i*, Scand. *i*, *e*, *æ* in closed syllables: *bigin* begin, *bit̄or* bitter, *bif* bitch, *bitwixt* between, *blis* bliss, *bif̄op* bishop, *briyg* bring, *dim* dim, *driyk* drink, *fin* fin, *finḡor* finger, *flint* flint, *flitf* flitch, *gift* gift, *grisl* gristle, *id* it, *ilt* hilt, *im* him, *in* in, *ind̄or* hinder, *it* to hit, *itf* to itch, *iv* if (also *ev*), *iz*, *iȝ*, *is*, *his*, *kid* kid, *kitlin* kitten, *krisp* crisp, *lid* lid, *lik* lick, *liȳk* link, *lim* limb, *lip* lip, *litn* expect, await (Scand., *lipn* is also used cf. *lipnen* in Stratman-Bradley), *liv* live, *midl* middle, *miks* mix, *milk* milk, *min̄o* minnow, *mis* miss, *mist* mist, *pitf* pitch, *rib* rib, *riyg* ring, *rist* wrist, *siks* six, *siks̄p* sixth, *sind̄or* cinder, *siyg* sing, *siyk* sink, *sit* sit, *skil* skill, *skin* skin, *sliyg* sling, *sliyk* slink, *smidi* smithy, *smiȝ* smith, *spit* spit, *spring* spring, *stik* stick (sb.), *stil* still, *stiyg* sting, *swift* swift, *swim* swim, *swiyy* swing, *fift* shift, *filin* shilling, *fip* ship, *tik* tick, *til*

till, *timbər* timber, *tin* tin, *tlif* cliff, *tlyg* cling, *tfildər* children, *tfin* chin, *twin* twin, *twin* to separate, divide, *twist* twist, *þik* thick, *þyng* thing, *þisl* thistle, *wi* with, *wikid* wicked, *wil* will, *wilə* willow, *win* win, *wind* wind, *wində* window, *wintər* winter, *wyng* wing, *wyvk* wink, *wisl* whistle, *wispər* whisper, *witf* witch, which.

b) ME. *i* = OE. *i*, Scand. *i*, *e* in open syllables, and of unknown origin: *bitn* bitten, *diðər* tremble, *dliðər* glitter, *drivn* driven, *fidl* fiddle, *fit* fit, *giv* give, *grip* grip, *livər* liver, *pik* to pick (also *pæk* from a ME. *\*piken*; see 39. 2), *prik* prick, *quid* quid, *rif* to belch, *rim* rim, *ritn* written, *silk* silk, *sitl* sickle, *siv* sieve, *slipi* slippery, *spindl* spindle, *stif* stitch, *stiði* smithy (origin not certain), *fin* shin, *till* tickle, *widə* widow, *wik* alive, *wik* week.

c) ME. *i* = OE. *y*, Scand. *y* in closed syllables: *bild* build, *bridz* bridge, *brisl* bristle, *did* did, *dip* dip, *drip* drip, *fil* fill, *fit* to remove, *gild* gild, *il* hill, *il* *up* to wrap up (Scand. *hylja*), *inf* inch (also *intf*), *kil* kill (OE. *\*cyllan* not found), *kil* kiln, *kyng* king, *kis* kiss, *kitfin* kitchen, *lift* lift, *lins* linch (pin), *midz* midge, *mil* mill, *minstər* minister, *nit* knit, *pilə* pillow, *pit* pit, *ridz* ridge, *sil* sill, *sin* sin, *tindər* tinder, *tlyp* clip, *trim* to trim, *þin* thin, *þyvk* think.

d) ME. *i* = OE. *y* in open syllables: *bizi* busy, *din* din, *ip* hip, *kripl* cripple, *fiþn* cowhouse.

e) ME. *i* = OE. *ȳ*: *fist* fist, *tin* to close, shut, *þimbl* thimble, *tfikin* chicken.

f) ME. *i* = OE. *ī*: *dif* ditch (*dāt* is also used), *fifti* fifty, *fiþ* fifth, *grizli* grisly, *krismyð* Christmas, *krisn* christen (also *kesmyð* and *kesn*), *linin* linen (also *lin*), *linsid* linseed, *litl* little.

g) ME. *i* = OE. *e*: *rid* rid, *fiðer* feather, *brimstōn* brimstone (earlier *brenstōn*), *grin* grin, *singz* singe, *dinz* dint.

*þyk* think has perhaps been influenced by OE. *þyncean* (see above c). Cp. § 31. 4.

h) ME. *i* = Angl. *ē*, Ws. *ǣ*: *ridl* riddle, *sili* silly. See Morsbach MEG., p. 144.

i) ME. *i* appears as *i* in *midin* (Dan. *möddin*) dung-heap.

2. ME. *i* appears as *ɪ*.

a) before sibilants: *dif* dish, *fɪf* fish, *wɪf* wish, *ɪz* his (*iz* is also used).

b) before original *ht*: *brɪt* bright, *fɪrtn* frighten, *lɪtnɪn* lightning, *nɪt* night, *rɪt* right, *-rɪt-* wright (as compound), *sɪt* sight.

An exception is *fɛt* fight which seems to go back to a ME. form *fɛht*, *fɛight*, not *fɪght*.

3. ME. *i* appears as *u*.

a) ME. *i* = OE. *y*: *fɪst* first, *fɪtl* shuttle.

b) ME. *i* = OE. *ɪ*: *wɪmʊn* woman (also *wʊmən*).

4. ME. *i* appears as *ɔ*.

a) ME. *i* = OE. *i*: *ɔr* her.

b) ME. *i* = OE. *ɪ*: *stɔrɔp* stirrup (also *stärɔp*).

5. Scand. *i* appears as

a) *e*: *seg* (Scand. *siggy*), hard skin on the hands caused by manual labour.

b) *i*: *snig* eel (Scand. *snigill?*).

Note. I have been unable to find these words in ME.

### ME. *o*.

§ 33. 1. ME. *o* appears as *o*.

a) ME. *o* = OE. *o*, Scand. *o*, *ā* in closed syllables: *bogɔrt* ghost (Welsh), *bɔks* box, *borɔ* borrow, *botɔm* bottom, *dɔf* doff, take off, *dog* dog, *dɔk* dock, *dot* dot, *dlopn* to ter-

rify (Scand. *glūpna*)<sup>1</sup>, *drop* drop, *flok* flock, *foks* fox, *for* for, *formast* foremost, *fotsf*, *tot* to fetch (OE. *feccan*), *frog* frog, *frost* frost, *god* God (also *gōd*), *gospil* gospel, *kob* to excel, surpass, *kod* cod, *kok* cock, *kōlæp* collop (etym. doubtful), *kop-web* cob-web, *kot* cot, *kotl* cockle, *kroft* croft, *krop* crop, *kros* cross, *lobstær* lobster, *lok* lock, *lot* lot, *mos* moss, *not* knot, *od* odd, *oft* often, *olæ* hollow, *on* on, *op* to hop, *plot* plot, *poks* pox, *rok* rock, *rops* intestines, *slop* to spill, *slopstōn* sink (sb.), *slor* slide (cp. ME. *slor* mud), *snortf* snort, *snot* mucus, *sok* sock, *spot* spot, *stok* stock, *stop* stop, *tlod* throw, *tlog* wooden shoe (etym. doubtful), *top* top, *tron* to tackle, screw etc. (Scand. *trōnja* = the snout of a hammer).

b) ME. *o* = OE. *o*, Scand. *o* in open syllables: *bodi* body, *frozn* frozen, *nok* knock, *oli* holly (also *olin*), *otær* otter, *rot* to rot, *snod* smooth (Scand. *snodinn*), *spokn* spoken, *tot* shot (prtc.), *trodn* trodden, *tfozn* chosen.

c) ME. *o* = OE. *ō*: *blosæm* blossom, *fodær* fodder, *soft* soft.

2. ME. *o* appears as *ō*, chiefly before *r* + cons.

a) ME. *o* = OE. *o*, Scand. *o*: *fōrk* fork, *kōrn* corn, *mōrniñ* morning, *mōrðær* murder, *ōrn* horn, *ōrtfōrd* orchard, *stōrk* stork, *stōrm* storm, *swōrn* sworn, *skōrtf* scorch, *fōrn* shorn, *fōrt* short, *tōrd* excrement, *þōrn* thorn, *wōrd* word; *brōþ* broth, *frōþ* froth (Björkman, Scand. LW. 162. 210), *ōf* off.

Note. We have short *o* before a hard spirant in *mos*, *kros*, *oft* etc. See above 1. a.

b) ME. *o* = OE. *ō*: *fōstær* Foster (proper name).

c) ME. *o* = OE. *eo* after *w*: *sōrd* sword (rarely *særd*, see § 36.7), *wōrld* world, *wōrm* worm (OE. *weorm*).

3. ME. *o* = OE. *o* before *ll*, *ls*, *lt*, *ld* appears as *ōū*. The process of development was similar to that of *ō*

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Björkman Scand. LW. p. 241.

from ME. *a*, § 30. 3. A parasite *u* was developed between the *o* and the following *l*, and the resulting diphthong lengthened on the *l* being dropped. The diphthong thus fell together with that from ME.  $\bar{o}$  (see § 41. 3). Sweet HES. § 808 quotes the *u* as being noticed so early as 1547 by Salesbury. — *boūl* bowl (sb.), but note the verb *boū* to bowl, *boūstər* bolster, *boūt* bolt, *koūt* colt, *moūd* mould, *moūdivārp* mole (more often *mēðərt*, see below 6), *poū* to cut hair (ME. *pollen*), *toū* toll.

4. ME. *o* = OE. *o* appears as *u*. The majority of these words have *ŋ* following the *o*. The *o* was apparently first raised to *u* and then developed like ME. *u* and like NE. *u* from ME.  $\bar{o}$  (see § 40. 2) to *u*. *əmyŋg* among, *fluṭər* flutter, *lyŋg* long, *ryŋg* wrong (Scand.), *struŋg* strong, *stuṭər* to stammer (Scand. *stauta*), *suyŋg* song, *fuḍ* should, *tluk* eluck, *tuygʒ* tongs, *bruŋg* to crowd, *buŋg* thong, *wuḍ* would.

5. ME. *o* = OE. *o* appears as *uo*: *puort* port (also *pōrt*).

6. ME. *o* = OE. *o*, *eo* before *lk* appears as  $\bar{o}$ , the *l* being dropped: *fōk* folk, *jōk* yolk. Cp. 3 above.

### ME. *u*.

§ 34. 1. ME. *u* appears as *u*.

a) ME. *u* = OE. *u* in closed syllables: *bigun* begun, *buk* buck, *bul* bull, *bulək* bullock, *bun* bound (ptc), *bust* bustle, *butək* buttock, *druyk* drunk, *dum* dumb, *dunək* sparrow (cp. OE. *dunn*), *ful* full, *fun* fun, *grun* ground (ptc, the sb. is *grēnd*), *gut* gut, *krudʒ* curds (Keltic *cruth*), *krumpl* crumple (also *scrumpl*), *kuf* cuff, *kunin* cunning, *kup* cup, *kus* curse, *luŋ* ear (Scand.), *lyŋg* lung, *nun* nun, *pluk* to pluck (also *pluŋ*), *run* run, *ryŋg* rung, *spruyg* sprung,



*spun* spun, *stuyg* stung, *sum* some, *sun* sun, *sygg* sung, *syk* sunk, *swum* swum, *swuyg* swung, *thuyg* clung, *tub* tub (ME. *tubbe*), *tumbl* tumble, *tuyg* tongue, *tfum̄er* to grumble (not found before the 16<sup>th</sup> cent.; see NED.), *udli* ugly, *und̄er* under, *und̄erd* hundred, *uyḡer* hunger, *unt* hunt, *wul* wool, *wulf* wolf, *wun* won, *wund̄er* wonder.

b) ME. *u* = OE. *u* in open syllables: *bu(t)t̄er* butter, *abuv* above, *kud* cud (*kwid* quid is from the OE. form *cwidu*), *kum* come, *luv* love, *m̄un* must (emphatic Scand. *muna*), *muyk* monk, *num* numb, *nut* nut, *stun* to stun, *sum̄er* summer, *sun* son, *þun̄er* thunder, *uni* honey, *wud* wood; *nuk̄ez* knuckles is not found in OE., *uven* oven is spelt ME. *o* but the sound meant may be *ū* (Luick, Untersuchungen § 438), *fuvl* shovel has OE. *sceoft* but this may be a form of spelling for *scuft* (Sievers Aags. G. § 76. 2).

c) ME. *u* = OE. *y*: *bundl* bundle, *krutf* crutch, *muk* muck (Scand.), *stubl* stubble, *sutf* such, *fut* shut, *thust̄er* cluster, *trundl* trundle, hoop, *þrutf* push, squeeze.

Note. Before *f* we have *uī* in *bluīf* blush, *buīf* bush (origin uncertain), *ruīf* rush.

d) ME. *u* = OE. *ū*: *bud* but, *dust* dust, *ruf* rough, *rust* rust, *tusk* tusk (also *tūf*), *þum* thumb, *krum* crumb, *ud̄-d̄er* udder, *uz* us, *uzbund* husband.

e) ME. *u* = OE. *i* (*u*) after *w*: *wus* worse, *wust* worst.

f) ME. *u* = OE. *eo* after *w*: *wuþ* worth.

2. ME. *u* appears as *o*.

a) ME. *u* = OE. *u* before *r* in closed and in open syllables: *dor* door (*dūer* in also used), *fōrd̄er* further (also contracted to *fōr*), *kos*. curse (*kus* is more used), *torf* turf, *tōrn* turn, *tortl* turtle (little used).

b) ME. *u* = OE. *y* before *r*: *or* her (emphatic), *stor*

stir, *fort* shirt (Scand.), *tfortf* church; *dort* dirt is from Scand. *drit*.

Note. These words have been included here instead of under ME. *i* because their pron. appears to point to a previous *u* either ME. or later. There appears to be evidence pointing to the fact that these words never were pronounced with *i*, but there is also evidence in favour of such an assumption. Sweet HES. § 663, and other grammarians assume that OE. *y* gave *i* in the Midlands and North and *ū* only in the South West. Sweet says that »OE. *y* was completely unrounded in WML.« Against this it may be pointed out that these words are usually spelt with *u* in »Piers Plowman« and in »Sir Gawayne« (a poem in the Lanc. dialect). I have not found them in »Pearl« or »Patience« but they are common enough with the spelling *u* in Layamon and other Midland writers. Now, as a previous *u* must be assumed (cf. the words under a) it seems more natural to suppose that it proceeded directly from OE. *y* [*ū*]. On the other hand there is evidence in favour of the *u* having proceeded from ME. *i*, viz., that the Scand. loan word *drit* only appears as *durt* in the 15<sup>th</sup> century (See NED.), and that the word *bird* — pronounced in the dialect *brid* < OE. ME. *brid* — is occasionally heard as *bord* and *burd*. (The pron. *furt*, *stur*, *tfurtf*, *durt* are occasionally heard, but come, I believe, from a neighbouring dialect. This would, however, bear in favour of ME. *u*.) The evidence of the French words is equally conflicting. We have *ort* hurt from AF. *ū* pointing to ME. *u*, and *örtfənt* hedgehog, *sorī* sirrah from AF. *i* (see § 53, 5), pointing to the dialect *o* being from ME. *i*. Thus the evidence from neither side is really convincing.

c) *koniwest* contrary, opposite, is perhaps related to cunning, see EDD.

3. ME. *u* = OE. *u* appears as *ū*: *kaṭər* coultter, *pū* pull, *fūd-ḡər* shoulder (also *foud-ḡər*, see § 49. 2); *skrūf* scurf, *riff-raff* (Scand.), *brū* through.

4. ME. *u* appears as *ɔ*.

a) ME. *u* = OE. *u*: *fəvə* furrow, *tərf* turf (see 2. a).

b) ME. *u* = OE. *eo* after *w*: *wərfip* worship.

5. ME. *u* appears as *o*: *goləp* gulp (Du. *golpen*).

6. ME. *u* appears as *a*: *radl* ruddle (ME. *rudel*).

## 2. Long Vowels.

ME. *ā*.

§ 35. 1. ME. *ā* appears as *ē*.

a) ME. *ā* = OE. *a, æ, ea*; Scand. *a*, in open syllables: *bēk* bake, *bēð* bathe, *blēd* blade, *blēz* blaze, *ēk* ache, *ēkar* acre, *ēl* ale, *ēp* ape, *ēt* hate, *fēðor* father (also *faðor*, see § 30. 1. b), *flek* flake, *gēp* to yawn, *gēt* gate, way, manner, *grēv* grave, *grēz* graze, *kēk* cake, *krēdl* cradle, *lēdl* ladle, *lēk* lake, *lēm* lame, *lēt* late, *mēd* made, *mēk* make, *mēn* mane, *nēkt* naked, *nēm* name, *nēv* nave, *nēvl* navel, *rēk* rake, *rēðor* rather, *sēk* sake, *sēl* sale, *sēm* same, *skēl* skale, *skrēp* scrape, *snēk* snake, *spēd* spade, *stēk* stake, *fēm* shame, *fēp* shape, *tēl* tale, *wēd* wade, *wēl* whale, *wētor* water (also *waðor*, see § 30. 1. b), *wēv* wave.

Note. ME. *ā* must be assumed as the basis of *ēg* the hawthorn berry, although OE. *haga* appears in ME. as *haw*.

The origin of *bēt* to start and *bēts* starting point does not seem to be clear.

2. ME. *ā* = OE. *a, æ, ea* appears as *ǣ* when followed by *r*: *bǣr* bare, *ǣr* hare, *kjǣr* care, *mǣr* mare, *spǣr* spare, *stǣr* stare, *fǣr* share. But we have *ǣr* are (unaccented *ār*), cp. ME. *ǣ* 2.

3. ME. *ā* = OE. *a* appears as *e*: *ev* have, *tek* take (also *te*).

4. ME. *ā* appears as *ī* in *īamz* hames, the irons on a horse collar (cp. Du. *haam*).

5. ME. *ā* appears as *a*: *swad* pod (of peas). ME. *swāfe*.

ME. *ē*.

§ 36. 1. ME. *ē* appears as *ī*.

a) ME. *ē* = OE. *e* for *ě* in monosyllables: *ī* he, *ðī* thee, *mī* me.

b) ME.  $\bar{e}$  = OE.  $e$  for  $\bar{e}$  before lengthening groups: *fild* and *filt* field, *jild* yield, *fild* shield. Also before *l* in *wil* (adv., OE. *wel* and *wēl*, cp. Bülbring, Alt-engl. Elementarb. I. § 284).

c) ME.  $\bar{e}$  = Angl.  $\bar{e}$ , WS.  $\bar{a}$  for Teutonic  $\bar{a}$ : *brīð* breathe, *grīdi* greedy, *īl* eel, *īwin* evening, *nīdl* needle, *sīd* seed, *fīp* sheep, *tīk* cheek, *tīz* cheese.

d) ME.  $\bar{e}$  = Angl.  $\bar{e}$ , Umlaut of  $\bar{e}a$ : *bīlf* belief, *bīlv* believe, *nīd* need, *slīv* sleeve, *stīpl* steeple, *fīt* sheet, *tī* to tie.

e) ME.  $\bar{e}$  = Angl.  $\bar{e}$  for  $\bar{e}a$  and  $\bar{e}o$  before gutturals: *bīkn* beacon, *dīrī* tiresome, troublesome.

f) ME.  $\bar{e}$  = Angl.  $\bar{e}$ , Umlaut of  $\bar{o}$ : *bītl* beetle (hammer), *blīd* bleed, *brīfīz* breeches, *fīd* feed, *fīl* feel, *fīt* feet, *gīs* geese, *grīn* green, *īl* heel, *kīn* keen, *kīp* keep, *kīn* queen, *mīt* meet, *sīm* seem, *sīt* to seek, *swīt* sweet, *tīp* teeth, *wīp* weep.

g) ME.  $\bar{e}$  = OE.  $\bar{e}o$ : *bī* be, bee, *bītwīn* between, *dīp* deep, *dīlī* glee, *fīt* fleet, *kīl* keel, *krīp* creep, *fīrī* free, *fīrīz* freeze, *līf* lief, *nī* knee, *pīst* priest, *rīd* reed, *rīl* reel, *sī* see, *sīl* seal, *snīz* sneeze, *tīrī* tree, *pīf* thief, *pīrī* three, *wīl* wheel. Exception see below,  $\bar{o}$ .

h) ME.  $\bar{e}$  = OE.  $y$ : *īvl* evil.

2. ME.  $\bar{e}$  appears as *i*.

a) ME.  $\bar{e}$  = Angl.  $\bar{e}$ , WS.  $\bar{e}a$  before *c*: *rik* rick.

b) ME.  $\bar{e}$  = Angl.  $\bar{e}$ , Umlaut of  $\bar{e}a$ : *strip* strip.

c) ME.  $\bar{e}$  = OE.  $\bar{e}o$ : *bīn* been, *sīk* sick.

d) ME.  $\bar{e}$  = OE.  $\bar{e}$ : *mī* me, *ðī* thee, *wī* we (these three unemphatic forms, see above 1. a).

3. ME.  $\bar{e}$  appears as  $\bar{e}$  before *r*.

a) ME.  $\bar{e}$  = OE.  $\bar{e}$ ,  $\bar{e}o$ : *īr* here, *bīr* beer, *dīr* deer, *stīr* steer.

b) ME.  $\bar{e}$  = Angl.  $\bar{e}$ , WS.  $\bar{e}$ : *ðīr* there, *wīr* where.

c) ME.  $\bar{e}$  = Angl.  $\bar{e}$ , Umlaut of  $\bar{e}a$ :  $\bar{w}ord$  heard.

4. ME.  $\bar{e}$  appears as  $e$ .

ME.  $\bar{e}$  = Angl.  $\bar{e}$ , WS.  $\bar{a}$ , Teut.  $\bar{a}$ :  $bre\bar{p}$  breath,  $led$  let,  $\bar{p}red$  thread.

5. ME.  $\bar{e}$  appears as  $\bar{e}$ .

a) ME.  $\bar{e}$  = OE.  $\bar{e}o$ :  $w\bar{e}k$ ,  $w\bar{e}kin$  wick.

b) ME.  $\bar{e}$  = OE.  $\bar{e}$ :  $w\bar{e}$  we.

6. ME.  $\bar{e}$  = OE.  $\bar{e}$  appears as  $\bar{a}$  before  $r$ :  $j\bar{a}r$  year,  $\bar{a}r$  hair.

7. ME.  $\bar{e}$  = OE.  $eo$ ,  $ea$  before  $rd$ ,  $rn$  appears as  $\bar{a}$  in  $s\bar{a}rd$  sword (cp. § 33. 2. c),  $f\bar{a}rn$  fern. This development seems to have taken place only in those cases where the  $e$  in late ME. was long, short ME.  $e$  before  $r$  + cons. becoming either  $\bar{a}$  or  $\bar{u}$  in the Adlington dialect (cp. § 31. 2).

### ME. $\bar{e}$ .

§ 37. 1. ME.  $\bar{e}$  appears usually as  $\bar{w}$ .

a) ME.  $\bar{e}$  = OE.  $\bar{a}$ , Umlaut of  $\bar{a}$ :  $d\bar{w}al$  deal,  $d\bar{w}am$  gleam,  $l\bar{w}od$  to lead,  $l\bar{w}an$  to lean,  $l\bar{w}an$  lean (adj.),  $l\bar{w}ast$  least,  $l\bar{w}av$  leave,  $m\bar{w}an$  to mean,  $t\bar{w}az$  tease,  $tl\bar{w}an$  clean,  $w\bar{w}at$  wheat.

b) ME.  $\bar{e}$  = OE.  $\bar{e}a$ :  $b\bar{w}am$  beam,  $b\bar{w}an$  bean,  $d\bar{w}ad$  dead,  $d\bar{w}af$  deaf,  $d\bar{w}ap$  death,  $dr\bar{w}am$  dream,  $\bar{w}ap$  heap,  $\bar{w}ar$  ear,  $\bar{w}ad$  head (more often  $j\bar{e}d$ ),  $l\bar{w}af$  leaf,  $l\bar{w}ap$  leap,  $n\bar{w}ar$  near,  $s\bar{w}am$  seam,  $str\bar{w}am$  stream,  $f\bar{w}af$  sheaf,  $t\bar{w}am$  team,  $t\bar{w}ar$  tear (sb.),  $tf\bar{w}ap$  cheap (also  $tfep$ ),  $\bar{p}r\bar{w}ap$  contradict.

c) ME.  $\bar{e}$  = OE.  $e$  in open syllable:  $sp\bar{w}ar$  spear.

d) ME.  $\bar{e}$  = OE.  $ea$  (late OE.  $\bar{e}a$ ):  $b\bar{w}ard$  beard.

2. ME.  $\bar{e}$  appears as  $\bar{r}$ .

a) ME.  $\bar{e}$  = OE.  $\bar{a}$ , Umlaut of  $\bar{a}$ :  $r\bar{r}p$  wreath,  $s\bar{r}$  sea ( $s\bar{e}$  is more used).

b) ME.  $\bar{e}$  = OE.  $\bar{e}a$ :  $b\bar{r}$  to light, kindle,  $f\bar{r}$  flea (pl.  $f\bar{r}ep$ ),  $\bar{r}st$  east,  $st\bar{r}p$  steep,  $f\bar{r}id$  to spill.

Note. It is not clear why these words have not also developed a diphthong as in 1 a) b) above. Some of them might be explained by analogy, or the fact that they are seldom used, but they cannot all be accounted for in this way.

3. ME.  $\bar{e}$ - appears as *e* usually in closed syllables before *d*.

a) ME.  $\bar{e}$  = OE.  $\bar{a}$ , Umlaut of  $\bar{a}$ : *redi* ready, *spreð* spread, *swet* sweat.

b) ME.  $\bar{e}$  = OE.  $\bar{a}$ : *bred* bread, *led* lead (sb.), *red* red, *jeð* head, *fred* shred, *tfep* cheap (see above 1. b), *þretu* threaten.

4. ME.  $\bar{e}$  appears as  $\bar{e}$  in *sē* sea (see 2. a). The modern word *tea* is pronounced  $\bar{tē}$ .

5. ME.  $\bar{e}$  = OE. *e*, in open syllables and before *r* appears as  $\bar{a}$ : *bār* to bear, also as sb. bear, *swār* swear.

6. ME.  $\bar{e}$  appears as *e*.

a) ME.  $\bar{e}$  = OE.  $\bar{a}$  (*i*-Umlaut of  $\bar{a}$ ) before  $\bar{c}$ : *bleitf* bleach, *reitf* reach, *teitf* teach.

b) ME.  $\bar{e}$  ( $\bar{e}$ ?) = OE.  $\bar{a}$ , Angl.  $\bar{e}$ : *meil* meal (repast).

c) ME.  $\bar{e}$  = OE.  $\bar{a}$ : *steip* fleas, *greit* great.

#### ME. $\bar{e}$ (i. e. medium $\bar{e}$ ).

§ 38. 1. ME.  $\bar{e}$  = OE. *e*, Scand. *e*, appears as *e*: *breik* break, *eit* eat, *eivi* heavy, *meil* meal (corn), *meit* meat, *neiv* fist (Scand. *knefi*), *peī* pea (OE. *pisu* > *peosu*), *speik* speak, *steil* steal, also in the meaning brush-handle, *treid* tread, *wetv* weave.

2. ME.  $\bar{e}$  = OE. *e*, Scand. *e*, appears as *e*: *lek* leak, *steil* steal.

3. ME.  $\bar{e}$  = OE. *e* appears as  $\bar{e}$  in open syllable before *s*: *bizom* besom, *wizl* weasel.

4. ME.  $\bar{e}$  appears as *io*: *riop* reap (OE. *io* > *eo*; seldom used).

ME.  $\bar{i}$ .

§ 39. 1. ME.  $\bar{i}$  appears as  $\bar{a}$ . We have here a case in which the dialect has progressed farther than lit. English. The lit. Eng. *ai* has been monophthongised to  $\bar{a}$ . Perhaps the intermediate stage was  $\bar{ae}$  which is chiefly found finally. (See below 2.)

a) ME.  $\bar{i}$  = OE.  $\bar{i}$ , Scand. *i*: *ālonð* island, *ās* ice, *āvi* ivy, *bād* bide, abide, *bāt* bite, *blāð* blithe, *brādġ* bridle, *dātġ* ditch (also *dītġ* see § 32. 1. f.), *ðrāv* drive, *ālāv* alive, *fāl* file, *fāv* five, *krāst* Christ (also *krāest*), *laf* life, *lak* like (more often *læk*), *lām* lime, *lān* line, *lat* a few, little (principally used by strangers from a few miles farther North), *māl* mile, *nāf* knife, *pāl* pile, *pān* pine, *pāp* pipe, *rād* ride, *rāp* ripe, *rāt* write, *rāz* rise, *sād* side, *sāð* scythe, *snāp* snipe, *strād* stride, *fān* shine, *fāv* slice (cp. MLG. *schive*), *tād* tide, *tādinz* tidings, *tām* time, *twān* twine, *twās* twice, *ðān* thine, *þrāv* thrive, *wā* why (also *wāe*), *wād* wide, *wāf* wife, *wāl* while, *wān* whine, wine, *wāp* wipe, *wāt* white, *wāz* wise.

b) ME.  $\bar{i}$  = OE.  $\bar{y}$ : *āv* hive, *brād* bride, *dāv* dive, *kjāt* kite (also *kāet*), *lās* lice, *mās* mice, *prād* pride.

c) ME.  $\bar{i}$  = OE. *i* before *ld*, *mb*, *nd*: *bānd* to bind (rare), *blānd* blind, *fānd* find, *grānd* grind, *māld* mild, *mānd* mind (OE. *ge-mýnd*), *tlām* climb, *tfālt* child (but pl. *tfildor*), *wāld* wild, *wānd* to wind.

d) ME.  $\bar{i}$  = OE. *i*, *y* + *g*: *bā* buy (also *bāe*), *nān* nine, *tāl* tile, *stāl* stile is rare (usually *stīl*), *tāð* tithe.

2. ME.  $\bar{i}$  appears as  $\bar{ae}$  chiefly before *k* and finally: *læk* like, compelled (e. g. *īz læk tō du it* 'he is compelled to de it'), *pæk* pike (also *to pick*, in which meaning a ME. *\*pīken* must be assumed as the basis, see § 32. 1. b), *sæk* to suck (apparently confusion of ME. *sīken*

to sigh, with suck), *skræc* to shriek, cry (see Luick, *Anglia* XVI 507), *straec* strike, *wæ* why, *bæ* buy, *skæ* sky; *kæc* kite, *kræst* Christ.

Late ME. *ɪ* from early ME. *ei* in OE. *þeoh* and *ēage* has developed like ordinary ME. *ɪ* at the end of words: *þūe* thigh, *āe* eye (rarely *ɪ*, but pl. always *m*, ep. ME. Northern *ēn*).

Note. Many of these words are also pronounced with the long vowel *ā*. See above 1.

3. ME. *ɪ* appears as *ai* before *r*: *aiɔr* hire, *aiɔrn* iron, *faiɔr* fire, *spaiɔr* spire, *waiɔr* wire.

4. ME. *ɪ* appears as *i*: *il* hide; perhaps in consequence of the influence of the pret.

5. ME. *ɪ* appears as *oi*: *boil* boil (subst.).

6. ME. *ɪ* appears as *i*: *stil* stile. See above 1. d.

#### ME. *ō*.

§ 40. 1. ME. *ō* appears as *ā*.

a) ME. *ō* = OE. *ō*, Scand. *ō*: *blām* bloom, *brād* brood, *brām* broom, *bak* book, *būt* boot, *dāment* an event, *fād* food, *fatin* money paid for drink on beginning work etc., *gūm* gum (also *gum*), *krūt* crooked, *kāk* to cook, *kāl* cool, *kām* came, *kāmz* cummings, *lāk* look, *lām* loom, *mād* mood, *mūn* moon, *pāl* pool, *rāf* roof, *rūk* rook (rare), *rūt* root, *skū* school, *spān* spoon, *stū* stool, *sūt* soot, *fū* shoe, *fūk* shook, *tak* took, *tāl* tool, *tūþ* tooth, *af* hoof, *ūk* hook, *ūzl* ousel.

b) ME. *ō* from older *ō*: *tū* two, *ū* who (also *u*; see § 41. 2. a).

c) ME. *ō* = OE. *u*: *smāk* smoke (OE. \**smucian*. Luick, *Untersuchungen* § 469).

d) Here seem to belong certain *ū*'s for *ō* + *ɜ*, although the diphthong *ou* may be expected and in other



similar cases certainly has existed. See § 48 *bū* bough, *enū* enough, *plū* plough.

Note. It is doubtful whether *sū* sow (OE. *sugu*) is to be placed here (OE. *sugu* > Early ME. *sōghe*) or whether it is a Scand. loanword (Björkman Archiv CI. 393) and goes back to a ME. *sō*.

2. ME. *ō* appears as *u*.

These words developed in the same way as those in the preceding paragraph, viz., to *ū*. This *ū* was shortened and the resulting *ǔ* developed as ME. *ū*. (See § 34. 1.) There was similar movement among two groups of words in lit. Eng., one group developing *ō* > *ū* > *ǔ* and the other developing this *ū* further to *u* (see examples below).

Both these groups are represented by *u* in the dialect: *blud* blood, *bruk* brook, *brud̄er* brother, *buzum* bosom, *dluv* glove, *dun* done, *flud* flood, *gud* good, *nuk* nook, *mud̄er* mother, *mūndi* Monday, *mūnþ* month, *stud* stood, *ud* hood (rare), *ud̄er* other.

not the  
carried

3. ME. *ō* appears as *uo* before *r*: *buord* board, *afuord* afford, *fluor* floor, *muor* moor, *uor* whore.

4. ME. *ō* appears as *u*: *būt* boot, *du* do, *fūt* foot, *rūt* root, *sūt* soot, *tu* too, *tūk* took.

Notice that almost all these words are also pronounced with *ū*.

### ME. *ō*.

§ 41. 1. ME. *ō* appears as *ō*.

a) ME. *ō* = OE. *o*, Scand. *o*: *af̄or* before (more often *afuor*). See below 2. b), *fl̄ot* float, *f̄ol* foal, *k̄ol* coal, *n̄ōz* nose, *ōp* hope, *ōl* hole, *p̄ōk* to poke, *s̄ōk* soak.

Note. In *br̄ok* broke, *st̄ol* stole, *t̄or* tore, *sp̄ōk* spoke, *sw̄or* swore the vowel of the p. partic. has been extended into the preterite.

b) ME. *ō* = OE. *ā*, Scand. *ā*: *b̄on* bone, *b̄ot* boat, *d̄o* doe, *dr̄ov* drove (pret.), *f̄om* foam, *ḡost* ghost, *ḡot* goat,

*grōp* grope, *grōv* grove, *lād* load, *lōf* loaf, *nōn* none, *ōk* oak, *ōnli* only, *ōr* oar, *ōli* holy, *ōþ* oath (rare), *pōp* pope, *rōd* road, rode, *rōr* roar, *rōt* wrote, *rōp* rope, *sō* so, *sōp* soap, *spōk* spoke, *stōn* stone, *strōd* strode, *strōk* stroke, *tlōvər* clover, *tō* toe, *tōd* toad, *wōl* whole.

Note. Some of these words are also pronounced with the vowel sound *u*, but I cannot find any rule as to the conditions. See below 2 a.

c) ME.  $\bar{o}$  = OE.  $\bar{eo}$  (o?): *lōz* to lose (also *lōz* and *luaz*), *tfōk* choke.

2. ME.  $\bar{o}$  appears as *u*.

a) ME.  $\bar{o}$  = OE.  $\bar{a}$ : *buən* bone, *buþ* both, *guə* go, *luəd* load, *luaf* loaf, *muər* more, *muəst* most (also *muist*), *stun* stone, *tluaz* clothes, *tu* to, *tuəd* toad, *u* who, *uəs* hoarse, *uəts* oats.

A few of these words are more often pronounced with the long vowel sound  $\bar{o}$ . See above 1. b, and Note.

b) ME.  $\bar{o}$  = OE. *o*: *duər* door (also *dor*. See § 34, 2. a), *afuər* before (see above 1. a), *nuəz* nose (more usual *nōz*. See 1. a), *skuər* score.

c) ME.  $\bar{o}$  = OE.  $\bar{eo}$  (o?): *luaz* lose (See 1. c. and 7).

3. ME.  $\bar{o}$  + *l*, rarely in other cases, appears as *ou*:

a) ME.  $\bar{o}$  = OE.  $\bar{a}$ : *nou* no (as neg. opposite to *yes* — otherwise *nō*), *dou* dole, *poū* pole, *poūlr* to use roughly, ill-treat (ME. *pōle* a pole?).

b) ME.  $\bar{o}$  = OE. Angl. *a*, late OE.  $\bar{a}$  (WS. *ea*): *boūd* bold, *foūd* fold, *koūd* cold, *oūd* old, *toūd* told.

c) ME.  $\bar{o}$  = OE. *o*: *goūd* gold (*gald* is occasionally heard), *stoūn* stolen.

Note. For the development of this diphthong, see § 33. 3.

4. ME.  $\bar{o}$  appears as *o*.

a) ME.  $\bar{e}$  = OE.  $\bar{a}$ : *gon* gone, *olidi* holiday, *ot* hot, *fon* shone, *sori* sorry.

b) ME.  $\bar{e}$  = OE.  $o$ : *brokn* broken, *open* open.

5. ME.  $\bar{e}$  appears as  $\bar{e}$ : *br̄d* broad, *l̄rd* lord, *tl̄p* cloth.

6) ME.  $\bar{e}$  appears as  $\bar{u}$ : *ḡz* those.

7. ME.  $\bar{e}$  appears as  $o\bar{i}$ : *koīl* coal (more often *kōl*). See above 1. a), *loīz* lose (normally *lōz*. See 1. c and 2. c, above), *oīl* hole (generally *ōl*. See 1. a).

Note. This  $o\bar{i}$  appears to have come from East Lancashire or the West Riding of Yorks.

8. ME.  $\bar{e}$  appears as a) *wo*, b) *wu*.

a) *won* one, *wons* once.

b) *wum* home.

Note. For the initial *w* cp. § 63. 1. d.

### ME. $\bar{u}$ (spelt *ou*).

§ 42. 1. ME.  $\bar{u}$  appears as  $\bar{e}$ .

We have here another instance in which the dialect appears to have progressed farther than lit. Eng. The lit. Eng. *au* has been monophthongised, the first part of the diphthong being retained and lengthened, and the second part dropped.

a) ME.  $\bar{u}$  = OE.  $\bar{u}$ : *bē* to bow, *bēnd* bound (ready), *bēt* without, *brēn* brown, *dēn* down, *ē* how, *ēnd* hound, *ēs* house, *ēt* out, *obēt* about, *fē* ugly, *grēnd* ground, *kē* cow, *krēd* crowd, *lēd* loud, *mēs* mouse, *mēt* moult, *mēp* mouth, *nē* now, *pēnd* pound, *prēd* proud, *sēp* South, *tēn* town, *tlēd* cloud, *tlēt* to clout, strike, *pēznd* thousand.

Note. The pron. *rēm* room is occasionally heard. The usual pron. is *rām*. (See below 5 and cp. Sweet NEG. § 852.)

2. ME.  $\bar{u}$  (later *u*) = OE.  $\bar{u}$  appears as *u*. This ME.  $\bar{u}$  was first shortened to *ū*, and then it developed as ME. *ū*.

See § 34. 1: *duk* duck, *krum* crumb, *kud* could, *plum* plum, *suk* suck, *sup* to drink, *sudorn* Southern, *fuv* shove.

3. ME. *ū* from older *ough* = OE. *ūh* and *oh*, *og* gives *u* + *f*: *ruf* rough, *tuf* tough, *tluf* clough.

Note 1. We have also *toūf* and *tof* tough. See § 49. 2. e. *enuf* is also used but the usual pron. is *enu* enough. See § 40. 1. d.

Note 2. The origin of *suf* a drain, is not clear, cp. MLG. *sō*.

4. ME. *ū* appears as *ā* before *r*: *ār* our, *kār* and *kjār* to cower, sit down (Scand. *kāra*), *sār* sour, *fār* shower.

5. ME. *ū* appears as *ū* — chiefly before lip consonants: *brū* brow, *fūmært* founmart, *rūm* room, *stūp* stoop.

6. ME. *ū* appears as *ō* in *sōp* sup (sb.), a small quantity. (See above 2.)

7. ME. *ū* = OE. *ug* appears as *ou*: *foūl* fowl.

### 3. The Diphthongs.

#### ME. *ai*.

§ 43. 1. ME. *ai* appears as *ē*.

a) ME. *ai* = OE. *æg*: *brēn* brain, *dē* day, *dētlar* day-labourer (Scand.), *dēzi* daisy, *fēn* fain, *mēn* main, *nēl* nail, *snēl* snail, *tēl* tail.

b) ME. *ai*, *ei* = OE. *eg*: *ēl* ail, *lēl* laid, *plē* play, *rēn* rain, *sēl* sail, *wē* way.

c) ME. *ai* = OE. *æg*: *ēðar* either (also *ōðar* from ME. *outher*, OE. *ūwðer*), *grē* gray, *tlē* clay.

Note. For other cases of OE. *æg* cp. ME. *ei*.

d) ME. *ai*, *ei* = OE. *ēg*, *ēh* (*ēah*): *ē* hay, *nēbār* neighbour.

Note. For other cases of OE. *ēg* cp. ME. *ei*.

e) ME. *ai* = Scand. *ei*: *bēt* bait, *ēl* hail, *grēdli* thoroughly, genuine, in a proper manner (Scand. *greidlī*), *fēk* fake, trick, *nē* nay, *rēz* raise, *stēk* steak, *ðē* they, *wēk* weak (cp. § 13. 2. f.).

2. ME. *ai* appears as  $\bar{a}$  before *r*: *f̄ar*. fair, *st̄ar* stair, *ð̄ar* their.

3. ME. *ai* appears shortened as *e*: *se* say.

**ME. au.**

§ 44. 1. ME. *au* appears as  $\bar{o}$ .

a) ME. *au* = OE. *a* + *g*: *dr̄ō* draw (also *dr̄ō*), *l̄ō* law, *n̄ō* gnaw, *s̄ō* saw.

b) ME. *au* = OE. *a*, *ea* + *w*: *tl̄ō* claw, *r̄ō* raw, *str̄ō* straw (rarely *str̄ō*).

c) ME. *au* = OE. or Scand. *a* + *f*: *ōk* hawk, *kr̄ōl* crawl. See Björkman Scand. LW. 76.

d) ME. *au* = Scand. *au*: *ḡōm* to understand, perceive and *ḡōml̄os* dull, foolish. See Björkman 70.

2. ME. *au* before *ht* appears as a) *ōā*, b) *af*.

a) *toāt* taught.

b) *dr̄aft* draught.

**ME. ei.**

§ 45. 1. ME. *ei* appears as *eī* (cp. § 22. 2).

a) ME. *ei* = OE. *eah*: *eīt* eight.

b) ME. *ei* = OE. *æg*: *keī* key.

c) ME. *ei* = OE. *ēg*: *dr̄ei* dry (more usually *dr̄āe* = ME. *dr̄ī*).

d) ME. *ei* = OE. *ēh*, *eh*, *eg*: *eīt* height, *streīt* straight, *weī* weigh (OE. *wegan*, cp. Björkman Scand. LW. 257).

e) ME. *ei* = Scand. *æ* before *ht*: *weīt* weight.

f) ME. *ei* = Scand. *ei*: *sweī* to swing, sway, *keī-pōd* left-handed (Scand. — origin obscure).

2. ME. *ei* = OE.  $\bar{e}$  + *g* appears as  $\bar{r}$ : *br̄īd* frightened (rare).

3. Scand. *ei* appears as *e*: *kek* to tip up. But see Björkman p. 61.

Note. As for early ME. *ei* > late ME. *ī* in eye, thigh cp. § 39. 2.

### ME. *eu*.

§ 46. 1. ME. *eu* = OE. *ēaw* appears as *jū* or *ū*, the *j* being amalgamated with a preceding *d* to *dʒ*: *fjū* few, *dʒū* dew.

2. ME. *eu* = OE. *ēaw* appears as *ou*: *soūini* wet, pasty.

### ME. *eu*.

§ 47. 1. ME. *eu* = OE. *ēow* appears as:

a) *jū*: *njū* new.

b) *ū*: *brū* brew, *krū* crew, *rū* rue, *tfū* chew.

2. ME. *eu* = OE. *īw* appears as *ū*: *tfūzdi* Tuesday.

3. ME. *eu* or *īw* = OE. *īw* appears as *u* before *r* in *stfuord* steward.

### Early ME. *ou*.

§ 48. Early ME. *ou* seems to have existed in the basis of the Adlington dialect, only to a limited extent. It has become late ME. *ou*, cp. § 49; and late ME. *ū* (spelt *ou*), cp. § 42. 3.

In other cases where it may be expected ME. *ō* takes its place, cp. § 40. 1. d.

### ME. *ou*.

§ 49. 1. ME. *ou* appears as *ō*.

a) ME. *ou* = OE. *ā* + *w*: *blō* to blow, *krō* crow, *mō* mow, *nō* know, *rō* row (sb.), *slō* slow, *snō* snow.

b) ME. *ou* = OE. *ā* + *g*: *lō* low (adj), *ō* owe, *ōn* own.

c) ME. *ou* = OE. *a* + *w*; *þō* thaw (also *þē*).

d) ME. *ou*, for early ME. *ou* = OE. *ō* + *w*: *flō* flow, *grō* grow, *rō* to row.

e) ME. *ou* = OE. *o* + *g*: *bō* bow (sb.).

2. ME. *ou* appears as *ōū*.

a) ME. *ou* from *o* (*ō*) + *ht*: *boūt* bought, *broūt* brought, *doūtər* daughter, *foūt* fought, *poūt* thought (prt.).

b) ME. *ou* = OE. *ā* + *ht*: *nōūt* nothing, *ōūt* aught, ought.

c) ME. *ou* = OE. *ā* + *w*: *soūl* soul.

d) ME. *ou* = OE. *u*: *foūd-ḡər* shoulder.

Note. ME. *ou* has been assumed here, but we have also *fūḡ-ḡər* from the usual ME. *schulder*.

e) ME. *ou* = OE. *ōh*: *toūf* tough (also *tof* and *tuf*).

f) ME. *ou* = OE. *o* + *g*: *floūn* flown.

3. ME. *ough* appears as *of*.

a) ME. *ou* = OE. *o*, *ō* + *g*, *h*, *hh*: *kof* cough, *tof* tough (see above 2. e), *trof* trough (rarely *troūf*).

b) ME. *ou* = OE. *ū* + *g*: *dof* dough.

## B. The French Element.

### AF. *a*.

§ 50. 1. AF. *a* appears as *a*.

a) AF. *a* in open syllables, unaccented in AF.: *aləm* alum, *baləns* balance, *banər* banner, *baril* barrel, *batl* battle, *damidz* damage, *ḡragən* dragon, *egzaminər* examiner, *fanər* resemble, *galən* gallon, *gramər* grammar, *gravl* gravel, *kari* carry, *karidz* carriage, *kjapl* front covering of a clog, *makəril* mackerel, *maridz* marriage, *maṡər* matter, *panṡri* pantry, *papər* paper, *parif* parish, *satin* satin, *talənt* talent, *tlarit* claret, *ṡapl* chapel, *ṡapṡər* chapter, *vali* valley, value.

b) AF. *a* in closed syllables, unaccented in AF.: *admərəl* admiral, *advent* advent, *faʃən* fashion, *katʃ* and *kjaʃ* catch, *lantərn* lantern, *mantl* mantle, *paʃtər* pasture, *paʃən* passion, *tatʃin-end* shoemaker's waxed thread for stitching boots (ME. *tachen*), *ʃrans* trance, *ʃʃampjən* champion.

c) In closed syllables, accented in AF.: *advans* advance, *ant* aunt, *blaʃk* blank (Engl.?), *brans* branch, *dɪmand* demand, *gaʃər* owner, head, *graʃt* graft, *graʃt* grant, *kaʃ* and *kjaʃ* cap, *laʃp* lamp, *paʃ* pass, *sampl* sample, *taks* and *tajks*, tax, *ʃʃans* chance, *ʃʃant* chant.

2. AF. *a* appears as *ɛ*.

a) In open syllables, unaccented in AF.: *bɛʃn* basin, *bɛkn* bacon, *ʃɛvər* favour, *lɛbər* labour, *nɛʃər* nature, *nɛvi* navy, *pɛpər* paper (also *paʃpər*, see 1. a), *pɛʃnt* patent.

b) In open syllables, accented in AF.: *bɛl* bale, *blɛm* blame, *dɛʃs* dates, *ɛbl* able, *ɛdʒ* age, *ɛngɛdʒ* engage, *ʃɛm* fame, *ʃɛs* face, *ʃlɛm* flame, *grɛv* grave, *kɛdʒ* cage, *kɛv* cave, *lɛs* lace, *pɛdʒ* page, *pɛl* pale, *plɛs* place, *plɛt* plate, *rɛt* rate, *spɛs* space, *stɛbl* stable, *stɛdʒ* stage, *tɛbl* table, *ʃrɛs* trace, *wɛdʒ* wage.

c) In closed syllables, accented in AF.: *ɛndʒəl* angel, *kɛs* case, *pɛst* paste, *plɛstər* plaster, *ʃrɛnʒ* strange, *tɛst* taste, *ʃɛmbər* chamber, *ʃɛnʒ* change, *wɛst* waste.

d) In closed syllables, unaccented in AF.: *dɛn-dʒər* danger.

3. AF. *a* before *r* + cons. appears as *ɑ*: *ɑrtʃər* archer, *bɑrbər* barber, *bɑrgɪn* bargain, *dɑrt* dart, *gɑrd* guard, *gɑrdɪn* garden, *gɑrtər* garter (also *gjɑrd* etc.), *kɑrpɪntər* carpenter, *kwɑrt* quart, *kwɑrtər* quarter, *mɑrbl* marble (also *mɑrvl*), *pɑrlɪmɪnt* parliament, *pɑrsl* parcel, *pɑrt* part, *rɪvɑrd* reward, *skɑrlɪt* scarlet, *ʃɑrdʒ* charge.

Note. As for *a* before *r* + vowel, see above 1. a.



4. AF. *a* appears as *ǫ*: *bǫ* ball (also *bō*), *dʒǫmʒ* jams, *fǫs* false, *ǫrmǫrik* almanac; cp. § 16. 2 b. 30. 3.

5. AF. *a* appears as *o*: *oltǫr* altar.

Note that the *l* is retained.

6. AF. *a* appears as *aī* before *f*: *faīf* to anger, *faīfǫn* fashion, *paīfǫn* passion (see 1. b).

7. AF. *a* appears as *e*: *endaīǫrn* andiron (pop. Etym.).

### AF. *ɛ*, *ɛ*.

§ 51. 1. AF. *ɛ*, *ɛ* appears in closed syllables as *e*.

a) In syllables accented in AF.: *aksept* accept, *arest* arrest, *difend* defend, *difens* defence, *direkt* direct, *dʒem* gem, *eksepsǫn* exception, *empǫrǫr* emperor, *entǫr* enter, *ǫfens* offence, *ǫtemt* attempt, *ifekt* effect, *kǫmens* commence, *kon-sent* consent, *kwestfǫn* question, *leksǫn* election, *let-tǫr* letter, *membǫr* member, *mend* mend, *menfǫn* mention, *pek* peck, *pen* pen, *pensǫn* pension, *rikwest* request, *sentǫns* sentence, *spend* spend, *tempǫr* temper, *tent* tent, to attend to, *testǫr* tester, *trembl* tremble, *tʃes* chess, *tʃesnʊt* chesnut.

b) In syllables, unaccented in AF.: *dʒentl* gentle, *endʒǫe* enjoy, *engǫdʒ* engage, *entǫiǫr* entire, *entǫtl* entitle, *envilǫp* envelope, *lesn* lesson, *pensl* pencil, *plenti* plenty.

Note. The prefix *en-* is accented in the foregoing words.

c) In open syllables: *tʃrebl* treble.

2. AF. *ǣ* before *r* + cons.

a) In accented syllables we have α) *ā*, β) *ä*, γ) *a*:

α) *ārb* herb (also *jārb*), *nārv* nerve, *tlārkl* clerk, *sārv* serve.

β) *pārtʃ* perch.

γ) *war* war.

b) In syllables, unaccented in AF. we have *ā*:

*pārtridz* partridge, *sārmən* sermon, *sārvənt* servant, *vārni*,  
varnish.

3. AF. *e* appears as *eɪ* before *tʃ*: *preɪtʃ* preach.
4. AF. *e* appears as *ɪ*: *bɪs* beasts, *kriəm* cream.
5. AF. *e* appears as *ē*: *dēsnt* decent.
6. AF. *e* appears as *a*: *nati* neat.
7. AF. *e* before nasals gives *i*: *indʒən* engine, *fimi*  
chemise, *tʃimbli* chimney.

### AF. *ɛ* (including central Fr. *ie*, *ue*).

- § 52. 1. AF. *ɛ* appears as *ɪ*:
- a) AF. *ɛ* from lat. *a*: *diɡrɪ* degree.
  - b) AF. *ɛ* for central Fr. *ie*: *mistʃɪʃ* mischief, *pɪs* piece.
  - c) AF. *ɛ* for central Fr. *ue*: *bɪʃ* beef.
2. AF. *ɛ* before *r* appears as a) *ɪə*, b) *aɪə*.
- a) *əpɪər* appear, *fɪərs* fierce, *pɪər* pier, *tlɪər* clear.
  - b) *kwaɪər* choir, *skwaɪər* squire, *ʌmpaɪər* umpire.
3. AF. *ɛ* appears as *e* in syllables unaccented in AF.: *dezərt* desert, *dʒenərəl* general, *feznt* pheasant, *medɪsn* medicine, *meməri* memory, *mezər* measure, *metl* metal, *preznt* present (adj.), *rebl* rebel, *sekənd* second, *selər* cellar, *tenənt* tenant, *trezər* treasure, *velvɪt* velvet.

### AF. *i*.

- § 53. 1. AF. *i* appears as *ā*.
- a) In open syllables, accented in AF.: *advās* advice, *advərtəʒ* advertise, *bābl*e bible, *disāpl* disciple, *eksərsāʒ* exercise, *fān* fine, *intlān* incline, *krām* crime, *lān* line, *nās* nice, *prās* price, *prāʒ* prize, *rās* rice, *sādər* cider, *sāzɪʒ* assizes.
  - b) In open syllables, unaccented in AF.: *dāmənd* diamond, *kwāɪ* quiet, *lāsns* licence, *pālot* pilot, *sāləns* silence.

c) In closed syllables for *i* + *ū*: *rizān* resign, *sān* sign.

Note. In some of these words there is a rarer pron. with *āe* e. g. *krāem* crime. Cp. § 39. 2 and 2 below.

2. AF. *i* appears as *āe*: *arāev* arrive, *krāe* cry, *mag-pāe* magpie, *risāet* recite, *tāegər* tiger, *oblāedz* oblige.

In syllables unaccented in AF.: *āevri* ivory (also *āvri*), *māenər* miner, *pāerət* pirate, *tlāemət* climate.

Note. All these words except «ivory» are little used in the dialect. Otherwise we should have expected the vowel *ā*. Cp. § 1 above.

3. AF. *i* appears as *i*.

a) In closed syllables, accented in AF.: *prints* prince, *riř* rich, *simpl* simple.

b) In closed syllables, unaccented in AF.: *pil* to peel. In ME. there was some confusion between *peler* to strip, and *piller* to plunder; *riřidzəs* religious.

c) In open syllables, unaccented in AF.: *figər* figure, *finiř* finish, *likər* liquor, *miniř* minute, *piti* pity, *prizn* prison, *viziř* visit.

4. AF. *i* appears as *aiə*: *dzaient* giant, *laiən* lion, *raiat* riot.

5. AF. *i* before *r* appears as a) *ā*, b) *ə*, c) *o*:

a) *mārikl* miracle (also *mərikl*).

b) *mərikl* miracle, *spəriř* spirit.

c) *örtfənt* hedgehog, *sori* sirrah.

Note. For this *i* before *r* cp. § 31. 2 and § 34. 2.

6. AF. *i* appears as *e*: *rens* rince.

7. AF. *i* appears as *oī*: *dzoīsiř* joists (generally used in the pl.). A less common pron. is *džūesiř*.

#### AF. *o*.

§ 54. 1. AF. *o* appears as *ō*.

a) AF. *ɔ* in open syllables: *grōsər* grocer, *nōbl* noble, *nōt* note, *səpōz* suppose, *tłōk* cloak, *tṛōn* throne.

b) AF. *ɔ̄* in closed syllables: *brōtf* brooch, *divōrs* divorce, *əprōtf* approach, *kōst* coast, *pōst* post, *rōst* roast, *tōst* toast.

2. AF. *ɔ* appears as *o*.

a) AF. *ɔ* in closed syllables, accented in AF.: *əposl* apostle, *lodz* lodge, *moti* insolence (Fr. *mot?*), *rob* rob.

b) In open syllable, accented in AF.: *propər* proper.

c) In closed syllable, unaccented in AF.: *ofis* office.

d) In open syllables, unaccented in AF.: *losindz* lozenge, *onər* honour, *onist* honest, *os* to offer, attempt (Fr. *oser?*), *promis* promise.

3. AF. *ɔ* before *r* in accented syllables appears as a) *ɔ̄*, b) *ɔ̄*, c) *o* (cp. 4 below).

a) *divōrs* divorce, *dlōri* glory, *fōrdz* forge, *fōrs* force, *pōrk* pork (rarely *puark*), *pōrtər* porter, *pōrtf* porch, *stōr* store, *stōri* story.

b): *fōrfit* forfeit, *fōrm* form, *kōrd* cord, *kōrnər* corner, *mōr(ər)* mortar, *ōrdər* order.

c): *sort* sort.

It is noteworthy that only one of these words appears with a variant pronunciation *uə*. Cp. the native English words § 41. 2.

4. AF. *ɔ* before *r* in syllables unaccented in AF. appears as a) *ɔ̄*, b) *o*, c) *ɔ̄*.

a): *fōrtfən* fortune, *mōrsl* morsel, *ōrdinəri* ordinary, *ōrgin* organ.

b): *forist* forest.

c): *dlōriəs* glorious (influenced by *dlōri*).

5. AF.  $\rho + l$  appears as  $o\bar{a}$ : *ro\bar{u}l* roll, *so\bar{u}d-dz\bar{o}r* soldier.

Notice that the  $l$  in *ro\bar{u}l* is not dropped, perhaps owing to the influence of the lit. language. Cp. § 33. 3 and § 55. 6.

6. AF.  $\rho$  appears as  $\bar{a}$ : *f\bar{u}* fool.

7. AF.  $\rho$  appears as  $u\bar{o}$ : *ku\bar{o}t* coat, *pu\bar{o}rk* pork (usually *p\bar{o}rk*, cp. 3. a).

8. AF.  $\rho$  appears as  $u\bar{i}$  before  $f$ : *bru\bar{i}f* brush.

### AF. $u$ .

§ 55. 1. AF.  $u$  appears as  $u$ .

a) In open syllables, accented in AF.: *buz\bar{o}rt* butterfly, *du\bar{b}l* double, *gru\bar{d}z* grudge, *ku\bar{k}-ku* cuckoo, *ku\bar{p}l* couple, *tru\bar{b}l* trouble, *tut\bar{f}* touch.

b) In closed syllables, accented in AF.: *gu\bar{m}* gum, *nu\bar{m}b\bar{o}r* number, *plu\bar{u}dz* plunge, *spu\bar{u}dz* sponge, *su\bar{m}* sum, *tru\bar{m}p* trump, *tru\bar{u}k* trunk.

c) In open syllables, unaccented in AF.: *bu\bar{t}l\bar{o}r* butler, *bu\bar{t}f\bar{o}r* butcher, *ku\bar{l}\bar{o}r* colour, *tru\bar{k}* truck, dealings.

d) In closed syllables, unaccented in AF.: *ku\bar{m}-f\bar{o}rt* comfort, *ku\bar{m}p\bar{n}i* company, *ku\bar{n}t\bar{r}i* country, *pu\bar{l}p\bar{i}t* pulpit.

2. AF.  $u$  appears as  $\bar{e}$ .

a) In open syllables, accented in AF.: *d\bar{e}t* doubt, *g\bar{e}n* gown, *kr\bar{e}n* crown (der. *kr\bar{e}n\bar{o}r* coroner), *p\bar{e}d\bar{o}r* or *p\bar{e}d\bar{o}r* powder, *p\bar{e}t\bar{f}* pouch, *s\bar{e}nd* sound.

b) In closed syllables, accented in AF.: *\bar{e}ns* ounce, *\bar{a}k\bar{e}nt* account, *\bar{a}m\bar{e}nt* amount, *k\bar{e}nt* count, *p\bar{e}ns* pounce, *pr\bar{a}n\bar{e}ns* pronounce, *r\bar{e}nd* round.

c) In closed syllables, unaccented in AF.: *k\bar{e}nsil* council, *k\bar{e}nti* county, *m\bar{e}ntin* mountain, *f\bar{e}ntin* fountain.

3. AF.  $u$  before  $r$  appears as  $\bar{a}$ : *\bar{a}r* hour, *f\bar{a}r* flower, flour, *t\bar{a}r* tower.

4. AF. *u* before *r* + cons. gives:

*u*: *pʊs* purse.

*ō*: *kōrtis* and *kōrtsi* curtsy, *pō* paw, *tōrn* turn.

*uə*: *kuərt* court.

*ɜ*: *distɜrb* disturb (also *distōrb*), *dʒɜrni* journey.

5. AF. *u* appears as *u*: *lūvər* chimney (AF. *l'ouvert*, ME. *lovər*), *pūt* pullet.

6. AF. *u* appears as *oū* before *l*: *boū* to bowl (Fr. *boule*). The genuine English word *boūl* bowl (OE. *bolla*) has preserved the *l*. See Sweet HES. § 884 and NED. *poułtri* poultry.

#### AF. *ü*.

§ 56. 1. AF. *ü* appears as *u*: *dʒuđ* judge, *dʒust* just, *umbl* humble.

2. AF. *ü* appears as *(j)ū*, *j* being dropped after *l*, *r*, and *s*, and amalgamated with a preceding *d* > *dʒ*: *jūz* to use, *ekskjūz* excuse, *rifjūz* refuse, *dlū* glue, *rad* rude, *pərsū* pursue, *dʒūk* duke.

3. AF. *ü* before *r* appears as

*(j)uə*: *pjuər* pure, *kjuər* cure, *fuər* sure.

*o*: *ort* hurt.

4. AF. *ü* appears as *ju*: *jus* use (sb.).

5. AF. *ü* in syllables unaccented in AF., but accented in A. appears as

*jū*: *jūmər* humour, *mjuzik* music.

*u*: *punif* punish.

*ui*: *kruil* cruel.

#### AF. *ü*, *üi* < Old French *üi*.

§ 57. 1. AF. *üi* appears as *(j)ū*, *j* being dropped after *r*, and *s*: *pjū* pew, *njūsəns* nuisance (in AF. unaccented), *frūt* fruit, *sūt* suit (rarely *fūt*).

2. AF. *ii* appears as *oi*: *oil* oil, *oīstər* oyster (rarer *ael*, *āestər*).

### AF. *ai*, *ei*.

§ 58. These diphthongs are treated together in consequence of their falling together in ME.

1. AF. *ai*, *ei* = ME. *ai* appears as *ē*.

a) In open syllables: *bitrē* betray, *dilē* delay, *disēt* deceit, *disēv* deceive, *dizēz* disease, *fēl* fail, *fēp* faith, *grēn* grain, *grēs* grease, *kāmplēn* complain, *kānsēt* conceit, *kē* quay, *mē* May, *pē* pay, *plēn* plain, *prē* pray, *prēz* praise, *rimēn* remain, *tlēm* claim, *trēt* treat, *tfēn* chain (also *tfīon*), *vēl* veil, *vēn* vein, *wēt* wait.

b) In closed syllables: *fēnt* faint, *pēnt* paint.

c) In syllables unaccented in AF.: *būmbēli* bailiff, *sēzn* season, *tēlər* tailor.

2. AF. *ai*, *ei*, later *ē* = ME. *ē* (cp. § 37. 1) appears as *ē*: *ēzi* easy, *plēz* please, *rēnz* reins, *tfēn* chain, *tfīor* chair.

3. AF. *ei* > *e* appears as *ī*: *pīs* peace.

4. AF. *ei* appears as *eī*: *dēin* dean.

5. AF. *ai*, *ei* before *r* appear as *ā*: *ār* air, *fār* fair; *mār* mayor, *prār* prayer have received the accent; — but note *tfīor* chair (see 2. above).

6. AF. *ei* appears as *a*: *plat* plait.

7. AF. *ai* appears as *ē*: *mēstər* master.

### AF. *au*.

§ 59. 1. AF. *au* appears as *ō*: *bikōz* because.

2. AF. *au* = lat. *a* + *l*, before cons., appears as *ō*: *fōt* fault, *kōkər* coker (pieces of brass or tin used for protecting the fronts of clogs), *kōsə* causeway, *scōd* scald.

3. AF. *au* = lat. *a* + *l*, before cons., appears as *ē* in *sēf* safe, *sēv* save.

Note. These two words were monophthongised in ME. and then developed like *ēf* half. Cp. § 30. 7. See Luick, *Anglia* XVI. 474.

4. AF. *au* appears as *a*: *savidz* savage. The syllable being unaccented in AF. accounts for the development being different from that in 2. or 3. above.

#### AF. *oi*, *ui*.

§ 60. 1. AF. *oi*, *ui* from all sources appear as *oi*: *noiz* noise, *tfois* choice, *vois* voice; *boil* boil, *dzoin* join, *dzoint* joint, *point* point, *soil* soil, *spoil* spoil, *poizn* poison.

2. AF. *ui* appears as *ui*: *būifol* bushel, *kūifon* cushion (also *kūfon*).

3. AF. *oi* appears as *oi*: *koil* to scrape together (AF. *coiller*).

4. AF. *oi*, *ui* appears as *ui*: *ruin* ruin, *suit* suet.

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## Chapter IV.

### Vowels in Unaccented Syllables.

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#### 1. Weak Word Stress.

##### a) *ə*.

§ 61. *ə* has generally arisen from back vowels and *er*.

a) In initial syllables, followed by the principal accent: *əbēt* about, *əgēt* in action, at work, *əgrī* agree, *fərged* forget, *təmərn* tomorrow; but — *ridžéstər* register, *spetékls* spectacles, *fuərlí* surely, *kontrǝ'ri* contrary.



b) In syllables preceded by the principal accent: *bulək* bullock, *buzərt* butterfly, *dʒəndərz* jaundice, *galəp* gallop, *kesməs* and *krisməs* Christmas, *koləp* slice of bacon, *kəse* causeway, *kubərd* and *kubərt* cupboard, *kustərt* custard, *lələk* lilac (also *lələk*), *mʉstərt* mustard, *ələz* always, *sakləs* silly, foolish, *stəreɸ* and *stəreɸ* stirrup, *siðərs* scissors, *ulərt* owl, *undərt* hundred, *wində* window.

*arə* arrow, *barə* barrow, *folə* follow, *jarə* yarrow, *jalə* yellow, *narə* narrow, *pilə* pillow, *sparə* sparrow, *swalə* swallow, *fadə* shadow, *falə* shallow, *talə* tallow, *wilə* willow.

*bled-ɸər* bladder, *but-ɸər* butter, *fəðər* father, *gondər* gander, *geðər* gather, *əðər* either, *omər* hammer, *fuɸər* to slide down, *wəɸər* water.

*nəɸər* nature, *pastər* pasture, *piktər* picture, *pləstər* plaster, *mezər* measure, *plezər* pleasure.

In compounds: *bakərt* backward, *forət*, *forəd* forward, *qəkərt* awkward, *qəpəɸ* halfpennyworth, *penəɸ* pennyworth, *tərt* towards, *sumət* somewhat (also *sumət*).

### b) i.

a) In initial syllables followed by the principal accent: *disət* deceit, *disəv* deceive.

b) In<sup>\*</sup> syllables preceded by the principal accent: *ārvist* harvest, *blaykit* blanket, *bulit* bullet, *revit* rivet, *redif* radish.

*bārli* barley, *bali* belly, *bəli* bailiff, *bəri* to bury, berry, *bodi* body, *nəbri* nobody, *boni* bonny, *məzi* dizzy, *emti* empty, *ewi* heavy, *ori* hurry, *moni* many, *qəpni* halfpenny, *peni* penny, *sili* silly, *slipi* slippery, *wəri* worry, *wagin* waggon.

*fārðin* farthing, *kəmin* coming and in all words which in the literary language end in *-ing*.

## c) Loss of Vowel or Syllable.

a) Initial syllables followed by the principal accent: *bakə* tobacco, *bēt* without, *konəmāzər* economiser, *kōs* because, *laiəns* alliance, *list* enlist, *livər* deliver, *lotments* allotments, *louəns* a tip for a drink, *prentis* apprentice, *sāləm* asylum, *sāziz* assizes, *tās* entice.

b) In syllables preceded by the principal accent: *kʌmpni* company, *nōbri* nobody, *ḡpəʃ* halfpennyworth, *penəʃ* pennyworth, *reglər* regular, *sʌmbri* somebody.

*l* and *n* are vocalic as in English in *andl* handle, *kandl* candle, *fasn* fasten.

## 2. Weak Sentence Stress.

§ 62. The following words have weak forms caused by the sentence accent. Others are given in the accidence.

The auxiliary verb have *ev*, *e*, *ə* is often omitted entirely: *a fon it* I have found it.

*a* I: *a fārnd* I shall not.

*abət* yes but.

*am* I am: *am nod gʌn* I am not going.

*bi* 1) be: *al bi ðiər* I will be there.

2) by: *bi nē* by now.

*bin* been.

*bəd* but.

*-d* 1) had: *ad* I had.

2) would: *ɪd e tə dʌ* he would have to do.

*dəz*, *dəs* does, *dɒs* dost, *dəs tə?* dost thou?

*e*, *en*, *ev* have: *led im e tām* let him have time. *en jə ani?*  
have you any?

*ez*, *es* has, hast: *es fon it?* have you found it?

*ə* 1) a, an: *ə nās lot* a nice lot. *ə ap-pə* an apple.

2) have: *ad ə gon wʌm* I should have gone home.

3) in, on, at: ə *ðad rɔd* in that way.

4) of: ə *paɪf ə wa:tə* a quantity of water.

*əd* would: *id əd tek ə lot* it would take a lot.

*ən* 1) and: *im ən mɪ* he and I.

2) one: *id wɔr ə gud ən* it was a good one.

*əz* 1) as = 'as' and 'that' (c.j.): *a nɔd əz a kʊd* I knew that I could.

2) as = 'who, whom': *im əz ða sɪd* him, whom you saw.

3) us.

*fɔr* for.

*frɔ* from.

*i* in: *i tām* in time.

*intə* into.

*iz, is* his: *is fəðə* his father. *is* is used before voiceless consonants.

*jə* ye, you.

*jə* you are.

*kəd* could.

*kn* can.

*-l* will: *al* I will.

*mi* me, my, may: *giv id mi* give it me.

*mit, mət* might.

*mən, mn* must.

*-n* have: *win sɪn id* we have seen it.

*nɔr* nor.

*-s* 1) us (after voiceless cons.): *les bi ɔf* let us be off.

2) shall: *as nɔd* I shall not.

*fərnd* shall not.

*sə* so.

*-ʃ, fəd* should: *af þɪŋk sə* I should think so.

*ʃə* she.

*t* the. (See chap. on pronunciation.)

*tə* thou: *wil tə?* will you?

*ði* thy, they, thee.

-*v* have: *wiv wʊn* we have won (see *n* above).

*wa* why. The unaccented form of *wā*, *wāe*.

*wər* 1) our: *its wər ɔn* it is our own.

2) we are.

3) was, were.

*wi* 1) with.

2) we.

*wis* we shall.

-*z* 1) is: *ɪz* he is.

2) has, hast: *ɪz* he has. *ðaz* thou hast.

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## Chapter V.

### The Consonants.

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#### 1. Semivowels.

##### ME. *w*.

§ 63. 1. Initially.

a) ME. *w* has remained before vowels: *wāp* wipe, *war* war, *wārk* work, *wēt* wait.

b) ME. *w* has remained in the combination *tw*, *sw*, *dw*, *qu* [*kw*], *hw*: *twelv* twelve, *dwārf* dwarf, *swim* swim, *kwēn* queen, *wif* which. — Exceptions: *tū* two, *sō* so, *wə*, *ā* who.

c) ME. *w* has disappeared in the combination *wr*: *rāt* write, *rugg* wrong.

d) A *w* has appeared in certain words with ME. *ȝ*: *wōl* whole, *won* one, *wons* once, *wuts* oats (rare, the usual pronunciation being *uəts*), *wum* home.

Note. This *w* has developed in the following way. The ME. open  $\bar{o}$  was diphthongised, owing to excessive lip rounding, at first to the falling diphthongs  $uo$ ,  $u\bar{o}$ . These were then developed to the rising diphthong  $u\bar{a}$ ,  $yu$  which then gave the initial *w*. *won* one and *wons* once are apparently borrowed from the lit. language at a later period or else we should have had *wōn* as in *wōl* whole. (See Luick, Untersuchungen, § 47 ff., 85 ff., 140 ff., 210 ff.) There is sometimes a variant pron. to *wum* home viz. *uam*, which is, however, not common and is from other dialects. The *w* does not appear in *ōnli* only but Edwin Waugh writes it *one-ly*. What his pron. was I do not know. As a matter of fact the A. people use the word *bud* 'but' more often than *ōnli*.

## 2. Medially.

a) ME. *w* + final vowel have become *ə* after consonants: *medə* meadow, *widə* widow.

b) ME. *w* has disappeared at the beginning of unaccented syllables, chiefly in words compounded with *-ward*: *ansər* answer, *bakərts* backwards, *forəd* forward, *grʊnsl* groundsel, *ōləz* always, *qkert* awkward, *penəp* pennyworth, *sʊmet* something, *tqrt* towards.

## ME. *ʒ*, *y*, [*j*].

§ 64. 1. ME. *ʒ*, *y* appears unchanged: *jell* yell, *jār* year, *jon* yonder, *juyg* young.

2. ME. *ʒ*, *y* appears as *g*: *giv* give, *gift* gift, *fərged* forget.

3. We have *j* in the dialect in a few words from AF. *ü*: *jūz* to use, *pjuər* pure, *mjūzik* music.

## 2. Liquids.

### ME. *l*.

§ 65. 1. ME. *l* has remained unchanged initially, medially and finally: *lam* lamb, *lōn* lane, *elp* help, *flēf* flesh, *kulər* colour, *kruil* cruel, *tel* tell.

2. ME. *l* has disappeared finally and before *f*, *v*, *m*, *s*, *t*, *d*, *k*: *ap-pə* apple, *fō* fall, *fū* fool, *kō* call, *smō* small, *bōd* bald, *ōf* half, *ēv* halve, *samən* salmon, *fōs* cunning, *kout* colt, *fōd* fold, *ōd* old, *fōk* folk. (For other examples, see § 33. 3 and 41. 3.)

Note. There has apparently never been an *l* in the dialect forms *fōt* fault, *mēt* moult.

### ME. *r*.

§ 66. 1. ME. *r* has remained unchanged in all positions: *rāv* to tear, *rēn* rain, *rēnd* round, *būri* to bury, *kūdrt* quart, *mārikl* miracle, *fēðr* father, *for* for, *pār* pair.

2. ME. *r* + *s* has become *ss* > *s* in: *būst* burst (also *brast*), *kus* curse, *fūst* first, *wus* worse, *wūstid* worsted, *ōs* horse.

Note that we have *uas* hoarse, where the *r* has evidently never been inserted.

3. *r* has been added on in *provīnder* provender.

4. *r* is retained in certain cases where it has undergone metathesis in the lit. language: *brid* bird, *brun* burn, *krūdz* curds, *skrāf* scurf, *unlōrd* hundred.

### 3. Nasals.

#### ME. *m*.

§ 67. 1. ME. *m* has generally remained unchanged in all positions: *mēntin* mountain, *mān* moon, *gami* lame, *tūmbl* tumble, *krūm* crumb, *rām* room.

2. *mt* has become *nt*: *ant* ant.

Note. *m* is sometimes used by children to replace a *w* in the pronoun *we*: *mōr* we are, *mī sārnd* we shall not.

ME. *n*.

§ 68. 1. ME. *n* has usually remained unchanged in all positions: *nati* neat, *nīt* night, *nētār* nature, *ant* aunt, *kandl* candle, *nēn* noun, *opn* open, *sevn* seven. Note also *don* to put on, *lan* lend, *olin* holly.

2. ME. *n* has disappeared finally after *l*, *m*: *kil* kiln; *dam* damn, *im* hymn, *q̄təm* autumn.

3. ME. *n* has disappeared before *s* in unaccented syllables: *ɔ(t)sted* instead, *Robisn* Robinson, *Rolisn* Rawlinson.

4. ME. *n* has disappeared initially in: *ēpron* apron, *ūmpaiər* umpire.

5. An *n* has been inserted in an occasional pronunciation of the word *sosindzər* sausage. For further examples of this insertion of *n* in lit. Eng. see Jespersen, Eng. Studien 31, 239 ff.

ME. *ɣ*.

§ 69. ME. *ɣ* has remained unchanged: *fɣgər* finger, *lɣgər* longer, *bring* bring, *tɣgʒ* tongs, *ɣɣk* think, *sɣk* sunk.

Note. *ɣ* has become *n* in unaccented syllables: *fārðin* arthing, *rɣnin* running etc.

## 4. Labials.

ME. *p*.

§ 70. 1. ME. *p* has remained, as a rule, in all positions: *pad* path, *pē* pay, *pot* pot, *api* happy, *tfaptər* chapter, *doləp* a lump of dirt, *kup* cup, *lamp* lamp.

Note. *p* has never developed to *b* in *kopweb* cobweb.

2. ME. *p* has been dropped between *m* and *t*, and assimilated to a following *b*: *emti* empty, *temt* tempt, *kubərt* cupboard, *razbri* raspberry.

3. *p* is sometimes pronounced as *b* in *babtāz* baptize, perhaps owing to confusion with *babi* baby.

Note. See § 126 on gemination.

### ME. *b*.

§ 71. 1. ME. *b* has generally remained in all positions: *baþ* bath, *ball* battle, *bridz* bridge, *abit* habit, *bogart* ghost, *tēbl* table, *gab* impudence, *web* web.

Note that *b* is retained in *gimblit* gimlet.

2. ME. medial *mb* is retained, but in final *mb* the *b* is dropped: *nūmbər* number, *trembl* tremble, *þimbl* thimble; *kōm* comb, *lam* lamb, *tlām* climb. *sūmdi* somebody has been influenced by the lit. lang. (*sūmbri* is more usual).

Note. See § 126 on gemination.

### ME. *f*.

§ 72. 1. ME. *f* has usually remained in all positions: *fēðər* father, *flār* flower, *fleif* flesh, *ofər* offer, *difend* defend, *delf* stone quarry, *tfīf* chief, *wāf* wife.

2. ME. *f* has been dropped in: *bēli* bailiff, *dʒoli* jolly, *aykitfər* handkerchief, *ēpni* halfpenny.

3. ME. *f* has become *v* in *vat* vat.

### ME. *v*.

§ 73. 1. ME. *v* has generally remained in all positions: *vēn* vain, *vois* voice, *devl* devil, *livər* liver, *rivər* river, *wāvz* wives, *kēv* cave, *dhuv* glove, *siv* sieve.

2. ME. *v* has become *f* in: *fitf* vetch, *nefjū* nephew, *bilif* belief.

3. ME. *v* has been dropped in: *e* have, *gin* given, *ār* ever, *nār* never, *ōr* over, *puor* poor, and in the present and the imperative *gi* give. (But also *giv*, especially before a vowel.)



## 5. Dentals.

ME. *t*.

§ 74. 1. ME. *t* has generally remained in all positions: *tām* time, *tēm* tame, *tēbl* table, *piti* pity, *bāt* bite, *fert* fight, *gift* gift, *kumfört* comfort.

2. ME. *t* before *r*, or a syllable containing *r* appears as *ʃ*: *trāp* tripe, *trembl* tremble, *trī* tree, *bu(t)tər* butter, *ʃaptər* chapter, *wētər* water.

Note. Most of the words with *ʃ* are also sometimes pronounced with *þ*, although the former pron. is the usual one. In the ME. *noseþirles* we have also *nostrilz* and *nosþrilz*. For a similar development of ME. *d* see § 75, 3.

3. ME. *t* has been dropped between *s*, *f* and *l*, *m*, *n*: *þrosl* thrush, *rosl* wrestle, *wisl* whistle, *krisməs* Christmas, *fasn* fasten, *sofn* soften, — but *oftn* often (rarely used, and no doubt influenced by the spelling).

4. ME. *t* has been assimilated to a preceding *s* in the plurals *bīəs* beasts, *krusiz* crusts (also *krus*, *krusts*), and in the Singular and Plural *dzoīs* joist, *dzoīsiz* joists.

5. *t* has been added on in: *feznt* pheasant, *vizərt* visor and in few words after an *s*: *ərst* hearse, *twāst* twice, *wonst* once (also *twās*, *wons*); cp. Mod. Eng. *against*, *amidst*, *whilst* etc. and Cockney *acrost*.

6. ME. *t* appears as *d*.

a) At the end of many short words: *bud* but, *ged* get, *id* it, *led* let, *puđ* put, *đad* that, *wod* what etc.

b) In the corresponding present parts: *gedin* getting, *ledin* letting, *puđin* putting.

c) In the romanic word *dāmund* diamond.

7. ME. *t* appears as *r* in *prētəz* potatoes and occasionally in verbal forms ending in *t* preceded

by a short vowel, when the next word begins with a vowel. The *t* probably became *d* (see examples in 6 above) and then through lack of stress it developed to *r* (cp. intervocalic *d* > *r* in § 75. 4). But the *r* is not so frequent in the A. dialect as in some of the neighbouring dialects, and the *d* forms are always the more frequent. See Ellis, EEP. vol. v. p. 420.

*gūr up* get up, *lūr im* let him, *pūr id dēn* put it down.  
Also in *wor?* what?

8. ME. *t* before *ü* appears as *tf* in the French loanwords *fornitfər* furniture, *fōrtfōn* fortune. But note *nētər* nature, *pastər* pasture.

#### ME. *d*.

§ 75. 1. ME. *d* has generally remained in all positions: *damidz* damage, *dē* day, *dubl* double, *medisn* medicine, *nīdl* needle, *sadle* saddle, *dlad* glad, *gud* good, *rād* ride, *sād* side.

2. ME. *d* between vowel and *-er* has become *ð*: *faðər* father, *gaðər* gather, *mūðər* mother, *weðər* weather. But we have *pēðər* and *pēðər* powder, and *diðər*, *diðər* to shiver.

3. ME. initial *d* before *r*, and *d* after consonant + *-er* have generally become *ɖ*: *ɖragon* dragon, *ɖrāv* drive, *ɖrēn* drown, *ɖrop* drop, *bled-ɖər* bladder, *lad-ɖər* ladder, *tfildər* children, *unɖərd* hundred, *wunɖər* wonder (also *tfildər*, *unðərd*, *wunðər*).

Note 1. *mōrðər* murder has evidently never developed a *d* in the dialect.

Note 2. From the foregoing it would appear that all *d*'s before *r* in the dialect have a tendency to develop to *ð*. In 2 we have a number of words, which as in lit. Eng. really have developed *d* to *ð*, and in 3 a number, part of which have two pronunciations,

viz. *ȝ* and *ȝ*, and part of which have as yet only *ȝ*. The stages are thus perhaps  $d > ȝ > ȝ$ .

4. Intervocalic *d* in unaccented syllables has become *r* in: *anibri* anybody, *nōbri* nobody, *sumbri* somebody.

5. ME. *d* has become *t* in many preterites and past participles: *akst* asked, *lakt* looked, *taiart* tired, *ȝeft* shaved, *witfort* wet-shod. For other examples see Verbs.

Note. Occasionally *fild* field is pronounced *filt*.

6. ME. *d* after *n*, has disappeared by assimilation, before a following consonant, and finally: *ansəm* handsome, *ansər* answer, *bran* in bran-new, *granfeðər* grandfather, *grunsl* groundsel, *lanlord* landlord, — *bēn* bound, compelled, *fūn*, *fon* found, *grun* ground (vb.), *wun* wound (vb.).

7. *d* after *n*, has been added on, like in lit. English, in: *dȝōndərȝ* jaundice, *sēnd* sound.

Note. *d* has never been inserted in *bēn*, bound, about, going: *wor(t) bēn (t)du* what are you going to do; and in *lan* lend, *fūnər* thunder.

See § 126 on gemination.

### ME. *th*, *þ*, [*þ*].

§ 76. 1. ME. *þ* has generally remained unchanged: *þif* thief, *þyŋk* think, *þōrn* thorn, *baþ* bath, *mēþ* mouth, *tuþ* tooth.

2. ME. *þ* in pronoun stems has become *ð*: *ðū* thou, *thy*, *ðr* thee, *ðe* they, *ðis* this, *ðad* that, *ðūȝ* those.

Note 1. In the 2<sup>nd</sup> pers. Sing. of the pers. pron. used interrogatively and unemphatically we have *t*: *es-tə?* hast thou? *wil tə?* wilt thou?; but *wil ðā?* wilt thou?

Note 2. Here may be mentioned the (*t*) corresponding to the definite article in modern English. It is called by Wright (*Windhill Dialect*) »suspended *t*«. (See pron. Chap. I.) Before consonants

we have (*t*): *dēn* (*t*) *lōn* down the lane, *i(t)* *tēn* in the town. Before vowels the *the* is prefixed to the following word and loses its *e*. It preserves the original voiceless sound: *þōf* the half, *þōnd tʃap* the old man, *þōnli won* the only one.

This (*t*) also appears instead of other unstressed words: *ill e* (*t*) *du* it will have to do, *ār(t)* *gūin?* art thou going?

3. ME. *þ* has become *d*: *pað* path.

4. ME. *þ* has disappeared before *w* in: *wak* to beat severely, *witl* to cut away.

### ME. *th*, *þ*, [*ð*].

§ 77. 1. ME. *þ* [*ð*] has remained medially and finally: *brūðer* brother, *fārðin* farthing, *nōðer* neither, *bēð* bathe, *brīð* breathe, *sāð* scythe, *smūð* smooth, but *buðþ* both.

2. ME. *þ* [*ð*] + *es* has become *þs*: *baþs* baths, *smiþs* smiths, *mūnþs* months, *tlōþs* cloths.

3. ME. *þ* [*ð*] has become *d*: *fidl* fiddle.

4. ME. *þ* [*ð*] has been dropped in *thuðz* clothes.

## 6. Sibilants.

### ME. *s*.

§ 78. 1. ME. *s* has generally remained initially, medially before voiceless consonants, and finally: *sand* sand, *sārkl* circle, *sārmōn* sermon, *sōt* salt, *spek* speak, *stōn* stone, *strō* straw, *fasn* fasten, *kēnsil* council, *mūsl* muscle, *rosl* wrestle, *lesn* lesson, *mēs*n mason, *fēs* face, *gis* geese, *kis* kiss, *mēs* mouse, *vois* voice.

2. ME. medial *s* before voiced consonants and when in OE. and AF. it was between vowels appears as *z*: *bīzom* besom, *bīznis* business, *feznt* pheasant, *froz*n frozen, *prīzn* prison, *vīzit* visit, *uðbūnd* husband.

3. ME. *s* when it is final, after voiced cons. and vowels or has become final in consequence

of the end *-e* not being pronounced appears as *z*, *ʒ*: *bedʒ* beds, *fiʎdʒ* fields, *penʒ* pens, *dēʒ* days, *dʌʒ* does, *ēziʒ* houses, *prēʒ* praise, *lōʒ* lose, *tʃiʒ* cheese, *tlwəʒ* clothes.

4. ME. *s* + *e*, *i* before vowel appears as *f*: *ʃuər* sure, *ʃuɡər* sugar, *miʃən* mission, *nēʃən* nation, *ʃpeʃəl* special, *menʃən* mention, and sometimes in *kweʃən* question (usually *kwestʃən*).

5. ME. *s* + *e*, *i* before vowel appears as *ʒ*: *mezər* measure (also *mezər*), *pleʒər* pleasure.

6. ME. *s* has been dropped, as in lit. English, where it has been mistaken for a plural ending: *peɪ* pea, *riɪl* riddle, *tʃəri* cherry.

#### ME. *sch*, *sh* [ʃ].

§ 79. 1. ME. *sch*, *sh* [ʃ] appear in all positions as *f*: *ʃadə* shadow, *ʃiʃ* ship, *ʃʊt* shut, *bʊʃl* bushel, *ʃleʃ* flesh, *wəʃ* (wash), *wiʃ* wish.

2. ME. *sch* has become *s*: *es-midin* ash-pit.

#### ME. *ch* [tʃ].

§ 80. 1. ME. *ch* [tʃ] appears in all positions as *tʃ*: *tʃap* chap, *tʃiən* chain, *tʃi:k* cheek, *tʃk* chalk, *tʃortʃ* church, *bʊtʃər* butcher, *bʊtʃ* bitch, *bleitʃ* bleach, *dātʃ* and *dʊtʃ* ditch, *latʃ* latch, *ri:tʃ* rich, *watʃ* watch, *sʊtʃ* seek.

2. ME. *lch* [ltʃ], *nch* [ntʃ] have remained as *ltʃ*, *ntʃ*: *belʃ* belch, *benʃ* bench, *brantʃ* branch, *intʃ* inch. But the pron. with *lʃ*, *nʃ* is just as frequent, and has of course come from the lit language.

3. ME. *ch* appears sometimes as *dʒ*, sometimes as *tʃ*. We have *dʒ* in: *kārtridʒ* cartridge, *grʌdʒ* grudge and *tʃ* in: *kabitʃ* cabbage, *ostritʃ* ostrich.

ME. *g, j, dge* [dʒ].

§ 81. 1. ME. *g, j, dge* [dʒ] appears in all positions as *dʒ*: *dʒenərəl* general, *dʒəl* jail, *dʒoɪn* join, *dʒudʒ* judge, *indʒən* engine, *edʒ* hedge, *bridʒ* bridge, *wedʒ* wedge.

2. ME. *nge* appears as *ndʒ* and *nʒ*. The only rule that can be laid down is that at the end of words the pron. *nʒ* is more frequent, while medially *ndz* prevails. But the rule is not a hard and fast one: *dēndʒər*, *dēnʒər* danger, *strēndʒ*, *strēnʒ* strange, *indʒ*, *inʒ* hinge, *krinʒ* cringe, *sinʒ* singe.

## 7. Palatals.

ME. *ʒ, gh* [ʃʹ].

§ 82. ME. *ʒ, gh* [ʃʹ] has disappeared, the preceding vowel being lengthened: *brīt* bright, *līt* light, *nīt* night, *rīt* right, *weīt* weight.

Note. For ME. *ʒ, y* [j] see § 64, under the semivowels.

## 8. Gutturals.

ME. *c, k*.

§ 83. 1. ME. *c, k* appears in all positions in the dialect as *k*: *kon* can, *kouđ* cold, *krɪp* creep, *kwaliti* quality, *kwađril* quadrille, *apkar* anchor, *likər* liquor, *uɲkl* uncle, *bək* bake, *bruk* brook, *mək* and *mē* make, *tek* and *te* take, *wɔk* walk.

2. ME. *k* has disappeared, as in lit. Eng., before *n*: *nāf* knife, *neɪđ* knead, *nē* knee, *nō* know.

3. ME. *k* has disappeared before *l*: *mɪsl* muscle.

4. ME. *k* has become *t* before *l*: *tlam*, *tlem* to famish, *tlēđ* cloud, *tlən* clean, *tlō* claw, *tlomp* to walk

heavily, *tlōp* cloth; *kotl* cockle, *sitl* sickle, *twintl* twinkle, *pītlz* pickles.

Note. Probably out of confusion with this last group we have an occasional pronunciation of bottle and little as *bokl*, *likl*.

5. *k* has been dropped before *-ed* in *krūt* crooked; it is also sometimes dropped in *mē* to make, *te* to take.

Note. The *k* is retained in *aks*, *akst* ask, asked in consequence of the metathesis.

6. ME. *sk* = OE. *sc* before back vowels, Scand. *sk*, appears as *sk*: *skab* scab, *skil* skill, *skīn* skin, *skrūf* scurf, *skū* school, *skolār* scholar. Also finally in *ask* (ME. *harsk*) dry, rough = NE. *harsh*.

7. *k* has become *g* in *bleg-bri* blackberry and sometimes in *blegbörn* Blackburn.

8. Note that differently from the lit. language we have *sītʃ* seek and *wārtʃ* work in *tup-wārtʃ* tooth-ache. See § 80. where ME. *tš* is treated.

### ME. *g*.

§ 84. 1. ME. *g* has generally remained unchanged in all positions: *gam* fun, *goūd* gold, *gras* grass, *fiγγər* finger, *wagin* waggon, *fog* fog, *leg* leg, *siγγ* sing.

Note. For the glide sound before and after *g*, see Chap. I.

2. ME. *g* has become *d* before *l*: *dlad* glad, *dlas* glass, *dlopnt* terrified (Scand.), *dlūmpi* sulky, morose.

3. ME. *g* has disappeared before *n*: *nō* gnaw.

### ME. *h*.

§ 85. 1. ME. *h* has generally disappeared: *apn* happen, *ōl* hole, *ot* hot, *nūt* nut, *wen* when, *wēr* where.

Note. The *h* is sometimes kept when the word is strongly emphasised, just as it is sometimes supplied where in OE. and lit. Eng. it does not exist.

2. ME. *h* in the group *gh* has disappeared medially and finally: *eit* eight, *feit* fight, *lit* light, *nit* night, *doūter* daughter, *olō* hollow, *ənū* enough.

Note. For other examples, see the ME. diphthongs.

3. ME *h* in the group *gh* is represented in a few words by *f*: *draft* draught, *kof* cough, *laf* laugh, *ruf* rough, *tuf* tough, and occasionally in *ənuf* enough, and *bruf* through.

4. In certain words *h* has apparently been replaced by *j*: *jārb* herb, *jed* head, *juər* hair; in others it seems to have been replaced by *w*: *wum* home etc. In these cases the *h* was first dropped; then the initial vowel was diphthongised and the accent shifted. See § 37. 1 b. 51. 2. 63. 1 d.

## 9. Gemination.

§ 85a. Gemination of consonants occurs to a great extent in the dialect. The consonants most geminated are *p*, *b*, *t*, *d*, *m*, *k*, *g*.

The most frequent sources of gemination are the pres.-part. termination *-in* and the terminations *-in*, *-ər*, and *-ə* (*əl*). Gemination only occurs after a short syllable.

*flit-tin* removing, *rob-bin* robbing, *skrat-tin* scratching, *swap-pin* changing, *swim-min* swimming, but *rātin* writing, *untin* hunting.

*bled-dər* bladder, *bob-bər* a kind of large marble, *bu(t)-tər* butter, *be(t)-tər* better, *drum-mər* drummer, *nok-kər* knocker, *rūb-bər* one who rubs, *sok-kər* a hard blow.

*ap-pə* apple, *kop-pə* Coppull (a neighbouring village), *top-pin* the top (hair) of the head.



But we have *bigər* bigger, *rɪbər* Indiarubber (this latter though is no doubt owing to the influence of the literary language), *itin* hitting.

### 10. Metathesis.

§ 85b. Metathesis has not taken place in *brid* bird, *brun* to burn, *krud* curd, *skrāf* scurf.

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## Accidence.

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### Chapter VI.

#### Nouns.

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##### 1. Formation of the plural.

§ 86. a) Plurals in *-iz*, *-z* (*z*), *-s*.

1. Nouns ending in *s*, *f*, *z*, *ʒ* add *iz* (*iʒ*) to form the plural: *fēs* face *fēsiz*, *las* lass *lasiz* (but *ēs* house *ēziz*), *watf* watch *watfiz*, *nōz* nose *nōsiz* (also *nōs* pl. *nōsiz*), *edʒ* edge *edʒiz*.

2. Nouns ending in a vowel or voiced cons. other than *z*, *ʒ* add *z* (*z*): *dē* day *dez*, *dlʊv* glove *dlʊvz*, *dog* dog *dogz*, *lad* lad *ladz* (but *mēp* mouth, pl. *mēpʒ*).

3. Nouns ending in a voiceless cons. other than *s*, *f*, add *s*: *baʃ* bath *baʃs*, *bāk* book *bāks*, *kap* cap *kaps*, *rat* rat *rats*, *rūf* roof *rūfs*.

4. Nouns ending in *f* preceded by a vowel which was long in OE. (except *u*), and nouns originally ending in *lf* change the *f* into *v* and add *z* in the plural: *lāf* life *lāvz*, *lōf* loaf *lōvz*, *nāf* knife *nāvz*, *þīf* thief *þīvz*, *wāf* wife *wāvz*, *ōf* and *ēf* half *ōvz* and *ēvz*, *kōf* calf *kōvz* (but *ūfs* hoofs, *rūfs* roofs, *stafs* staffs, *tlifs* cliffs).

b) Plurals in *n*:

*ī* eye *in*, *fū* shoe *fūn*.

c) Plural in *-r*:

*třalt* child has plural *třildřar*.

d) Plurals with Umlaut: *fřt* foot *fřt*, *gřs* goose *gřs*, *lřs* louse *lřs*, *mon* man *men*, *mřs* mouse *mřs*, *třp* tooth *třp*, *wymřn* woman *wimřn*.

e) Sing. and plur. alike: *břs* beast, beasts, *es* ash, ashes, *fřf* fish, fishes, *fřp* sheep.

Nouns expressing time, space, weight, measure and number when preceded by a cardinal number have plural and singular alike: *fřv mřnř* five months, *řrř wik* three weeks, *ten mřl* ten miles, *fřr třn* four tons, *siks přnd*, *řns* six pounds, ounces, *fřr skřr* four score.

f) Nouns only used in the plural: *aksřnz* banns of marriage, *botřnz* sediment, *lřts* lights or lungs of animals, *mřzłz* measles, *sřđřrz* scissors, *trřzřrz* trousers, *třngz* tongs.

We have a double plural in *galřsiz* braces.

## 2. Formation of the Genitive.

§ 87. a) The Gen. is formed as in modern English: *mř fřđřrz tlogz* my father's clogs.

b) When the Gen. is not followed by another noun the gen. sing. and plural have the same form as the nom. plural.

Exceptions are the irregular plurals: *wřfs* wife's, *monz* man's, *wimřnz* women's etc.

## Chapter VII.

## Adjectives.

§ 88. The comparative is formed by adding *-ər* and the superlative by adding *-ist* to the positive. This method is adopted in words of two and even more syllables. In certain cases comparison is made by means of *muər* and *muəst* or *muist*, and sometimes this method and the terminal method are used together. There does not seem to be any fixed rule for the employment of *muər* and *muəst*.

*lugg* long, *luggər* longer, *luggist* longest.

*strugg* strong, *muər struggər*, *muist struggist*.

*bjätiful* beautiful, *bjätifulər*, *bjätifulist*.

*färp* sharp, *färpər*, *färpist*.

*dīp* deep, *dīpər*, *dīpist*.

*tlevər* clever, *tlevərər*, *tlevərīst*.

§ 89. The following adjectives are compared irregularly:

<i>bad</i> bad	}	<i>wus</i> , <i>wor</i>	<i>wūst</i>
<i>il</i> ill			
<i>fār</i> far		<i>fārðər</i> , <i>fōrðər</i>	<i>fārðist</i> , <i>fōrðist</i>
<i>lēt</i> late		<i>lētər</i>	<i>lētīst</i> , <i>last</i>
<i>lītl</i> little		<i>les</i>	<i>līst</i>
<i>moni</i> many		<i>muər</i>	<i>muəst</i> , <i>muist</i>
<i>nīər</i> near		<i>nīərər</i> , <i>nar</i>	<i>nīərīst</i> , <i>nekst</i> .

Note. Instead of using very = *veri* we sometimes repeat the adj. in this way:

*əz dārک əz dārک kn bī* = as dark as possible, very dark.

*əz fārپ əz fārپ kn bī* = very sharp.

## Chapter VIII.

## Articles.

§ 90. a) The indefinite article both before vowels and consonants is *a*.

*a ap-pə* an apple, *a q̄s* a horse, *a tēbl* a table.

b) The definite article is *(t)*, *(t)ɸ*, or *ɸ* (see § 76).

1. Before consonants we have *(t)*: *(t)mon* the man, *ō (t)r̄uk* all the lot, *(t)tēbl* the table, *(t)wāf* the wife.

2. Before a vowel generally *(t)ɸ*: *tə (t)ɸq̄s* to the horse, *wi (t)ɸārdist luk* with the hardest luck. But at the beginning of a sentence we have *ɸ* alone: *ɸēs* the house.

3. After *uə* who, *wod* what, in expressions denoting anger, surprise etc. *ðə* is used before consonants, *ði* before vowels: *wod ðə devl ür(t) duin?* what the devil are you doing? *wod ði el?* what the hell?

We have the old form of one in *(t)tōn* the one of two. The unaccented form is *ən*: *id wər ə gud ən* it was a good one.

## Chapter IX.

## Pronouns.

## 1. Personal.

## § 91.

## First Person.

	Singular.		Plural.
Nom.	<i>ā (a)</i>		<i>wē (wi)</i>
Obj.	<i>mī (mi)</i>		<i>uz (əz).</i>

## Second Person.

Nom.	<i>ðā (ða, tə)</i>	<i>jō (jə)</i>
Obj.	<i>ðr (ði)</i>	<i>jō (jə).</i>

## Third Person.

		Singular.		
		Masc.	Neut.	Fem.
Nom.	ɪ		<i>id</i> ( <i>it</i> )	<i>ā</i> ( <i>u</i> , <i>fā</i> )
Obj.	<i>im</i>		<i>id</i>	<i>ār</i> ( <i>or</i> ).
		Plural.		
Nom.		<i>ðē</i> ( <i>ði</i> )		
Obj.		<i>um</i> ( <i>om</i> ).		

The weak forms are in parenthesis.

Examples: *av nō tām* I have no time; *bud ā ev* but I have; *gi mi ə tūtri* give me a few; *giv id mī nod im* give it to me, not to him.

*wə wil?* *wā wē wil* who will? why we will; *wis nod* we shall not. The strong form *wē* has probably been formed from analogy of *ðē*.

*ī akst uz* he asked us; *ī tuk id ōf əz* he took it from us. The *z* in *uz* is never voiceless as in lit. English.

*wil ðā?* wilt thou?; *ðā mōrnd* thou must not. *tə* is only used after the auxiliary verb. *es tə fon id?* hast thou found it?; *its ði əz a want* it is you whom I want.

The obj. forms are used in all persons after the verb to be: *its mī* it is I, *its ði* it is thou, *its im* it is he etc. In such phrases as *im ən mī went las nīt* he and I went last night, they are also used when separated from the verb. (See Sweet NEG. § 1085.)

*jō fəd guə* you ought to go; *jō mon guə* you must go.

The pronoun of the second pers. sing. *ðā*, *ði* etc. is still generally used. But strangers, grown up people and masters are addressed as *jō*.

In the third person we have only one form in the Masc. In the Neut. «it» appears to be only used in combination with «is»: *its mām* it is mine. In the Fem. the

OE. *hēo* has developed regularly to *ū* (*u*). *hēo* > *heō* > *hō* > *ū*. The form *fə* is not often used and is always unaccented.

Examples of the third person are: *ɪ ed tə guə* he had to go; *ez ɪ sɪn ði* has he seen you; *wɪl tə sel id im* wilt thou sell it to him; *id wər stārft tə(t) dɔ̃p* it was starved to death; *ūz nod wɪl* she is not well; *u ed tə* she had to; *id wɔ̃rnd fər im, id wər fər ɔ̃r* it wasn't for him, it was for her; *ði en nɔ̃n* they have none; *wēs nod bʊd ðe wɪl* we shall not but they will; *a toud əm (t) kʊm* I told them to come. Cp. § 76. Note 2.

The obj. case is often used reflexively: *ɪ wɔ̃ft im* he washed himself; *a sɪt mi dɛn* I sat down; *es tə dres(t) ði* have you dressed yourself.

The obj. case is also used as subject when the subject of the principal sentence is separated from the verb by a subordinate sentence: *im əz ā akst nɔ̃d noʊt əbɛt id* he whom I asked knew nothing of it. (See above and Sweet NEG. § 1085.)

## 2. Possessive.

### § 92. a) Conjoint:

<i>mā</i> ( <i>mi</i> ) my	<i>ā̃r</i> ( <i>wər</i> ) our
<i>ðā</i> ( <i>ði</i> ) thy	<i>jōr</i> ( <i>jər</i> ) your
<i>ɪz, iz</i> his	<i>ðər</i> ( <i>ðər</i> ) their.
<i>id</i> its	
<i>ɔ̃r</i> ( <i>ər</i> ) her	

The weak forms are in parenthesis. *wər* has been formed from *wi* after the analogy of *jər*. It is not so often used as the other weak forms.

Examples: *its mā tɔ̃rn* it is my turn; *te ði tām* take thy time (go slowly); *ɪ sed id wər ðər ɔ̃n fɔ̃t* he said it was

their own fault; *iz fēðar* his father; *id jed wärtfiȝ* its head aches; *estə sin id fēðar* have you seen its father.

b) Absolute:

<i>mān</i> mine	<i>ārȝ</i> ours
<i>ðān</i> thine	<i>jōrȝ</i> yours
<i>iz, iz</i> his	<i>ðarȝ</i> theirs.
<i>idȝ</i> its	
<i>arȝ</i> hers	

*iz ðad ārȝ* is that ours? *noā, its jōrȝ* No it is yours.

### 3. Reflexive.

§ 93.

	1st. Pers.	
Sing.	Plural.	
<i>misel</i>	<i>ārsel(ȝ) (wārselȝ).</i>	
	2nd. Pers.	
<i>ðisel</i>	<i>jārsel(ȝ).</i>	
	3rd. Pers.	
Masc.	Neut.	Fem.
<i>izsel</i>	<i>idsel</i>	<i>arsel.</i>
Plural.		
<i>ðārsel(ȝ).</i>		

The accent is always on the second syllable. The plural forms are used both with and without the ending *ȝ*.

*wārsel(ȝ)* has been formed from the weak possessive and is not often used.

For remarks on the relative use of these and other forms in other dialects see Wright, Windhill Dialect § 353.

### 4. Demonstrative.

§ 94.	Sing. <i>ðis</i> this	<i>ðad</i> that	<i>jon</i> you
	Plur. <i>ðiȝ</i> these	<i>ðem, ðuȝ</i> those	<i>jon</i> you.



*ðis, ðiz* are often followed by *tar*; *ðad, ðem, ðuz* by *ðtar* there. *ðiz tar laðz iz bin steilin ap-poz* these lads have been stealing apples; *ðem ðtarz nod wuþ evin* those are not worth having.

*ðuz, ðem* are each equally often used.

### 5. Interrogative.

§ 95.	Masc. and Fem.	Neut.
Nom. Obj.	<i>uə, ū</i> who	<i>wod, wor</i> what
Gen.	<i>uəz</i> whose	<i>witf</i> which.

*ū* and *wor* are rarely used.

### 6. Relative.

§ 96.	Masc. and Fem.	Neut.
	<i>əz, uə, wod</i>	<i>əz, wod.</i>

When the antecedent is not expressed *uə, wod* are used: *a nō wod ða mēnz* I know what you mean.

*τ touđ mi uə τđ gin id tu* he told me whom he had given it to.

When the antecedent is expressed *əz* (and sometimes *wod*) are used for all genders:

*ə mon əz ā sīđ* a man whom I saw.

*im əz touđ mi* he who told me.

*ðem triz əz wər kūt dēn* those trees which were cut down.

*id wər im wod akst mi* it was he who asked me.

*ðem ēzið wod wər brunt dēn* those houses which were burnt down.

*əz* is the conjunction which has come to be used as a relative pronoun. Cp. «that gentleness as I was wont to have» Julius Caesar I 2. 32. See Franz, Shakesp. Gramm. § 207.

## 7. Indefinite.

§ 97. *sum* some, *symbri* somebody, *sumət* something, *oūt* anything, *noūt* nothing.

*ənā*, *ənuf* enough. *đi wər ənā on əm* = there were enough of them.

*tōtri*, *tātri* a few, *evri* every, *ō* all, *els* else, *suf*, *sitf* such, *ōđər*, *ēđər* either, *nōđər*, *nēđər* neither, *uđər* other.

*ani* any, *anibri* anybody, *moni* many.

*(t)ōn* one of two or more.

*nō* no, *nōbri* nobody, *nōn* none. *nōn* is often used instead of *nod* not: *am nōn bēn (t)đə đad* I am not going to do that.

## Chapter X.

## Numerals.

§ 97a.	Cardinal.	Ordinal.
	<i>won</i> one	<i>fʌst</i>
	<i>tū</i> two	<i>sekənd</i>
	<i>þri</i> three	<i>þārd</i>
	<i>fōr</i> four	<i>fōrþ</i>
	<i>fāv</i> five	<i>fifþ</i>
	<i>siks</i> six	etc.
	<i>sevn</i> seven	
	<i>eit</i> eight	
	<i>nān</i> nine	
	<i>ten</i> ten	
	<i>ilevn</i> eleven	
	<i>twelv</i> twelve	
	<i>þār(t)-tīn</i> thirteen	
	<i>twenti</i> twenty	
	<i>fōr(t)-tī</i> forty	
	<i>uŋdərđ</i> hundred	
	<i>þēznd</i> thousand.	

Fractional numbers are:

*ēf*, *ōf* half, *þārd* third, *kwārter* quarter.

Multiplicatives are:

*wons* once, *dubl* double, *twās* twice, *þri tanz* three times.

In composition we have:

*tōþri*, *tōþri*, *tāþri*, *tūþri* two or three, few.

*gi mi a tōþri* give me a few.

## Chapter XI.

### Verbs.

#### A. Strong Verbs.

§ 98. The preterite of strong verbs is formed by means of gradation (Ablaut). Many verbs which were strong in OE. have now become weak and a great many have double forms, strong and weak. The same form often serves both for pret. and past partic.

The verbs are here divided into classes as given in Sievers «Ags. Gramm.» § 382—392. Owing to the multitude and variety of developments it was impossible to divide them into classes where each verb should have the same characteristics as the others in the same class. Hence in some divisions the OE. vowels are represented by various developments, but the arrangement seemed to be the best for the purpose of looking up any particular verb.

#### Class I.

§ 99.	Inf.	Pret. Sg.	Pret. Pl.	P. P.
	OE. <i>ī</i>	<i>ā</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>i</i>
	ME. <i>ī</i>	<i>ō</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>i</i> .

<i>ād</i> (also <i>id</i> ) hide	<i>id</i>	<i>id</i>
<i>bāt</i> bite	<i>bōt</i>	<i>bōt, bitn</i>
<i>dāv</i> dive	<i>dōv, dāvd</i>	<i>dōv, dāvd</i>
<i>ḡrāv</i> drive	<i>ḡrōv</i>	<i>ḡrōv, ḡrivn</i>
<i>rād</i> ride	<i>rōd</i>	<i>rōd, ridn</i>
<i>rāt</i> write	<i>rōt</i>	<i>rōt, ritn</i>
<i>rāv</i> rive	<i>rōv</i>	<i>rōv</i>
<i>rāz</i> rise	<i>rōz</i>	<i>rōz</i>
<i>strād</i> stride	<i>strōd</i>	<i>strōd</i>
<i>stræc</i> strike	<i>strōk, struk</i>	<i>struk</i>
<i>fāet, fit</i> cacare	<i>fīt</i>	<i>fīt</i>
<i>ḡrāv</i> thrive	<i>ḡrōv</i>	<i>ḡrivn.</i>

*ād* (OE. *hȳdan*) and *dāv* (OE. *dȳfan*) were weak in OE. *rāv* (Scand. *rīfa*) and *ḡrāv* (Scand. *ḡrīfa*) are of Scand. origin.

## Class II.

§ 100.	Inf.	Pret. Sg.	Pret. Pl.	P. P.
	OE. <i>ēo</i>	<i>ēa</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>o</i>
	ME. <i>ē</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>ē.</i>
<i>flæe</i>	fly	<i>flū</i>		<i>flōūn</i>
<i>frīz</i>	freeze	<i>frōz</i>		<i>frozn, frōz</i>
<i>krīp</i>	creep	<i>krōp, krept</i>		<i>kropn, krōp, krept</i>
<i>fāt</i>	shoot	<i>fot</i>		<i>fot</i>
<i>tʃuʒ</i>	choose	<i>tʃūzd</i>		<i>tʃozn.</i>

The vowel of the pret. has not been at all regularly developed but has probably been influenced by the verbs with similar pret. in class V.

## Class III.

§ 101. There were four divisions in OE.

1. Verbs having a nasal + cons.
2. Verbs having *l* + cons.

3. Verbs having *r, h* + cons.

4. Verbs having a mute or spirant + cons.

All verbs in 2. 3. 4. have now become weak except *feit* fight and *brast* burst.

§ 102.	Inf.	Pret. Sg.	Pret. Pl.	P. P.
	1. OE. <i>i</i>	<i>a, o</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>u</i>
	ME. <i>i</i>	<i>ǎ, ǒ</i>	<i>u, o</i>	<i>u, o, ou.</i>
a)	<i>bigin</i> begin	<i>bigun</i>	<i>bigun</i>	
	<i>bānd</i> bind	<i>bun</i>	<i>bun</i>	
	<i>briyg</i> bring	<i>bruyg, broūt</i>	<i>bruyg, broūt</i>	
	<i>fānd</i> find	<i>fun, fon</i>	<i>fun, fon</i>	
	<i>grānd</i> grind	<i>grun</i>	<i>grun</i>	
	<i>rūn</i> run	<i>rūn</i>	<i>rūn</i>	
	<i>spīn</i> spin	<i>spun</i>	<i>spun</i>	
	<i>swim</i> swim	<i>swum</i>	<i>swum</i>	
	<i>wīn</i> win	<i>wun</i>	<i>wun</i>	
b)	<i>drīnk</i> drink	<i>druyk</i>	<i>druyk</i>	
	<i>rīng</i> ring, wring	<i>ruyg</i>	<i>ruyg</i>	
	<i>sīng</i> sing	<i>suyg</i>	<i>suyg</i>	
	<i>sīyk</i> sink	<i>suyk</i>	<i>suyk</i>	
	<i>slīyk</i> slink	<i>sluyk</i>	<i>sluyk</i>	
	<i>sprīng</i> spring	<i>spruyg</i>	<i>spruyg</i>	
	<i>stīng</i> sting	<i>stuyg</i>	<i>stuyg</i>	
	<i>stīyk</i> stink	<i>stuyk</i>	<i>stuyk</i>	
	<i>swīng</i> swing	<i>swuyg</i>	<i>swuyg</i>	
	<i>tlīng</i> cling	<i>tluyg</i>	<i>tluyg</i>	
	<i>frīyk</i> shrink	<i>fruyk</i>	<i>fruyk.</i>	
2.	Inf.	Pret.	Pret. Pl.	P. P.
	OE. <i>eo</i>	<i>ea</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>o</i>
	ME. <i>i, ē</i>	<i>au</i>	<i>ou</i>	<i>ou.</i>
	<i>feit</i> fight	<i>foūt</i>		<i>foūt foū(t)n.</i>

3.	Inf.	Pret.	Pret. Pl.	P. P.
	OE. <i>e</i>	<i>æ</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>o</i>
	ME. <i>e</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>o.</i>
	<i>brast</i> burst	<i>brastid</i>		<i>brosn, brastid.</i>

The present *brast* has apparently been influenced by the pret. See Sweet NEG. § 1354.

## Class IV.

§ 103.	Inf.	Pret. Sg.	Pret. Pl.	P. P.
1.	OE. <i>e</i>	<i>æ</i>	<i>ǣ</i>	<i>o</i>
	ME. <i>ē, ê</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>ō.</i>
	<i>breik</i> break	<i>brök</i>		<i>brokn</i>
	<i>steil</i> steal	<i>stöl</i>		<i>stöl, stoān</i>
	<i>tār</i> tear	<i>tōr</i>		<i>tōr, tōrn</i>
	<i>wār</i> wear	<i>wōr</i>		<i>wōr, wōrn.</i>

*wār* (OE. *werian*) was originally weak.

## 2. Before nasal

	OE. <i>i (u)</i>	<i>ī, a</i>	<i>ī</i>	<i>u</i>
	ME. <i>i (u)</i>	<i>ī, a</i>	<i>ī</i>	<i>u, o.</i>
	<i>kūm</i> come	<i>kām, kūm</i>		<i>kam, kūm.</i>

## Class V.

§ 104.	Inf.	Pret. Sg.	Pret. Pl.	P. P.
	OE. <i>e</i>	<i>æ</i>	<i>ǣ</i>	<i>e</i>
	ME. <i>ē, ê</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>ē.</i>
1.	<i>neid</i> knead	<i>neīdīd</i>		<i>nodn</i>
	<i>speik</i> speak	<i>spōk</i>		<i>spokn, spōk</i>
	<i>treid</i> tread	<i>trod</i>		<i>trod</i>
	<i>wetv</i> weave	<i>wetvd</i>		<i>wovn, wetvd</i>
	<i>et</i> eat	<i>ēt</i>		<i>etn.</i>
2.	<i>ged</i> get	<i>gīt</i>		<i>getn</i>
	<i>gi, giv</i> give	<i>gīv</i>		<i>gīn</i>
	<i>sī</i> see	<i>sīd</i>		<i>sīm, sīn</i>
	<i>sīt</i> sit	<i>sīt</i>		<i>sīt, sīt.</i>

3. <i>stik</i> stick	<i>stuk</i>	<i>stuk</i>
<i>dig</i>	<i>duḡ</i>	<i>duḡ.</i>

The two latter verbs were weak in OE.

## Class VI.

§ 105. Inf.	Pret. Sg.	Pret. Pl.	P. P.
OE. <i>a</i>	<i>ō</i>	<i>ō</i>	<i>a</i>
ME. <i>ā</i>	<i>ō</i>	<i>ō</i>	<i>a.</i>
<i>drō</i> draw	<i>drōd</i>		<i>drōn</i>
<i>stand</i> stand	<i>stud</i>		<i>stud</i>
<i>tek</i> take	<i>tuk</i>		<i>tuk, ten</i>
<i>swōr</i> swear	<i>swōr</i>		<i>swōr.</i>

## Class VII (reduplicating verbs).

§ 106. Inf.	Pret.	P. P.
OE. <i>a</i> ( <i>o</i> )	<i>e</i>	<i>a</i> ( <i>o</i> )
<i>ayg, eyg</i> hang	<i>ayg</i>	<i>ayg</i>
OE. <i>ǣ</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>ǣ</i>
<i>led</i> let	<i>lēt</i>	<i>lēt, letn</i>
OE. <i>ea</i> ( <i>a</i> )	<i>ēo</i>	<i>ea</i> ( <i>a</i> )
<i>fō, fō</i> fall	<i>fōd</i>	<i>fōn, fōn, fōd</i>
OE. <i>ēa</i>	<i>ēo</i>	<i>ēa</i>
<i>bjed</i> beat		<i>bjetn</i>
OE. <i>ō</i>	<i>ēo</i>	<i>ō</i>
<i>grō</i> grow	<i>grōd</i>	<i>grōn</i>
OE. <i>ā</i>	<i>ēo</i>	<i>a</i>
<i>blō</i> blow	<i>blōd</i>	<i>blōn, blōd</i>
<i>mō</i> mow	<i>mōd</i>	<i>mōn, mōd</i>
<i>nō</i> know	<i>nōd</i>	<i>nōn, nōd.</i>

## B. Weak Verbs.

§ 107. The weak verbs are classified according to the formation of the pret. and past participle. 1. *-id*,

2. *-d*, 3. *-t*. These three main classes are then subdivided according to the origin and development of the verbs. Only those verbs are included which are different from literary English or are interesting from other points of view.

## Class I.

§ 108. Pret and p. p. in *-id*:

Inf.	Pret.	P. P.
<i>fret</i> fret	<i>fret-tid</i>	<i>fret-tid</i>
<i>līt</i> light	<i>lītīd, let</i>	<i>lītīd, let</i>
<i>melt</i> melt	<i>meltīd</i>	<i>meltīd</i>
<i>sūt</i> suit	<i>sūtīd</i>	<i>sūtīd</i>
<i>trēt</i> treat	<i>trētīd</i>	<i>trētīd</i>
<i>wet</i> wet	<i>wet-tid, wet</i>	<i>wet-tid, wet</i>
<i>ōud</i> hold	<i>ōudīd</i>	<i>ōudīd.</i>

## Class II.

§ 109. Pret. and p. p. in *-d*.

a) Verbs in which the vowel remains unchanged:

Inf.	Pret.	P. P.
<i>brā</i> brew	<i>brād</i>	<i>brād</i>
<i>hār</i> hear	<i>hārd</i>	<i>hārd</i>
<i>lē</i> lay	<i>lēd</i>	<i>lēd</i>
<i>mē, mēk</i> make	<i>mēd</i>	<i>mēd</i>
<i>rā</i> rue	<i>rād</i>	<i>rād</i>
<i>se</i> say	<i>sed</i>	<i>sed</i>
<i>sō</i> sew, sow	<i>sōd</i>	<i>sōd, sōn</i>
<i>fō</i> shew	<i>fōd</i>	<i>fōd, fōn</i>
<i>fū</i> shoe	<i>fūd</i>	<i>fūd</i>
<i>tfū</i> chew	<i>tfūd</i>	<i>tfūd.</i>

b) Verbs with unchanged vowel but with original *t*, *d*, in the stem:



Inf.	Pret.	P. P.
<i>put</i> put	<i>put</i>	<i>put</i>
<i>wed</i> wed	<i>wed</i>	<i>wed.</i>

c) Verbs which change the vowel and add *d* to the stem:

Inf.	Pret.	P. P.
<i>sel</i> sell	<i>soud</i>	<i>soud</i>
<i>tel</i> teli	<i>toūd</i>	<i>toūd</i>
<i>tām, tīm</i> pour out	<i>tāmd, tēmd</i>	<i>tēmd, tāmđ.</i>

d) Verbs which change the vowel and have original *d* in the stem:

Inf.	Pret.	P. P.
<i>blīd</i> bleed	<i>bled</i>	<i>bled</i>
<i>brīd</i> breed	<i>bred</i>	<i>bred</i>
<i>fid</i> feed	<i>fed</i>	<i>fed.</i>

### Class III.

§ 110. a) Verbs with unchanged vowel and original *t, d*, in the stem:

Inf.	Pret.	P. P.
<i>bend</i> bend	<i>bent</i>	<i>bent</i>
<i>bild</i> build	<i>bilt</i>	<i>bilt</i>
<i>it</i> hit	<i>it</i>	<i>it</i>
<i>kost</i> cost	<i>kost</i>	<i>kost</i>
<i>kut</i> cut	<i>kut</i>	<i>kut</i>
<i>nit</i> knit	<i>nit</i>	<i>nit</i>
<i>ort</i> hurt	<i>ort</i>	<i>ort</i>
<i>send</i> send	<i>sent</i>	<i>sent</i>
<i>skrat</i> scratch	<i>skrat</i>	<i>skrat</i>
<i>spend</i> spend	<i>spent</i>	<i>spent</i>
<i>swet</i> sweat	<i>swet</i>	<i>swet.</i>

b) Verbs with unchanged vowel which add *t* to the stem:

Inf.	Pret.	P. P.
<i>brun</i> burn	<i>brunt</i>	<i>brunt</i>
<i>elþ</i> help	<i>elpt</i>	<i>elpt</i>
<i>kjatf</i> catch	<i>kjatft</i>	<i>kjatft</i>
<i>land</i> lend	<i>lant</i>	<i>lant</i>
<i>kis</i> kiss	<i>kist</i>	<i>kist</i>
<i>leīn</i> lean	<i>leīnt</i>	<i>leīnt</i>
<i>reitf</i> reach	<i>reitft</i>	<i>reitft</i>
<i>sītf</i> seek	<i>sītft</i>	<i>sītft</i>
<i>smel</i> smell	<i>smelt</i>	<i>smelt</i>
<i>spel</i> spell	<i>spelt</i>	<i>spelt</i>
<i>spil</i> spill	<i>spilt</i>	<i>spilt</i>
<i>spoil</i> spoil	<i>spoilt</i>	<i>spoilt</i>
<i>fān</i> shine	<i>fānt</i>	<i>fānt</i>
<i>fek</i> shake	<i>fēkt</i>	<i>fēkt</i>
<i>fēþ</i> shape	<i>fēpt</i>	<i>fēpt</i>
<i>fēr</i> shave	<i>fēft</i>	<i>fēft, fovn</i>
<i>waif</i> wash	<i>waift</i>	<i>waift</i>
<i>wakn</i> waken	<i>waknt</i>	<i>waknt</i>
<i>würk</i> work	<i>würkt</i>	<i>würkt.</i>

c) Verbs with vowel change and original *t* in the stem:

<i>mīt</i> meet	<i>met</i>	<i>met.</i>
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d) Verbs with vowel change which add *t* to the stem:

Inf.	Pret.	P. P.
<i>būe</i> buy	<i>boūt</i>	<i>boūt</i>
<i>brigg</i> bring	<i>broūt</i>	<i>broūt</i>
<i>drōm</i> dream	<i>drēmt</i>	<i>drēmt</i>
<i>fīl</i> feel	<i>felt</i>	<i>felt</i>
<i>kīþ</i> keep	<i>kept</i>	<i>kept</i>
<i>krīþ</i> creep	<i>krept</i>	<i>krept</i>
<i>līv</i> leave	<i>left</i>	<i>left</i>
<i>lōz</i> lose	<i>lost</i>	<i>lost</i>

Inf.	Pret.	P. P.
<i>mīn</i> mean	<i>ment</i>	<i>ment</i>
<i>nīl</i> kneel	<i>nelt</i>	<i>nelt</i>
<i>pīp</i> peep	<i>pept</i>	<i>pept</i>
<i>slīp</i> sleep	<i>slept</i>	<i>slept</i>
<i>swīp</i> sweep	<i>swept</i>	<i>swept</i>
<i>teitf</i> teach	<i>toūt</i>	<i>toūt</i>
<i>þīyk</i> think	<i>þoūt</i>	<i>þoūt.</i>

### C. Verbal Endings.

§ 111. Present. The endings for the first, second and third persons Sing. are *-s* (after voiced sounds *-z*, *-ʒ*) and *-is*, *-iz* (*-iʒ*) after the spirants *s*, *z*, *f*, *ʒ*. All the persons have the same ending, although the 1<sup>st</sup> pers. Sing. is sometimes used without ending.

The plural ends in *-in* or is without ending.

Examples: *elps* help, *helpest*, *helps*.  
*rāziʒ* rise, *risest*, *rises*.  
*wārkin* pl. work.

The following are the rules for the employment of the persons and numbers.

The ending of the third person sing. is used with pl. nouns (for paradigm see § 112):

*ðem əz wənts muər mən əjks* those who want more must ask. (t) *naviʒ wərkəs ārd* the navvies work hard. (t) *tūðər tʃəps plēʒ bet-tər* the other fellows play better. (t) *þəp-pəʒ drɒps ɔf* (t) *trɪʒ* the apples drop off the trees.

After the personal pronouns the ending *-in* is used or the form is without special ending:

*wi ɡuɪn evri dē* we go every day.  
*ði wəntin əs* (t) *plē* they want us to play.

*ði rād wīl* they ride well.

*jō kō-in (kō) ðad wārġ?* You call that work?

The form with *-in* is the more extensively used one.

Preterite. The pret. of strong verbs is without special endings. The endings of weak verbs are *-id*, *-d*, *-t* for all persons. See § 107.

Participle. The pres. part. ends in *-in* (§ 61 b). For past part. of strong verbs see § 99ff. The past part. of weak verbs ends in *-id*, *-d*, *-t*. The Infinitive has no special ending.

#### Paradigms.

§ 112. <i>elp</i> to help	<i>stik</i> to stick.
Indic. Pres. Sg. 1. <i>elps</i>	<i>stiks</i>
2. <i>elps</i>	<i>stiks</i>
3. <i>elps</i>	<i>stiks</i>
Plur. <i>elpin</i> }	<i>stikin</i> }
<i>elp</i> }	<i>stik</i> }
Pret. Sg. <i>elpt</i>	<i>stuk</i>
Pl. <i>elpt</i>	<i>stuk</i>
Imper. Sg. and Pl. <i>elp</i>	<i>stik</i>
Inf. <i>elp</i>	<i>stik</i>
Pres. Part. <i>elpin</i>	<i>stikin</i>
Past Part. <i>elpt.</i>	<i>stuk.</i>

The subjunctive mood has disappeared except in such phrases as *iv ā wōr ði* if I were you.

The future, perfect tenses, and the passive voice are formed as in lit. English.

## Table of Tenses.

Tense.	Indefinite.	Imperfect and Continuous.	Perfect.	Perfect and Continuous.
Present.	<i>a stiks</i> I stick	<i>am stikin</i> I am sticking	<i>av stuk</i> I have stuck	<i>av bin stikin</i> I have been sticking
Preterite.	<i>a stuk</i> I stuck	<i>a wər stikin</i> I was sticking	<i>ad stuk</i> I had stuck	<i>ad bin stikin</i> I had been sticking
Future.	<i>as stik</i> I shall stick	<i>as bi stikin</i> I shall be sticking	<i>as e stuk</i> I shall have stuck	<i>as e bin stikin</i> I shall have been sticking

The full conj. of the auxiliary verbs is given §§ 119, 120.

## D. Anomalous Verbs.

## a) Preterite Presents.

## 1. can.

§ 113. Pres. strong form *kon*, weak form *kn*.

Pret. » » *kud*, » » *kəd*.

## Affirmatively.

## Present.

## Singular.

*ā, a, kon* or *kn*

*ḍā, ḍa* » » »

*ī, ā, id* » » ».

## Plural.

*wē, wi kon* or *kn*

*jō, jō* » » »

*ḍē, ḍi* » » ».

## Preterite.

*ā, a kud* or *kəd*

etc.

*wē, wi kud* or *kəd*

etc.

## Affirmatively with not.

## Pres.

*ā, a kōrnd*

etc.

## Pret.

*ā, a kudnd*

etc.

## Interrogatively.

Present.	
Singular.	Plural.
<i>kon</i> or <i>kn ā, a?</i>	<i>kon</i> or <i>kn wē, wi?</i>
» » » <i>ḡā, tḡ?</i>	» » » <i>jḡ, jḡ?</i>
» » » <i>ī, ā, id?</i>	» » » <i>ḡē, ḡi?</i>

Note that *tḡ* is used in the 2<sup>nd</sup> person. interrog. where *ḡā* is used in the affirm. form.

Pret.	
<i>kud</i> or <i>kḡd ā, a?</i>	<i>kud</i> or <i>kḡd wē, wi?</i>
etc.	etc.

## Interrogatively with not.

Present.	
<i>kḡrḡnd ā, a?</i>	<i>kḡrḡnd wē, wi?</i>
etc.	etc.
Pret.	
Sing.	Plural.
<i>kudḡnd ā, a?</i>	<i>kudḡnd wē, wi?</i>
etc.	etc.

The *r* in *kḡrḡnd* has probably been introduced from analogy with *wḡrḡnd* were not.

*kud* is sometimes used in the Infinitive. *a jas tḡ kud* I used to be able (to do it).

## 2. dare.

Pres.	Pret.
<i>ā, a dāre</i> I dare	<i>ā, a dār</i> I dared
<i>ā, a dārḡnd</i> I dare not	<i>ā, a dārḡnt, dārḡnd, dasnt</i> I dared not
<i>dār ā, a?</i> dare I?	<i>dār ā, a?</i> dare I?
<i>dārḡnd, dārḡnt ā a?</i> dare I not?	<i>dārḡnt, dārḡnd, dasnt ā, a?</i> did not I dare?

There is a pret. and past part. *dārḡ* meaning 'challenged'.

## 3. shall.

§ 115. Pres. strong form *sal*, weak *s*.Pret. » » *fʊd*, » *fɔd*.

## Affirmatively.

## Present.

Singular.	Plural.
<i>ā</i> , <i>a sal</i> }	{ <i>wē</i> , <i>wi sal</i>
<i>ās</i> , <i>as</i> }	
<i>ðas</i>	{ <i>jō</i> , <i>jɔ sal</i>
<i>ī sal</i> }	
<i>īs</i> }	{ <i>ðē sal</i>
<i>ū sal</i> }	
<i>us</i> }	
<i>id sal</i> }	
<i>its</i> }	
	{ <i>ði sal</i>
	{ <i>ðis</i>

## Pret.

Singular.	Plural.
<i>ā</i> , <i>a fʊd</i> or <i>fɔd</i>	<i>wē</i> , <i>wi fud</i> or <i>fɔd</i>
<i>ðā</i> , <i>ða</i> » » »	<i>jō</i> , <i>jɔ</i> » » »
<i>ī</i> , <i>ū</i> , <i>id</i> » » »	<i>ðē</i> , <i>ði</i> » » »

## Affirmatively with not.

## Present.

<i>ā</i> , <i>a fārnd</i> }	{ <i>wē</i> , <i>wi fārnd</i>
<i>as nod</i> }	
<i>ðā</i> , <i>ða fārnd</i> }	{ <i>jō</i> , <i>jɔ fārnd</i>
<i>ðas nod</i> }	
<i>ī</i> , <i>ū</i> , <i>id fārnd</i> }	{ <i>ðē</i> , <i>ði fārnd</i>
<i>īs</i> , <i>ūs</i> , <i>its nod</i> }	
	{ <i>ðēs</i> , <i>ðis nod</i> .

## Pret.

<i>ā</i> , <i>a fʊdnd</i> , <i>fɔdnd</i>	<i>wē</i> , <i>wi fʊdnd</i> , <i>fɔdnd</i>
etc.	etc.

## Interrogatively.

Present.

*fal ā, a?**fal wē, wi?*

Pret.

*ƒud, ƒod ā, ā?**ƒud, ƒod wē, wi?**ƒud, ƒod ðā, tō?**ƒud, ƒod jō, jō?**ƒud, ƒod ɪ, ũ, id?**ƒud, ƒod ðē, ði?*

## Interrogatively with not.

Pres.

*ƒārnd ā, a?*  
*ƒul a nod?**ƒal wē, wi nod?*  
*ƒārnd wē, wi?*

Pret.

*ƒulnd, ƒodnd ā, a?*  
etc.*ƒulnd, ƒodnd wē, wi?*  
etc.

The weak form *s* is generally only used with pronouns.

The 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> pers. Sing. and Plural forms of the Present Interrogative are wanting. Their place is supplied by the other auxiliaries will, must, ought etc.

## 4. may.

§ 116. Weak form. Pres. *mi*, Pret. *mōd, mōt, mīt*.

For the strong forms the verb *kon* is used, and it is generally preferred for the whole of the present.

The weak forms are not used interrogatively. For these the verbs *kon* and *mon* are used.

*mon ā plē?* may I play? *kon wi aks im?* may we ask him?

This leaves only the following forms.

Present.

*a mi* I may,*ða mi* thou mayest,

etc.



But even here the weak forms of *kon* are preferred.

Preterite.

*ā, a mōd, mōt, mit* I might,

*ðā, ða mōd, mōt, mit* thou mightest,

etc.

Pret. affirmatively with not.

*ā, a mitnt, mitnd, mūtnt, mūdnd* I might not,

*ðā, ða » » » »* thou mightest not,

etc.

The pret. negative forms *mūdnd, mūtnt* appear to be a new formation, after the analogy of *fuđnd* and *kuđnd*.

The pret. of may is sometimes used as a pret. of must: *ī sed ði mūtnt dō ðad*: he said they must not do that. See § 117.

### 5. must.

§ 117. To express the lit. Eng. must, the Scand. *munu, monu* is used.

Strong form *mon*, weak form *mən*.

The following are the forms of the 1<sup>st</sup> pers. sing. and plural.

Singular.	Plural.
<i>ā, a mon, mən</i> I must	<i>wē, wi mon, mən</i>
<i>ā, a mōrnd</i> I must not	<i>wē, wi mōrnd</i>
<i>mon, mən ā, a?</i> must I?	<i>mon, mən wē, wi?</i>
<i>mōrnd ā, a?</i> must I not?	<i>mōrnd wē, wi?</i>

The weak form *mən* is not used negatively.

For the pret. the weak form *mən* is used: *ī tođd əm wod ði mən du* he told them what they must do. A form *mōt, mit* might is also occasionally used in the same sense. See § 116.

## 6. ought.

§ 118. *oūt* is uninflected for all persons.

*ā*, *a oūt* I ought, etc.

*oūt ā*, *a? ought I?* etc.

*ā*, *a oūtnt*, *didnd oūt* I ought not etc.

*oūtnt ā*, *a? didnd ā*, *a oūt? ought I not?* etc.

## b) have.

§ 119. Pres. strong forms *ev*, *e*, *en*, weak *əv*, *ə*, *ən*.

Before consonants the strong form *e* is always used, before vowels both *e* and *ev* are used, although even here *e* is used more frequently.

Pret. strong form *ed*, weak *əd*.

In both pres. and pret. the vowel disappears in the weak forms when preceded by the nom. of the pers. pronouns: *av* I have, *wēv* we have, *ad sin im* I had seen him.

Sometimes the verb disappears altogether: *ði stoun əm* they have stolen them, *wi fon id* we have found it.

The *-z* of the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> pers. sg. becomes *s* before voiceless consonants: *estə?* hast thou?

The forms *en*, *ən* are only used in the Pl. of the present.

## Affirmatively.

## Present.

Singular.	Plural.
<i>ā</i> , <i>a ev</i> or <i>e</i> }	{ <i>wē</i> , <i>wi ev</i> or <i>e</i> , <i>en</i> <i>wēv</i> , <i>wiv</i> , <i>wēn</i> , <i>win</i>
<i>āv</i> , <i>av</i> }	
<i>ḏā</i> , <i>ḏa ez</i> }	{ <i>jō</i> , <i>jə ev</i> or <i>e</i> or <i>en</i> <i>jōn</i> , <i>jən</i>
<i>ḏāz</i> , <i>ḏaz</i> }	
<i>ī</i> , <i>ī</i> , <i>id ez</i> }	{ <i>ḏē</i> , <i>ḏi ev</i> or <i>en</i> <i>ḏēv</i> , <i>ḏiv</i> , <i>ḏēn</i> , <i>ḏin</i> .
<i>īz</i> , <i>īz</i> , <i>its</i> }	

## Preterite.

<i>ā, a ed</i> }	{ <i>wē, wi ed</i>	
<i>ād, ad</i> }		{ <i>wēd, wid</i>
<i>đā, đa ed</i> }	etc.	
<i>đād, đad</i> }		
etc.		

Infin. *ev, e* }

ə

Pres. Part. *evin, e-in* (rare).

Past » *ed, ad*.

## Affirmatively with not.

## Present.

Singular.		Plural.
<i>a, a evnd</i> }	{ <i>wē, wi evnd</i>	{ <i>wēv, wiv nod</i>
<i>āv, av nod</i> }		
etc.	etc.	

## Pret.

<i>ā, a ednd</i> }	{ <i>wē, wi ednd</i>
<i>ād, ad nod</i> }	

## Interrogatively.

## Present.

<i>ev ā, a?</i>	<i>ev, e, or en wē, wi?</i>
<i>ez đā, es tā?</i>	<i>ev, e, or en jō, jō?</i>
<i>ez ī, ū, id?</i>	<i>ev, e, or en đē, đī?</i>

## Pret.

<i>ed ā, a?</i>	<i>ed wē, wi</i>
etc.	etc.

## Interrogatively with not.

## Present.

Singular.		Plural.
<i>evnd ā, a?</i> }	{ <i>evnd wē, wi?</i>	{ <i>ev or en wē, wi nod?</i>
<i>ev ā, a nod?</i> }		
etc.		

Pret.	
<i>ednd ā, a</i> } <i>ed ā, a nod</i> } etc.	<i>ednd wē, wi</i> <i>ed wē, wi nod</i> etc.

The plural forms of the present, given above, are only used with the personal pronouns. In all other cases the forms of the second and third person Sing. are used, viz. *ez, ɔz, z (s)*.

*ez ðem men sin ði?* have those men seen you? *ðūz (vīz) iz bin pād dēn* those trees have been pulled down. (Note. The weak form of *ez* is *iz* after a sibilant.)

These forms are also used with the first person Sing. when combined with a relative. *its mī ɔz iz dūn id* it is I who have done it. See also § 120.

### c) be.

#### § 120.

#### Affirmatively.

Present.	
Singular.	Plural.
<i>ā, a am</i> } <i>ām am</i> } <i>ðā, ða ar</i> } <i>ðār ðar</i> } <i>ī, ū, id iz</i> } <i>īz, ūz, its</i> }	<i>wē, wi ar</i> <i>wōr, wōr</i> <i>jō, jō ar</i> <i>jōr, jōr</i> <i>ðē, ði ar</i> <i>ðōr, ðōr.</i>
Pret.	
<i>ā, a wor, wōr</i> etc.	<i>wē, wi wor, wōr</i> etc.

Inf. *bī, bi.*

Pres. Part. *bī-in.*

Past > *bin.*

## Affirmatively with not.

## Present.

Singular.	Plural.
<i>ām, am nod</i>	<i>wōr, wər nod</i>
<i>đār, đar nod</i>	<i>jōr, jər nod</i>
<i>īz, ūz, its nod</i>	<i>đōr, đər nod.</i>

## Pret.

<i>ā, a wōrnd</i>	} <i>wē wi wōrnd</i>
<i>ā, a wōrnd, wərnd</i>	
etc.	etc.

## Interrogatively.

## Pres.

<i>am ā, a?</i>	<i>ar wē, wi?</i>
<i>ar đā, tə?</i>	<i>ar jō, jə?</i>
<i>iz ī, ū, id?</i>	<i>ar đē, đī?</i>

## Pret.

<i>wor ā, a?</i>	} <i>wor wē, wi?</i>
<i>wər ā, a?</i>	
<i>wor đā etc.</i>	etc.

## Interrogatively with not.

## Present.

<i>arnd ā, a?</i>	} <i>arnd wē, wi?</i>
<i>am ā, a nod?</i>	
<i>arnd đā, tə?</i>	} etc.
<i>ar đā, tə nod?</i>	
<i>iznd ī, ū, id?</i>	} .
<i>iz ī, ū, id nod?</i>	

## Pret.

<i>wōrnd ā, a?</i>	} <i>wōrnd wē, wi?</i>
<i>wōrnd ā, a?</i>	
<i>wor ā, a nod?</i>	} <i>wōrnd » » ?</i>
<i>wər ā, a nod?</i>	
etc.	etc.

The «r» in the 1<sup>st</sup> pers. Sg. of the above pres. and pret. interrog. neg. forms has probably been introduced from the 2<sup>nd</sup> pers. and from the Plural.

The above forms of the present are only used with the personal pronouns. In other cases the third person Sg. is used, cp. § 119.

*ðem tʃaps iz nod redi jet* those men are not ready yet;  
*ðemz nod bad ənʒ* those are not bad ones; *sum fōks iz nār*  
*satisfād* some folks are never satisfied.

The vowel disappears, or is assimilated to the foregoing vowel of the subject, in the weak forms of the present: *ðar tə fōs* you are too smart, *am redi* I am ready.

The -z in the third person becomes -s before voiceless consonants: *is þout ə gud dɪəl on* he is thought a lot of.

#### d) will.

§ 121. Pres. strong form *wil*, weak *əl*. The weak form drops the vowel in combination with the pronouns.

Pret. strong form *wʊd*, weak *wəd*, *əd*. The latter loses its vowel in combination with the pronouns: *ad land ði*  
*il bʊd a kōrnd də bēt il nē* I would lend thee it but I can't  
do without it now.

Singular.	Present.	Plural.
<i>ā, a wil</i> } <i>āl, al</i> } etc.		<i>wē, wi wil</i> } <i>wəl, wil</i> } etc.
	Pret.	
<i>ū, a wʊd or wəd</i> } <i>ād, ad</i> } etc.		<i>wē, wi wʊd or wəd</i> } <i>wēd, wid</i> } etc.

## Affirmatively with not.

<i>ā, a wōrnd</i> }	} <i>wē, wi wōrnd</i>
<i>āl, al nod</i> }	
etc.	etc.

## Interrogatively.

## Present.

Singular.	Plural.
<i>sal ā, a?</i>	<i>sal wē, wi?</i>
<i>wil ḏā, tə?</i>	<i>wil jō, jə?</i>
<i>wil ī, ū, id?</i>	<i>wil ḏē, ḏi?</i>

## Pret.

<i>wud</i> or <i>ḡud, wəd</i> or <i>ḡəd ā, a?</i>	<i>wud</i> or <i>ḡud, wəd</i> or <i>ḡəd wē, wi?</i>
<i>wud, wəd ḏā, tə?</i>	<i>wud, wəd jō, jə?</i>
» » <i>ī, ū, id?</i>	» » <i>ḏē, ḏi?</i>

## With not.

## Present.

<i>wōrnd ā, a?</i> }	} <i>wōrnd wē, wi?</i>
<i>sal ā</i> or <i>a nod?</i> }	
etc.	etc.

## Pret.

<i>wudnd, ḡudnd ā, a?</i> }	} <i>wudnd, ḡudnd wē, wi?</i>
<i>wədnd, ḡədnd ā, a?</i> }	
etc.	etc.

It will be seen that for all 1<sup>st</sup> person Sg. and Pl. interrogative forms the verb shall is also used and for the present interrogative exclusively.

## e) do.

§ 122. do as an independent verb is conjugated like any other verb.

In the pret. did is used for all persons Sing. and Plural.

## Affirmatively.

## Present.

Singular.	Plural.
<i>ā, a dū</i>	<i>wē, wi dū, dūn</i>
<i>ðā, ða dūz</i>	<i>jō, jō dū, dūn</i>
<i>ī, ū, id dūz</i>	<i>ðē, ði dū, dūn.</i>

## With not.

<i>ā, a dārnd</i>	<i>wē, wi dārnd, dārnd</i>
<i>ðā, ða dūznd</i>	<i>jō, jō » »</i>
<i>ī, ū, id dūznd</i>	<i>ðē, ði » ».</i>

## Interrogatively.

<i>dū ā, a?</i>	<i>dūn, dōn, dō wē, wi?</i>
<i>dūz ðā, dūz tō?</i>	<i>» » jō, jō?</i>
<i>dūz ī, ū, id?</i>	<i>» » ðē, ði?</i>

## With not.

<i>dū ā or a nod?</i>	}	<i>dūn, dōn, dō wē or wi nod?</i>
<i>dārnd ā, a?</i>		
etc.		etc.

Pres. Part. *duin.*Past Part. *dun, dōn.*

## Chapter XII.

## I. Adverbs.

§ 123. Adverbs of manner and degree mostly end in *-li*; *ārđli* hardly, *q̄kārđli* awkwardly. In *fuwrlī* the accent is on the suffix.

*apn* happen, *ē* how, *ē ewar* however, *ən ȝ* and all, too, also, used in a strengthening sense, *ī wil ðad ən ȝ* he will (do) that, *ȝlȝ* always, *tū* too, also, *sȝ* so, instead of *sȝ* we



generally say *ðad: ī wər ðad nou̯t* he was so angry, *vāri* very, *vārnr̥jər* almost, *wāe* why, *wīl* well, but as an interjection we say *wel*.

Also is expressed by *tū* or *ən ǝ*.

Thus is expressed by *i ðis wē* in this way or *ǝ ðad rōd* literally, in that road.

*wiðin* is used in the meaning of «against» in such phrases as: *īz nod wiðin steilin* he is capable of or doesn't mind, stealing.

Adverbs of place: *aniw̥tər* anywhere, *tər* here, *jon* yonder, *sūmw̥tər* somewhere, *ðtər* there, *w̥tər* where.

Adverbs of time: *evər* or *ār* ever, *jet* yet, *jūstərdē* yesterday, *nē* now, *nevər* or *nār* never, *oft* often, *sin* since, *sūn* soon, *tōdē* today, *tōmōrn*, *(t)mōrn* tomorrow, *tōnit*, *(t)nīt* tonight, *ðen* then, *wen* when.

## 2. Prepositions.

§ 124. *aftər* after, *af̥ār* before, *bitw̥n* between, *bi* by, *bi-int* behind, *dēn* down, *ǝ*, *əv* (only before vowels) of, *əbēt*, *bēt* about, without, *əbʊw* above, *əgen* again, *əlygg* along, *əmyung* among, *bisād*, *əsād* besides, *ət-sted ǝ* instead of, *fər* for, *frə* from, *in*, *i* in (*i* is more used, even before vowels), *intə* into, *n̥tər* near, *bʊd*, *bəd* except, *on*, *o* on, *ōr* over, *sin* since, *tə*, *tīl* to (*wi went vārnr̥jər tīl Boūtu* we almost went as far as Bolton), *prū* through, *under* under, *ʊp* up, *wi* with.

## 3. Conjunctions.

§ 125. *bʊd* but, *bikōs*, *kōs* because, *ən* and, *əz* that (*ðad* is never used as a conjunction), *iv* if, *nōðər*, *nēðər* neither, *əðər*, *ēðər* either, *ðen* than (*nər* is sometimes used), *wāl* until (*wət wāl ī kumz* wait until he comes).

## Specimens.

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### I.

ðærz ə guð dīəl ə tēlz toūd əbēt oūd x. ɪ wər reknt (t)lēziist mon i Laykifər ən al dzʊst tel ði wod ɪ did. ɪ wons went ə sitfin wärk əd ə pit, ən ɪ guz ʌp tə (t)gʃafər ən əjkst im iv ɪ kəd fānd im ə dzob. «Noŋ» sed (t)gʃafər «a dərŋ hɪyk əz wi en oūt əzl du fər ði.» «wod, en jə noūt əd ō ðen» əjkst x. «ja win won dzob» sed (t)gʃafər «bʌd its i (t)nit.» «wel am nod evin id» sed x. «ad əz sʌn gə tə hel əz wärk i (t)dētām, ən a wil guə əfuər al wärk i(t) nit.»

ði sen ɪ wons kʃatst won ə iz ladz wärkin sō drd əz ɪ wər swet-tin. ən ɪ sīt on tu im ən giv im ə guð ādin ən əjkst im iv ɪ wər bēn (t)wärk is-sel tə (t)dīəʃ.

oūd Dzak — wər ənuðər kwər ən. ɪ wons went (t) Aiar-lənd wi ə türi<sup>1</sup> tʃaps, ən əz id wər sʌndi mornin ði ō went ə evin ə fēv. (t)bārbrər stārted loðərin ən ɪ loðərt til oūd Dzak wər ðad taiərt əz ɪ kʌdn stan id nō hʌŋgər. ɪ git ʌp ən wəkt ēt wi iz fēs kʌvərt wi loðər, til ɪ fon ənuðər sɒp. ɪ went in ən əjkst «dʌn jə fēv tər» «äe wi fēvin» sed (t) bārbrər. wel fēv mɪ ðen» sed oūd Dzak «ði noūt bʌd loðərin ōr ðiər.»

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<sup>1</sup> 'a few', see § 20.

## Specimens.

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Note. For convenience in reading, an English transcription to the dialect Specimens is here given. They are rendered almost word for word, and no attempt has been made to write correct English.

### I.

There is a good deal of tales told about old X. He was reckoned the laziest man in Lancashire and I will just tell you what he did. He once went a-seeking work at a pit, and he goes up to the gaffer and asked him if hé could find him a job. «No» said the gaffer «I don't think thàt we have anything that will do for you.» «What, have you nothing at all then?» asked X. «Yes we've one job» said the gaffer, «but it is in the night.» «Well, I am not having it» said X. «I'd as soon go to hell as work in the daytime, and I will go before I'll work in the night.»

They say he once caught one of his lads working so hard that he was sweating. And he set on to him and gave him a good hiding and asked him if he were going to work himself to the death.

Old Jack — was another queer one. He once went to Ireland with a few chaps, and as it was Sunday morning they all went to have a shave. The barber started lathering, and he lathered until old Jack was that tired that he couldn't stand it any longer. He got up and walked out with his face covered with lather, until he found another shop. He went in and asked «Do you shave here?» «Yes, we shave» said the barber. «Well, shave me then» said old Jack «they only lather over there.»

wen (t) big-dʒob<sup>1</sup> kām tə Oridʒ ði wər ə lot ə rouz bitwɛn (t)poʊd fɔk əz livd ðɪər əfuər (t)wɜrks kām, ən (t) nju ʌns əz kām wi (t)wɜrks. (t)muəst ə ðɪz nju ʌnz kām frɔ Manifestɔr rɔd on, un ði rɛðər luk(t) dɛn o(t) poʊd Oridʒərz, se-in əz ði nɔd noʊt əfuər ðɛ kām. (t)poʊd Oridʒərz wɛrnd sɔ wɪl plɛst ɔr id, kɔz ði poʊt ðɜrsel əz gud əz ʌm, evri bit. əd ani rɔd, ði wər nɔ pop-fɔps i(t) plɛs əfuər, ən ði manidʒd grɛdli wɪl bi ðɜrselz. iv evər ani ə (t)poʊd Oridʒərz ən (t)nju ɔnz aɪnt tɔ bi evin ə dlus tɔgədər, ði wər ɔlʒ sɪmʌt guɪn on.

ði wər ə taʃri on əm won nɪt i(t) Brɛn Kɛ, ən won ə(t) nju kumərz bigʌn ə telɪn əbɛt ə bəlʌm əz lit ə (t)top ə(t) Pæk tʉ ɔr ʃri jɜr əfuər (t) big-dʒob stɜrtɪd. Nɔbri nɔd wɔd tɔ mɛk on id; ðɪd nɜr sin won əfuər, evrihodi i Oridʒ went ə evin ə luk ad ɪl, buɔd nɔn on əm kɛd se wɔd id wər. ət last ði fɔtst oʊd Sami B—, ə oʊd tʃap ɔr nɜnti, ʌz ði ed (t)trɛndl ʌp in ə wɪlbərə. ɪ lak(t) ad id ə lʌɪɪ wɪl ən sed noʊt. ðen ɪ sed «wɪl mi rɛnd, tʃaps.» ði wɪlt ɪm rɛnd. ɪ poʊt əgen fɔr əbɛt ten minɪts ən ðen sed «wɪl mi rɛnd əgen.» ði wɪlt ɪm rɛnd əgen. ðen ɪ poʊt əgen fɔr əbɛt ə kwɜrtər əv ən ɜr. ði poʊt poʊd tʃap ed gon tɔ slɪp. buɔd ɪ wər noʊt bɔd piŋkɪn. ət last ɪ sed «a nɔ wɔd id ɪz; ɪts ə sɜrkəs ən (t)ʃɔsɪz ɪs kʌmɪn (t)mɔrn.» ði wər ɔ satsɪfʌd ən wɪlt ɪm wʌm əgen.

<sup>1</sup> big-dʒob is used locally to describe the large railway works at Horwich.

When the big job (railway works) came to Horwich, there were a lot of rows between the old folks who lived there before the works came, and the new ones who came with the works. Most of these new ones came from Manchester way on, and they rather looked down on the old Horwichers, saying that they knew nothing before they came. The old Horwichers were not so well pleased over it, because they thought themselves as good as them, every bit. At any rate, there were no pop-shops (pawn-shops) in the place before, and they managed very well by themselves. If ever any of the old Horwichers and the new ones happened to be having a glass together, there was always something going on.

There were a few of them one night in the «Brown Cow», and one of the new comers began a telling about a balloon that let on the top of the «Pike», two or three years before the big job started. Nobody knew what to make of it; they had never seen one before, everybody in Horwich went a having a look at it, but none of them could say what it was. At last they fetched old Sammy B—, an old chap, over ninety, whom they had wheeled up in a wheelbarrow. He looked at it a long while and said nothing. Then he said «Wheel me round chaps.» They wheeled him round. He thought again for about ten minutes and then said «Wheel me round again.» They wheeled him round again. Then he thought again for about a quarter of an hour. They thought the old chap had gone to sleep. But he was only thinking. At last he said «I know what it is; it's a circus and the horses are coming tomorrow.» They were all satisfied and wheeled him home again.

ði wær ɔ guð laf wen id finift ðad, ən ðad mēd im tel  
 anuðær. ī sed sūm ət (t)nju Oridzærz wons kjatst ɔ oand Oridzær  
 nod far ūf (t) Krēn. (ði wær wāld jə nōn, ən went əbēt o ðær  
 anz ən nīz.) ði rīort im up əgen ɔ wō, ən wod did ī dā buð  
 bigin ɔ pō-in (t)þær wi iz andz, ən sed «wod mon a du wi dīz.»

ði wær ɔ njū Oridzær ðær əz el sed noat ō ðis tām, buð  
 ī þout ul wær əbēt is torn tə pud ɔ wōrd in. ī sed sūm njū  
 Oridzærz wær wons guin þrū (t) Krēn fildz, wær ði wær sūm  
 bārli grō in. ði didn nō wod id wær ən fotst ɔ frēnd əz livd əd  
 Mantfistær, ən nōd evərþin. ī sed «wel, av nevær sēn eni grō-in  
 əfər, buð əv kuərs a nō wod ði ar. ðær frimps.»

sūm Adlitn fōks wons went tə Lyndun. won dē ði gīt i  
 Madam Tusōdz ən won on əm kōd Out sed guð mornin tu ɔ waks  
 bobī. ouð Tūm S— wær grēdli ənjūst əd ðad ən kōd-did im ɔ  
 bit. buð dzūst aftær, ði wær egzaminin sūm figørz ɔ wimin əz  
 əd numbærz əd ðær fīt, ō buð won. S— fiftid ər skārts, buð ī  
 wær sərpräst wen u dzūmpt up ən sed «ou ðær jū.» ðen ul wer  
 Outs tōrn tə laf ən ī sed «ðær Tūm, ðær dūn ðis tām. sūm  
 on jə s sə g—d—fōs.»

ɔ pārsn wons went ɔ sī-in ɔ kolīær əz wær dī-in. ðis kolīær  
 wær ɔ grētt pūlzən flæær ən wen (t)pārsn bigun ɔ tōkin əbēt evn  
 id mēd im þīyk əbēt (t) þēndzəlz wi wiγγz əz id sin (t) piktærz  
 on. ī tōrut rēnd ən sed tə (t)pārsn «fal ā ev wiγγz, pārsn,  
 wen a gə tə evn?» «jis» sed(t) pārsn «ən wil jə e wiγγz, tu,

There was a good laugh when he had finished that, and that made him tell another. He said some of the new Horwichers once caught an old Horwicher not far from the «Crown» (they were wild you know and went about on their hands and knees). They reared him up against a wall, and what did he do but begin a pawing the air with his hands, and said «What must I do with these?»

There was a new Horwicher there, who had said nothing all this time, but he thought it was about his turn to put a word in. He said some new Horwichers were once going through the Crown fields, where there was some barley growing. They didn't know what it was and fetched a friend that lived at Manchester and knew everything. He said «Well, I've never seen any growing before, but of course I know what they are. They are shrimps.»

Some Adlington folks once went to London. One day they got in Madame Tussauds, and one of them called Holt said «Good morning» to a wax bobby. Old Tom S—, was much amused at that and coddled (teased) him a bit. But just after they were examining some figures of women, that had numbers at their feet, all but one. S— shifted her skirts, but he was surprised when she jumped up and said «How dare you!» Then it was Holt's turn to laugh and he said «There Tom, you are done this time; some of you are so G— d— smart.»

A parson once went a seeing a collier who was dying. This collier was a great pigeon-flyer, and when the parson began a talking about heaven he made him think about the angels with wings, of which he had seen pictures. He turned round and said to the parson «Shall I have wings, parson, when I go to heaven?» «Yes» said the parson

*wen jō ged ðiær.» «jis a fal» sed (t) pärsn, «wel al tel jō wod», sed (t) pidžon-flæær, «wen jō ged ðiær al flā jō fär a soværin.»*

## II.

*Come whoam to thy childer an me (Waugh).*

*Av džyst mendil (t) fair wi a kob,  
 ould Swadl az broūt ði njū fun;  
 ðars süm nās bēkn kolaps o (t)þob,  
 ən a kwärt a hēl posit i (t)þān:  
 av broūt ði top kust; dus (t) nō,  
 fär (t) rēnz kumīn ilēn veri dr<sup>1</sup>;  
 ən (t) þūrþ-stōn'z az wāt az nju snō,  
 kum wum tō ði tšildær ən mē.*

*wen u þud lil Sali tō bed.  
 u krād kōz or fēðær wēr(ā) ðiær;  
 sō a kist (t) lil þigg ən a sed,  
 ðad briyg or a ribin frū (t) fär;  
 ən a giv or or dol ən süm rajgz,  
 ən a nās lil wāt kotn bō;  
 ən a kist or ægen; þud u secl,  
 az u wantid tō kis ði ən ō.*

*ən Dik tu, ad sultf wärk wi im,  
 afuær a käd ged im up (t) stōrz;  
 ðu toud im ðad briyg im a drūm,  
 i sed wen i wær se-in iz prōrz;  
 ðen i lukt i mi fēs, ən i sed,  
 «es (t) bogorts ten oūd a mi dad?»  
 ən i krād til iz in wær kwät red,  
 i lücks ði süm wil, daz jon lad.*

<sup>1</sup> See § 36. 1. o.



«and will you have wings too when you go there?» «Yes, I shall» said the parson. «Well, I'll tell you what», said the pigeon-flyer, «when you get there I'll fly you for a sovereign.»

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## II.

### Come home to your children and me.

I've just mended the fire with a cob,  
Old Swaddle has brought your new shoes;  
There are some nice bacon collops on the hob,  
And a quart of ale posset in the oven;  
I've brought your top-coat, do you know.  
For the rain's coming down very dree;  
And the hearth-stone's as white as new snow,  
Come home to your children and me.

When I put little Sally to bed,  
She cried 'cos her father wasn't there;  
So I kissed the little thing and I said,  
You'd bring her a ribbon from the fair;  
And I gave her a doll and some rags,  
And a nice little white cotton ball:  
And I kissed her again; but she said,  
That she wanted to kiss thee and all.

And Dick, too, I'd such work with him,  
Before I could get him up stairs;  
You told him, you'd bring him a drum,  
He said when he was saying his prayers;  
Then he looked in my face, and he said,  
«Have the boggarts taken hold of my dad?»  
And he cried till his eyes were quite red,  
He likes you very well, does yon lad.

at lugg luggþ a gīt om lēd stil,  
 en a ārknt (t) fōks fit oz went bāe;  
 sō a aiōrnt ō mi thuoꝝ rit wīl,  
 en a ayygd om o(t) mēdn<sup>1</sup> tō drāe;  
 wen ad mendid ði stokingz en fārts,  
 a sīt dēn tō nit i mi t̄f̄ar;  
 en a rēli did fīl rēðar ort, —  
 mon, am lōnli<sup>2</sup> wen ðē arnd ð̄ar.

av o drum en o trumpet fār Dik;  
 av o jārð o blā ribin fār Sal;  
 av o bāk ful o babiz en o stik,  
 en sūm bakō en pāps fār mi sel;  
 av broūt ði sūm kofi en tē —  
 iv ðal fīl i mi pokit, ðal sī;  
 en av broūt ði o nju kjaꝝ tō-dē —  
 buð a olōz briyygz sūmæt fār ði.

god bles ði mi las; al gō wūm,  
 en al kis ði en (t) t̄f̄ilðar ō rēnd;  
 ða nōz oz icorevōr a rōm,  
 am fēn tō ged bak tō (t) hoūd grēnd;  
 a kæn du wi o krajk ōr o dlas,  
 a kæn du wi o bit av o sprī;  
 buð av nō grēdli<sup>3</sup> kumfært, mi las,  
 eksep wi jon t̄f̄ilðar en ði.

<sup>1</sup> *mēdn* = 'clothes horse'.

<sup>2</sup> Waugh has *onely*. See § 63: 1. d. Note.

<sup>3</sup> See § 43. 1. e.

At the long length I got them laid still,  
And I hearkened the folk's feet, that went by;  
So I ironed all my clothes right well,  
And I hanged them on the maiden to dry;  
When I'd mended your stockings and shirts,  
I sat down to knit in my chair;  
And I really did feel rather hurt, —  
Man, I'm lonely when you are not there.

I've a drum and a trumpet for Dick;  
I've a yard of blue ribbon for Sal;  
I've a book full of babies and a stick,  
And some tobacco and pipes for myself;  
I've brought you some coffee and tea, —  
If you'll feel in my pocket, you'll see;  
And I've brought you a new cap today, —  
But I always bring something for thee.

God bless you, my lass; I'll go home,  
And I'll kiss you and the children all round;  
You know that wherever I roam,  
I'm glad to get back to the old ground;  
I can do with a crack over a glass,  
I can do with a bit of a spree;  
But I've no real comfort, my lass,  
Except with yon children and thee.

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## III.

*Dzon Wōkər.*

*Dzon Wōkər livd ə(t) top (ə) Boyk,*  
*ən kept ə lot ŋ dʌks,*  
*ən egʒ ðl wər sə plentifʌl,*  
*ī pält əm ʌp i ruks.*

*Dzon Wōkər ed ə lit-tl laɪ,*  
*ən ɪ wər grēdli noʊt;*  
*ɪ bit ɪm vər-ri ɪl won nɪt,*  
*ən ɪ pord ɪm ɪntə (t) fout.*

*Dzon Wōkər ed ə lit-tl dog,*  
*ən ɪd went ʊf ɪd nʌt;*  
*ɪ kopt ɪd bɪ ɪd ɪndər leg,*  
*ən wərɪlt ɪd ɪntə (t) kʌt.*

*Dzon Wōkər lækt ə bit ə spuərt,*  
*wi ɛðər fɪf ər brɪd;*  
*ɪ fot əɪ ə pɪdʒən ə(t) ʃelɪfunt swɪp,*  
*ən kɪlt ə kē ət stɪd.*

*Dzon Wōkər ɪent tə Grasmər spuərts.*  
*tə hev ə dū wi Tlārɪk;*  
*ði pād ðər dzakɪts ən weskʌts ʊf,*  
*ən buəp ɪent ʌp tə(t) mārɪk.*

*Dzon Wōkər ɪ gɪt oʊd ə Tlārɪk,*  
*ən Tlārɪk gɪt oʊd əv ɪm;*  
*ði pād won ənʊðər əbɛt ə bit,*  
*tɪl (t) tən on əm gɪvɪn.*

*Dzon Wōkər sed ɪd wərnd ə du,*  
*ən ðɪd ev tə hev ənʊðər;*  
*ən Tlārɪk ɪ sed «ɔ rɪt oʊd mon,*  
*ən ðū kən fotʃ ði brʌðər.»*

## III.

## John Walker.

John Walker lived at top of the «Bonk»,  
And kept a lot of ducks,  
And eggs they were so plentiful,  
He piled them up in rucks.

John Walker had a little lad,  
And he was really naughty;  
He beat him very ill one night,  
And he kicked him into the fold.

John Walker had a little dog,  
And it went off its nut (head);  
He caught it by its hind leg,  
And whirled it into the cut (canal).

John Walker liked a bit of sport,  
With either fish or bird;  
He shot at a pigeon at the «Elephant» sweep,  
And killed a cow instead.

John Walker went to Grasmere sports.  
To have a do with «Clark»;  
They pulled their jackets and waistcoats off,  
And both went up to the mark.

John Walker he got hold of Clark,  
And Clark got hold of him;  
They pulled one another about a bit,  
Till the one of them gave in.

John Walker said it wasn't a do,  
And they 'd have to have another;  
And Clark he said «All right old man,  
And you can fetch your brother».

*Dzon Wōkər ed ə lit-tl fārm,  
 ən ɪ gīt vūr-ri ound;  
 ɪ gīt ə bit bi-ınt wi(t) rent,  
 ən ɔ iz guds wər soūd.*

*Dzon Wōkər gīt iz læknəs ten,  
 bi ə tʃap ə(t) nēm ə Rūd;  
 ən wen ɪ gīt ə dlent on id,  
 ɪ tak iz bed ən dūl.*

*Dzon Wōkər ləkət ə sōp ə driyk,  
 ən woūd ɪ sūpt wər rɪm,  
 ɪ went tə(t) Bər won seʃərti nit,  
 ən ði ed tə dad im wɪm.*

*Dzon Wōkər went tə sɪ ound T.  
 ɪ went tə ged ə poū;  
 ound T. ɪ pād id ɪp bi(t) ruts,  
 ən ðen ðər wər ə roū.*

*Dzon Wōkər gīt ɪp ɛt ə tʃɔr,  
 ən reɪtʃt is-sel ə strop;  
 ɪ peɪld ound T. ɔl ɔr (t) frunt plēs,  
 til ɪ wər fɪt tə drɒp.*

*wen ound Tɪz wāf kum ɪntə (t) fop,  
 ɪ wor ə wəri sɪt;  
 iz jed wər lēd ət (t) top ə(t) ʃes,  
 ən u pād im ɛt bi(t) fɪt.*

John Walker had a little farm,  
And he got very old;  
He got a bit behind with the rent,  
And all his goods were sold.

John Walker got his likeness taken,  
By a chap with the name of Reed;  
And when he got a peep at it,  
He took his bed and died.

John Walker liked a drop of drink,  
And what he drank was rum;  
He went to the «Bear» one Saturday night,  
And they had to help him home.

John Walker went to see old T.,  
He went to get a crop;  
Old T., he pulled it up by the roots,  
And then there was a row.

John Walker got up out of the chair,  
And reached himself a strop;  
He knocked old T., all over the place,  
Till he was fit to drop.

When old T.'s wife came into the shop,  
He was a weary sight;  
His head was laid on top of the ashes,  
And she pulled him out by the feet.



# Geschichte der neuern Philosophie

## von Kuno Fischer.

Jubiläumsausgabe in zehn Bänden.

- I. Band: **Descartes' Leben, Werke und Lehre.** 4. neu bearbeitete Auflage. gr. 8°. geheftet M. 11.—, fein Halbfranzband M. 13.—.
- II. Band: **Spinozas Leben, Werke und Lehre.** 4. neu bearbeitete Auflage. gr. 8°. geheftet M. 14.—, fein Halbfranzband M. 16.—.
- III. Band: **Leibniz' Leben, Werke und Lehre.** 4. Auflage. gr. 8°. geheftet M. 18.—, fein Halbfranzband M. 20.—.
- IV. Band: **Immanuel Kant und seine Lehre.** 1. Teil. Entstehung und Grundlegung der kritischen Philosophie. 4. neu bearbeitete Auflage. gr. 8°. geheftet M. 16.—, fein Halbfranzband M. 18.—.
- V. Band: **Immanuel Kant und seine Lehre.** 2. Teil. Das Vernunftsystem auf der Grundlage der Vernunftkritik. 4. neu bearbeitete Auflage. gr. 8°. geheftet M. 16.—, fein Halbfranzband M. 18.—.
- VI. Band: **Fichtes Leben, Werke und Lehre.** 3. durchgesehene Auflage. gr. 8°. geheftet M. 18.—, fein Halbfranzband M. 20.—.
- VII. Band: **Schellings Leben, Werke und Lehre.** 3. durchgesehene und vermehrte Auflage. gr. 8°. geheftet M. 22.—, fein Halbfranzband M. 24.—.
- VIII. Band: **Hegels Leben, Werke und Lehre.** 2 Teile mit dem Bilde des Verfassers in Heliogravüre. gr. 8°. geheftet M. 30.—, in zwei feinen Halbfranzbänden M. 34.—.
- IX. Band: **Schopenhauers Leben, Werke und Lehre.** 2. neu bearbeitete und vermehrte Auflage. gr. 8°. geheftet M. 14.—, fein Halbfranzband M. 16.—.
- X. Band: **Bacon.** 3. Auflage. In Vorbereitung.

In der „Deutschen Revue“ schreibt Th. Wiedemann in seinen „Sechzehn Jahre in der Werkstätte Leopold von Ranke“: „Ranke suchte nach anderweitiger und anders gearbeiteter Belehrung. In Beziehung auf die Geschichte der neuern Philosophie zog er allen anderen bei weitem das Werk von Kuno Fischer vor, dem er Geistesreichtum und kongeniale Reproduktion der verschiedenen Systeme nachrühmte.“

„. . . Was Kuno Fischers Schriften und Vorträge so interessant macht, das ist das wahrhaft dramatische Leben, welches beide durchdringt, die innere Frische und geistige Elastizität, welche beide auszeichnet. . . Das Werk gehört nicht nur in die Bibliothek des Sachmannes, sondern ist dazu berufen, als eines der besten Bildungsmittel allen denen zu dienen, die den höchsten Aufgaben und idealen Interessen der ganzen Menschheit ihre Aufmerksamkeit zu widmen imstande sind.“ (Gegenwart.)

„. . . Fischers Eigentümlichkeit besteht in einer sonst fast nirgends erreichten Kunst, eine fremde Gedankenwelt von ihrem eigenen Mittelpunkt aus zu erleben und den Leser in der denkbar durchsichtigsten und eindringlichsten Form erleben zu lassen. . . Kuno Fischer steht nie als überlegener, verbessernder Schulmeister hinter den dargestellten Philosophen. Dieser Geschichtschreiber läßt nicht seine Philosophen reden, sondern sie reden selbst. Sie tragen ihre eigenen Gedanken vor, nur freier, natürlicher, in einer lebhafteren, durchsichtigeren Sprache, als wir sie in ihren eigenen Werken finden, und weit fester als in ihren eigenen Werken haben sie den Zielpunkt ihrer Gedanken vor Augen. Aber diese Gedanken sind dennoch niemals verändert, niemals verschönt und niemals verbildet. Sie sind das in der Form gereinigte, im Gehalte völlig getreue Nachbild des Originaldenkers. Diese Kunst der Darstellung ist ebenso neu als notwendig. . . Wahrlich, wer die Entwicklung des theoretischen Geistes von Descartes' bis zu Kants großen Nachfolgern zum Objekt zu machen imstande war, der hat ein schöpferisches Werk vollbracht. . . .“ (Preussische Jahrbücher.)



Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung in Heidelberg.

Dr. Arthur Drews

a. o. Professor der Philosophie an der Technischen Hochschule in Karlsruhe:

## Eduard von Hartmanns philosophisches System im Grundriß.

Mit biographischer Einleitung und dem Bilde Hartmanns.

gr. 8<sup>o</sup>. geheftet 16 M., fein Halbfranzband 18 M.

Wer dieses Buch gelesen hat, wird einen vollständigeren und besseren Überblick über meine Philosophie als durch die Lektüre eines meiner Hauptwerke erhalten haben und dann in der Lage sein, jedes Werk von mir über das Sondergebiet, auf das sein persönliches Interesse gerichtet ist, dem Zusammenhang meines Systems richtig einzugliedern.

(Eduard von Hartmann in Deutschland Nr. 1 vom Oktober 1902.)

Verfasser hierzu konnte kaum ein anderer sein als der Karlsruher Philosoph Drews, der außer einer eminent sichtvollen Entwicklung des Systems Eduard v. Hartmanns in einer biographischen Einleitung in geradezu klassischer Diktion in die Gedankenweite des einsamen Metaphysikers einführt. Fürchte niemand eine schwer verständliche Paraphrase eines Naturforschers, eine unzugemäße Analyse des Kathederphilosophen für den engen Kreis der Berufsgenossen! Drews schreibt, in wohlthuender Klarheit und souveräner Beherrschung eines für den Laien kaum noch zu übersehenden gewaltigen Stoffes, für die große Masse der Gebildeten, er ist populär im edelsten Sinne des Wortes und versteht trotz der Sprödigkeit, die philosophischen Materien nun einmal anzuhäufte pflegt, so fesselnd zu schreiben, daß er den Leser unwillkürlich gefangen nimmt und mit sich fortreißt.

(Leipziger Tagblatt.)

Soeben erschien:

## Friedrich Nietzsches Philosophie.

gr. 8<sup>o</sup>. geheftet 10 M., fein Halbfranzband 12 M.

Das Buch ist die erste wissenschaftlich-kritische, das ganze System umfassende, dabei für jeden Gebildeten verständliche Darstellung von Nietzsches Leben und Lehre.

Sofrat Dr. Max Dresler

Großh. Sofarzt:

## Vorlesungen über Psychologie

gehalten im Foyer des Großherzoglichen Hoftheaters in Karlsruhe.

gr. 8<sup>o</sup>. geheftet 3.60 M., in fein Leinwandband 4.50 M.

Das ganze Buch in seiner Inhalt- und formenshöne ist dazu berufen, als eines der besten Bildungsmittel allen denen zu dienen, die den hohen Aufgaben unserer Seele und ihren tiefsten Tiefen nachzuforschen Interesse entgegenbringen. Sein Bemühen, das Beste in angenehmer Form zu bieten, ist dem Verfasser trefflich gelungen, so daß wir dem empfehlenswerten Buche recht viel verständnisvolle Leser von Herzen wünschen. Wenn dieser unser Wunsch in Erfüllung ginge, so würde das einen geistigen Fortschritt unserer ganzen Zeit bedeuten.

(Odb Fellow.)

Soeben erschien:

## Die Welt als Wille zum Selbst.

Eine philosophische Studie.

gr. 8<sup>o</sup>. geheftet 3 M.

Soeben erschien:

Kuno Fischer,

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# Goethes Faust.

## 3. Band: Die Erklärung des Goetheschen Faust nach der Reihenfolge seiner Szenen. Erster Teil.

(Goethe-Schriften 8.) 8<sup>o</sup>. geheftet 7 Mk., fein Leinwandband 8 Mk.

Der 1. und 2. Band dieses klassischen Werkes liegen bereits in 4. Auflage vor. Einen noch größeren Erfolg wird der soeben erscheinende 3. Band haben, welcher den Gang des ersten Teiles der Saufftragödie erklärend schildert, und der Ende 1903 erscheinende 4. Band, der den Gang des zweiten Teiles der Tragödie behandeln soll.

... In seiner Gesamtheit stellt sich Fischers Werk als eine in die Tiefen der Sauff-Dichtung dringende Untersuchung dar, welche deren zeitigen Gehalt, soweit es nachschaffendes Denken vermag, erschöpft. Wie kein anderer bringt Kuno Fischer zur Erklärung dieser philosophischen, tiefmüthigen und erhabensten Schöpfung deutscher Poesie das wissenschaftliche Rüstzeug und die kongeniale Geistesart mit. Jede Phase der wechselvollen Geschichte der Lebensdichtung Goethes wird uns durch ihn wieder gegenwärtig, überall spürt er mit intuitivem Blick die geheimsten Zusammenhänge auf. In jede Szene des Gedichtes versenkt er sich mit gleich liebevollem Verständnis; jeder Stimmung und Tonart, vom übermüthigsten Humor bis zur erschütterndsten Tragik, weiß er zu folgen; allen poetischen Werthen, die Goethe hier in so überwältigender Fülle geschaffen, wird er gerecht. Und überall entspricht sein erleuchtendes Wort seiner großen Aufgabe, überall erreicht es in seiner Kraft und Anschaulichkeit die geistige und künstlerische Höhe der Dichtung. Ohne jemals den Schmelz der Poesie abzustreifen, münzt er den Edelgehalt des Gedichtes und setzt ihn in stets gleichwertiger Form aus der anschaulichen Sphäre in die begriffliche um. Man muß sich an Dünker erinnern, um ermessen zu können, welche Höhe der Erklärungskunst hier erreicht ist. Dort ein Kleinräumer, dem alles, was er angreift, zu Häuerling wird, der bei allem Suchen nur Regenwürmer findet, hier der Schatzgräber, der keinen Spatenstich tut, ohne Gold ans Tageslicht zu fördern. Wagner und Sauff! Denn nicht nur aus der Fülle gelehrten Wissens ist dieser Kommentar geboren, sondern — was ein Werk wie Goethes „Sauff“, das die Summen der Errungenschaften nicht nur des reichsten Einzelnebens, sondern der ganzen Menschheit zieht, vor allem von seinem Erklärer verlangt — aus einer Weltanschauung, welche den höchsten Gesichtspunkt der Dichtung erklommen hat, aus einer Weltanschauung, welche wie die uneres ehrwürdigen Autors aus drei Generationen zurückschaut. ...

(Dr. Ernst Traumann in der Frankfurter Zeitung.)

... Seine tiefen Gedanken, voll Schönheit und Erleuchtungskraft, wirken wie eine Offenbarung. Jede Phase der Dichtung wird durch die eindringendste Kenntnis des Lebensganges Goethes erhellt und so der Dichter selbst zum unerschöpflichen Thema seines größten Werkes gemacht. ... Er wird unter allen vorhandenen Sauffkommentaren den ersten Rang sich erringen und behaupten. Wer diesem Führer zu folgen wagt, dem erschließt sich die Welt des größten Dichters ohne Rest und ohne Vorbehalt. Mit einer wunderbaren Sprachgewalt und einer Fülle reifer Lebensweisheit wird ihm in ihr eine geweihte Stätte edelsten Genusses bereitet. Die stille Macht des Goetheschen Genius wächst von Tag zu Tag. Unter denen, die die Stunde seines höchsten Ruhmes mit heraufzuführen helfen, steht in erster Reihe Kuno Fischer, der vollendete Bildung zur Einsicht und Einheit der Natur in Goetheschem Sinne zurückgeführt hat. ...

(Prof. Dr. A. Koch in der Kölnischen Zeitung.)

... Nur ein kongenialer Geist konnte diesen Sauffkommentar schreiben. Seiner ganzen Geistesart nach war Fischer zum Sauffkommentator geradezu prädestinirt. Nicht nur, daß er wie wenige neben ihm die geistige Welt des Goetheschen Jahrhunderts beherrscht, nicht nur, daß er Philosoph und Literaturhistoriker zugleich ist, daß er die Gabe der Darstellerei in ungewöhnlichem Maße besitzt, vor allem hat er sich in Goethes innerstes Wesen und Dichten so versenkt, daß er die geheimsten Regungen des Dichters nachfühlt und so aus dem inneren Leben Goethes die Dichtung vor uns entzehen läßt, so daß wir nicht Sauff verstehen lernen, sondern im Sauff Goethe. ... Die Erklärungskunst erreicht in diesem Bande eine Höhe, die nicht überboten werden kann. Der ganze Sauber Goethescher Poesie, die Tiefe seiner philosophischen Ideen, der absolute Wert dieser Menschheitstragödie, das echt Menschliche in ihr, und die tiefe Tragik, die Fülle schöner Einzelheiten — alles kommt vollendet zur Darstellung. Die Charaktere treten so plastisch hervor, daß jeder Schauspieler an dieser Charakteristik sich bilden mußten. Und dabei drängt der Kommentator sich nie hervor, sondern er gibt eben nichts als die Goetheschen Gedanken selbst. Wer sich der Lektüre dieses Kommentares hingibt, wird etwas von dem geistigen Sludum verspüren, das bei der Berührung mit einem bedeutenden, genialen Manne, erhebend und kräftigend, auf uns übergeht, etwas von jener inneren Ergriffenheit spüren, die je und je eine große geistige Kraft in uns auslöst. Und darum nannten wir diesen Kommentar ein literarisches Ereignis ersten Ranges.

(Prof. Dr. Richter in der Neuen Preuss. [Kreuz-]Zeitung.)

ferner erschienen:

Goethes Iphigenie. 3. Aufl. 8<sup>o</sup>. geheftet M. 1.20.

Die Erklärungsarten des Goetheschen Faust. 8<sup>o</sup>. geheftet M. 1.80.

Goethes Tasso. 3. Aufl. 8<sup>o</sup>. fein Leinwandband M. 6.—.

Goethes Sonettenkranz. 8<sup>o</sup>. geheftet M. 2.—.

Goethe und Heidelberg. 2. Aufl. 8<sup>o</sup>. geheftet M. 1.—.

Goethes Faust. I. Band: Die Faustdichtung vor Goethe. 4. durchgesehene und vermehrte Auflage. 8<sup>o</sup>. geh. M. 4.—, fein Lwb. M. 5.—.

Goethes Faust. II. Band: Entstehung, Idee und Komposition des Goetheschen Faust. 4. durchgesehene und vermehrte Auflage. 8<sup>o</sup>. geheftet M. 4.—, fein Leinwandband M. 5.—.





Hargreaves, A.

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